

ROCHESTER HISTORY

Ruth Rosenberg-Naparsteck, Editor

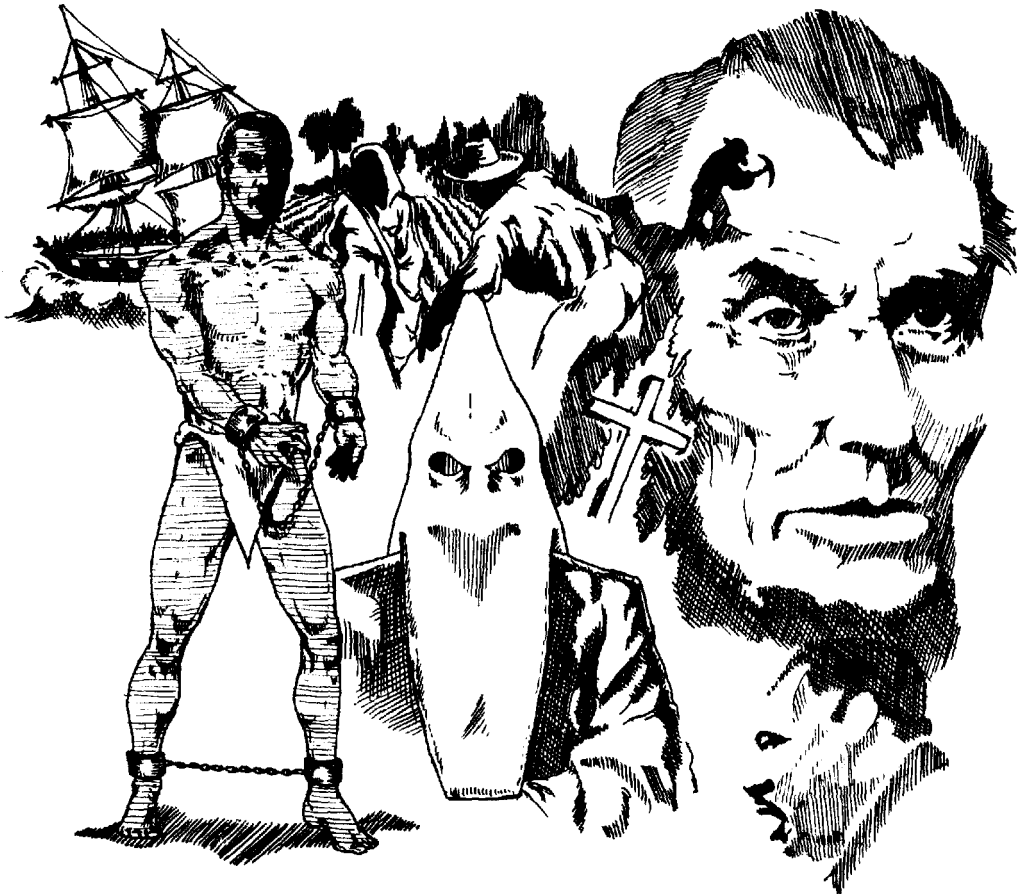
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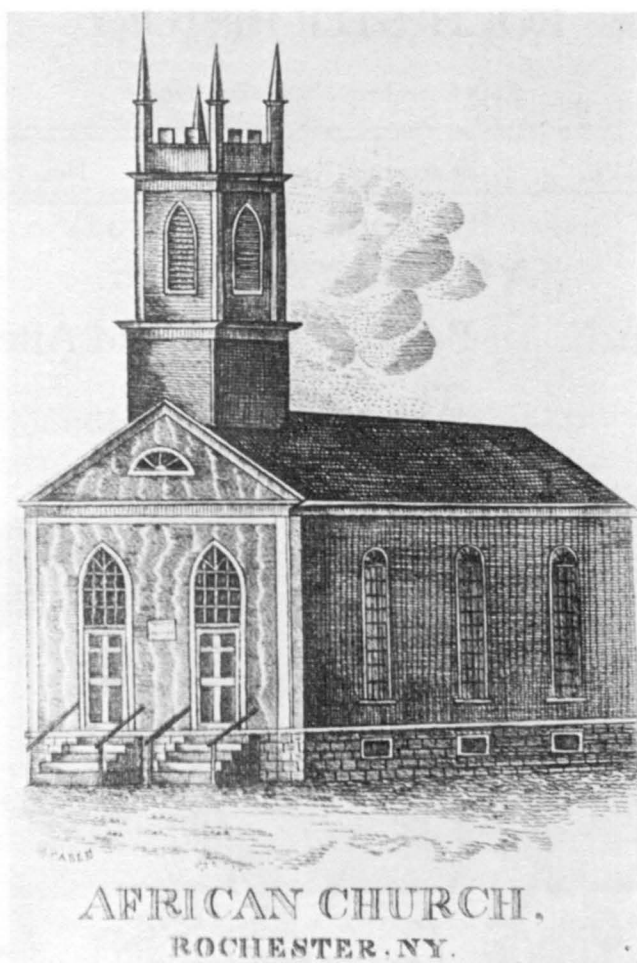
January and April, 1984

Nos. 1 and 2

A Growing Agitation: Rochester Before, During, and After The Civil War

By Ruth Rosenberg-Naparsteck





This African Methodist Episcopal church was the site of many abolitionist meetings. It was founded in 1827. This church was located at Ford and Spring Streets.

(Courtesy City Historian's Office)

Cover: Drawings for cover and end page done by Tony Harris for the City Historian's Office.

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Fugitive slaves often escaped on passenger boats accompanied by an abolitionist or they hid in the cargo holds of canal boats. There was less secrecy as the Civil War neared.

(Courtesy Rochester Historical Society; Local History Division, RPL)

The Fugitive Slave Act

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 more than quadrupled the traffic on the underground railroad as abolitionist speakers moved throughout the South preaching insurrection and abolition. The *Rochester Daily Union* observed, "Slaveholders are but now beginning to reap the baneful consequences of the audience which has been granted of late to those debased politicians, whose only stock in trade was slavery propagandism."¹ The paper noted the great effect the preachers had on the slaves who were fleeing slavery by the hundreds: "The ferment excited in the minds of the masters soon extended itself to the slaves—for all who have lived in slaveholding communities well know how eagerly every scrap of parlor conversation, every excited harangue on the stump, or loud-toned dispute in the streets, is treasured up by the negro, and made the burden of kitchen comment during the hours of the night."²

The number of slave insurrections was increased throughout the 1850s and the papers published the details. Settlements neighboring the insurrections lived in fear that lives or property could be lost. The South demanded that the North comply with the Fugitive Slave Act and threatened those who preached abolition below the Mason-Dixon line.

But the voices of the abolitionists were more numerous and stronger. Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act was widespread, not only involving the activists but judges, U.S. marshals, and administrators. One sym-

pathetic New York judge refused to honor the warrants of slave catchers when he freed eight slaves based on an 1841 law. He commented, "In these times of compromise and subservience—to the South—it is refreshing to be occasionally reminded, that, while fugitives are hunted by U.S. marshals, there is a law of the State of New York which, in certain uses, arrests the pursuers in their cause and spreads its protecting aegis over the defenseless."³

In a speech in Rochester, New York Governor Henry Raymond said, "The South complain that we do not return their fugitive slaves. There is truth in the complaint; and I cannot in candor and fairness, say that we ever shall return them in any considerable numbers, or to any great extent . . . (loud applause). Unquestionably, the Constitution entitles the South to the surrender of Fugitive Slaves. But there is an invincible repugnance in the heart of every man worthy of the name, to lay hands on a free man and remand him to hopeless and perpetual bondage. *Therefore* the North does not, and probably never will surrender Fugitive Slaves."⁴

Many slaves slipped through Rochester undisturbed by slave chasers. Owen Rigney, who had bought a farmhouse in Perinton, tried to disassociate himself from the underground railroad when he sent away numerous slaves who asked for Massa Ramsdell, the former owner of the farm. Most of the slaves who passed through Rochester did not stay, while some, like Solomon Northrup, stayed long enough to lecture at Corinthian Hall about his slave experiences. Many smuggled groups of fugitives were as large as forty.

Because the Fugitive Slave Act renewed the efforts of the South to reclaim its slaves, many blacks who lived free for years became fugitives. The black population of Rochester dropped between 1850 and 1860 as blacks fled. At least one black man in Rochester was returned to slavery under the Act. Henry Dixon was returned to slavery in Georgia until someone could pay his master \$700 to redeem him.

After living 16 years in Rochester, Dr. John Jenkins, the only black doctor in the city, fled when he heard his master had issued a claim for him. Jenkins had taken in at least one medical student to study under him; in 1847, William Cowles studied under him.

Ever since Jenkins arrived in Rochester, he searched for his family. In 1853, after an 18-year search, he located his brother, who told him his two daughters were separated. He bought his younger daughter in Richmond, Va., in 1855 for \$550. She and her free husband joined her father. The following year, when he purchased his older daughter from

the former governor of Florida for \$400, a 24-year search ended.

Many slaves were purchased by friends and relatives who raised money on a lecture circuit. Emma Edmundson raised \$60 at a lecture in Corinthian Hall toward the purchase of her brother at Red River. Rev. Cross (whose first name is not given) raised \$32 to buy his brother. Melinda Noll collected money to free her son. Lewis Smith of Ohio raised money from four Rochester churches to pay the final installment on his children.⁵ Frederick Douglass' freedom was bought in 1845 by British sympathizers seven years after his escape from slavery in Maryland at the age of 21. Austin Steward, a grocer and organizer of Wilberforce, a short-lived colony of blacks in Canada, simply declared himself legally free under a New York law that did not permit his master to hire him out.⁶

The success of the abolitionist movement created a backlash among citizens concerned about the welfare of the union. The *Union and Advertiser* commented, "The peace of the Union and the business interests of the country should no longer suffer from the cause of a few fanatics who had been accustomed to meet from time to time and make declarations of sentiment to pass for the opinion of the whole Northern people . . . People (mechanics and laborers) are beginning to realize in Rochester and elsewhere that secession talk is depressing business and construction."⁷

Violence and open warfare were beginning to take place between pro-slavery and anti-slavery people. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 was intended to defuse the issue of slavery's extension on a national level, but instead it erupted in conflict in the states that could choose their status before becoming a state. Missouri was in turmoil and Kansas was actually in civil war. The *Union and Advertiser* believed it was best that slavery's extension was not a national issue. It recognized the growing intensity of the abolitionist movement. The editor wrote, "In ten years the slave question of extension has become dangerous because of the new lands opening. The federal government held onto the question too long. It should be given to the states."⁸

When the Missouri Compromise was first repealed, a hurried meeting was called at City Hall to protest the reopening of the slavery controversy. The editor of the *Rochester Daily Union* hoped the importance of the issue would attract a large group on short notice because "prompt and decided remonstrance may yet avert . . . the danger to the peace of this country."⁹

The Dred Scott Decision

On March 6, 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court announced its decision in the case of Scott vs. Sandford, stating that Dred Scott was not a U.S. citizen and could not bring suit in court. Further, the repealed Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. Dred Scott sued for his liberty after the death of his master, arguing that he was free by his residence in territory made free by the Missouri Compromise. Though the ruling affected only Dred Scott directly, the precedent was set for lower courts. Blacks were now denied citizenship in the U.S. Eleven days after the U.S. Supreme Court announced the ruling in the Dred Scott case, a crowd of 139 people met at City Hall in Rochester to denounce the decision.

The *Union and Advertiser*, which supported the decision, was hostile to the congregants, calling them "original wool-dyed abolitionists, now prominent members of the Republican Party, and no longer of reputation."¹⁰ Calvin Huson, an attorney, gave an unrecorded speech described as "being quite as inflammatory as anything that ever issued from the same overheated receptacle of combustible matter."¹¹ The next speaker, attorney John C. Chumasero, was himself an aspirant to the Supreme Court. His fiery speech gave some indication of the tone of the meeting. He called for lawyers and judges to ignore the Fugitive Slave laws, another unenforceable Southern victory. He challenged the audience, saying he dared "to talk of resistance, and would even name revolution. Godforefind [God forfend] that they should resort to arms—the ballot box would do. From that we could send forth to our Southern tyrants the indignant voice of the American people."¹²

The *Rochester Daily Democrat* reported the "recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case, does not disappoint the people, much as it may offend them by its intense pro-slavery views of the law,"¹³ The *Evening Post* (of unspecified origin) was quoted by the *Daily Democrat* as asking,

Are we to accept, without question, these new readings of the Constitution—to sit down contentedly under his disgrace—to admit that the Constitution was never before rightly understood, even by those who framed it—to consent that hereafter it shall be the slaveholders, instead of the freeman's constitution? Never! Never!¹⁴

The *Rochester Daily Democrat* complained, "The opinion of Judge Roger B. Taney (whose opinion is usually cited as the opinion of the court) is an appalling stride of the slave power toward absolute sway in the Republic. It is looked upon as the decree of a partisan court,



Frederick Douglass

(Original drawing by Tony Harris for The City Historian's Office)

but that, while it divests of respect, does not disarm it of its terrible power."¹⁵

Another paper observed, "It is not only in the State Legislature, in the political press, and many politicians, that this grave subject is discussed. The people everywhere exhibit their profound opposition to this attempt on the part of a branch of the federal government, to overshadow the rights, and overthrow the powers of the individual states."¹⁶

The *Rochester Daily Democrat* warned, "Those who anticipate that the world would be startled by the decision of the Southern position of the Supreme Court, and that after the first agitation of political elements would naturally cause, there would be calm acquiescence in it, has already awakened from its delusion."¹⁷

Frederick Douglass, who published his abolitionist newspaper, *The North Star*, in Rochester, said, "you will ask me how I am affected by this devilish decision. My answer is, my hopes were never brighter than now. I have no fear that the national conscience will be put to sleep by such an open, glaring, and scandalous tissue of lies as that decision is."¹⁸



*William Henry Seward gave his famous speech **The Irrepressible Conflict in Rochester.***

(Courtesy City Historian's Office; Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)

Many blacks living in Rochester, who thought themselves free by their residence in a free state were now again fugitives. To abolitionists, the decision also emphasized the political gains of the slaveholders under the southern sympathizer, President James Buchanan. Now that the slaveholders had the sympathy of the highest court in the land and the executive office, political moves alone would not be enough to end slavery. Violence and civil war were even more likely to be considered a next step.

Austin Steward, the free black grocer, wrote of the increasing tensions he felt in Rochester several months before he heard about the Dred Scott decision:

That there must be ere long, a sharp contest between friends of freedom and the Southern oligarchy, I can no longer doubt.

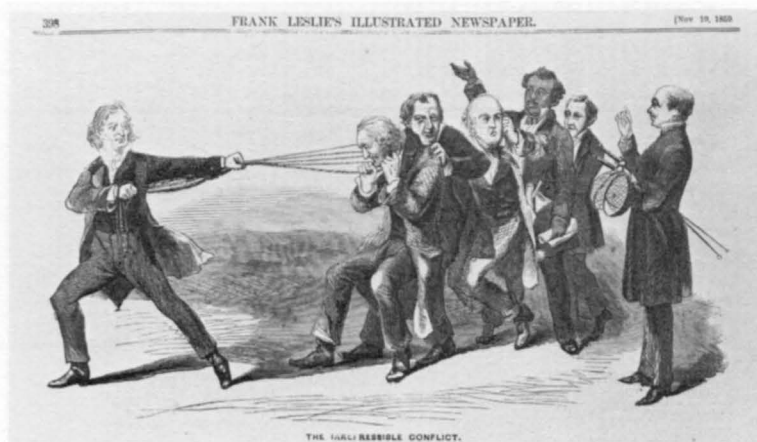
When our worthy ministers of the gospel are sent back to us from the South, cloaked with a coat of tar and feathers; when our best and most sacrificing philanthropists are thrown into Southern dungeons; when our laboring men are shot down by haughty and idle Southern Aristocrats, in the hotels of their employers, and under the very eye of Congress, when the press is muzzled, and every editor, who has the manliness to speak in defense of Freedom, and the wickedness of the slaveholders, is caned and otherwise insulted by some insignificant Southern bully; and when at last our Mr. Sumner is attacked from behind, by a Southern cowardly scoundrel, and felled senseless on the floor of the Senate chamber, for the defense of Liberty, then, indeed, may the Northern men look about them! Well may they be aroused by the insolence and tyranny of the South!¹⁹

William Henry Seward, who at the time of the decision appeared to be Lincoln's main contender for the 1860 Republican presidential nomination, said in a Rochester speech in 1858 that the ruling was making civil war inevitable. He spoke discouragingly of an "irrepressible conflict."²⁰



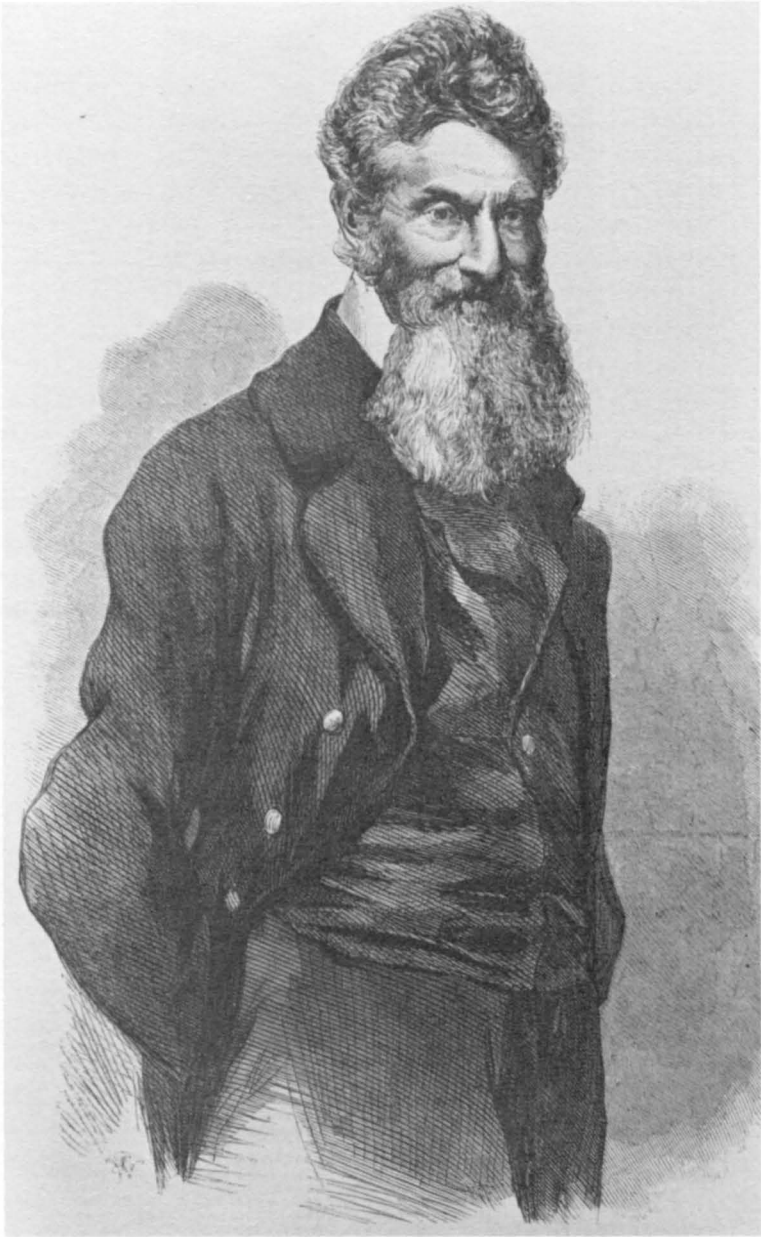
Frederick Douglass was characterized by Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper as running away to avoid arrest following John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry Arsenal. His association with Brown implicated him though he had no involvement.

(Courtesy City Historian's Office, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)



Governor Wise of Virginia wanted to bring Douglass to Virginia for trial after John Brown attacked the Harper's Ferry Arsenal but forewarned by a sympathetic telegrapher, Douglass made his escape.

(Courtesy City Historian's Office, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)



John Brown recruited at least two men from Rochester to join him in the attack on the Harper's Ferry Arsenal. He made speeches several times in Rochester.

(Courtesy City Historian's Office, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)

John Brown at Rochester

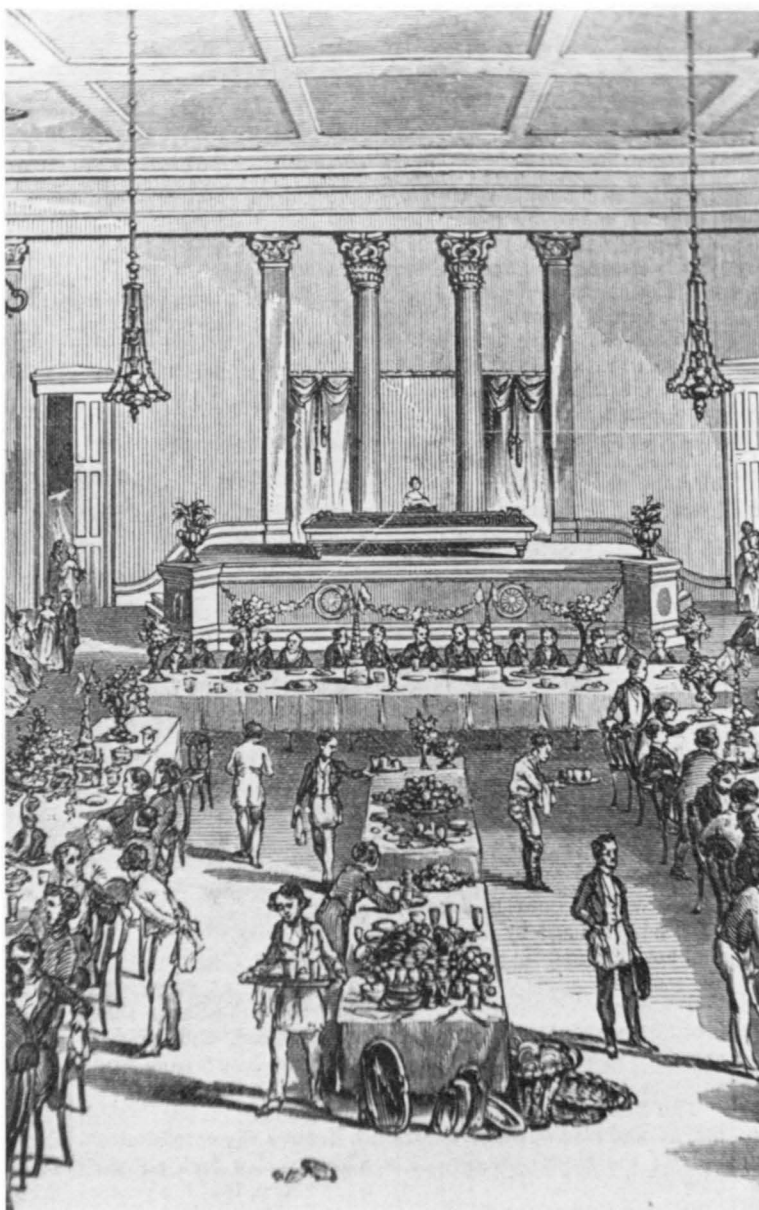
Though Kansas was distant in miles, it was at the heart of the issue of slavery extension and local abolitionists were involved in supporting the civil war there. John Brown was a frequent visitor to the Rochester homes of Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass, and he was a major instigator of the violence in 'bloody Kansas.' Anthony's brothers, Merrit and Daniel, joined Brown in war there.

In April of 1859 'Old Brown' spoke at City Hall in Rochester "to vindicate the cause pursued by himself and his friends during the late troubles in Southern Kansas."²¹ He recruited several blacks for his planned attack on Harper's Ferry in Virginia. Shields Green (also called Shields Emperor), a clothes cleaner who lived on Spring Street, joined Brown at Harper's Ferry with David Cunningham, another black Rochesterian. Green was hanged for his part in the aborted insurrection, but Cunningham died in Rochester of typhus in July of 1865.

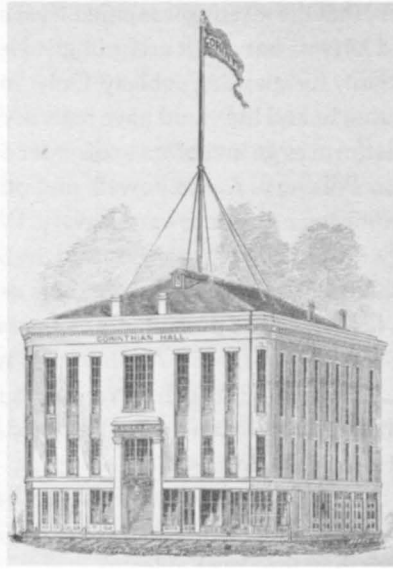
When Brown was captured by federal troops, papers found in his carpet bag implicated Frederick Douglass. Douglass claimed that Brown spoke to him tirelessly of the mountain fortress that he was to build but said he never planned to participate himself. An order for Douglass' arrest was intercepted by a sympathetic telegrapher, who warned Douglass of impending arrest, and at the urging of friends, Douglass left for London.

When it was learned that Brown was to be hanged, money was collected to help him to escape; but Brown was so heavily guarded, no rescue was ever attempted. Susan B. Anthony, Parker Pillsbury and a few others stood vigil at Rochester City Hall the day Brown was hanged in Virginia. The attendance at City Hall was light, apparently because few would associate themselves with Brown and treason. Memorials were held for Brown annually for several years, and his dedication to the abolition of slavery was frequently referred to by speakers.

Brown became an American legend. In 1861, three years after Brown was hanged, three black chimney sweeps sat on the roof of City hall and sang 'John Brown's Body' before they disappeared into the chimneys. The abolitionist sentiments had penetrated the core of everyday life in Rochester by the outbreak of the Civil War.



*Corinthian Hall as it appeared in the 1850s at the height of abolitionist protest against slavery. Some of the most important speeches during the abolitionist movement were given here.
(Courtesy Local History Division, RPL)*



Mobs filled the stairway of this hall in 1861 endangering the lives of Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass. The rioters protested the abolitionist flag that waved NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. Anti-abolitionists believed these mottos would bring war.
(Courtesy Local History Division, RPL)

Abolitionist Meetings Increase

Even before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Abolitionist movement was visibly stronger. The Honorable Henry Wilson, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts spoke at Corinthian Hall in 1855. He said,

Twenty years ago the anti-slavery movement was in its infancy. Few entered into it and they were proscribed and hunted down. No statesman accepted or defended its doctrines, the press ridiculed it, and political organizations did not consider it worthy of passing thought. Now it is strong and grown to be a giant. Its followers are counted by hundreds of thousands, and it is now a majority in the House of Representatives, and is fast getting control of the Senate."²²

Anti-slavery activists became more vocal, and their meetings were more often met with violence by angry people who hoped to preserve the union and to avoid civil war. In 1858, a meeting held at City Hall and organized by Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass, erupted in mob violence. The mob objected to Anthony, a woman, calling the meeting to order, and the *Union Advertiser* said that Anthony and Douglass invited the violence as a publicity tactic. Douglass com-

plained in the paper that the meeting was either legal or illegal and city authorities should have disbanded it accordingly. He criticized those who attacked Anthony for speaking publicly. Only "men of vulgar and brutal habits of thought and life could have regarded the appearance of a lady on the platform as an invitation to disorder and indecency."²³

Anthony, Parker Pillsbury, Aaron Powell, and other abolitionists held an uncompromising attitude toward slavery. When they met in Buffalo in 1860, the year of Lincoln's election and the South's secession, they passed a resolution denouncing Southerners as villainous with "no rights to life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness; and should be regarded as criminals and outlaws." Abolitionists will rejoice if the South secedes. "Our Union with such slaveholders is also a sin and crime . . . the threat of disunion from the South should have been hailed with joy by all friends of the enslaved."²⁴

Though many of Douglass' speeches were incendiary, he was more compromising or at least his enemy was more defined. He focused on slaveholding rather than the slaveholder.

In early 1861 Lincoln was sworn in as President, and some of the Southern states threatened to secede. In this month abolitionists planned a four-day meeting at Corinthian Hall. A flag bearing their motto, "No Compromise With Slaveholders," flew from the top of the Arcade Building. Some people complained to public officials about the abolition flag flying over Reynold's Arcade. "All who spoke denounced (those who) had brought the meeting together as calculated to do mischief, and excite the public mind already sufficiently excited."²⁵ The flag was offensive because "Many believed it was declarations of this sort—no compromise with slaveholders—which had much to do with producing the troubles that now afflict the country and threaten a dissolution of the Union." One man, W. C. Rowley, found it "unfortunate that anything should now occur to add fuel to the flame, and expressed his regret that those who had engaged in this mischief were determined to pursue it."²⁶

More than 100 people entered the Hall on the first day of the Abolition Agitation Convention before it became apparent to the organizers that they were not all friendly. Elizabeth Cady Stanton opened the convention before nearly 500 persons. The *Union and Advertiser* estimated that 80 were abolitionists, about half of whom were women, 100 were indifferent; but 300 were anti-abolitionists who gained control of the proceedings through applause that prevented Anthony from conducting any business. A Rev. May urged the audience to disobey the



Abolitionists raised money and conducted the business of the underground railroad inside Reynolds Arcade. Many of the businesses were owned by black and white abolitionists. Francis & Cleggett Barber Shop was here in the 1850s.

(Courtesy Rochester Historical Society, Local History Division, RPL)

Fugitive Slave Act but the audience cheered the State's conciliatory stance toward the South.

Monroe County Sheriff Hiram Smith called for all who were for free speech to move to the west side of the hall, but of course, everyone moved there. The suggestion was ill-timed because everyone got out of his seat and the confusion ended the meeting. Chief Warner called off the meeting until 3 p.m. the next day. As the audience withdrew, many began to talk louder and tried to reorganize the meeting from the platform. The gas lights were turned down to prevent that.

"The police escorted Anthony and her associates from the hall to protect them from any violence at the hands of the crowd who blocked the stairways and passages and who gathered in Exchange Place. The offensive persons were no worse treated, however, without than within. They were hooted, laughed at, and derided."²⁷

The *Union and Advertiser* complained, "Those who held the meeting are indifferent to the peace of the whole country."²⁸ Fearing further violence, an emergency meeting was called among town aldermen. It was attended by William Holmes, Benjamin Butler, Daniel

Woodbury, Eben Buell, William Hollister, Isaac Waring, Nehemiah Bradstreet, Alexander Longmire, Gottlieb Goetzman, Henry Moore, Newell Stone, Jason Seward, Oliver Angervine, Frederick Voce, George Shelton, Peter Schaffer and William Cushing.

Angervine was elected acting mayor because Mayor John Nash was in Albany. The announced purpose of the meeting were to decide what action, if any, should be taken because of the abolitionist meetings and should William A. Reynolds, owner of the Arcade and Corinthian Hall, be asked to close the hall to the abolitionists.

The varied opinions expressed by the aldermen represented the variety of opinions held by the general public. There was by no means a consensus.

Cushing motioned that the hall be closed. He said he was an anti-slavery activist and helped to organize one of the first anti-slavery societies in New York, but added that the abolitionists became too fanatical and that he was forced to withdraw from the movement. "The leaders in the movement look forward, with anticipation of pleasure, to the time when the country would engage in war with Great Britain and the power would land forces on the southern sea to raise an insurrection among the blacks, and spread desolation and death over the country. He then saw the mistake and was no more with the Abolitionists. . . . He was not for the suppression of free speech, for that he believed in, but there was, he thought, a limit to the rights of men in society, and no one had the right to disturb the harmony and peace of the country in the enjoyment of the right of free speech." He urged the council to take action.

Buell didn't think council needed to do anything beyond appointing a mayor to control the police in case of a disturbance. He thought the abolitionists were not of much importance in number and thought there would be less consequence if let alone.

Holmes thought it was the duty of council to preserve the peace and, given the riots in other cities following abolitionist meetings, he thought Reynolds should be asked to close the hall to their meetings, especially in the evenings. He said politics should be laid aside; the least men could do was to preserve peace within their own territories. "Rochester has been slandered enough and been misrepresented abroad as the place where men congregate to preach treason."

Hollister thought the abolitionists might just rent another hall if barred from Corinthian. Someone said they could not. Woodbury suggested that Reynolds be asked by council to close the hall in the

evenings and on Sunday. Buell and Bradstreet agreed. Bradstreet added that the motto, "No Compromise With Slaveholders" showed what attitude they had and made Rochester look like an agitation town.

Shelton said Reynolds had a right to rent to whom he pleased and the abolitionists to say as they wished, even if it was treasonous. He thought council should pass a resolution saying they regretted the hall was rented to them.

Stone thought Reynolds rented the hall for treasonable purposes and for a small sum of money endangered the country; but he didn't expect further violence.

Cushing said he feared a riot but Woodbury thought that 50 or 60 would attend afternoon meetings and that if evenings and Sunday meetings were stopped the city would be peaceful.

Seward said that if Rochester could not maintain free speech and a free press the city might as well be under British rule.

Reynolds later said he did not exclude anyone from renting the hall but he did agree to close the hall on evenings and on Sunday and to keep the Abolitionist flag from flying from the top of the building. He remarked that he had suffered enough anxiety over the violence. He was criticized by abolitionists for closing the hall.

The *Union and Advertiser* said the abolitionists abused free speech. "The opinion appears to be that freedom is abused at this time by these abolition agitators. They have availed themselves, under a common right on this occasion, to wound the sensibilities of their fellow citizens and to injure the reputation of our city by contributing to the fire which is consuming the nation."²⁹

On Sunday, the final day of the convention, the abolitionists met at the Zion African Church instead of Corinthian Hall. Fewer people attended. The *Union and Advertiser* reported that "The respectable order-loving people of this city have treated these agitators with contempt, and have not hesitated to express their sentiments of disgust quite freely in the streets, social circles and places of business."³⁰ There was no further violence.

When the meeting ended the *Union and Advertiser* wrote, those "who gather when the storm howls, and stir their caldron, singing their impious songs in celebration of the mischief . . . have had their own run in this city for three days, and ended their raid on the peace of society at the African Church last night."³¹

The revivals that swept upstate New York in the 1830s transformed the minds of many Northerners and set them further apart from the Southerners on the issue of slavery. It was no longer enough for a Northerner to abstain from buying, selling, or owning a slave. They had to work to end slavery wherever it existed. It was an evil that every Christian was bound by God to destroy. Churches and political parties became divided on this issue, splitting denominations and parties on Northern and Southern lines. The South was offended by the North's moral appraisal of the South as immoral and unchristian.

The Abolitionist movement grew on the energy of the revivals. Passive sympathizers became energetic supporters, and, while the smuggling of fugitives was done discreetly, opinions were made public in conversations, lectures, and newspapers.

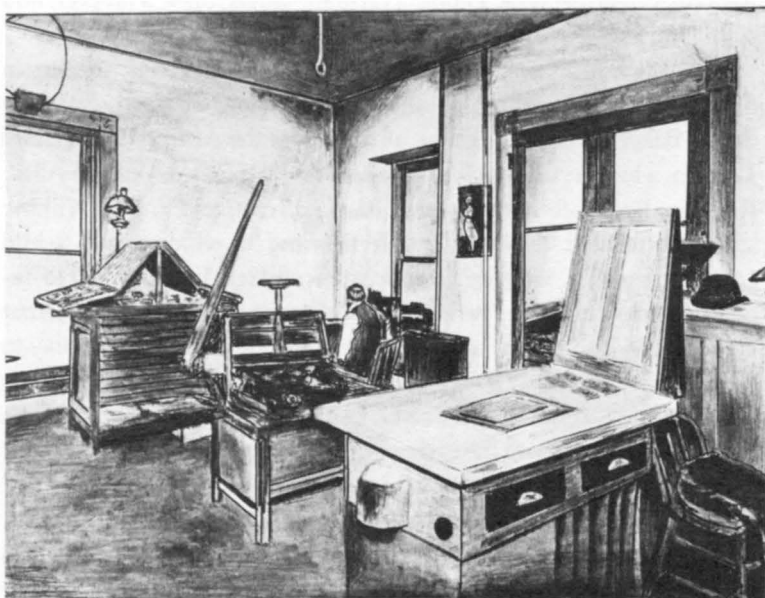
The Struggle for Black Civil Rights

Slavery in New York was abolished in 1827, but the state's economy did not depend on slave labor as it did in the South, so the issue of abolition was as small as the number of slaves. Free blacks and whites in Rochester petitioned to end slavery and to gain the right to vote.

The number of blacks in Rochester at this time was less than 70 adults; a small but politically active group. The year after the emancipation of slaves in New York a celebration was planned in Rochester for Monroe and neighboring counties. An announcement declared emancipation day to be a "day long to be remembered." It was signed by Albert Hagerman, Samuel Hall, Hugh Evans, and Silas Moore. Committeemen were Jeremiah Bell, a barber at the Screw Dock; Asa Little; Richard Valentine; Isaac Gibbs, a carman; James Jones, a laborer, and John Housman.³²

The celebration was cancelled because of a meeting in Austin Steward's home. The cancellation notice was signed by Austin Steward, Bosley Baker, Albert Hagerman, all trustees of the African Church; and J. Green, a barber; Charles Smith, John Tatt, John Patten, William Allen, R. Jones, Isaac Gibbs and James Sharp, carmen; and Robert Wilkin.

The notice said, "On mature reflection and for what appears to him (Austin Steward), weighty consideration, (blacks) determined to decline participating in the parade or festivities of that day, believing that civil liberty need not at this time or in this State any public display to secure it perpetuity. . . . We think it proper to state some of our reasons for dissenting from the wishes of a few of our brethren. First, we are poor, and it requires all the cash we can spare to pay our debts and our families—we owe \$400 for the lot on which our church is building, and there will be a deficiency of cash to settle the bills of the contractor. Many of whom have subscribed toward the building have failed to make payment, and some have taken the limits to pay their subscriptions. These reasons induce us to believe it impolitic, if not impossible, to celebrate the day with all the pomp and ceremony that would be proper in better times and therefore we shall stay at home and attend our business."³³



*Frederick Douglass printed his abolitionist newspaper the **North Star** from this office.*

(Courtesy Local History Division, RPL)



William Abelard Reynolds
(Courtesy Rochester Historical Society;
Local History Division, RPL)



Susan B. Anthony. She led the battle for black and women's rights. When blacks were granted the right to vote in 1870, she continued to campaign for women's rights. Women were not granted the vote until a half a century later, long after Anthony died.

(Courtesy Local History Division, RPL)

Growing Agitation

Throughout the 1820s, 30s, and 40s, blacks in Rochester held meetings, lectured, and petitioned for civil rights. In 1843, a four-day convention of blacks was held at the Bethel Church. The convention was called to determine how to gain the public mind to favor unrestricted suffrage for blacks and to amend the state constitution.

The *Rochester Daily Democrat* described the convention as a gathering of "colored citizens who by the operation of unequal laws are disfranchised; and who, by the effect of prejudice have hitherto been expelled from the railroad cars, packets, and stages of our thoroughfares; excluded from our hotels, churches and schools; shut out from our stores, offices and mechanic shops; and who have been consigned to the occupation of cooks, waiters, whitewashers, and bootblacks, with here and there a barber or a dealer in old clothes. This was the field of their efforts, or starvation."³⁴

The newspaper supported the black suffragists and called on New Yorkers "to vote against slaveholding and to pursue the monster slavery. . . . The men who have distinguished themselves in this convention, ask for their own rights. They claim of the Empire State the elective franchise, in common with other citizens, and they ask that our schools, our colleges, our public conveyances and our churches, be free to them as to others, and they also demand of us that we come to the rescue of the three million of their fellow beings, and our fellow beings, who in the Southern half of this bastard republic, are the creatures of bargain and sale, chattels personal, to be worked up, branded, cropt, lashed, manacled, and embrouited, at the pleasure of the very christian, very republican owners. The time draws nigh when the word slaveholder will be heard with a loathing most intense and already, when we hear slavery accursed, who can withhold the response of a loud amen?"³⁵

An editor's note that followed reflects the resistance to the growing fanaticism of the abolitionists and the fear of the so-called anti-Abolitionists that this fanaticism could lead to bloodshed (anti-abolitionists were not necessarily people who were opposed to abolition of slavery, but they typically did not want to go to war for that purpose). The editor explained, "We concur the denunciatory spirit evinced by several of the speakers alluded to. In all that was said of the damning character of slavery we concur; but we cannot consent to be the eulogist of those who denounce as immoral and anti-christian all those who do not think with the abolitionists. That was the character awarded those professing Christians and ministers who have not seen fit to co-operate with that society. This spirit is as devilish as the spirit of slavery itself, and, if carried out, would result in as great atrocities. . . . the extension of the Rights of Suffrage we concur, and shall do all we can to further; but we must deprecate the denunciatory spirit to which we have referred."³⁶

The convention of 1843 was organized by Frederick Douglass; David H. Ray, a barber; Ralph Francis, a barber; Charles L. Remond, a free black from Massachusetts; and four other men. Three years later another suffrage meeting was held at Monroe Hall in Rochester. This meeting was addressed by Francis, J. P. Morris, a hairdresser; Rev. John Liles, of the Zion Church (African); and W. W. Brown from Buffalo. Lindley Moore, an attorney, was chairman, and David Ray was secretary. It was resolved that "it is the duty of the friends of Equal Suffrage to vote for those delegates to the Constitutional Reform Convention who are favorable to extension of the Right of Suffrage and that a con-

vention should be held in Albany the next year during the Constitutional Reform Convention."³⁷

In New York, blacks who owned \$250 worth of property were voting before the 1865 granting of citizenship or the 1870 amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing the right to vote. At the 1865 Colored Convention at Geneva, in New York blacks declared their intention to vote for liberal-minded men irrespective of party and to disconnect themselves from third-party abolitionists whose votes siphoned strength from other candidates.

In 1844, fourteen black Rochester men registered in the *Rochester Daily Democrat* their intention to vote for Henry Clay for president; his opponent, James Polk they said, favored the extension of slavery into Texas and a gag rule that forbade the discussion of slavery on the floor of Congress. The signers were Ralph Francis, barber; A. D. Williams, a porter; Charles Joiner, a clothes scourer; Harrison Powell, a laborer; Abraham Dorsey, a cook on a packet boat; George Francis, a laborer; Charles Graham, a laborer; John H. Lee, a barber; Isaac Gibbs and Jeremiah E. Davis, carmen; James Cleggett; Thomas Jordan, and Richard Williams, laborers; and Joseph Jackson, a domestic. Their occupations demonstrate the involvement of the black workingman in the struggle to end slavery and gain the right to vote.

Black Rochester residents also questioned candidates about their positions on black suffrage and the extension of slavery. In 1848, J.P. Morris, Ralph Francis, and James Sharp, a carman, published the response of L. Ward Smith, an attorney running for the state legislature concerning his position on the black vote.

Smith answered, "my influence will all be given such as it may be, to secure to colored persons an equality with white men in the enjoyment of the elective franchise. Difference of complexion or color would never influence my action in the Legislature."³⁸

Even earlier, in 1838, the Honorable Addison Gardiner was queried by abolitionists to state his position on trial by jury for fugitives from slavery. He replied that he was not in favor of special interest legislation for white or black but that did not mean that he was not in favor of the abolition of slavery. He quoted the resolution passed at the New York State Anti-Slavery Society meeting in Utica: "That the principles and measures of the American Abolitionists, as such, are so intimately interwoven with the fibres, and intermingled with the blood of the body politic and the body ecclesiastic, in this country, that no man can usefully and honorably sustain any responsibility, in the one or the

other, who is not an Abolitionist."³⁹

Barbers, launderers, carmen, and laborers made up the bulk of the agitators for black suffrage and the abolition of slavery: and half of them were women. It was they who shaped the white legislators' image of the responsible black voter. Many of them died and generations passed before slavery ended nationwide and suffrage was granted. Their names are not as well known as those, like Frederick Douglass, whose profession was "advocate if black rights." The bulk of the agitators were too poor to vote, not having the \$250 worth of unencumbered property required under New York law. Their time was occupied by work and family, but without their numbers Douglass' speeches would have lacked weight and without their work the entire abolitionist movement would have consisted of a few ranting fanatics. Their growing numbers are what made the push for abolition and suffrage a *movement* and what legitimated the causes.

The 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution ended slavery in the United States and gave blacks the status of citizenship. Many blacks tried to vote based on this status alone, but states argued that blacks were still subject to other qualifications. President Andrew Johnson favored the states' right to determine the qualifications but Douglass pushed for nationwide suffrage and an end to state qualifications. The *Union and Advertiser* protested Douglass' position and reminded Rochester that in the 1860 election only about half of the people in the nation who voted for Lincoln also favored black suffrage.⁴⁰

White radicals, the *Union and Advertiser* said, met at the Zion Church in 1868 to encourage blacks to claim their vote based on the 14th amendment. Blacks passed a resolution claiming this right and requested that "every colored man shall go and claim his right to be registered."⁴¹

Frederick Douglass traveled to Washington to meet with President Johnson to urge his support for the right of blacks to vote in every state. Faced with the reconstruction of a bitter South and a crushed economy, Johnson had no patience with those in the abolitionist movement who did not appreciate the sensitivity of the social and economic issues he had to deal with. He told Douglass that he was a friend of the blacks. "For the colored race my means, my time, my all has been periled; and now this late day, after giving evidence that is tangible, that is practicable, I am free to say to you that I do not like to be arraigned by someone who can get up handsomely rounded periods and deal in rhetoric, and talk about abstract ideas of liberty, who never periled life, or prop-

erty. This kind of theoretical, hollow, unpractical friendship amounts to very little. While I say that I am a friend of the colored man, I do not want to adopt a policy that I believe will end in a contest between races, which, if persisted in, will result in the extermination of one or the other."⁴²

Johnson told Douglass that blacks would be no better off with the vote. Already blacks have lost more than they have gained. They are no better off than before the war. Abolition was only incidental to a war to suppress the rebellion, Johnson said. He was dealing with millions of displaced, unemployed, sometimes starving blacks whose opposition was "bettered" by abolitionists who turned the War of the Rebellion into a war to end slavery.

Johnson asked Douglass for more time "to appease the enmity and hate between slave blacks and laboring whites." He believed the black vote then would "commence a war between the races at the ballot box." Finally, under President Grant in 1870, the 15th amendment to the U.S. Constitution was passed granting black men the right to vote. Women who agitated for decades for their own suffrage were not enfranchised. They worked for another half century, well beyond the lifetimes of many of the women who struggled for black and women's suffrage, before they won the vote in 1920.



THE CIVIL WAR

New York Governor Henry J. Raymond spoke in Corinthian Hall in Rochester a week before the 1860 election. He said he had heard it said that the Republican Party is a sectional party representing the North and if elected the South would have no representation in the Executive Branch. He claimed several Southern states did support the Republican Party. He did not think Lincoln's election would result in disunion. He said:

Very much of this talk of disunion is purely for effect . . . they secured 20 years immunity for the slave trade in that way . . . and yet I have no doubt that there is in the Southern States, a Disunion Party—an organized conspiracy of able, energetic, ambitious men, who aim, distinctly and consciously, at a dissolution of the Union and the formation of a Southern Confederacy . . . I am quite prepared, moreover, to see a movement in the South toward Disunion upon the election of a Republican President.⁴³

The day before the election, the *Democrat and Chronicle* urged the citizens of the city to vote for Lincoln. It attempted to calm the fears that the election of Lincoln would result in the secession of Southern states. The paper said, "Disunion is dead—laid out flat as a board—the late spasm has failed to convince the North that there is any real danger of any respectable attempt to dissolve the confederacy in case of Lincoln's election in the issue of the present contest . . . there will be no dissolution—no secession."⁴⁴

The following day the paper reported that 973 of the 1,032 votes cast in the city were cast for Lincoln. (Every state in the North voted for Lincoln.)

Dissent in the North toward the Dred Scott decision was sufficient to cause Charles Warren, the Supreme Court historian, to remark, "It may fairly be said that chief Justice Taney elected Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency."⁴⁵

In the months following the election the Southern states did begin to secede. Negotiations in Washington were held to attempt a peaceful settlement.

The tension in Rochester was great as the city awaited news of the encounter at Fort Sumter and the possible outbreak of war. The *Democrat and Chronicle* noted, "It is the prevailing belief here that a collision is to happen before many days but on many accounts it is desirable that the blow which inaugurates war shall come from the rebel side."⁴⁶

When news of war reached Rochester, the *Democrat and Chronicle* reported, "On no occasion since the days of the Revolution have our

citizens undergone the same degree of anxious exciting suspense that characterizes every hour of the day."⁴⁷

The *Democrat and Chronicle* predicted, "the Northern people will go into the struggle almost as one man, determined at all hazards to maintain the honor of the Stars and Stripes and the integrity of the Union." The war has been commenced by the rebels, it must be finished by the bravery and zeal of true man."⁴⁸

Rochester's black population campaigned to join in the war. From the beginning of the war blacks were civilian laborers attached to the Union Army, but they were not permitted to be soldiers or to carry guns until Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed the slaves within the states in rebellion and permitted the enlistment of blacks into the union army.

There were three black regiments raised in New York: the 20th, the 26th, and the 31st United States Colored Troops. All were formed early in 1864 and discharged in late 1865. Only one Rochesterian, Stephen F. Hamet, 24, was recorded in the 1865 New York census as serving in the New York regiments during the war.

Frederick Douglass, James Cleggett, and other blacks gave lectures to help to raise troops before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued in 1863. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and a few other states formed black regiments, although arming them was contested even after the proclamation was issued.

Many believed Lincoln stretched the powers of the Presidency when he issued the proclamation, but many were tired of war and felt that if the war could be brought to an end they would accept it.

In a speech at the Presbyterian Brick Church, Professor Robinson said, "The life of the nation is at stake in this contest, and to save it the Constitution ought to be violated by the President so far as to declare slavery at an end."⁴⁹

Black troops raised in the United States numbered 178,975. There were 4,125 in the regiments raised in New York, but as many as 5,829 New York blacks joined regiments of other states because they formed regiments before New York.

The total dead from the United States Colored Troops was 36,847 out of a total 178,975. The losses to the New York Regiments totaled 574. Many more New York blacks died in other states' regiments.⁵⁰

On July 26, 1861, three regiments of black troops were offered to the governor of New York, but he could not accept them. The arms and equipment were to be supplied by the black population of the state.

The next year the governor went to Washington to campaign for the use of 10,000 eligible blacks to serve in New York regiments. The total black population in New York was about 50,000.

Rochester's resident black enlistment is numerically small because its black population was even smaller in 1860 than it was in 1850. But through lectures organized by abolitionists in the city hundreds more blacks were raised for New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and other states. Frederick Douglass, the most prominent of the Rochester speakers, enlisted hundreds of black soldiers, including his own sons. Douglass attracted blacks from surrounding towns when he spoke. The *Union and Advertiser* reported that Rochester blacks were quick to join. Following one speech in Rochester 13 blacks from Geneva joined, along with several from Rochester. Three days later, 36 were enlisted in Syracuse.

Douglass' speeches were controversial, inflammatory, eloquent and moving. Some abolitionists believed he was the nation's greatest speaker since Henry Clay. Douglass called "Action! Action! Not criticism is the plain duty of this hour. Words are now useful only as they stimulate to blows. The office of speech now is, only to point out when, where and how to strike to the best advantage. There is not time for delay. The tide is at its flood that leads to fortune. From east to west, from north to south, the sky is written all over with 'now or never.' Liberty won by white men would lack half its luster. Who would be free themselves must strike the blow. Better even to die free, than to live slaves."⁵¹

Douglass asked blacks not to listen to other blacks who were reluctant to join the troops. They are cowards, he said, they "will tell you that this is 'the white man's war,' that the object of getting you into the army is to 'sacrifice you on the first opportunity.' . . . This is your hour and mine." He promised good training, equipment, and equal compensation with whites. "More than 20 years unswerving devotion to our common cause may give me some humble claim to be trusted at this momentous crisis. The chance is now given you to end in a day the bondage of centuries, and to rise in a bound from social degradation to the plane of common equality with other varieties of men."⁵²

Union troops were badly needed. White recruiters tried to raise white troops and became angry at citizens who told them to first use black troops. One recruiter speaking in Rochester reminded the audience that the army had always used black laborers to free fighting soldiers. He wanted white men to fight white men. He challenged the abolitionists: "If any man wants to help negroes to freedom, let him shoulder his

musket and join the army. If he is anything of a man he can free ten at least."⁵³

Bounties paid to soldiers were not enough inducement to raise troops in the numbers needed, so the unpopular draft was begun. The *Union and Advertiser* not only supported the draft because it established a quota for each county, but believed it was just punishment for the inflammatory Abolitionists it said led the nation to war. "Not only is drafting the quickest, cheapest. and fairest method of bringing this war to a successful termination, but a good preventive of war. Had those men who were so terribly valiant during the last presidential election, those men who showed so conclusively that the rebellion could be crushed like an eggshell, those heroes who so unflinchingly bore aloft the thousands of dirty lamps which shed such a dismal light on the immense procession of black capes and dirty faces of 1860, ever supposed that their precious carcasses might be forcibly brought within the range of the rebel bullets they then held in such lofty contempt, what an incalculable amount of bloodshed and misery might the nation have escaped."⁵⁴

While some Rochester abolitionists recruited for black armies, the *Union and Advertiser* ridiculed their efforts. The editor said, "Governor Sprague (of Rhode Island) is a very patriotic and a very ambitious man and he has ordered a regiment of negroes to be raised in his state. Now in the first place we do not believe he could raise a regiment of negroes, and in the second place we have the very best evidence that if he did he would not be allowed to lead them into the field as he promised."⁵⁵

When black troops were to be raised in New York, the *Union and Advertiser* said, "whatever Fred. Douglass may say about this matter, or any body else, we do not believe a regiment of Negroes can be raised in New York State to go to the field and come in contact with the rebel forces."⁵⁶ The newspaper editor believed that blacks would shrink from the possibility of enslavement and would therefore avoid rebel troops.

After Lincoln approved raising black troops, many newspaper editors saw it as an opportunity to replace white recruits and to fill the county draft quotas. The *Union and Advertiser* reprinted the *Buffalo Express'* approval of the black troops. The Buffalo paper said, "The state of New York could furnish 10,000 effective troops from the source, without much trouble or delay, and that would greatly relieve

many Democrats who have trembled for months lest a draft might take them off."⁵⁷

The Monroe County supervisors considered a proposal to fill their quotas with "cheap negroes, which can be had at the South for \$30 per head. It is said that two or three smart agents may be sent down who will buy up and steal all that is required, taking from friend and foe alike."⁵⁸

After blacks were enlisted and especially after they engaged in battle bravely, the skepticism over their usefulness subsided.

In January of 1863 a Rochesterian sent his observations of the First South Carolina Volunteers in Florida to the *Union and Advertiser* which published them: "This regiment drills very well indeed. It was the hour of dress parade when we got there and we were astonished with their proficiency in drill. . . . How well they will fight remains to be seen."

A year later, after battles, the reservations about their fighting ability gave way too.

Attorney Isaac Butts of Rochester traveled to Vicksburg, Mississippi in 1864. He reflected the changing attitudes about black troops in Rochester and across the North: "There are many negro troops here, and I have been surprised at the cleanliness of their camps, and their apparent efficiency as soldiers. Indeed I believe the latter point is now conceded on all hands, and I have met many western officers who were bitterly opposed to their use at first, who are now strongly in favor of them."⁶⁰

By the time the Civil War ended blacks had proven themselves as soldiers. Everyone was anxious to return home.



Shields Green, a black man from Rochester, is arrested by Federal troops at Harper's Ferry. Green was hanged for his part in the attack. (Courtesy City Historian's Office, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)

The Harper's Ferry Insurrection.



Charles Jones. Captain, the Rebels. Daniel.
THE PRISONER MICHAEL CRANE, HOPKINS AND GARRETT IN THEIR CELL AT THE CHARLESTOWN JAIL.



THE INSURGENTS WINTER AND COFFICE, AS THEY APPEARED IN THE ENGINE-HOUSE, AFTER SURRENDERING TO THE U. S. TROOPS.

Peace Jubilee!

A Night of Rejoicing!

Bonfires, Salutes, Bell Ringing, Speeches and Cheers!

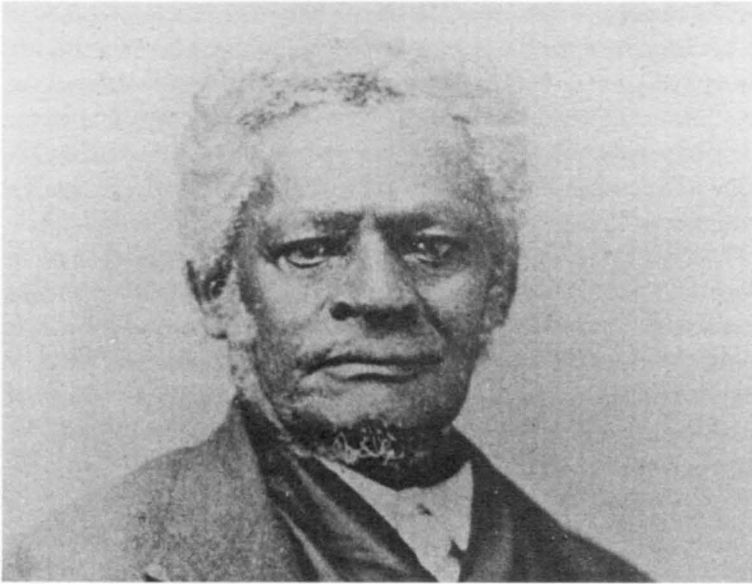
The news of the surrender of Lee was received last night between nine and ten o'clock, and the people of our city became greatly excited by the joy they experienced in the prospect of speedy peace and the restoration of the Union. It being Sunday night and as most of the people had retired to their homes before the news came, it was deemed proper by the Mayor to call them up for rejoicing. Notice was sent to the firemen at the several houses that an alarm would be sounded and at eleven o'clock the City Hall bell began to strike and continued to ring for three hours without intermission. The other bells of the city chimed in for a while and helped to swell the notes of victory and peace, and so welcome to every ear. Citizens left their beds by thousands and flocked together in the streets, congregating mostly near the intersection of Buffalo and State Streets, where they were advised that Lee had surrendered and the prospect was a speedy peace. The announcement was hailed with cheers and cheer followed cheer for hours.

Mayor Moore and others addressed the multitude from the steps of Power's Banking Office, but so great was the confusion that few could hear what was said. Meanwhile bonfires began to blaze in the streets and rockets rent the air. Guns and pistols—everything that would make a noise was brought out and put into requisition. For the want of other material a barrel of kerosene or refined petroleum was burned at the corner of State and Buffalo Streets and made a brilliant bonfire. Cannon were at length brought out and fired in the streets and helped to increase the noise that everybody was striving to make louder still. For an impromptu

*tu celebration it was "a big thing." The rain began to descend, but it did not check the ardor of those who had enlisted for the night, and it must have been well toward daybreak before the last man left the field to rest. Good feeling was apparent, and all had a right to hope that a sanguinary civil contest was at an end."*⁶¹

A New York census enumerator noted in Rochester's third ward in 1865:

"The people had been more industrious than before and a deep and settled purpose seems to possess all minds—all branches of legitimate business have been on a steady increase and a necessary *sacrifice* of a people for the purposes of the war has greatly elevated the average moral tone of the inhabitants."⁶²



The Rev. Thomas James

(Courtesy Katherine Anderson/County Historian's Office)

After The War

Twenty years after the Civil War ended, Rev. Thomas James recalled, "You ask me what change for the better was taken place in the condition of the colored people of this locality in my day. I answer that the anti-slavery agitation developed an active and generous sympathy for the free colored man of the North, as well as for his brother in bondage. We felt the good effect of that sympathy and the aid and encouragement which accompanied it. But now, that the end of anti-slavery agitation has been fully accomplished, our white friends are inclined to leave us to our own resources, overlooking the fact that social prejudices will close the trades against our youth, and that we are again as isolated as in the days before the wrongs of our race touched the heart of the American people. After breathing for so considerable a period an atmosphere surcharged with sympathy for our race, we feel more keenly the current of neglect which seems to have chilled against us even the enlightened and religious classes of the communities among which we live, but of which we cannot call ourselves a part."⁶³

The *Union and Advertiser* reported that for two months people tried to get local help for the blacks: "The hope of the movers in this endeavor was that sentiment only needed organization. The ascertained fact presented itself, that it needs yet to be awakened."⁶⁴ The editor seemed to direct his comments at suffrage supporters who he thought were misdirecting their energies, when he said that suffrage is not a magic wand. It will not empty poor houses and penitentiaries, he said.

The *Union and Advertiser* predicted that major social changes in America would come out of the Civil War. The tremendous war debt could not be "rolled up without revolutionizing states and social systems, and popular ideas; and deranging the whole industrial machinery of the country . . . the slave system of the South as one of the great producing agencies of the world is effectually destroyed and its destruction leaves a sort of vacuum which will more or less seriously disturb the industrial equilibrium both of Europe and America."⁶⁵

The "enmity and hate" between poor whites and freed slaves that President Johnson spoke of grew in part out of job competition that was often exploited to depress wages. Though the depth of this sentiment was less in Rochester than in the South it was nonetheless evident.

Even before the war, Daniel Lee, editor of both the *Rochester American* and *Genesee Farmer* was forced to clarify a position he took in the *Southern Cultivator* concerning slave and hireling labor. He had said at least slaves eat and are provided for. . . . As hirelings, men are sometimes without work for lack of decent paying jobs. He illustrated his point by saying, "an able-bodied colored man (in Rochester) stopped him in the street and begged money to buy bread for his family. His story was that although able and willing to work, he could not find employment on such wages as would support himself and his family." Lee acknowledged the cost of living and gave the man some money. He pointed out that the man had his freedom but no bread. He said poor houses full of unemployed men and their families pointed out the flaws of the hireling system. Lee, in part, retracted his statement in a later newspaper article when he said he was against slave labor as well as hireling labor. He favored young people and hirelings learning a trade and working for themselves.⁶⁶

Local papers pointed out cases like the Brighton nursery owner who fired two Germans and replaced them with blacks.

The *Union and Advertiser* warned, "This is not an isolated case. From all over the country come reports of outrages committed by negroes brought from the South and put forward by Radicals to take the

places of white men. White men employed in nurseries and other establishments ought to resist the introduction of negroes among them."⁶⁷

Job competition was a campaign issue after the war as Democrats and Republicans charged one another with importing Southern blacks to replace employed whites. After a century-long battle to end slavery, to gain citizenship and the right to vote, blacks were left to their own resources under the guidance of such leaders as Booker T. Washington, who favored education in trade skills to "elevate" blacks.

In 1897, Washington came to Rochester to speak at Plymouth Church for a fund-raising event to raise funds for the Fredrick Douglass monument. He spoke of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, a skilled trade school he had organized. He said the institute's students "learn also how to use their acquirements in " 'getting on in the world' by the standard of success that is recognized in the thrifty villages of the north." Washington said, "there is no trouble about the black man's doing common work, but people in general object to his going into the shops and doing skilled labor . . . the charge is made that the negro lacks the skill covered with brains, and that his object is to remove the last foundation for that charge being brought against the race. The negroes today have the spirit of work, but the difficulty is that by reason of ignorance they spend their earnings foolishly. They do not know how to utilize the results of their labor. But great changes have been wrought in the last thirty years. When the negro has learned to save and spend his money intelligently; when any black man shall come to make shipments on a southern railroad amounting to \$5000 a year, he would be compelled no longer to ride in the 'Jim Crow' car."⁶⁸

As the *Union and Advertiser* predicted, states and social systems and popular ideas were revolutionized by the war. The minds of Americans needed time to adjust to the changes and to find their new places in the country. It would be more than a half century before another major push for black civil rights would take place.

copy edited by Hans Munsch.

Notes on "A Growing Agitation: Rochester Before, During, and After the Civil War"

1. *Rochester Daily Union*, December 10, 1856, p. 2.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Rochester Daily Democrat*, November 16, 1852, p. 2.
4. *Union and Advertiser*, November 5, 1860, p. 1.
5. *Rochester Daily Union*, January 2, 1855, p. 3; April 17, 1855, p. 3; November 10, 1856, p. 3.
6. Austin Steward, *Austin Steward: 22 Years a Slave and 40 Years a Freeman*, (Reading, Mass., 1969), Addison-Wesley Pub. Co. Steward was a slave hired out by his master until 1815, when he declared himself free under the New York state law of 1785 that prohibited the sale of slaves in New York. The hiring out of a slave was considered an evasion of the law.
7. *Union and Advertiser*, December 5, 1860, p. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1856, p. 2.
9. *Rochester Daily Union*, February 17, 1854, p.2.
10. *Union and Advertiser*, April 17, 1857, p. 3.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Rochester Daily Democrat*, March 10, 1857, p. 2.
14. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1857, p. 2.
15. *Ibid.*, March 11, 1857, p. 3.
16. *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 18, 1857, p. 2.
17. *Rochester Daily Democrat*, March 12, 1857, p.2.
18. Barbara Ritchie, *The Mind and Heart of Frederick Douglass*, Thomas Crowell Co., N.Y., 1968, p. 35.
19. Austin Steward, p. 198.
20. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, "William Henry Seward" in *Encyclopedia of American Biography*, Harper and Row, New York, 1974, pp. 983-984.
21. *Union and Advertiser*, April 9, 1859, p. 3.
22. *Rochester Daily Union*, November 17, 1855, p. 3.
23. *Union and Advertiser*, October 11, 1858, p. 3.
24. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1860, p. 3.
25. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1861, p. 2.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.* The article refers to Chief Warner. Perhaps Alderman Daniel Warner was acting in the absence of Police Chief William Charles.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Union and Advertiser*, January 14, 1861, p. 2.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Rochester Daily Telegraph*, June 28, 1828, p. 3.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Rochester Daily Democrat*, August 29, 1843, p. 2.

35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1848, p. 2.
39. *Rochester Republican*, October 23, 1838, p. 2.
40. *Union and Advertiser*, May 25, 1865, p. 3.
41. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1868, p. 3.
42. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1866, p. 1.
43. *Democrat and Chronicle*, November 2, 1860, p. 2.
44. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1860, p. 2.
45. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics*, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1978, p. 454.
46. *Democrat and Chronicle*, April 8, 1860, p. 4.
47. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1861, p. 1.
48. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1861, pp. 1, 2.
49. *Union and Advertiser*, September 15, 1862, p. 2.
50. Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion: 1861-1865*, J. B. Lyon Co., State Printer, Albany, 1912, pp. 22, 62, 91, 283, 305, 307.
51. *Union and Advertiser*, March 3, 1863, p. 2.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1862, p. 2.
54. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1862, p. 2.
55. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1862, p. 3.
56. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1863, p. 2.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1864, p. 2.
59. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1863, p. 2.
60. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1864, p. 2.
61. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1865, p. 2.
62. Observations of the New York State census enumerator for the third ward of Rochester, New York, appearing at the end of the census for the ward. Housed in the Office of the County Historian, Rochester Public Library.
63. Thomas James, "The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas James," by himself, printed in *Rochester History*, vol. 37, no. 4, October 1975, edited by Joseph Barnes.
64. *Union and Advertiser*, February 24, 1866, p. 2. The word *sacrifice* is italicized by the editor of *Rochester History* because it was not very legible but was determined to be *sacrifice*.
65. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1863, p. 3.
66. *Rochester Daily Democrat*, June 6, 1854, p. 2.
67. *Union and Advertiser*, July 27, 1868, p. 2.
68. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1897, p. 9.

