

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Samuel Green: A Black Life in Antebellum Maryland

Richard Albert Blondo, Master of Arts, 1988

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This thesis presents the story of Samuel Green, a free black from Dorchester County, Maryland who was sentenced in 1857 to ten years imprisonment for having in his possession a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Born a slave c. 1802, Green gained his freedom c. 1832 and lived a life of quiet dignity, while enduring the pain of losing his children again to slavery in the late 1840s. Green was respected by both whites and blacks in his community in part because of his status as a local lay minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Though suspected of aiding slaves to escape, no evidence was found to convict him of that crime. The planters of Dorchester County eventually succeeded in convicting Green for the crime of possessing the novel, perhaps because of belief in his guilt in aiding slaves escape and certainly because they wanted to believe that some plot must lie behind their "happy" slaves absconding in large numbers. Green bore his fate with some of the Christian fortitude shown by the fictional Uncle Tom. After five years in prison in 1862, Samuel Green was pardoned predicated on his removal to Canada. Through a study of primary documents, including court records, state archival holdings, and newspapers, a touching portrait of an ordinary black who faced extraordinary circumstances unfolds.

**SAMUEL GREEN: A BLACK LIFE
IN ANTEBELLUM MARYLAND**

by

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FOREWORD

Samuel Green, a free black of Dorchester County, Maryland, escaped the obscurity that enveloped most of his caste in the antebellum United States, because he started to read a book which he was not to finish for many years: Uncle Tom's Cabin. For this literary crime in 1857, he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to ten years in the Maryland State Penitentiary.

Green's ordeal was of historical benefit because studies of free blacks in slave societies usually center on the exceptional or conspicuously successful individual, or on demographic-statistical analysis. While such sources are essential, they leave out much about the common experiences of black men and women, and about how they responded to those experiences.

Green's life is worthy of examination because of the circumstances which created enough attention to allow the historian to piece together the life and qualities of a man who lived within a border slave state in a crucial era. While Maryland's Eastern Shore produced more important blacks than Green, such as Harriet Tubman of Dorchester County and Frederick Douglass of Talbot County, Samuel Green's

experience offers significant clues about the lives of less extraordinary blacks living in turbulent times who managed to act with some dignity and some success, despite hardships and constant threat.

Until 1857, Green apparently lived a life of quiet worth garnering the respect of both his black and white neighbors. As a local lay minister within the Methodist Episcopal Church, he attained a small degree of responsibility and respect within his community. Perhaps because of that position, he was singled out for special attention by the planters of Dorchester County when they felt need for a scapegoat explanation, some comforting "agitator," to explain why their supposedly wholly contented slaves absconded in especially large numbers in the 1850s.

Green's life suggests how white society could at once respect individual free blacks, fear them as a group, and quickly turn on any one of them when their uneasiness as slave holders was touched. While there was no evidence that Green aided slaves to escape, he was viewed as such a threat. Despite his awareness of the strained times in which he lived, and his wariness to avoid conflict, he became a victim of that perception.

Many questions arise from a study of the life of Samuel Green including: How free were slave-state free blacks? What could they do to advance themselves and their communities? In what ways and by what means was their activity restricted? To what extent was the slave

South willing to sacrifice civil liberties to protect slavery, even in the comparatively mild climate of Maryland?

It is the intent of this thesis to explore these questions and others by creating some greater awareness of the experience of one representative free black man and of the slaveholding society of which he was a part.

This research endeavor is lovingly dedicated to my wife Janet and my daughter Jennifer, both of whom endured my time away from them with patience and good cheer; to my father Anthony Blondo, whose example of conscientious attention to duty constantly uplifts me; and to the memory of my mother, Angelina Blondo, who instilled within me the desire to learn, to wonder, and to strive for excellence.

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I thank Dr. David Grimsted, Professor, University of Maryland Department of History, for his time and talent in guiding me through this project. His erudite comments and criticisms, coupled with his enthusiasm for my topic, led me to achieve our mutual goal of creating a paper worthy of the research material amassed. I also thank Phebe Jacobsen, senior archivist at the Maryland State Archives (from whom I first heard the story of Samuel Green), for her sage suggestions, humor, and motivating influence, and for the daily example she provides as a serious scholar who genuinely loves to learn more about Maryland history.

The man who first brought the story of Samuel Green to Phebe's attention was John Creighton, an individual with strong ties to Dorchester County who was engaged in researching the life of Harriet Tubman. Though I have not had the opportunity to make his acquaintance, I am grateful for his pioneering work in unearthing some of Green's story. I also appreciate the assistance and kindness given me by Helen Kirby of the Dorchester County Court while using the records at that facility.

I thank my colleague Stephen Cooper, who was willing to read my

crude initial efforts with a poker face and an encouraging word, and the other members of the Maryland Archives staff who assisted me with this thesis: Teresa Fountain, Jerry Allen, and Skip White of the Archives photoduplication lab, who produced photocopies of many documents of interest; Lynne Browne, who helped me show the word processor who was boss; Drs. Edward C. Papenfuse and Gregory Stiverson, who read and commented on drafts of this paper, and who allowed me the freedom to conduct my research and writing at the Maryland Archives after normal work hours in the quiet sanctuary of a world class archival facility. Finally, I thank my friend Barbara Wetherell, who helped me get started.

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CHAPTER I

SAMUEL GREEN: HIS LIFE TO 1857

. . . Tom is a good, steady, sensible, pious fellow. He got religion at a camp-meeting, four years ago; and I believe he really did get it. I've trusted him, since then, with everything I have . . .

- Mr. Shelby (Uncle Tom's original owner) speaking to slave trader Haley. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 14.

As Sam Green rode along a dusty Dorchester County Maryland road in 1856, he had no knowledge of the protagonist in Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. Yet, unbeknownst to him, much of Tom's owner's evaluation could also have been said of Samuel Green, whose life in several ways paralleled that of the era's most famous fictional creation, and the fiction of Mrs. Stowe was to focus much attention on the facts of Samuel Green's life.

Green's trip that day had unforeseen consequences that rivaled the upheavals experienced in the life of his fictional counterpart. As he travelled to the mill, pulled in his gig by the only horse he owned, Green's black skin glistened against the unyielding sun of an Eastern Shore summer. His dark eyes stung as sweat mingled with the sand kicked up by the hooves ahead. He wiped his brow in the crook of his left arm and felt the raised flesh of a scar above that elbow rub against his face. He then glanced at his right arm gently holding the reins. There too he saw the scarred evidence of his toil during the

time he was enslaved some two decades past. His woolly white hair had turned gritty beige in the constant cloud of sand around him. As he jolted along, jarred by each hollow and ridge in the road, his five foot seven and three-quarter inch frame felt all the aches his fifty-four years of life had brought him.¹



Samuel Green, c. 1862
(Illustration 1)²

Green slowed as he approached the blacksmith shop of a fellow free black and friend. After exchanging their usual greetings, Green's friend asked:

"Sam Green, would you like to see Uncle Tom's Cabin?"

"Whar is it?" asked Sam, who thought it was some new shanty put up in the neighborhood.

"It's a book," replied the blacksmith; "it's the story of a slave, and it goes for Abolition."

"Yes, I'd like to read it," said Sam; and he took home the story, in two volumes, and began to read.³

¹The physical description and age of Samuel Green is based on information found in his prison record. MARYLAND PENITENTIARY (Prisoners Record), 1811; 1826-1869 [MdHR 5656;1-30-4-38], entry 5146. Maryland State Archives (MSA), Annapolis.

²William Still, The Underground Railroad (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1872), p. 250

³National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862.

That seemingly innocuous encounter had extraordinary repercussions for Samuel Green. A short time later Green was to be jailed for the offence of having that book in his possession, and sentenced to ten years in the Maryland Penitentiary.

While Green was not yet familiar with the characters, events, and conditions depicted in the already widely-known novel, he was familiar with similar people, incidents, and situations in the land of his birth near Cambridge, Dorchester County, Maryland. Samuel Green was born a slave in East New Market, probably in 1802.⁴ The town was a little village twelve miles east of Cambridge and about one mile east of Secretary. It lay in the center of a rich agricultural area at the cross roads of the two main arteries that led to the upper counties of the Eastern Shore toward the north and the larger towns toward the east. A tavern was situated at the cross roads where horse and slave traders came to do their business. Future Maryland Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks was also born nearby, in 1798. Hicks, who knew Samuel Green personally, was to play a significant role in Green's life.⁵

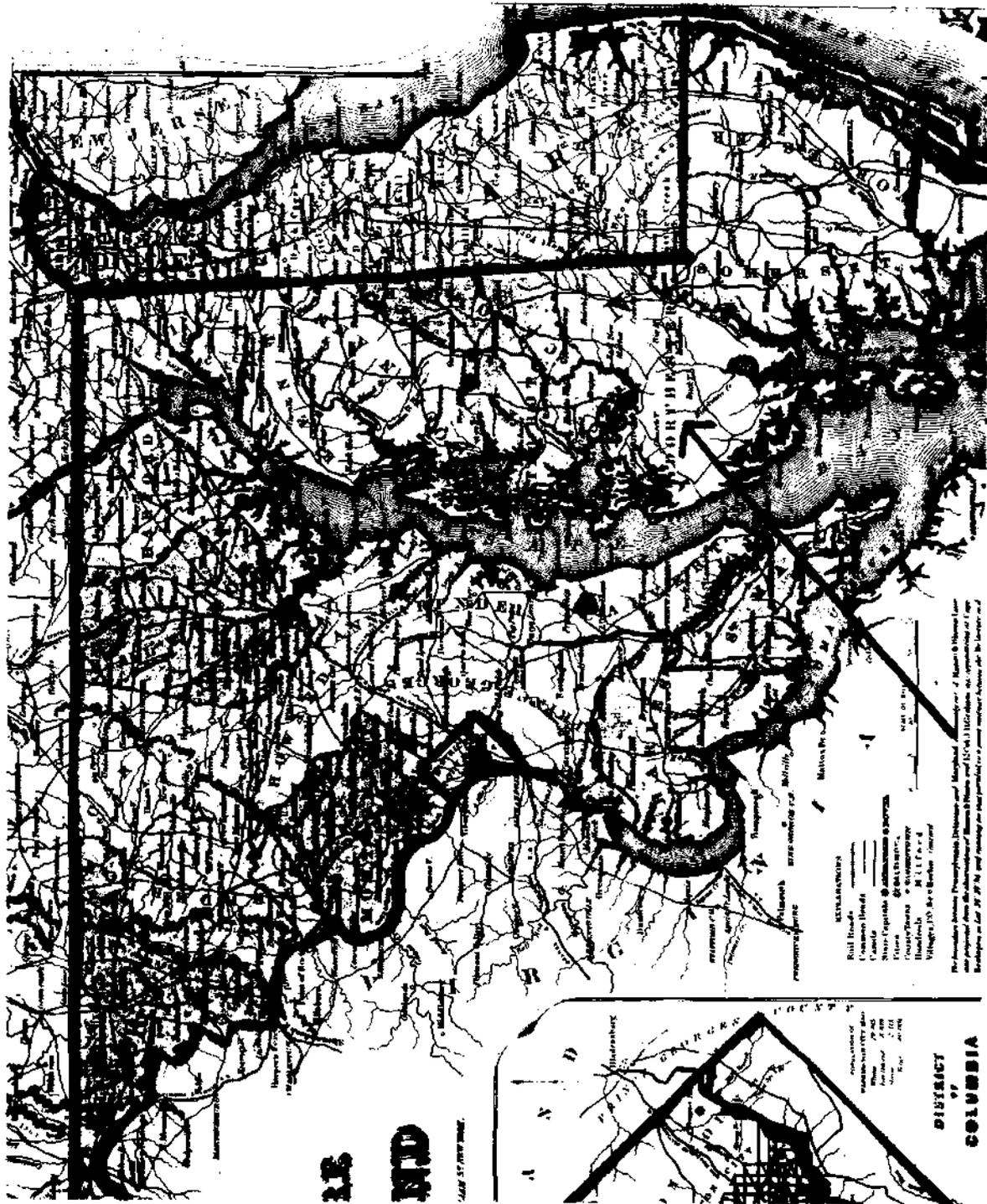
⁴Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858 quoting an article originally published in the Cambridge Eagle (date unknown).

⁵SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (The Laskowski Papers) [MdHR M391], MSA, Annapolis.



Cambridge/East New Market Area, 1877
(Illustration 2)⁶

⁶(Special Collections) Atlas MdHR G 1427-286, MSA, Annapolis



Dorchester County, 1855
 (Illustration 3)⁷

⁷(Special Collections) Map MdHR G 1427-121, MSA, Annapolis

Dorchester County lies at the center of Maryland's Eastern Shore, with Cambridge at its heart. Flat, sandy soil marks its location in the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The largest county on the Eastern Shore, it contains the longest shoreline of any Maryland county. Farming and water industries were the main areas of employment, and it was through farming that Samuel Green was to make his livelihood, after learning the ways of the land as a slave.

Little is known about Green during the time he was a slave. He probably served as a farm slave, judging from the region he was in and the references to him as a farmer on at least two occasions after he gained his freedom.⁸ He married a slave woman, Catherine ("Kitty"), while he was still a slave. Two children from this marriage survived infancy. Both children, Samuel and Sarah, were born while their parents were in bondage, Samuel in 1829 and Sarah in 1832.⁹ There is no evidence of additional children, but perhaps there were other offspring who died at an early age, since infant death was a common occurrence in the early nineteenth-century.

"Well, Tom," said St. Clare, the day after he had commenced the legal formalities for his enfranchisement, "I'm going to make a free man of you . . ."

- Tom's kindly owner, Alfred St. Clare, spoken to Tom shortly before St. Clare's untimely death negated the promise. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 285.

⁸Green is so listed in the 1850 census and in his prison record.

⁹Dorchester County Slave Schedules, Census of 1850 [MdHR M 1505], p. 7 District 1, 22 July 1850, MSA, Annapolis.

Green "faithfully wore the badge of Slavery" for thirty years.¹⁰ He probably served a Methodist owner since Methodists were the majority in the region and Green was a religious man who later would become a lay preacher and licensed exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹¹ He also probably received some education while enslaved since Green was literate at least by 1842. The strong influence of religion in the lives of Eastern Shore planters probably led Green's owner to encourage religious commitments in him. Samuel Green apparently served well enough to gain the respect and affection of his master who at his death in 1831 bequeathed Green his freedom five years hence.¹² However exemplary his conduct may have been, Green years later was to report that he "had realized much of the evil and suffering" of slavery.¹³

Frederick Douglass, who lived in nearby Talbot County, wrote in his 1855 autobiography that "It is generally supposed that slavery [in Maryland] exists in its mildest form, and that it is totally divested of those harsh and terrible peculiarities, which mark and characterize the slave system, in the southern and south-western states."¹⁴ While this attitude is reflected in most histories, Douglass also stressed the frequency of cruelties to Maryland slaves, himself included.

¹⁰Still, The Underground Railroad, p. 248.

¹¹National Anti-Slavery Standard, 16 October 1858.

¹²National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862.

¹³The Liberator, 15 August 1862.

¹⁴Frederick Douglass, My Bondage and My Freedom (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855), p. 61.

Examples of the "evil and suffering" for slaves like Green in Maryland are recounted in the WPA slave narratives first published in 1941. Although most of the narratives are from slaves who experienced little or no physical cruelty, there are several examples of harsh treatment. One account tells of how young blood hounds were trained by having them trail a slave who ran ahead and climbed a tree. The younger dogs were led by older dogs who would bark when the tree was reached. When an actual runaway slave was captured, each dog was supposed to bite the slave to make them anxious to hunt humans.¹⁵ Accounts of whippings were frequently mentioned. In one case a slave was tied, put across a hogshead, and whipped severely for three mornings in succession. When untied he ran away. Upon recapture, melted sealing wax was poured on his back over the wounds inflicted by the whippings.¹⁶ Runaways were usually given ten to ninety-nine lashes upon recapture. The "Ninety-nine," using a rawhide whip, was feared most of all. The victim was usually rendered unconscious through such flogging.¹⁷

The slaveholders of Dorchester County prided themselves on the humane treatment they gave their slaves. None of the accounts of harsh treatment given in the above referenced narratives come from Dorchester County, and they did not necessarily represent the experiences

¹⁵George P. Rawick, ed., The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, v. 16 Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia, and Tennessee Narratives (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, reprint edition 1972), second p. 23.

¹⁶Ibid., second pp. 53-54.

¹⁷Ibid., second p. 71.

ordinarily encountered by slaves in that county. Yet Douglass's very circumstantial account of his and others' suffering makes clear there was little reason to accept the self-praise local whites indulged in, as when a local paper claimed: "There was no portion of the entire South where slaves met with more humane treatment than upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and there existed between master and slave that feeling of mutual confidence which is always to be found in those communities where the evil influence of abolitionism or its emissaries does not make itself felt."¹⁸ People who accepted such delusions obviously required some kind of scapegoat when these always happy slaves ran away in unusually large numbers.

Green was probably spared the worst of slavery's sufferings, yet mental suffering always existed for a man who knew he was a salable thing, just as physical danger always lurked in a system that permitted, indeed glorified, absolute mastery.

In order to appreciate the sufferings of the Negroes . . . it must be remembered that all the instinctive affections of that race are peculiarly strong. Their local attachments are very abiding.

- Harriet Beecher Stowe aside. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 96.

The most dreadful part of slavery . . . is its outrages on the feelings and affections,--the separating of families, for example.

- Unnamed minor character. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 121.

¹⁸Cambridge Eagle, quoted in the Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

While he was enslaved, Green certainly experienced the "evil and suffering" of knowing that his family was not fully his. Whatever specific trials Green endured, slavery created in him an intense desire for freedom, as well as instilled in him the competence, diligence, and tact to pursue that goal effectively. In one year after his master's death he earned enough to pay off his remaining four years of service, thereby becoming a free black in 1832. Green purchased his wife some time after he gained his freedom.

Accounts and bits of evidence differ as to when Green purchased his wife, and at what price. One account offers a second-hand quote from Green in which he said he paid 25 cents for her.¹⁹ An official record²⁰ of the purchase cites \$100 dollars as the price.²¹ A dilemma is presented by the fact that the official record is dated 4 February 1842 yet Green is listed in the 1840 census as being the head of a household of free blacks whose ages and sex exactly match the make-up of his family. This anomaly cannot be definitively resolved from the extant material available for study. One explanation may be that Green "purchased" his wife and children for a quarter when he gained his freedom from his beneficent master in an informal transaction. Perhaps death, or indebtedness, the same misfortunes which disrupted the good intentions of humane planters in Uncle Tom's Cabin, caused the casual

¹⁹National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862.

²⁰See appendix pages 74 and 75.

²¹DORCHESTER COUNTY (Chattel Records) ER 2 [MdHR 19,624;1-4-4-42], pp. 475-476, MSA, Annapolis.

transaction to be rescinded, though Green was able to buy Kitty again later, at a higher price. Another explanation may be that an earlier transaction was simply recorded in 1842. Sam manumitted his wife immediately after he purchased her.²²

Green's movement from slavery to freedom reflected broad patterns in black life in antebellum Maryland. His slave birth placed him within a group which numbered over one hundred thousand in 1800. In 1832, by becoming free, Green joined the steadily growing numbers who probably became the majority of their race in Maryland by the time Green left the State in 1862.

United States population records for Maryland reveal the following figures concerning free blacks and slaves in the State during the time Green lived in Maryland:²³

YEAR	SLAVES	FREE BLACKS
1800	105,635	19,587
1810	111,502	33,927
1820	107,397	39,730
1830	102,994	52,938
1840	89,737	62,078
1850	90,368	74,723
1860	87,189	83,942

(Illustration 4)

When Green was granted his freedom in 1832, slavery in Maryland

²²Ibid.

²³Cited in Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), pp. 46, 136, 396-397.

was mildly in decline. Though the total drop in slave numbers in sixty years was hardly precipitous (some 18,000 over the whole period, and over 24,000 from its recorded height in 1810), the decline was nonetheless perceptible and indicative of a major change in the centrality of slavery in the state. Slavery was found throughout Maryland, but it was increasingly concentrated in Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore.

Given the natural increase of the black population, the decline suggests three things: wide-scale slave selling to other slave states; more frequent escapes from this border state to the North; or an increase in the number of manumissions by Maryland slave owners. The fourfold increase in the number of free blacks between 1800 - 1860 suggests manumissions may have been the key influence, though much of this increase could involve the movement of free or freed blacks from other Southern states into a marginally more tolerant Maryland setting.

It is difficult to document a dramatic rise in the selling of slaves to other states or a dramatic rise in the runaway rate. The 1850 census reported 279 escapes for the year ending 30 June 1850.²⁴ Some speculate that Maryland slaves were frightened from fleeing by stories of the hardships encountered during an escape and the threat of severe punishment if recaptured. This notion seems to have little merit given the close proximity of free territory to Maryland. Most

²⁴Barbara Jeanne Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 16.

likely slaves were treated more kindly by Maryland slave owners, in part because freedom was less distant, than were slaves in more southern locales. Jeffrey Brackett in The Negro in Maryland, first published in 1889, stated, "There is every reason to believe that the great majority of slaves in Maryland were properly and kindly treated."²⁵ Again, in a very broad sense, Brackett was probably right, though propriety had broad contours in any system that stressed absolute property and absolute mastery.

The major cause for the decrease in the number of Maryland slaves seems to be freedom by manumission. In Dorchester County, for instance, 35 manumissions were recorded in 1830. In 1831, the year of the Nat Turner rebellion in Virginia, 51 manumissions were registered. Perhaps in reaction to the rebellion, 120 manumissions were logged in 1832, while the rate stabilized to the earlier amounts in the years following 1832.²⁶ It has been estimated that 50,000 slaves were manumitted over the course of Maryland's history.²⁷ Manumissions had become so widespread in Maryland, and were believed to threaten the stability of the slave economy so greatly, that they were outlawed in 1860 and not again permitted until 1864, four months before slavery was abolished.²⁸ Barbara Fields in Slavery and Freedom on the Middle

²⁵Jeffrey R. Brackett, The Negro in Maryland (New York: Negro Universities Press, reprint edition 1969), p. 140.

²⁶DORCHESTER COUNTY (Certificates of Freedom) 1806-1851 [MdHR 19,621-1; 1-4-4-40], MSA, Annapolis.

²⁷Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground, p. 15.

²⁸Laws of 1860, Chapter 323.

Ground suggests that the falling importance of tobacco, a labor intensive crop, in Maryland's agricultural economy, and the influence of Quakers, Methodists, and other religious groups in Maryland, were the leading causal factors accounting for manumissions and the decreasing numbers of slaves.²⁹

While the number of Maryland slaves declined slightly and irregularly until the Civil War, the category of free blacks Green joined in 1832 grew steadily and significantly in the era, quadrupling between 1800 and 1860. The dramatic growth of the free black population in Maryland, when many of this group could easily have gone further North, suggests that Maryland was less harsh legally and socially to freedmen than most Southern states. The growing numbers of free blacks caused great concern in some segments of Maryland society. One Maryland legislator stated in 1843 that "hardly a session of the Legislature passes, that some law is not enacted, restricting [free blacks] in their rights and privileges."³⁰ Such laws included an 1836 restriction that blacks could not navigate boats without a white man in charge of the vessel.³¹ One year later that law was altered

²⁹Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground, pp. 5-9.

³⁰MARYLAND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS (Report from the Select Committee, to whom was referred the Subject of the Removal of the Free Colored Population from Charles County) Document M [MdHR 811924; 2-1-9-1], p. 47. The reader is referred to the Report for a detailed discourse by an unnamed Maryland legislator on the effects of the free black population on white children, the status of free blacks, etc. One should also refer to the excellent treatment of free blacks and laws regulating their activity in Berlin's Slaves Without Masters chapter 10 "The Mechanics of White Dominance."

³¹Laws of 1836, Chapter 150.

prohibiting blacks from operating vessels, period.³²

Green's children, Samuel, Jr., and Sarah, who may have been presumed free for much of their childhood, experienced the heartache of slavery again later in their lives. They apparently lived with their parents until sometime after 1840. Listed as free blacks in Green's household in the 1840 census, they were no longer attached to that household after 1847, when they became the property of Dr. James Muse, a Dorchester County physician who arrived in Cambridge that year from Talbot County, Maryland. The reason for the status change of Green's children is unknown, but may have had roots in the ambiguities of ownership that surrounded their mother. While Green was allowed to raise his children when they were young, seemingly they became too valuable when mature to allow their father to protect or purchase them. Samuel, Jr. was 18, and his sister Sarah three years younger, when they became the slaves of Muse, who bought a home in Cambridge located on prestigious High Street in 1847, and owned a farm on the outskirts of town. In late 1847 Muse married, firmly establishing his new household. It is not known at which location the Green children served, but probably they were household slaves at Muse's High Street home.

While Green could not free his children, he passed on to them his love of freedom. Samuel, Jr. escaped in 1854 and fled to Canada, calling Muse "the worst man in Maryland" according to an account

³²Laws of 1837, Chapter 23.

provided by William Still, a major conductor on the Underground Railroad who lived in Philadelphia. Still's journal included a summation of the interview he had with the runaway Green. He noted that there was "whipping and all manner of cruelty inflicted upon his servants" and that Samuel, Jr. had been hired out as a blacksmith by Muse for several years. Harriet Tubman originally influenced young Green to attempt his escape when she visited the Cambridge area in the spring of 1854. On 28 August 1854 Samuel, Jr. "prayed with his legs," in the manner of Frederick Douglass, the more famous escapee from the area.³³ He arrived in Chipaway, Canada (near Niagara Falls), about one week later.³⁴

While young Samuel was to retain his freedom, his escape was tragic for his sister who by that time had married and borne two children. Shortly afterwards (fearing that she too would abscond), Muse sold Sarah to the Missouri frontier, thereby "breaking her heart by separating her from her husband and two little children," as well as from her parents.³⁵ She was not heard from again and nothing further is known of her, her husband, or the children left behind. Through his own children, Samuel Green lived the structure of Mrs. Stowe's book with its account of escape Northward to freedom and of selling Southward to oblivion.

³³National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862.

³⁴William Still Journal C 1852-1857 p. 99. Entry dated 28 August 1854. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. See also William Still, The Underground Railroad, p. 247.

³⁵National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862.

Samuel, Jr. was one of many runaways from the Cambridge area who fled in the spring and fall of 1854.³⁶ The attention of the community partly focused on Samuel Green who was presumed to have aided his son's escape, and perhaps the flight of others from the area. Although he was suspected, no evidence was found to support those conclusions, so the suspicions faded, but were not forgotten. Years later the local paper, by this time reacting to Northern shock at Green's punishment for book-reading, claimed: "There is no doubt of the fact that Green was instrumental, and had been for a long time, in the escape of slaves from this county. . . . but as no possible proof could be had, and his character in other respects was good, he was not arrested"³⁷

Green himself is quoted by a third party in that same article as saying "it's no use, I am guilty" in reference to the belief that he was guilty of helping slaves to escape. In his own account of his son's 1854 escape, Green said that his son had worked for "a hard taskmaster" for seven years,³⁸ and, when his son asked that person for some money, he was given ten cents. Samuel, Jr. then came to Green and said "Father, I must fly for freedom." Green recounted: "I was suspected of helping him off, and other slaves, who ran away about the

³⁶Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸A reference to Dr. Muse who acquired Samuel, Jr. as a slave in 1847.

same time."³⁹ He never stated that he had in fact aided his son, or others, to escape, and no proof existed, though his account does not deny he helped either. Probabilities certainly favor a loving father aiding or encouraging his son in his resolution to flee slavery.

"Amen," was the murmured response from the lips of Tom and Mammy, and some of the elder ones, who belonged to the Methodist church.

- Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 271.

"Wal, there might be something in that ar, if it wasn't for his character; but I can show recommends from his master and others, to prove he is one of your real pious,--the most humble, prayin', pious crittur ye ever did see. Why, he's been called a preacher in them parts he came from."

- Slave trader Haley making his pitch to sell Uncle Tom to Mr. St. Clare. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 145.

Because free blacks were not treated as equals by the white population, and were not fully part of slave society, they often found themselves distanced from their slave peers and unaccepted by whites. Samuel Green, helped by his religious role as a local preacher, successfully struck a balance between those two worlds by relating well with free blacks, slaves, and whites. That is not to say that, even before 1857, he totally escaped the ill-treatment often afforded his caste. One report claimed that "everybody cheated him of the little property he had. A man for whom he had cut 60 cords of wood, paid him two dollars for the whole job--another found a pretext to seize on his

³⁹The Liberator, 15 August 1862.

little house."⁴⁰ If there is some question about the accuracy of this report, it does accurately reflect the legal helplessness of the blacks against whites who might opt to cheat them. Green himself remarked on the attitude of whites towards blacks in Dorchester County when he recounted one white man's comment that "he would rather go to hell and be damned, than go to heaven with a 'nigger.'"⁴¹

Whites and blacks both acknowledged Green's high character on many occasions. He was "much esteemed as an inoffensive, industrious man; earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, and contriving to move along in the narrow road allotted colored people, bond or free, without exciting a spirit of ill will in the pro-slavery power of his community."⁴² He was described as "intelligent . . . reading and writing well."⁴³ His white pastor attested to the "excellence of [Green's] character" which was known "everywhere in Dorchester County . . . He was exceedingly useful . . . among the colored free people and slaves, and often in their meeting-houses preached to them the word of life."⁴⁴ He remained a member in good standing in the church even

⁴⁰The Independent, 31 July 1862.

⁴¹The Liberator, 15 August 1862.

⁴²Still, The Underground Railroad, p. 247.

⁴³Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

⁴⁴Green's pastor would have been a white man as blacks were not permitted to hold that position in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

while he was imprisoned.⁴⁵ Maryland Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks said of Green, "So far as moral character goes, he is an honest man."⁴⁶

One way in which both Sam and Kitty demonstrated their usefulness to their community was through raising some black children who were not their own. Although the Greens had lost their own children to slavery by 1850, the 1850 federal census listed Edward Johnson, a six year old mulatto boy, living with Sam and Catharine.⁴⁷ Also listed in the 1850 census slave schedules is a four year old black girl living with the Greens.⁴⁸ The parenting provided by the Greens to these children demonstrated their sense of community involvement, and is indicative of the trust and respect their community held for them.

The influence of religious instruction at an early age was to carry Samuel Green through the myriad hardships he faced throughout his life. His dauntless faith placed him in a position of respect and some leadership within the Methodist Episcopal Church. As a licensed exhorter, he was sanctioned by the church to minister officially to the needs of his black community without carrying the title of "minister," a title available only to men with white skin.

⁴⁵J. Mayland McCarter, Border Methodism and Border Slavery (Philadelphia: Collins, Printer, 1858), p. 72, Library Company of Philadelphia.

⁴⁶The Liberator, 8 August 1862.

⁴⁷p. 453. MdHR M1495, MSA, Annapolis.

⁴⁸District 1, p. 33. MdHR M1505, MSA, Annapolis.

Green may have helped others escape. His religious position afforded him wide contact with blacks, both free and slave, in his region. He also befriended many white Dorchester Countians, some of whom may have had some sympathy with the black desire for freedom. He had a son who fled to Canada and wrote back with information about the route he took to freedom. His neighbors later claimed other escaped slaves had correspondence with him, although those letters may have been an invention of local newspaper editors seeking to justify their belief that Green was guilty of abetting slaves. If those letters ever existed they likely would have been admitted as evidence at Green's trial. They were not.

The strongest evidence of Green's involvement with runaway slaves lay in the text of the letter from Green's son in Canada, the only manuscript document entered as evidence at Green's trial. It read:

Chipaway Canaday Sep. 10. 1855 [sic]⁴⁹ Dear I take this oppertunity to Rite you a few lines to let you know how I am. I am well at present. I hope you and mother all the famlay are the same. I a rived to Canaday on 5 of Sep and I Got into Work as soon as I gat thar in a Saw Mill the furste weeke I got \$4.50 c from that to 1.00 doler a day times are hard and as soone as I get sum clos I will send you sum moonay. I saw Harriet Caurishe in Philadelphia. I woz in Philadelphia 4 days New York city olm nay 1 day. I had it vary plesent all the of my travel plenty of friends plenty to cate and to drink of the taste] I wosh you to Rite to me as soon as you can let me Know all a bout times and things. I have got a grat dele to say but hav not time now give my love to all the friends and the woman, tell P. Jackson to come on Joseph Baley com on, Kom more. I remain yours til dath Samuel Green. I go by my Rite name Samuel Green⁵⁰--I live in

⁴⁹The year was 1854. It was transcribed inaccurately in Green's trial document.

⁵⁰Alias Wesley Kinnard according to Still.

a vilage coold Chip Way in Canaday.⁵¹

It was noted during the trial that the two slaves named in the letter had absconded by the time Green was arrested in 1857. A runaway slave from Cambridge named Thomas Jackson had arrived at William Still's Philadelphia home 28 September 1856. He was one of five Cambridge escapees named in Still's Journal entry for that date.⁵² This may have been the Jackson mentioned in the letter. Green probably knew a fellow black Methodist preacher, a slave who fled from Dorchester County named Joseph Cornish. He arrived at Still's residence 25 December 1855. Cornish was 40 years old, had been a preacher for 7 years, and, like Green, was "respected by the respectable white and colored in the neighborhood . . . He would not have left but to escape being sold. . . Left a wife and 5 children, they are all free."⁵³ It is plausible that Green helped or at least knew about this fellow preacher's planned flight as well. Probably local suspicions that Green assisted slaves in their quest for freedom were right, but, like the slave owners of Dorchester County in the 1850s, we have no firm evidence of his efforts.

⁵¹DORCHESTER COUNTY COURT (Papers) January - November Term 1857, Criminal Judgments April Term 1857 packet, Indictment Paper, Presentment 9, State vs. Samuel Green free negro, 22 April 1857, Dorchester County Courthouse, Cambridge, MD.

⁵²pp. 292-294.

⁵³pp. 230-231.

A trip Green made in the winter of 1856-1857 seemingly reawakened the suspicions and fears of his pro-slavery white neighbors. "Moved by parental affection," Green had visited his son in Salford, Ontario "to see how he was faring in a distant land among strangers." He had received a letter from his boy asking him to "Come and bring mother, and let us all live together here."⁵⁴ Green surely realized the risk he was taking by making a trip to Canada, but, lulled by the respect he felt from his fellow white Methodists, he determined to see for himself "the prospect of earning a livelihood in the high latitudes" before deciding if he and his wife should join their son.⁵⁵ Without calling any public attention to the trip Samuel Green quietly left his homeland. William Still claimed "he innocently conceived the idea that he was doing no harm in availing himself not only of his God-given rights, but of the rights that he had also purchased by the hard toil of his own hands."⁵⁶ His absence was noticed not only by his friends, but by those "lurking in ambush for him" and his secrecy was later construed as malevolent subterfuge.⁵⁷ Upon his return he determined that he and Kitty would relocate to Canada.⁵⁸

The strident sound of the Cambridge constable's pounding upon his door shattered Samuel Green's plans. When Samuel Green opened his door

⁵⁴National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Still, The Underground Railroad, p. 248.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸National Anti-Slavery Standard, 10 May 1862.

to Sheriff Robert Bell and a few witnesses, he shut out for years his chance to join his son. Bell curtly declared, "You are suspected of holding correspondence with the North, and I shall search your house." 'Come in, sir,' said Mr. Green; 'it is a small cottage; you can soon search it through; but you will find nothing, for there is nothing to find.'⁵⁹ His possession of a borrowed book was to prove him wrong, though documents related to his Canadian trip were perhaps deemed more incriminating by the search party.

Through 55 years Samuel Green had gone from slave to freeman, joyous husband to grieving father, respected elder to accused criminal. His God and his church had been his stalwart buttress through past times of trial. As a new trial loomed, Samuel Green hoped his faith would see him successfully through again.

⁵⁹National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862.

CHAPTER II

THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF SAMUEL GREEN

"Well, now, good-by," said George, holding Eliza's hands, and gazing into her eyes, without moving. They stood silent; then there were last words, and sobs, and bitter weeping . . . and the husband and wife were parted.

- Parting words as George flees for Canada. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 29.

Samuel Green was arrested and taken from his home 4 April 1857. He was charged with violations of the law under two indictments, "knowingly having in his possession a certain abolition pamphlet called 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' of an inflammatory character and calculated to create discontent amongst the colored population of this State" and "knowingly having in his possession certain abolition papers and pictorial representation of an inflammatory character calculated to create discontent amongst the colored population of this State."¹ This second charge referred to a map of Canada, a railroad schedule to that country, and the letter Green's son had written, all of which were confiscated from his home following the search executed by Sheriff Bell. The law under which Green was tried stipulated that it was the "duty of every inhabitant of this State, who shall know that any such pamphlet [of an inflammatory character], . . . shall have been in

¹DORCHESTER COUNTY COURT (Clerk's Docket) April Term 1857, "Presentments" section entries 6 and 9, Samuel Green free negro, Dorchester County Courthouse, Cambridge, MD.

possession of any free negro . . . to give immediate notice of the same to some justice of the peace" under penalty of a fine not less than five hundred dollars or imprisonment for not less than sixty days.

There is no surviving evidence to help determine how it became known that Samuel Green had Uncle Tom's Cabin in his possession. It may have been common knowledge, or Green may have openly spoken about the book, seeing no harm in such conversation. It is also possible that Green may have been the victim of a slave jealous of Green's status and stature in the black community. One contemporary author, writing about an entirely different situation, stated "If a colored preacher or intelligent free negro gains the ill-will of a malicious slave, all the latter has to do is to report that said preacher had attempted to persuade him to 'rise,' or to run away; and the poor fellow's life may pay the forfeit."² Such a report, coupled with the knowledge that Green had recently returned from a trip to Canada, may have fueled renewed suspicions against Green which resulted in the search of his home. The confiscation of Uncle Tom's Cabin may have been secondary to the seizure of the other documents which were removed.

As Samuel was taken from his home, Kitty Green was left disconsolate. She had not seen her children in three years. She was nearly ready to leave with Sam to join their son in Canada, but now her

²John Dixson Long, Pictures of Slavery (Philadelphia: By the Author, 1857), p. 233.

husband was wrenched from her. In short order she was forced to sell their meager belongings, probably to maintain her own sustenance.³ Nothing is known about Kitty during the time of her husband's imprisonment. Doubtless she worked both to support herself and to keep his courage up while he was incarcerated. She probably did what she could to keep his case before his supporters in hopes of winning his pardon, bringing freedom to him as he had done for her more than fifteen years earlier.

In an 1862 speech, Green recounted that the "circumstances [of his arrest and imprisonment] were these" and first mentioned the flight of his son. He then leapt 3 years in his memory and next stated that his house was searched and "a copy of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'" was found. It would seem that Green clearly linked the suspicions of his aiding slaves and the search of his home, thereby confirming the rationale presented by the local Cambridge paper in its 1858 review of the case.⁴ Another account stated that "a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin" was found at his home and that he had loaned a copy to a white man.⁵ Another source declared that Green was in possession of "a single volume of Uncle Tom's Cabin."⁶ The version Green had borrowed was in two volumes, and

³1 bed and furniture (\$10); 1 gig (\$5); 1 horse (\$30); and 5 hogs (\$10). Total assessed worth of \$55.00 was "disposed off" in 1857. DORCHESTER COUNTY (Assessment Record) 1852 Election District 2 [MdHR 18,627; 1-4-5-15], Samuel Green, pp. 58 a & b, MSA, Annapolis.

⁴The Liberator, 15 August 1862.

⁵National Anti-Slavery Standard, 2 April 1859.

⁶McCarter, Border Slavery, p. 71.

Green apparently had loaned out part one while he continued to read part two.⁷ His arrest interrupted not only his life, but his reading as well. He was not to finish the book until after he had served his time in prison.

The State's Attorney for Dorchester County, Charles F. Goldsborough, was apprised of the Green case. As the chief prosecutor he had the confiscated evidence from Green's home brought to him for study. These items were said to include letters to Green from runaway slaves (a letter from his son among them), a map of Canada, railroad schedules, and the copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.⁸ Goldsborough was told that in one letter Green was asked to direct two slaves (identified by name) to abscond.⁹ Both had done so by the time of Green's arrest.

The State's Attorney was also told that "the people were about to notify Green to leave the State, and to lynch him if he failed to depart."¹⁰ They were dissuaded from this course and Green was arrested for violation of the provisions of the Act of 1841, Chapter 272 of the laws of Maryland.¹¹ Upon close examination the State's Attorney had

⁷A two-part edition is in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

⁸Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

⁹This was the letter to Samuel written by his son upon his arrival in Canada in 1854.

¹⁰Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

¹¹The pertinent portion of that act reads: "if any free negro or mulatto shall knowingly receive or have in his or her possession any abolition handbill, pamphlet, newspaper, pictorial representation or

"found that sufficient local evidence could not be had to convict [Green] under the Act of 1849 for aiding slaves to escape."¹² Although Marylanders were to later claim there was clear proof that Green abetted slaves, Goldsborough's decision makes evident the lack of any satisfactory evidence. It appears as if the letter from Green's son blossomed in the retelling of the events which surrounded his arrest and conviction into numerous letters received from slaves. Those letters, if they ever existed, were not submitted as evidence at the trial.

Samuel Green appeared before the court 17 April 1857 for arraignment on the first indictment of possessing Uncle Tom's Cabin. He was arraigned 22 April 1857 on the second indictment, in three counts, for possessing the letter from his son, a "pictorial representation" of Canada, and the railroad schedules. The book, letter, map, and railroad schedules were defined as inflammatory abolition materials designed to create discontent and insurrectionary tendencies in blacks, and, as such, made the 1841 law applicable to Green's case. That law was a supplement to an 1831 Act passed in reaction to the Nat Turner revolt, which attempted to thwart such

other paper of an inflammatory character, having a tendency to create discontent amongst or stir up to insurrection the people of color in this State, he or she shall be deemed guilty of felony, and upon conviction shall be sentenced to undergo a confinement in the Penitentiary of this State for a period of not less than ten nor more than twenty years, from the time of sentence pronounced on such offender."

¹²Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858. The act referred to was Laws of 1849, Chapter 296.

inclinations among Maryland's slaves.¹³ The 1841 law from which these indictments were framed had been applied only once previously in Maryland. In 1850 an indictment was made in Cecil County concerning the Blue Hen's Chicken, a paper published at Wilmington, Delaware, which was not wholly enthusiastic about slavery.¹⁴

The maneuverings in Green's trial were complicated, apparently because Green's court-appointed planter attorneys and the prosecution felt some uncertainty about how to proceed. Green at first elected to be tried by a jury, but that motion was withdrawn and the trials were held before the judge. Green was tried first on the second indictment beginning 24 April 1857. His counsel in the first trial based his case on the construction of the Act of Assembly under which Green was charged. The counsel for the State, Charles F. Goldsborough and Elias Griswold, contended "that the word 'discontent' used in the Act applied to anything calculated to render the slave dissatisfied with his condition, whether that discontent was manifested by absconding, or otherwise."¹⁵ Green's counsel in this case, Daniel M. Henry, argued "that the object of the Act as shown by the wording, was to prevent the possession of such papers as had a tendency to create discontent of an insurrectionary character."¹⁶ He suggested a map of Canada and a railroad schedule could not be construed as abolitionist literature

¹³Laws of 1831, Chapter 323.

¹⁴National Anti-Slavery Standard, 20 November 1858.

¹⁵Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

intended to create discontent.

Green was acquitted on this charge by Judge Thomas A. Spence on the second day of that trial, 25 April 1857. Judge Spence held that the view presented by the defense was correct and "that papers which would be likely to induce slaves to abscond or give them information which would aid them in their route northward, did not come within purview of the law."¹⁷

Sensing the outcome of that indictment beforehand, the State's Attorney elected to proceed with the second indictment first in order to set a context for Green's second trial which he hoped would produce an incontrovertible conviction. Goldsborough decided that he would make the second trial a test case by attempting to apply the 1841 Act to such works as Uncle Tom's Cabin. When the "not guilty" verdict was rendered in the first trial, Green was immediately tried under the first indictment of possessing Uncle Tom's Cabin. The State argued "that the pamphlet, Uncle Tom's Cabin, came up to the view of the law taken by the Court, in the previous case, and the prisoner's counsel, Mr. Wallace, holding the reverse."¹⁸

The indictment said that Green "with force and arms" possessed "a certain abolition pamphlet called and entitled 'Uncle Tom's Cabin, or

¹⁷Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858 and National Anti-Slavery Standard, 2 April 1859.

¹⁸Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

life among the lowly".¹⁹ How he possessed the pamphlet "with violence," as the term is defined, was not brought out in the trial record nor in subsequent news accounts. The point possibly was included in an effort to build a strong case, but it probably related only to the oddities of legal formalism. The indictment characterized "the said abolition pamphlet" as "being of an inflammatory character and having a tendency to create discontent amongst the people of color in this State" in keeping with the wording of the 1841 Act.

The trial lasted approximately two weeks in the "crowded courtroom," presumably in some kind of literary debate about whether a book that in fact glorified long-suffering Christian martyrdom was insurrectionary in intent.²⁰ Judge Spence ruled that Uncle Tom's Cabin "was an abolition pamphlet such as is contemplated by the law, and that its possession by Green, under the circumstances, was a clear violation of the Act of 1841, chapter 272."²¹ Samuel Green was given the minimum sentence, ten years in the Maryland State Penitentiary, located in Baltimore, commencing 14 May 1857. He entered the prison 18 May 1857.²²

¹⁹DORCHESTER COUNTY COURT (Papers) January - November Term 1857, Criminal Judgments April Term 1857 packet, Indictment Paper, Presentment 6, State vs. Samuel Green free negro, 17 April 1857, Dorchester County Courthouse, Cambridge, MD.

²⁰Ibid. The motion to withdraw his request for a jury trial was made 25 April 1857. Green was found guilty 14 May 1857.

²¹Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

²²The dates are ascertained from the Dorchester County "Presentments" docket and the Maryland State Penitentiary prison record.

The evidence of substantial length in the second trial might suggest that appointed attorney James Wallace tried seriously to defend Green, but the arguments he presented were of no avail because the authorities had arranged the first trial so that what the Gazette called the court's "view of the law" insured conviction on the first charge of possessing Uncle Tom's Cabin in the second trial. The novel approach of using Uncle Tom's Cabin as an example of an outlawed abolitionist pamphlet worked in spite of the earnest entreaties of Green's attorney. Wallace was himself a "prominent" Cambridge slave owner, a lay leader of the local Methodist Episcopal Church, and a member of the Maryland State Senate.²³ Certainly Wallace was of the same planter group as the others involved in the trial, but perhaps the Methodist ties he shared with Green, or his personal knowledge of Green's character, led him to make a vigorous though failing defense of his client. Green's attorneys in both trials reportedly "ably discharged their duty, contesting the case closely, step by step, from its beginning to its end."²⁴

Green's court-appointed attorney in the first case, Daniel M. Henry, was an outspoken foe to the interests of slaves and free blacks. At a meeting of slaveholders on 9 August 1858, held in the same court house in which Green was tried and convicted one year earlier, Henry presented the resolutions prepared by a committee of the slaveholders

²³Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal, 18 November 1857.

²⁴Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

convention of which he was a part. Henry's report was "lucid and eloquent."²⁵ He said, "among other things, that if there were any Abolitionists among us they had better leave; that as they had lost the respect of white men, it was natural that they should find their level and consort with black men. It was a pity, he said, that they could not change their skin and be black altogether."²⁶ The convention was presided over by Elias Griswold, one of the attorneys for the prosecution in Green's first trial. The legal maneuverings in Green's trials suggest some collusion between planter-friends Griswold, Henry and Judge Spence to have Green repudiate his request for a jury trial with some assurances of the Judge's acquittal in the first case, which in fact would dictate the guilty verdict in the second.

The psychological need of planters to blame the problems of slavery on abolitionists is clear in the meeting which Griswold and Henry dominated. As an account of their convention reported, "It is by standing together that we shall be able to put down abolitionism in our midst. It can only be done in this way. We learn from the tactics of the Abolitionists what they were enabled to do by united action. Here and there, . . . they called Conventions, and by united action they . . . forced public opinion in certain sections of the country. We may learn a lesson from our enemies."²⁷ The account ends with the call issued by the convention for an Eastern Shore Convention of

²⁵National Anti-Slavery Standard, 21 August 1858.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

slaveholders which they hoped would be of mammoth proportions. A surviving broadside urging this big meeting makes explicit how "abolitionists" and/or free blacks like Green had to be blamed when slaves ran off. The meeting was needed, the broadside insisted, to consider those linked threats "the frequent escape of slaves; the condition of the free colored population, and the evils of Abolition."²⁸

When area slave escapes increased "suddenly and without apparent cause," the locals suspected that "some agent of abolitionism was in the county," and their suspicions rested upon Samuel Green when it was "suddenly discovered, by some means, that all the fugitives had passed in their flight immediately by [Green's] house, which stands near the road leading from Cambridge to the State of Delaware."²⁹ Green, as he was in 1854, was again suspected of aiding slaves to escape, but because there was little evidence for indictment, area planters used the abolition literature charge to present a case that would stick and which would remove Green from the area, thereby ending the alleged threat he posed to the slaveholders of Dorchester County. The account of the trial in the local paper unabashedly declared that

Green was convicted simply and solely for having 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in his possession . . . but it is equally as true he never would have been arrested upon that charge but for his well ascertained agency in the escape of our slaves. We say never would have been arrested, because no case ever had been tried in this county under the Act of 1841, and the book in

²⁸Broadside dated 27 September 1858, Cambridge, MD, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

²⁹Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

question might have been openly kept and read by Green with impunity, from the simple reason that no one would ever have suspected that it was a violation of the law for him to possess it.³⁰

In this statement, the local paper and the community were responding to criticism from abolitionists and other Northern sympathizers one year after Green's imprisonment commenced. The locals wished to deny that they were against freedom and they wished to depict their actions in the best light possible. Though they technically were imprisoning a man for a decade for having in his possession a book that most people in the nation had read with sympathy, they explained that the real reason Green was imprisoned was because he had aided slaves to escape. So the Southern defense of its judicial fairness to the black man was to insist that, since they could not find evidence to support the crime for which Green was suspected, they sent him to jail for ten years for something no one considered an offense.

It would seem that the planters of Dorchester County were fearful of the intelligent, articulate free black and sought his ousting from the community as a scapegoat for the absconding of their slaves. They, after all, viewed themselves as benevolent owners whose slaves would be foolish to flee. The slaveholders could not accept the notion that their slaves so disliked their situation as to seek freedom without some instigation by an outside agency. Abolitionists, "incendiary" literature, and free blacks such as Samuel Green were all viewed as

³⁰Ibid.

culpable.

" . . . I'll do the very best I can in gettin' Tom a good berth; as to my treatin' on him bad, you needn't be a grain afeard. If there's anything that I thank the Lord for, it is that I'm never noways cruel."

- Slave trader Haley. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 39.

The Green case makes clear how Southerners needed scapegoats to explain why their "happy" and "contented" and always kindly treated slaves often ran off or rebelled in other ways. Only an outside agitator could cause such irrational behavior in people who loved being slaves, so Sam Green must be guilty. If he were kept in jail, none would leave--until the next 30 and more made their escape a few weeks after he was sentenced. But, of course, neither Green nor any slaves would have acted for freedom had they not been bamboozled by even more vicious outside agitators. Green's imprisonment had nothing to do with the slave system, but was in fact a

. . . practical commentary upon the insane efforts of abolition writers. Where can an instance be found of real benefit having accrued to any slave by reason of the production of Mrs. Stowe's book! Until he was wrought upon by such publications, and by the more direct appeals of abolition emissaries, Green had lived quietly and contentedly in the community in which he was born and had the respect and confidence of all who knew him.³¹

But no sooner did Uncle Tom visit Samuel Green's cabin than that misled minister misled hundreds of happily contented slaves toward the troubles of freedom.

³¹Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

CHAPTER III

SAMUEL GREEN: CAUSE CELEBRE

News spread quickly of Green's conviction and sentence to ten years incarceration for his literary crime. Local editors reported "The Judge gave in his decision on Thursday last, that Sam Green was guilty of having in his possession incendiary abolitionist document, and sentenced him to the penitentiary for ten years. Serve a few more of them in the same way and there would be less absconding."¹ This immediate account of the case makes clear the local awareness of the embarrassing quality of the real charges. When outsiders learned that the fearsome "incendiary abolitionist document" the possession of which deserved a free black man's decade in jail was Uncle Tom's Cabin, they felt outrage.

The Green story spread, appearing in newspapers in Northern states including New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Often the news was presented in shocked tones of disbelief, as was this account provided in the 5 September 1857 National Anti-Slavery Standard:

. . . The culprit in this case is the Rev. Samuel Green . . .
. We had previously noticed his crime and punishment, but were not aware then that the criminal was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Notwithstanding the disgrace of it, we are bound to acknowledge the fact. The crime of the reverend offender was "having in his possession a copy of

¹Cambridge American Eagle, 20 May 1857.

'Uncle Tom's Cabin' The desperate wretch is at last safe,
gone to the Penitentiary for ten years!

Even the South Carolina Courier insisted that what actually happened could not have occurred as reported, a reaction that was reported with glee by Northern abolitionist editors.²

The saddest immediate reaction to Green's sentence came from his son who wrote from Salford, Ontario, to William Still, seeking information about his father. ". . . I Reseved a letter that Stats to me that my Fater has ben Betraed in the act of helping sum friend to Canada and the law has Convicted and Sentenced him to the Stats prison for 10 years his White Frands ofered 2 thousen Dollars to Redem him but they would not short three thousen. . . ." There is no additional record available to confirm the allegation that money was offered to secure Green's freedom. Still notes that the son "often wrote to know if there was any prospect of his deliverance."³ While there is no question that the court lacked evidence of Green's aiding slave escapes, his son's initial conviction that this was his "crime" suggests again that he may have quietly so acted.

Green was not lacking in white support in his community after his conviction. Though those documents supporting Green disappeared from the Executive files, one attacking him was kept and it revealed an immediate effort to secure a pardon from Governor Thomas Watkins Ligon

²Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal, 21 October 1857. The Charleston Courier is cited.

³Still, The Underground Railroad, p. 249.

whose term of office was soon to expire. A petition for executive clemency circulating in the East New Market/Cambridge area triggered protest from several local slave owners. While the petition does not survive, the anti-Green letter to Governor Ligon does.⁴ It is enticingly identified as "No. 4" but there are no earlier documents extant related to this case in the Executive Papers at the Maryland State Archives. The letter, signed by eight "Slave Holders and tillers of the soil" who resided in the "immediate vicinity" where Green lived, was in response to a petition which bore the signature of twenty-four individuals, suggesting the level of support Green had in his local community. One can only wonder if Kitty Green had remained in the community long enough to sign it.

Green's slaveholding neighbors offered an occupational list in their letter categorizing Green's sympathizers, all of whom were:

. . . very well known to the writer[.] 4 farmers, some house carpenters, a few merchants, school teachers, plasters and quite a respectable number of [the signers] are ladies some of which are not even residents of the county or state but merely Sojourners.

They tell the governor that Green was "convicted . . . for Aiding and abetting Slaves to escape . . . and for having in his possession certain Abolition Handbills, Pamphlets and other documents, and papers of a like character, also letters from Negroes in Canada." This falsehood fairly represents the tone of the letter which concludes with a plea to the governor to give them a chance to circulate their own petition in favor of keeping Green incarcerated should he be swayed to

⁴See appendix pages 76 through 82.

grant a pardon in response to the pro-Green petition. The correspondents informed the governor that slaves "were leaving us in numbers from 2 to 15 or 18 from the time of [Green's] arrest" and that now "there was scarcely any Negroes ran away at all. . ."⁵ After the letter was penned, but before it was delivered, a large number of slaves escaped from the Cambridge area of Dorchester County. On 24 October 1857 "no less than thirty made their escape . . . These made forty-four who have left that place within two weeks."⁶

The postscript of the letter stated that "Domestic affliction has caused the delay of this communication, or it would have reached you sooner." The letter was originally signed 15 October 1857 with the postscript added 18 November 1857. The author delayed the delivery of the missive until after the gubernatorial election of 1857 which was held on 4 November. Although addressed and delivered to Governor Ligon, the writers knew that newly-elected Governor Hicks, a native of the neighborhood these slave owners were from, would have to contend with the Green situation and Hicks well knew the feelings of the signers of that letter. Several were active in politics, most notably William T. Vickers, soon to be sheriff of Dorchester County, replacing Robert Bell.

⁵MARYLAND STATE PAPERS (Executive Papers) [MdHR 6636-246; 1-7-5-39], MSA, Annapolis.

⁶National Anti-Slavery Standard, 21 November 1857.

Some of the communal uneasiness suggested in the petition and counter letter, as well as much data about the case, resulted from the Northern attention it attracted. When the North suggested shock at the ten-year penal sentence of a pious black for possessing a book that advocated not insurrection but Christ-like self-sacrifice, local slaveholders were embarrassed because they recognized the sentence this provided on their preferred picture of idyllic white-black relations. The controversy was especially trying for the area's large Methodist population, both because of respect and some support for Green in the local religious community and because the case spotlighted tensions long brewing in their denomination. Methodists were split over the slavery issue with the Northern call growing louder and louder for Southern members to divest themselves of their slaves. Maryland Methodists were literally in the middle of the fusillade.

More than three-quarters of the citizens of Dorchester County were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and not attached to the Methodist Episcopal Church South which took over in most slave areas in 1845.⁷ In the slave portion of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Conference which included Dorchester County and hence lay minister Samuel Green, there were over 15,000 white members and probationers in 1856. Of that number, there were at least 1,000 slaveholders owning an aggregate total of over 3,000 slaves. Obviously most of these held very few slaves, the

⁷Zion's Herald, 26 August 1857. J.D. Long stated that Dorchester County was "almost exclusively" Methodist in Pictures of Slavery, p. 398.

largest "planters" owning from 5 to 10 slaves.⁸ Their sensibilities were continually assaulted, on the one hand, by abolitionists and, on the other, by their fellow church members who were anti-slavery and who pictured a God displeased with slave-owning Methodists.

They, like other Southerners, also realized that their self-proclaimed tranquil society was but a hairsbreadth away from frenzied mob action, as evidenced by the threat to lynch Green and Governor Hicks' statement that, should he pardon Green, he would be "called an abolitionist and mobbed."⁹ Yet the clear embarrassment caused by Green's long sentence upon conviction for so dubious a "crime" suggested why mob action was so popular. A mob didn't need much evidence, and could simply state that their victim was clearly guilty of monstrous crimes with no paper trail to illumine the long shadows of doubt about Southern justice.

The intense reaction of the Northern press to the Green case stimulated much local tension and revisionism. The Green story appeared in many papers, both secular and church-related and it is largely because this record remains that many of the details of his story can be known. One Massachusetts paper, the New Bedford Mercury, mentioned one of several pardon petitions sent to Governor Hicks from Northern Methodist Episcopal ministers. It referred to a petition signed by 114 ministers from the Black River Conference (New York)

⁸Long, Pictures of Slavery, quoted in Zion's Herald, 17 June 1857.

⁹The Liberator, 15 August 1862.

recently sent to Hicks "asking for the pardon and release of the Rev. Samuel Green, a colored local preacher, who is now lying in the Penitentiary of [Maryland], under a sentence of ten years' imprisonment, for having in his possession a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin."¹⁰ The Mercury then editorialized:

The above paragraph discovers how miserably tyrannical the State government of Maryland is. It is a Southern slave State where more than 100 ministers go down on their knees before the Governor (by name of Hicks) to beg him to pardon a man for the crime of having a book in his possession. All the annals of the Spanish or Roman Inquisitions could not show a more degrading fact, taking into view the several circumstances. The idea of sending a colored preacher for ten years to the Penitentiary for possessing a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin! We advise the Missionary Society to send a few of their number to convert the heathen of that locality.¹¹

There is no evidence of an immediate rally to Green's defense by the Methodist Episcopal membership in Cambridge or Dorchester County, though quite possibly the missing petition for pardon to which the eight slaveholders protested was signed by Green's white co-religionists. Since three-fourths of the people of Dorchester County were members of that denomination,¹² many may have sided with Green as individuals, but there is no record of an organized move by his local Church until 1859 when "A Methodist Episcopal Conference . . . sitting on the Eastern Shore, interposed in behalf of Mr. Green, with great earnestness of purpose, for his pardon; but, to the astonishment of friend and foe, the otherwise kind-hearted Gov. Hicks positively

¹⁰As quoted in Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

¹¹As quoted in Easton Gazette, 28 August 1858.

¹²National Anti-Slavery Standard, 5 September 1857.

refused to grant the prayer of the petitioners, and declared that Green should never go out of prison so long as he was Governor."¹³ By that time Green had been in prison for two years. That Conference was the Philadelphia Annual Conference, the local organizational division of the Methodist Episcopal Church that covered the area in which Green lived and worked.

The reticence of the local church to get involved officially is explained by the polarity the slavery issue caused within the Methodist Episcopal Church. When the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1784, its Discipline clearly stated a strong opposition to slavery and required members to emancipate any slaves they owned within certain time spans. Ministers faced immediate turmoil as they sought to execute the requirements. The Discipline was quickly revised in 1785 placing a suspension on attempts to execute the emancipation requirements allowing time for the membership to consider the issue. The 1785 revision included the statement, "We hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery; and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means."¹⁴

After undergoing further alterations through 1804, the Discipline expressly excluded members in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee from the anti-slavery requirements of the Church law.

¹³National Anti-Slavery Standard, 10 May 1862.

¹⁴Matthew Simpson, ed., Cyclopaedia of Methodism, 4th rev. ed., (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 805.

References to abolitionist petitions to the legislature were removed and a clause was added urging preachers "from time to time . . . [to] admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience . . . to their respective masters."¹⁵ In 1808 that clause was removed along with the mention of specific states. The General Conference instead authorized each Annual Conference, the local organizations, to form its own regulations regarding slavery.

The Church largely neglected the slavery issue for 34 more years when a party arose in the Northern states "who bitterly accused the church of being pro-slavery in sentiment."¹⁶ This group, the Wesleyan Methodists, seceded in 1842. This regional action brought fearful consequences at the next General Conference session in 1844. At that session the General Conference suspended a bishop from the Baltimore Conference who had married a slaveholder and who then refused to manumit those slaves. The Baltimore Conference originally included parts of Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, Western Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia. By the 1840s Ohio, West Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania were separated into other Conferences. A Southern faction viewed the 1844 General Conference action as an abrogation of their rights and began an effort to split from the church. The split occurred the following year. The chief part of the membership of the slaveholding territory of the Baltimore Conference, with the exception of the States of Maryland and Delaware,

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

separated, and formed the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Following this separation, the Northern Church felt free to express more forcefully its anti-slavery views. In 1856 the slavery chapter was altered to give a decisive expression against slaveholding.

The Eastern Shore of Maryland was part of the Philadelphia Conference. When Samuel Green was a member, it embraced portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and all of Delaware. The Maryland Methodists were literally in the middle of the commotion over the slavery issue. Samuel Green's situation became a catalyst for the Northern faction of the Methodist Episcopal Church to rally behind. Here was not merely a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but a lay minister, who was exiled from family and friend to the Maryland Penitentiary for possessing a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin! One of the leading Methodist papers, Zion's Herald, immediately trumpeted Green's cause and castigated the Maryland membership for their silence,¹⁷ but an official statement about Green from the Philadelphia Conference was conspicuously absent.

Into this fracas entered the Reverend John Dixson Long, a senior Methodist Episcopal minister. He was to bring Green's predicament forcefully to the forefront. Long was born in Worcester County, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, in 1817. He was an avowed abolitionist having learned his ideals from his mother, Sally Laws Henderson Long,

¹⁷See National Anti-Slavery Standard, 5 September 1857 which quotes the Herald article.

at an early age. She died in 1828. His father, John W. Long, was a native Marylander and a slaveholder. Long's father died in 1834 leaving him, at 17 years of age, to care for his two sisters and a brother. He inherited a slave which he freed upon his majority. Long joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1835, and began his ministerial career in the Philadelphia Conference in 1839. By 1842 he gained full ministerial credentials. His health failed in 1848, and from that time on, the Conference permitted him to work as a superannuated minister where he pleased as his health allowed.

Long's life and ministry in a slave area suggests how people of deep anti-slavery feeling could live and be respected in the South so long as they or others attracted no public attention to their dislike of slavery. Long stated that in late 1855 it was his "expectation to live and die in my native State--in private to bear my testimony to masters against slavery, and in public to labor for the salvation of slaves."¹⁸ He felt obligated, however, to forsake his restrained approach for the sake of his four children. He wished to train his four boys "to honorable labor; and was desirous that they should regard all mankind as members of one universal family."¹⁹ The children were beginning to assimilate the prejudice of the slave society in which they lived so he determined to relocate in a free state. In October 1856 the family moved from the Eastern Shore to Philadelphia. To his astonishment, he "found prevailing a vast deal of pro-slavery

¹⁸Long, Pictures of Slavery, p. 8.

¹⁹Ibid.

sentiment,"²⁰ and he felt called to bear his testimony against the system by writing a book. Long admittedly was not a scholar, and he knew he would lose some friends and risk persecution, but "in view of the responsibilities of the great future, the path of duty seemed plain."²¹ On Christmas day in 1856 Reverend Long began to write.

Long felt qualified to write for he had experienced the effects of slavery first hand throughout his life on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Methodists in the South, even those who did not secede with the pro-slavery Methodist Episcopal Church South, either did not see or did not talk about slavery as a problem. Many Northern Methodists little realized the extent of its practice by their brothers to the South. While some Northern factions railed against them, the Methodists in Delaware and Maryland downplayed the issue, stating that churchmembers owned few slaves, and that those received kind treatment. Long knew that slavery was well ingrained in Methodist families in the area and that some cruel owners were members of the church. He felt he must write what he knew. When he finished his book, no publisher in Philadelphia would print it. Consequently, in May, 1857, the same month Samuel Green began his prison sentence, Long published at his expense Pictures of Slavery in Church and State. The book was a collection of personal reminiscences, biographical sketches, and anecdotes. It attracted immediate attention.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 9.

The first printing quickly sold out and Long published at least two more editions in 1857. The third edition contained a biographical sketch that was not included in the original printing. It was the story of Samuel Green:

The slaveholders of Dorchester County thirsted for an object upon which to vent their rage [following a spate of slave escapes]; hence poor Green's arrest and conviction. He has fallen a living sacrifice to the fiendish despotism of the Cotton Aristocracy of the North and South. Dorchester County is almost exclusively a Methodist County. If the members of the M.E. Church of Dorchester had been liberty-loving, slavery hating Methodists, no judge or jury would have dared to consign their brother in Christ to ten years' incarceration in a State prison, separated from wife and children, for having a book in his possession which might have been found on the shelves of the very Judge that pronounced the sentence. . . . The Judge who pronounced the sentence was, when I was a boy, a member of the New school Presbyterian Church in Snow Hill, Md.; and, I presume, he is still a member of that church. He ought to have resigned his seat rather than have pronounced such a sentence. The Methodists of Maryland could have poor Green pardoned in six months, should they desire it. . . . I blush for my native State when I think of her bloody code of laws . . . I blush for the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, and the Baptists of Maryland, who, united, could wipe off from the statue book the black laws that tarnish her fair fame May the Omnipotent speed the hour when American slavery shall be blasted by the thunders of His power, amidst the shoutings and hallelujahs of a redeemed race!²²

Long's blunt vehemence against slavery was clear here, as throughout the book. Particularly galling to Methodists was his insistence that slavery was an integral part of many churchmember's lives, while his accusations of Church inaction to eradicate the problem were met with wrath, in part because both charges were unarguably true. His book forced the Northern and Southern factions to

²²Ibid., pp. 399-400.

think about the slavery issue. As a result, Long was summoned to a formal hearing before the Philadelphia Annual Conference in March 1858.

Reverend Long was brought before the Annual Conference because of his ". . . unchristian and unministerial conduct in publishing various misrepresentations in a book entitled 'Pictures of Slavery.'"²³ The account of the proceedings states that his book "broke the silence which had so long reigned in the church upon two questions . . . 'What is the character of the slave holding in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and what is the degree of its prevalence?'"²⁴

John Dixon Long was anxious for his trial to begin. He welcomed the opportunity to have his allegations brought before the Church in a formal manner. He was confident that he would be proved correct and vindicated, and that the proceedings would hasten the time when slavery would be ended. Long "used every honorable argument, in private and on the Conference floor, to obtain the investigation; averred that he was fully prepared, and that justice to himself demanded, after being held up on a charge of unministerial character, that he should be permitted to refute it."²⁵ The examination of his case began on the third day of the Conference and continued into the fourth. The virtues of his character were extolled, but many vilified allegations in his book. When it became apparent that by endorsing Reverend Long the Conference

²³McCarter, Border Methodism and Border Slavery, p. 38.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

was also placing its approval upon his book, the Conference leadership equivocated and avoided a firm decision. The Conference action vindicated Long of the "unministerial" charge, but the Conference drew back from becoming an open forum to decide if the book contained "misrepresentations." The Conference leaders felt that such a public debate would subserve the "peace and reputation of the church."²⁶ That decision, or lack thereof, further reflected the difficulty faced by the Methodist Episcopal Church leaders who had failed through over 70 years effectively to deal with the slavery issue. Those leaders understood that, while there was substantial hostility to slavery within the Church, many members and some areas would tolerate no attempt to oppose strongly the institution. Since Long clearly did not lie, silence about what he said seemed the only answer.

The plight of Samuel Green became the focus of attention of the 1858 group most unexpectedly. Following a week of acrid testimony regarding the nature of slavery within the Church, as the Conference neared its close, the routine examination of the character of two ministers ensued. Reverend John Allen, from the Eastern Shore of Virginia, passed examination and felt moved poetically to recite the virtues of the South. He called it "Paradise, the land of Beulah." As he continued, "he gave it great praise, and even spoke with raptures of 'its institutions'" before ending his tribute.²⁷

²⁶Ibid., p. 45.

²⁷Ibid., p. 71.

The name of Reverend Handy Long, a black local preacher from Newtown, Maryland came up for review as John Allen returned to his seat. Following the presentation on his worthiness to enter the ministry, Reverend J. M. McCarter arose and remarked that he had a particular interest in Handy Long as he shared the same surname as his friend the Reverend John Dixson Long. He stated of Handy Long that "he hoped and believed that he was deserving of all the good that had been said of him," but that he was "sincerely desirous that he should be put on his guard against his having a copy of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in his possession." Another minister interrupted McCarter's comments to ask "what Uncle Tom's Cabin had to do with the case now before us?" McCarter intoned:

I was remarking that some good friend should inform this local preacher, about to be elected to orders, to be sure not to have a copy of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in his possession, as a brother of his color, an acceptable member and exhorter of the Methodist Episcopal Church, named Samuel Green, was now in the Maryland Penitentiary . . . for the grave offence of having a single volume of that offensive and incendiary publication in his house. The Dorchester County Court had last spring passed the sentence, and today, he, while we are here, is incarcerated to remain for ten long years, for no moral offence.

McCarter returned to his seat as several of the ministers "hissed . . . 'So much for Paradise' and 'the land of Beulah!' and 'Southern institutions' [and one] preacher exclaimed, 'I consider that speech an insult to this body.'"²⁸ McCarter, the author of the official proceedings of this 1858 Conference, stated, if that speech was "an insult, what an outrage it would have been to have offered, as perhaps

²⁸Ibid.

we ought to have done, and for signatures in the open Conference, the following:

PETITION TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GOV. H. HICKS, OF MARYLAND.-

Whereas, it has come to the knowledge of this Conference of Christian ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that during the past year an official member of the said church, named Samuel Green, within the bounds of this Conference, has been sentenced to ten years in the Maryland State Prison; And Whereas, the aforesaid official member, a colored man, being still in good standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church, is now in the penitentiary of the aforesaid State; therefore,

Resolved, That this body most respectfully and earnestly ask the attention of the Governor of Maryland to his case, and petition his Excellency to interpose his executive clemency in his behalf. And we will ever pray, & c.²⁹

Reverend J. M. McCarter, along with Reverend H. Mattison, a minister present from the Black River Conference of New York, were allies of John Dixson Long and were prepared to assist him should he have been tried before the Conference. A petition on behalf of Samuel Green for executive clemency was sent to Governor Hicks from the Black River Conference signed by 114 ministers from that Conference in the fall of 1858. Apparently the petition was drafted by McCarter and, though not used that year at the Philadelphia Annual Conference, it was adapted for use in the North and eventually was accepted in 1859 by the Philadelphia Annual Conference. News of the Black River Conference petition spread quickly. Governor Hicks was besieged by petitions for executive clemency, and citizens of Dorchester County went to work to deny that Green's conviction had anything to do with the crime for which he had been tried.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 71-72.

In late 1857, and throughout 1858 and 1859, John Dixson Long wrote about Green's incarceration and his articles were carried by Methodist papers throughout the North. In one example, he recounted Green's arrest and conviction, adding "If any person doubts it, let them write to Judge Spence, to any of the Baltimore preachers, to the keeper of the Penitentiary himself."³⁰ Apparently, many people accepted his challenge. In the 27 January 1859 issue of Christian Advocate and Journal, "Beta" penned an impassioned plea on Green's behalf. The warden of the Maryland Penitentiary, O. P. Merryman, responded in the 17 February issue. The letter, quoted in Zion's Herald 23 February 1859, showed the South's embarrassment at the facts of the case and its need to substitute other reasons for Green's gross punishment:

At the time of his incarceration the undersigned was the Warden of that institution, and from the nature of the transcript accompanying the prisoner was overwhelmed with surprise that such a state of things could exist in the State of Maryland, and immediately took the necessary measures with a view to the executive's clemency. I soon, however, found the case a very different one from what I had supposed from the transcript; and that instead of Green simply having "Uncle Tom's Cabin," there was found in his possession sundry letters from slaves who had absconded from the neighborhood in which he was living, and which letters had been forwarded to him from Canada, giving a description of the route and country, and holding out inducements to others named in those letters to abscond from their masters, all going to show that he had been the instrument through which this wholesale work was being carried on. He had been for years suspected. Had the simple fact of his having in his possession the book referred to been the sole ground of his imprisonment, a community ever ready to defend the helpless and oppressed of every color would long ago have demanded and effected his release.

³⁰National Anti-Slavery Standard, 21 November 1857.

Merryman in part probably spoke honestly, though the single letter from Green's son became letters from many slaves, but given the clear record of the trial his pious claim that the South was "ever ready to defend the helpless and oppressed of every race" rang hollow. The Herald mocked the evident elements of distortion in the letter:

It seems, then, that the very jailor was "overwhelmed with surprise at the nature of the transcript accompanying the prisoner." . . . The "transcript" is a statement of the charge on which Green was tried, and for which he was condemned, which was in substance, "for having a copy of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in his possession.;" . . . what right has the Warden to volunteer his unofficial and worthless testimony, that Green was guilty of the additional crime of writing letters to slaves and free negroes? . . . It is a wonder that the old exhorter, even upon suspicion, is not now taken out of prison and burned alive! . . . yet this "community is ever ready to defend the helpless and oppressed of every color!"-If the above is a specimen of their benevolence, what would be a specimen of their cruelty!

The Southern reply, despite some strands of truth in it, was easy to mock because the Herald's editor was familiar with the nature of the commitment transcript. It bears solely the charge for which the prisoner was convicted and makes no mention of any extenuating details or circumstances.⁵¹ It didn't take long for Long to respond to Merryman's letter:

. . . I wish to state some facts in reference to the case of Samuel Green . . . It was not, and could not be, proved that he had in any way aided in the escape of slaves, and he therefore was cleared . . . of the charge . . . Even Mr. O. P. Merryman . . . admits that the crime specified on the card accompanying the prisoner was that of having said book in his possession. Mr. Merryman can't show or prove that Samuel Green is in the Penitentiary for any other crime save that of

⁵¹The original document referred to by Warden Merryman, the "Presentment" of the Grand Jury of Dorchester County given to the warden upon the prisoner's acceptance at the penitentiary, is in the possession of the Maryland State Archives. See MARYLAND PENITENTIARY (Commitments) 1857-1863 [MdHR 5688-2; 1-31-4-17], prisoner number 5146.

circulating a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin. The editors of the Baltimore American, according to "Beta," admit that while legally he is in prison for having a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin, he is really there for a crime not legally proven. I affirm that Samuel Green was tried and sentenced to the Maryland State Prison for ten years for no other crime except buying and circulating Uncle Tom's Cabin. Auburn, March 1, 1859. J. D. Long.³²

Governor Hicks may have prompted Warden Merryman's response in an effort to remove some of the pressure he was feeling to pardon Green, or some of his embarrassment, when facing North, about not pardoning him. Or perhaps Merryman was simply a loyal pro-slavery Marylander providing a Southern apology for what appeared to Northerners as a legal farce that proved Southern barbarism. Merryman was appointed warden before Hicks took office, and his letter to the newspaper was written after he was replaced as warden by A. D. Evans in June 1858, but possibly his political connections interacted with his local sympathies when he took on his job as defender of Southern justice.

³²Northern Independent, quoted in National Anti-Slavery Standard, 2 April 1859.

CHAPTER IV

SAMUEL GREEN: CONVICT AND CANADIAN

"S'pose we must be resigned; but oh Lord! how ken I? If I know'd anything whar you'd goin'. . . but Lor! nobody never comes up that goes . . . thar!"

"There'll be the same God there, Chloe, that there is here."

"Well," said Aunt Chloe, "s'pose dere will; but de Lord lets drefful things happen, sometimes. I don't seem to get no comfort dat way."

"I'm in the Lord's hands," said Tom

- Conversation between Tom and Aunt Chloe in Uncle Tom's cabin as Tom was about to leave after being sold. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 95.

When Samuel Green's confinement commenced at the Maryland State Penitentiary on 18 May 1857, he entered an overcrowded, underfunded institution which faced many problems resulting in hardships for the inmate population. The construction of the prison was authorized in 1804 and, when it opened in 1811, it was the second institution of its kind established in the United States.¹ Forty-six years after its completion, the prison administration in its 1858 Annual Report pled for help from the Governor and the General Assembly calling the past year, 1857, "one of extraordinary and universal embarrassment."² The

¹Diane P. Frese, ed., Maryland Manual, 1987-1988 (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1987), p. 321.

²Report of the President and Directors of the Maryland Penitentiary, made to His Excellency, T. Watkins Ligon, Governor (Baltimore: King & Brother, January, 1858), p. [3].

nation and state were in the midst of an economic decline, and the viable operation of the penitentiary was in jeopardy because lack of funds undercut handling of prisoners with a modicum of decency.

The prison was extremely overcrowded during the time Green spent behind its walls, and Samuel was one of the oldest prisoners incarcerated. In the 1858 Annual Report the warden reported that he was "compelled to lodge seven and eight men in rooms together, and crowd, to the number of sixty, in the hospital, making that place a common sleeping room, which should be a quiet nursery for the sick and suffering."³ Many suggestions were entertained to relieve the situation, including relocating the prison to one of the islands in the Chesapeake Bay with Poole's Island specifically mentioned.⁴ The warden pressed for new dormitory construction as a solution.

There were many employment opportunities within the prison, including smithing, coopering and weaving, that continued even as the administration faced what they judged exorbitant costs for materials and little return for the goods sold. Given the choice between excessive expenditures to continue work opportunities, and idle prisoners, the administration ran up large deficits during the early years of Green's imprisonment. The General Assembly responded in 1859 with an infusion of funds which helped keep the prison solvent.

³1858 Annual Report, p. 9.

⁴Ibid., pp. 10-11.

There were 373 new prisoners received at the penitentiary from 1856 to 1858, and the vast majority of them had their prison jobs listed in the prisoner's record. Sam Green is one of a handful for which there is no entry. It is known that Green was "employed in the lighter but responsible duties about the warden's office, and discharged them so well as to receive the constant approbation of that officer."⁵ Warden Merryman was replaced by A. D. Evans in June, 1858, and, since Evans remained warden for the duration of Green's incarceration, it is apparently Evans' "approbation" Green received.⁶

Green was 55 years old when admitted, and those who were responsible for his sentence most likely expected him to die there prior to the expiration of his ten year term.⁷ The 1858 through 1863 prison annual reports place Green statistically among his peers:

YEAR	CONVICTION			TOTAL POP.
	AGE 50-60	60-70	70-75	
1857	21	7	0	415
1858	25	7	0	425
1859	21	6	0	422
1860	19	6	1	422
1861	20	5	2	362
1862	18	6	0	349

(Illustration 5)

⁵National Anti-Slavery Standard, 10 May 1862.

⁶Appendix to the manuscript 1911 Annual Report of the Maryland Penitentiary. STATE PUBLICATIONS (Maryland Penitentiary Annual Reports) 2-3-6-9, MSA, Annapolis. Green was released 21 April 1862 and Evans was replaced three weeks later by Mark C. W. Thompson.

⁷One newspaper account reports his age as 62 when he was pardoned which would mean he was 57 when admitted. The prison record records his age as 55 when admitted.

Perhaps in reaction to the cramped quarters, there were many incidents of prisoner unrest including several fires set by convicts on the prison grounds. One notable arson case which occurred while Green was there to view the flames was a barrel factory blaze set on 23 December 1860 which destroyed a major source of prison employment and income. Four prisoners were implicated in the incident, and one Samuel Green was accused of actually setting the fire. As it happened, that Green was not the same Samuel Green who was convicted of less incendiary "inflammatory" activities. The arsonist Green was from Talbot County sentenced in 1854 to serve 7 years for "burglary and threatening the life of Mary Marshall."⁸

Conditions at the prison were sanitary, for its day. There was little loss of life, with the notable exception of the 1857 prison year when 12 inmates died, as compared to 8, 4, 3, and 8 deaths in 1858 through 1861, respectively, and only 4 or 5 in each of the 7 years prior to 1857. Sickness at the prison throughout Green's stay was not excessive and the prison was spared the epidemics endemic to the era. Though used for general sleeping quarters, the prison hospital was available to treat the ill and suffering. An inmate doctor assisted the prison physician which may help explain why relatively few prisoners complained of ailments which required the attention of the doctors.

A prison library was established in 1857 by Baltimore Quakers

⁸Baltimore Sun, 7 February 1861.

while Green was there.⁹ It was thought that the addition of the books would benefit the prisoners. By 1859 the library numbered some twelve hundred volumes, and Zion's Herald, 5 January 1859 commented:

A large number of the convicts devote the most of their leisure hours to reading, and through this means they forget their sorrows and improve their minds, while a moral influence is exerted through this instrumentality.

So says a Maryland paper. The Rev. Mr. Green, colored Methodist preacher . . . will now have a chance, it seems, to gratify his literary taste at leisure moments. Of course no books condemning slavery will be allowed to demoralize the convicts.

Though there is no record of any specific incident or activity in which Samuel Green was involved while he was serving his time at the Maryland State Penitentiary, and no communication from him during this time apparently survives, it is likely Green assisted in religious services conducted for years at the prison by the Rev. Dr. William E. Wyatt, the Rector of St. Paul's Parish from 1827 until his death in 1864.¹⁰ Warden Evans wrote in his 1861 Annual Report that Wyatt "notwithstanding his great age and feebleness of body, still continues his weekly visits to those of the prisoners who desire to listen to instructions from him. I must say, in this connection, that the Doctor's class is among the best prisoners in the Institution."

Another frequent visitor to the prison with whom Green had contact was Francis Thompson King, a prominent Baltimore Quaker. Through King,

⁹1858 Annual Report, p. 12.

¹⁰Maryland Historical Society Dielman-Haywood File, Baltimore.

Green probably was kept informed of the heavy attention paid his case by the Northern press. King was a confidant of both Governors Hicks and his successor in 1862, Augustus Williamson Bradford, which would explain how Green knew of Hicks' honest response that he might be lynched if he pardoned him. King was one of "two gentlemen of the Society of Friends in [Baltimore who] never forgot him. The prisoner filled a large place in their hearts."¹¹

Numerous petitions for executive clemency were directed to Governor Hicks on Green's behalf, all unheeded. When Augustus Williamson Bradford, who like Hicks was a Methodist, became Governor of Maryland in 1862, one of his first acts was to pardon Samuel Green, specifically at the behest of King and another unnamed Quaker. Bradford was eulogized in the Baltimore Sun of 2 March 1881, the day following his death, as "a man of unblemished integrity, and although set in his opinions, he was conscientious in the discharge of what he believed to be his duty."¹² That conscientiousness was apparent as he sought counsel from Francis Thompson King twice in March 1862 concerning the Green pardon.¹³ Soon thereafter, his opinion in the matter was set, influenced probably by Green's religion and Green's influential Quaker support, and almost certainly by the Northern control of Maryland that ended pro-slavery dominance in the state.

¹¹National Anti-Slavery Standard, 10 May 1862.

¹²Quoted in Frank F. White, Jr., The Governor's of Maryland (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1970), p. 163.

¹³Bradford Journals. Maryland Historical Society MS 90, acc. 58450.

"Well, Tom," said St. Clare, . . . "I'm going to make a free man of you . . . The sudden light of joy that shone in Tom's face as he raised his hands to heaven, his emphatic "Bless the Lord!" rather decomposed St. Clare . . . "You haven't had such very bad times here, that you need be in such rapture, Tom," he said dryly.

"No, no, Mas'r! 'tan't that,--it's bein' a free man! That's what I'm joyin' for."

- Conversation following the commencement of the legal formalities that would have led to Tom's freedom had not St. Clare suffered an untimely death. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 285.

The public notice of the scheduled pardon hearing was dated 3 March 1862 with the hearing held 24 March 1862. Against a backdrop of a nation divided by war, the case of Samuel Green was at last before Maryland's chief official. "Sundry petitions and papers heretofore filed" were on record in support of the pardon. "Letters recommending his pardon from Judge Spence and Charles F. Goldsborough States Attorney" were also on file, apparently on the condition that Green not be allowed to remain in Maryland.¹⁴ Following a study of these documents, none of which survive, Governor Bradford granted Samuel Green a pardon on 26 March 1862.¹⁵ Samuel did not have to suffer death to regain his freedom, as did Uncle Tom. He was released from prison on 21 April 1862 with no explanation for the month delay.¹⁶

¹⁴See appendix pages 83 through 85.

¹⁵SECRETARY OF STATE (Pardon Docket) 1862-1869 [MdHR 7943; 2-27-1-6], pp. 3 a & b Samuel Green entry 16, 3 March 1862, MSA, Annapolis.

¹⁶MARYLAND PENITENTIARY (Prisoners Record) 1811; 1826-1869 [MdHR 5656; 1-30-4-38], entry 5146.

The last extant document on the Green case in the Executive Papers at the Maryland State Archives is a letter to Governor Bradford from a Delaware lawyer who had heard conflicting stories about the Green case and wanted to learn the truth:

My Dear Sir: I have taken the liberty of enclosing you a piece cut out of the New York Observer which I have in conversation with a member of the Bar of this place, John C. Patterson, Esqr. contradicted the veracity of the case. Altho I may possibly be wrong will you please let me know if there is any truth in the statement as Mr. Patterson as well as others are desirous to know.¹⁷

Governor Bradford did not answer, doubtless hoping he and his state could finally forget the scorn, insinuation, and confusion Green's conviction had brought on.

The story of the pardon was carried nationwide. One account appeared in the 10 May 1862 issue of the National Anti-Slavery Standard:

Last week Gov. Bradford granted Mr. Green a pardon, and released him from his unjust captivity, on condition of his expatriation, which was required by the County Court of Dorchester and the State's Attorney, and which was readily conceded by the prisoner, because he had determined to remove to Canada just previous to his arrest and condemnation . . . All hail to Gov. Bradford for this just exercise of executive clemency! When the authors of the infamous law that consigned Green to a dungeon for having "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in his possession, and the judiciary that executed its iniquitous provinces against this helpless black man, who in intellect and morals is the superior of his persecutors, shall be remembered only to be scorned, Gov. Bradford's righteous pardon of the patient victim will stand out as an act of compassion that will shine brighter and brighter to the end, and will be blessed by the millions of colored freemen who are destined yet to a higher civilization than that which their once white masters boasted of.

¹⁷MARYLAND STATE PAPERS (Executive Papers) [MdHR 6636-289; 1-8-1-40], MSA, Annapolis. See appendix pages 87 and 88.

The official pardon record stated, in part, that Green ". . . has been recommended to the clemency of the Governor by the Judge [of Dorchester County] and by the States Attorney for said County and by other respectable citizens of the County and State familiar with all the facts of the case." The pardon proclamation stipulated that Green was pardoned "on condition that he leave the State within sixty days."¹⁸

Samuel and Kitty Green could finally begin their trip together to Canada. No records exist about where Kitty lived during the time her husband was imprisoned. She may have gone to Canada to live with her son shortly after she sold off all of Sam's belongings in 1857. Kitty was said to be "in her sixtieth" year, with Sam either 60 or 62-years old.¹⁹ They apparently did not delay their departure. One account published in May 1862 stated that Green was "already on his way to Canada."²⁰ It is probable that Green's Quaker friends, and others, contributed money or provisions to help them begin.

From Baltimore, Green travelled first to Philadelphia where he visited William Still, as had his son eight years earlier. Still recounted that he heard "from his own lips narrations of his years of

¹⁸SECRETARY OF STATE (Pardon Record) 1845-1865 [MdHR 7931; 2-26-5-30], pp. 339-340, MSA, Annapolis.

¹⁹National Anti-Slavery Standard, 10 May 1862.

²⁰New York Observer, May 1862 (date unknown).

suffering--of the bitter cup, that he was compelled to drink, and of his being sustained by the Almighty Arm." He apparently was in Philadelphia long enough for his portrait to be done. It was used as an etching in Still's book and is shown in chapter one of this paper. Doubtless many hours were spent with Green as he spoke of his life. Sadly, Still wrote that "no notes were taken at the time, consequently we have nothing more to add concerning him."²¹

After leaving Philadelphia, Green next appeared in New York. He arrived there by June 1862. The New York Times reported that he would "address the congregation of Shiloh Church--Mr. Garnet's--on Sunday evening next, June 29."²² and on Sunday announced the service:²³

REV. MR. GREENE, WHO WAS IMPRISONED for ten years in a Maryland jail for reading "Uncle Tom's Cabin," will preach in Shiloh Presbyterian Church. (Rev. H. H. GARNET'S) on SUNDAY EVENING, at 7 1/2 o'clock.

(Illustration 6)

Henry Highland Garnet was born a slave in Kent County, Maryland. He escaped in 1824 to New York where he became a leading black abolitionist active in the American Anti-Slavery Society and the gospel ministry. He doubtless was well acquainted with Green's story.²⁴

²¹Still, The Underground Railroad, p. 250.

²²28 June 1862, p. 3 column 2.

²³29 June 1862, p. 7 column 1.

²⁴Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., The Dictionary of American Biography volume IV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 154-155.

Theodore Tilton, a reporter for The Independent, a New York newspaper, wrote an article about Green after his pardon that appeared in many Northern papers. He solicited "a little money to help the old man off to the penal colony of Canada" that could be sent to Green in care of the newspaper.²⁵ Green travelled up the coast preaching along the way, with offerings taken on his behalf to offset the cost of the trip.

By August, Green was in New England. William Lloyd Garrison wrote to his son from Boston on 1 August 1862 after he had participated as a featured speaker in the "1st of August" celebration at Abington, Massachusetts.²⁶ Green shared the platform with Garrison and many others. Garrison wrote that all of the speeches that day, "necessarily brief" due to the number of speakers scheduled, "were exceedingly pertinent and impressive."²⁷ Green's speech was reported in The Liberator of 15 August 1862. Green began:

My friends, I esteem it a distinguished privilege and blessing to be here today. I have been truly gratified in hearing what has been said in regard to the evil of slavery, and the terrible consequences thereof, which now convulse the nation. . . .

The account continued, "It has pleased God, he said, to reveal Himself

²⁵National Anti-Slavery Standard, 28 June 1862 and The Liberator, 4 July 1862.

²⁶Commemorating the anniversary of the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies.

²⁷Walter M. Merrill, ed., The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison volume V (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 103.

more powerfully to him in his affliction than at any other time. He realized that it was good to be afflicted; and he would say, that whatever might be our position, so long as we trusted in God, He would support and finally deliver us."

". . . And tell her the Lord's stood by me everywhere and al'ays, and made everything light and easy. And oh, the poor chil'en, and the baby!--my old heart's been most broke for 'em . . . O, Mas'r George! What a thing 'tis to be a Christian!"

- Tom speaking after he had been savagely beaten by Simon Legree to George Shelby who had come, too late, to redeem him. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 387.

The article concluded by noting that a "handsome collection was taken up for his benefit, he having been despoiled of all his goods by the Egyptians down in Maryland." At this point the "paper trail" we have used to follow Green Northward ends.

Green made one other significant acquaintance as he travelled to Canada, in this case a person already deeply involved in his life. An 1858 Dorchester County newspaper review of the Green trial, in the usual attempt to pretend anti-slavery rather than slavery was the cause of the institution's injustices, castigated Harriet Beecher Stowe for the vicious results of her literary efforts:

We wish that Mrs. Stowe could have stood, as we did, in the crowded court room, and listened to the trial of the negro whom she had caused to be placed in the criminal box. It might perhaps have induced her to devote the efforts of her pen to some other purpose than that of decrying the Constitution of her country, and endeavoring to array one portion of her fellow citizens against the other.

Samuel Green responded to such accusations in his Abington,

Massachusetts speech by stating that "he did not believe that the efforts of the abolitionists had been an injury to the colored people, bond or free, but rather a benefit; and he attributed his own release to their exertions."²⁸

Green was to meet the woman whom the Cambridge Eagle insisted was the source of all Green's troubles as well as those of most other Southern blacks. In 1862, when Green was in New York on his way to Canada, he met the author who had unwittingly contributed to Green's becoming a public figure. Stowe wrote about their meeting as a brief paragraph in a lengthy article she penned which appeared in the 31 July 1862 issue of The Independent about Simon the Cyrenian. It was likely she who asked Tilton to lead the effort to collect money for Green. Its poignant ending added a final note of irony to the story of Samuel Green's life:

There came a black man to our house a few days ago, who had spent five years at hard labor in a Maryland penitentiary for the crime of having a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin in his house. He had been sentenced for ten years, but on his promise to leave the state and go to Canada, was magnanimously pardoned out. . . . and so he left Maryland without any acquisition except an infirmity of the limbs which he had caught from prison labor. All this was his portion of the cross; and he took it meekly, without comment, only asking that as they did not allow him to finish reading the book, we would give him a copy of Uncle Tom's Cabin--which we did.

Presumably Green finished reading the book, which must have moved him even more than most of its millions of other readers. Its themes of Christian dignity and resignation, of integrity in difficult

²⁸The Liberator, 15 August 1862.

circumstances, and of painful family separations and other evils of slavery, despite the decencies of individual white Southerners, were ones he knew well indeed. The fiction brought to life the parallel truths in the history of one "of the lowly" whose human resilience and integrity seem to have been not unlike those of Uncle Tom.

Samuel Green probably resumed his life to its end in his characteristic "inoffensive, industrious" manner albeit in an area far different from what he knew in Maryland.²⁹ There were reminders, however, in addition to the long memories of his earlier life: situated near Salford, Ontario, where his son lived, lie the towns of Dorchester and Cambridge.

"Who,--who,--who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" he said, in a voice that contended with mortal weakness; and with a smile, he fell asleep.

- The death of Uncle Tom. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 387.

There is no monument to mark the last resting-place of our friend. He needs none! His Lord knows where he lies, and will raise him up, immortal, to appear with him when he shall appear in his glory.

- Written of Uncle Tom's grave. Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 389.

Nor do we know where Samuel Green rests awaiting the resurrection morning.

²⁹William Still, The Underground Rail Road, p. 247.

". . . So, when you rejoice in your freedom, think that you owe it to that good old soul. . . . Think of your freedom, every time you see UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; and let it be a memorial to put you all in mind to follow in his steps, and be as honest and faithful and Christian as he was."

- George Shelby to "all [who] remember our good old Uncle Tom." Uncle Tom's Cabin p. 405.

. . . and to us, who remember Samuel Green.

APPENDIX

This appendix contains copies of documents which pertain to the Samuel Green story. Annotated transcripts follow some of the copy documents.

Samuel Green Be it Remembered that the following Bill of Sale was
from recorded on the 4th day of February 1842 to wit: Know
E. Richardson all men by these presents that I Ezekiel Richardson
for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars current
money to me in hand paid by Samuel Green Col[ore]d man have granted
bargained & sold & by these presents do grant bargain and sell unto the
said Samuel Green by negro woman named Kitty about thirty six years of
age a slave for life & sound in body & mind To have & to Hold the said
negro woman Kitty as above bargained & sold unto the said Samuel Green
his kin executors administrators and assigns against me my kin
executors & administrators and against all & every other person or
persons shall & will warrant and defend - In Testimony whereof I have
unto set my hand & affixed by seal this 4th day of February 1842.

Test Charles Corkran -

E. Richardson [seal]

State of Maryland Dorchester County to wit on this 4th day of February
1842 before me the subscribers a Justice of the peace in and for said
County and State personally appeared Ezekiel Richardson and
acknowledged the above Bill of Sale to be his act & deed recording to
the true intent and meaning thereof -

AcKnowledged before Charles Corkran

Samuel Green Be it Remembered that the following Manumission was
to recorded on the 4th day of February 1842 to wit
Negro Kitty To all whom it may concern. Be it Known that I Samuel
Green of Dorchester County in the State of Maryland for divers good
causes and considerations me thereunto moving have released from
slavery liberated manumitted and set free & by these presents do hereby
release from slavery liberate manumit and set free my wife Kitty whom I
this day purchased from Ezekiel Richardson being about the age of
thirty six years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and
maintenance and (?) the said Kitty I do declare to be henceforth free,
manumitted and discharged from all manner of service or servitude to me
my kin executors administrators or assigns forever
In Testimony Whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal this 4th day of
February 1842.

Signed sealed & delivered
in presence of - - -

Samuel Green [seal]

Charles Corkran Thos. H. Hooper

State of Maryland Be it Remembered that on the 4th day of
Dorchester County to wit: February in the year of our Lord 1842 before
me the subscriber a Justice of the peace of the State of Maryland in
and for said County personally appeared Samuel Green of the County Afsd
and acknowledges the above instrument to be his act and deed recording
to the true intent & meaning thereof and the Act of Assembly in such
case made & provided - Charles Corkran¹

¹DORCHESTER COUNTY (Chattel Records) ER 2 [MdHR 19,624;
1-4-4-42], pp. 475-476, MSA, Annapolis.

No 40
East Newmarket, Dorchester Co

To His Excellency J. Watkins Ligon

Governor of Maryland

We the undersigned beg Leave very Respectfully to Represent to your Excellency that a certain Free Negro who was convicted in the Circuit Court for Dorchester County held in ^{the} town of Cambridge about April 1857 for aiding and ^{abetting} slaves to escape from their masters, and for having in his possession certain Abolition Handbills Pamphlets, and other documents, and papers of a little character, also certain letters from ~~express~~ ^{express} in Canada, who had escaped from his immediate neighbourhood, inviting certain other negroes by name to follow on as the way was all clear, and he found plenty of friends and money on the way, and where he stopped and how long he remained at several Points on his Passage, there were also found in his possession several schedules of Railroad Road Travel, ~~through~~ ^{through} the northern States. We further represent that said Negro - Samuel Green by name had a fair and Impartial ^{official} Hon. Honour Judge Spence Assigning him two as ^{the} Counsel as belonged to the Bar. It was in evidence before the Court that those negroes written to from Canada did obtain from their masters some time after the reception of this letter, It was further Proved on the trial of said Negro that he the said Samuel Green did during the Autumn of 1856 visit Canada himself secretly, and return to this State, not more than one or two persons ^{knowing} when and where he went and when he returned, and ^{was in the act of} those two coun-
sel to keep the matter Private

In view of all these facts, we are no little surprised to find circulating in this community a Petition to your Excellency for Executive Clemency towards this said Negro confined in the Maryland Penitentiary, for the term of ten years, one fact we failed to mention it was in evidence before the court, and of the most Respectable kind, that nine tenths of the community in which he lived believed he was guilty of the matters whereof he stood charged, so unanimous was the sentiment against ^{him} that his counsel could not for a moment entertain the idea of trying him by a jury, but elected to and did try him before the court, the Petition before alluded to asks your Excellency to Pardon unconditionally said Negro convict, and restore him to his family and friends, We should look on his restoration to this neighbourhood as the greatest evil that could befall it for the reason that up to the time of his arrest in April last our Negroes were leaving in numbers from 2 to 15 ~~th~~ th or 18 from the time of his arrest up to the 10 of the present month, there has scarcely any Negroes ran away at all and in no case has the writer of this known to ^{run} away of together until as before remarked on the 10 of the present month 5 have left Cambridge, I suppose they ^{have} found another channel. The Petition to your Excellency above alluded to was presented to the writer of this communication last evening 24 names being annexed all very well known to the writer 4 of them alone are slaveholders to a very small extent 3 or 4 farmers some carpenters a few merchants school teachers, plasterers and quite a respectable number of ~~them~~ ^{these} are ladies some of which are not even Residents of the county or state but merely Sojourners

For our object in this communication is merely to inform ^{you} such a Paper as we have described with in all Probability be read by your Excellency, we do not think it worth while at the present to get a counter Petition for the reason we do think a memorial of such material as ^{is so} ~~it~~ ^{must} necessarily be composed of cannot have any considerable ^{weight} with your Excellency at least. We very Respect ^{fully} Represent that we are Slave Holders and tillers of the soil and situated in the Immediate vicinity where said negro resided before his arrest and coercion and should consider our slaves in still greater jeopardy were he turned loose among us. In conclusion we very Respectfully Ask your Excellency should a memorial of sufficient Respectability be presented to you for the Pardon of Samuel Green as to Raise in your mind a question of the Propriety of such a course of Proceedings that before consenting you will cause the undersigned to be so informed and give sufficient time to prepare a counter Petition.

We are very truly and Respectfully &c

October 15th 1857

William Holland

William E. Harrington

John Stoddard

John Pattison

Rich^d H. Dixon

Asa H. Wright

John J. Houston

William S. Vickers

For Lyon & Co
 domestic affection has the delay
 of this communication, as it
 would have reach you sooner
 Done 15th 1857
 William Holland

East Newmarket Dorchester Co.

To His Excellency T. Watkins Ligon Governor of Maryland.

We the undersigned beg Leave very Respectfully to represent to your Excellency that a certain Free Negro who was convicted in the Circuit Court for Dorchester County held in the town of Cambridge About April 1857 for Aiding and abetting Slaves to escape from their Masters,¹ and for having in his possession certain Abolition Handbills, Pamphlets and other documents, and papers of a like character, also certain letters from Negroes in Canada², who had escaped from his Immediate Neighborhood, inviting certain other negroes by name³ to follow on as the way was all clear, and he⁴ found Plenty of friends and money on the way⁵, and where he stopped and how long he remained at several Points on his Passage.⁶ There were also found in his possession several schedules of Railroad Road travel, through the northern States. We further represent that said Negro - Samuel Green by name had a fair and Impartial trial His Honour Judge Spence Assigning him two as Able Counsel as belonged to the Bar.⁷ It was In evidence before the Court that those negroes written to from Canada did

¹Green was not so charged formally although this was the "real" reason for his arrest.

²The only letter entered in the trial record was the one written by his son shortly after he arrived in Canada. Although other letters are frequently mentioned as being part of the case brought against Green, there is no official record of them.

³Apparently a reference to "P. Jackson" and "Joseph Baley" in the letter written by Green's son.

⁴The "certain letters" now becomes "he," referring to Samuel's son. There may well have been no other letters and the writers who frequently mention them are in fact referring to the one letter by Green's son. These writers intentionally fail to identify Green's son so as not to dilute their argument that Green was in receipt of letters written by other runaways and was an active agent in their escape.

⁵"plenty of friends" is a direct quote from the letter of Green's son.

⁶Philadelphia, 4 days; New York City, 1 day.

⁷Daniel M. Henry and James Wallace.

abscond from their Masters some time⁸ after the reception of this letter, It was further Proved on the trial of said Negro that he the said Samuel Green did during the Autumn of 1856 visit Canada himself secretly, and return to this State not more than one or two persons knowing when and where he went and when he returned, and those two counselling him to keep the matter Private.

In view of all these facts, we are not little surprised to find circulating in this community a Petition to your Excellency for Executive Clemency towards this said Negro, now confined in the Maryland Penitentiary for the term of tenn years, one fact we failed to mention it was in evidence before the court, and of the Most Respectable Kind, that nine tenths of the community in which he lived believed he was guilty of the Matters whereof he stood charged⁹, so unanimous was the sentiment against him that his counsel could not for a moment entertain the idea of trying him by a jury¹⁰, but elected to, and did try him before the court. The Petition before Alluded to asks your Excellency to Pardon unconditionally said negro convict, and restore him to his family and friends. We should look on his restoration to this Neighborhood as the greatest evil that could befall it for the reason that up to the time of his arrest in April last our negroes were leaving us in numbers from 2 to 15 or 18 from the time of his arrest up to the 10 of the present month, there has scarcely any Negroes ran away at all and in no case has the writer of this known 2 to run of together until as before remarked on the 10 of the present month 5 have left Cambridge. I suppose they have opened another channel. The Petition to your Excellency above alluded to was presented to the writer of this communication last evening 24 names being annexed all very well known to the writer 4 of them above are slaveholders to a very small extent 3 or 4 farmers, some house carpenters, a few merchants, school teachers, plasters and quite a respectable number of [the signers] are ladies some of which are not even residents of the county or state but merely Sojourners.

Sir our object in this communication is merely to inform you such a paper as we have described will in all Probability be received by your Excellency. We do not think it worth while at present to

⁸This evidence is not extant so the time of their flight cannot be ascertained. The letter arrived in 1854. Green was arrested in 1857.

⁹Apparently a reference to the charge of aiding and abetting slaves to escape, when, in fact, he was not charged with that crime.

¹⁰The trial docket clearly states that a trial by jury was initially requested for both trials with the motion withdrawn in both cases. Green's attorneys surely realized that a jury trial would not be in the best interest of their client given the degree of agitation the locals felt.

get up a counter Petition for the reason we do think a memorial of such material as the one described must necessarily be composed of, cannot have any considerable weight with your Excellency at least. We very Respectfully represent that we are Slave Holders and tillers of the soil and situated in the Immediate vicinity where said negro resided before his arrest and conviction and should consider our slaves in still greater jeopardy were he turned loose among us. In conclusion we very Respectfully Ask your Excellency, should a memorial of sufficient Respectability be presented to you for the Pardon of Samuel Green as to Raise in your mind a question of the Propriety of such a course of Proceedings, that before consenting you will cause the undersigned to be so Informed and give sufficient time to provide a counter Petition.

We are very truly and Respectfully

October 15th, 1857

/s/ William Holland¹¹
/s/ William E. Harrison¹²
/s/ Jno H. Hodson¹³
/s/ John Pattison¹⁴
/s/ Rich. H. Dixon¹⁵
/s/ Isaac H. Wright¹⁶
/s/ John T. Houston¹⁷
/s/ William T. Vickers¹⁸

¹¹Owned 8 slaves according to 1850 census slave schedules.

¹²Owned 7 slaves according to 1850 census slave schedules.

¹³Owned 10 slaves according to the 1850 census slave schedules.

¹⁴Owned 7 slaves according to 1850 census slave schedules. Named to Trustees of the Poor, 1852, DORCHESTER COUNTY BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS (Proceedings) 1852-1868 WR 1 [MdHR 12,124; 1-5-2-1], MSA, Annapolis.

¹⁵A Doctor Richard H. Dixson from Cambridge, Maryland, is listed in DORCHESTER COUNTY (Assessor's Field Book) 1852 District 2 [MdHR 11,597; 1-5-2-12], p. 36, as owning 1 horse (\$100), 1 gold watch (\$50) and a library of 25 books (\$175).

¹⁶No information could be definitively ascertained concerning this Wright.

¹⁷Owned 5 slaves according to the 1850 census slave schedules.

¹⁸Cambridge sheriff in 1857 following the death of Robert Bell. Owned 1 slave according to the 1850 census slave schedules.

PS

Gov Ligon Dr Sir

Domestic affliction has caused the delay of this communication, or it would have reached you sooner.¹⁹

November 18th 1857 /s/ William Holland²⁰

¹⁹Delivery apparently delayed awaiting outcome of gubernatorial election.

²⁰MARYLAND STATE PAPERS (Executive Papers) [MdHR 6636-246; 1-7-5-39], MSA, Annapolis.

No.	DATE	NAME	NATURE OF THE APPLICATION
	1862		
14	February 24	William Moore Allegany Co.	For Remission of fine of \$30 imposed by the Circuit Court for Allegany County at its January term 1862 for selling liquor on Sunday.
15	February 26	Edward Mansfield	For Nolle Prosequi. Indicted at the April term of Kent Co. Ct. et 1861, for aiding and abetting slaves to refuse to and cross an out-house. 1 March 1862, Statement of the State Atty. in Chief as to the standard of value for the
16	March 3	Samuel Green Free Negro	For Pardon. Indicted at the April term 1857 of the Circuit Court for Worcester County, for having in his possession pamphlets or papers of inflammatory character having a tendency to excite discontent amongst or stir up to insurrection the people of colour in this state. Sentence 10 years in the Penitentiary
17	March 5	William Fennell	For Nolle Prosequi. Charged with - Abiding pro C. Latham. Resignation for 1862 appearance with his 1862 papers as Prisoner in 1858. Short copy of Vestet C. Latham p -
18	March 6	Michael Burke James C. Reilly	For Nolle Prosequi. Charged with an assault and battery on Samuel H. Pappoe 5 th March 1862. application, records & papers delivered to A. Russell Esq

SECRETARY OF STATE (Pardon Docket) 1862-1869 [MdHR 7943; 2-27-1-6], pp. 3a & 3b, entry 16 Samuel Green, 3 March 1862, MSA, Annapolis.

MATTERS OF REMOVALS	DATE OF HEARING.	EXECUTIVE DECISION.
<p>Relinquish of duty officers of the Court. (Sheriff, jailer, etc.) Deacons, & other citizens</p>	<p>1872</p>	
<p>3 Petitions of citizens of Kent County and letters from J. A. Pearce, and Geo. Vickers recommending the grant of Pardon upon condition that persons shall leave the State and never return. Notes sent to Kent News 15th Feb, 1872.</p>	<p>March 17th</p>	<p>18 March 1872 Pardon granted upon condition that said Edward Mansfield shall forthwith leave the State of Me. and never return again. See Record of Pardon Page 339</p>
<p>Several petitions and papers here before filed. Letters recommending his pardon from Judge Spencer and Charles W. Goldborough, State Attorney. 3 Mar, 1872. Notice sent to the Exchange Intelligence 30 Mar 72. Draft taken of</p>	<p>March 24th</p>	<p>26 March 1872 Pardon granted. See Record of Pardon page 339.</p>
<p>Statement of affidavit of Richard D. Fitzgerald, Jr. to Latham, etc</p>		
<p>Relinquish of sundry officers in U.S. service and letters to sundry persons.</p>		<p>5 March application, refused.</p>

By the State of Maryland
Whereas, a certain Samuel Green a free negro was convicted on indictment in the Circuit Court for Dorchester County at April Term, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven, for knowingly having in his possession a certain abolition pamphlet called "Whistle Tom's Cabin" of an inflammatory character and calculated to create discontent amongst the colored population of this State and sentenced to confinement in the Penitentiary until the 1st day of May 1857

And Whereas, the said Samuel Green has been recommended to the clemency of the Governor by the Judge of the said Circuit Court and by the States Attorney for said County and by other respectable citizens of the County and State familiar with all the facts of the case

Now Therefore, be it enacted by the Governor of Maryland, have thought proper to pardon the said Samuel Green and to do hereby direct that he be immediately released from imprisonment on account of said offence, and grant him pardon therefore, on condition that he leave the State within sixty days.

Given under my hands and the Great Seal of the State of Maryland, this twenty sixth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty two.



By the Governor
Wm. A. Will
Secretary of State
A. W. Bradford



State of Maryland

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Annapolis 26 March 1862

I, *William P. Hill*

SECRETARY OF STATE, of the

State of Maryland, do hereby certify that the GOVERNOR this day granted a PARDON to *Samuel Green - free Negro -* convicted in the *Circuit* Court for *Dorchester County* at *April* Term, 1867, and sentenced to be confined in the Penitentiary until the *14th of May 1867.*

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND THE SEAL OF MY OFFICE, this *twenty sixth* day of *March* in the Year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-*two.*

Wm P Hill Secy of State

W. P. Hill
Samuel Green
Subject of Pardon

Filed - April 24th, 1862.

DORCHESTER COUNTY COURT (Court Papers) April Term 1857 Criminal Judgments, Pardon Certificate for Samuel Green, filed 24 April 1862, Dorchester County Courthouse, Cambridge, Maryland.

Wilmington

Dr. Cassin - 28th May 1862

Governor.

Augustus Bradford

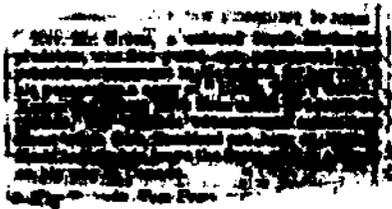
My Dear Sir,

I have taken the liberty of enclosing you a piece cut out of the New York Observer, which I have in conversation with a Member of the Bar of this place, John C. Patterson Esq. Esq. Contradicting the veracity of the Case, as the same may possibly be wrong - will you please let me know if there is any truth in the statement as Mr. Patterson as well as others are desirous to know.

I have the Honor to be
Your sincere Friend

John A. Webster

Please direct to care
J. C. Patterson Esq
Wilmington



Wilmington
Delaware 20th May 1862

Governor
Augustus Bradford

My Dear Sir:

I have taken the liberty of Enclosing you a piece cut out of the New York Observer, which I have in conversation with a member of the Bar of this place, John C. Patterson Esqr., contradicted the veracity of the case. Altho I may possibly be wrong - will you please let me know if there is any truth in the statement as Mr. Patterson as well as others are desirous to know.

I have the Honor to be
Your Sincere Friend,

Please direct to care
J.C. Patterson, Esqr.
Wilmington¹

/s/ John A. Webster

(ENCLOSED CLIPPING:)

Rev. Mr. Green, a colored local Methodist preacher, was five years ago sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in Maryland, for having in his possession a copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Numerous efforts have been made to secure his pardon, but without success until a few days since, when Gov. Bradford set him at liberty. He is required to leave the State, and is already on his way to Canada.

MARYLAND STATE PAPERS (Executive Papers) [MdHR 6636-289; 1-8-1-40],
MSA, Annapolis.

¹There is no record of any reply found in the correspondence ledgers of Governor Bradford at the Maryland State Archives or the Maryland Historical Society.

The following documents are tables from the Annual Reports of the Maryland State Penitentiary listing the number of prisoners incarcerated at the time of the Report categorized by crime committed. Note how Green's "crime" description changes over time until he is no longer listed in 1862, the year he was pardoned.

TABLE III,

Showing their different Crimes, and the number committing each particular Crime.

Stealing.....	78	Number brought up.....	
Larceny.....	111	Burglary and Felony.....	
Murder in the Second Degree....	34	Stealing Horse and Buggy.....	
Assaulting and shooting with intent to kill.....	23	Bigamy.....	
Horse Stealing.....	14	Feloniously entering a store.....	
Manslaughter.....	13	Assault with intent to Rob.....	
Burglary.....	19	Accessory to the Burning of a House.....	
Arson.....	19	Rogues and Vagabonds.....	
Murder in the First Degree.....	11	Burglary, Arson and Larceny.....	
Receiving Stolen Goods and Money.....	10	Passing Counterfeit Coin.....	
Assaulting and Robbing.....	10	Burglary and Counterfeiting U. S. States Coin.....	
Enticing and assisting Slaves to run away.....	9	Rape, and Stealing Horse and Carriage.....	
Felony.....	6	Breaking into a House, with murderous threats.....	
Rape.....	8	Having Abolition and Incendiary Books.....	
Assault with intent to Rape.....	5	Robbery and Arson.....	
Burglary and Assault with intent to kill.....	7	Highway Robbery.....	
Robbing and Assault with intent to kill.....	6	Setting fire to Penitentiary Buildings.....	
Forgery.....	2	Stealing Chickens.....	
Obtaining goods and money under false pretences.....	3	Total.....	
Forging papers to obtain Land Warrants.....	3		
Number carried up.....	391		

TABLE IV

Showing the County or Court from which the Prisoners were sent.

Baltimore City Court.....	152	Number brought up.....	
Baltimore County Court.....	50	Dorchester.....	
Allegany.....	23	Kent.....	
Talbot.....	21	St. Mary's.....	
Anne Arundel.....	19	Charles.....	
Washington.....	26	Caroline.....	
Somerset.....	13	Prince Georges.....	
Frederick.....	20	Carroll.....	
Harford.....	10	Queen Anne's.....	
Cecil.....	4	Calvert.....	
Howard.....	7	Montgomery.....	
Worcester.....	9	United States District Court.....	
Number carried up.....	354	United States Circuit Court.....	
		Total.....	

TABLE C.

Showing their different Crimes, and the number committing each particular Crime.

Swearing.....	72	Number brought up.....	383
Larceny.....	121	Forging papers to obtain land warrants.....	3
Murder in the second degree.....	31	Burglary and felony.....	13
Assault with intent to kill.....	36	Stealing horse and buggy.....	3
Horse stealing.....	13	Bigamy.....	2
Man-slaughter.....	12	Assault with intent to rob.....	1
Burglary.....	16	Rogues and vagabonds.....	1
Perjury.....	20	Burglary, arson, and larceny.....	1
Murder in the first degree.....	8	Burglary & counterfeiting U. S. coin.....	1
Receiving stolen goods.....	6	Highway robbery.....	1
Harboring and assisting slaves to run away.....	9	Setting fire to Penitentiary buildings.....	2
Felony.....	7	Murder.....	3
Rape.....	10	Killing horse and mule.....	1
Assault with intent to rape.....	4	Robbery.....	8
Burglary and assault with intent to kill.....	8	Rape & stealing horse & carriage.....	1
Robbery and assault.....	2	Entering stores with intent to kill.....	1
Forgery.....	2	Having abolition and incendiary books.....	1
Obtaining goods and money under false pretenses.....	6		
Number carried up.....	383	Total.....	425

TABLE D.

Showing the County or Court from which the Prisoners were sent.

Baltimore City.....	150	Number brought up.....	361
Baltimore County.....	52	St. Mary's.....	4
Alleghany.....	19	Charles.....	7
Talbot.....	20	Caroline.....	3
Anne Arundel.....	17	Prince George's.....	7
Washington.....	24	Carroll.....	11
Dorchester.....	12	Queen Anne's.....	8
Frederick.....	17	Calvert.....	1
Cecil.....	11	Montgomery.....	3
Howard.....	6	Harford County.....	13
Worcester.....	11	United States District Court.....	6
Dorchester.....	18	United States Circuit Court.....	1
Kent.....	4		
Number carried up.....	361	Total.....	425

TABLE No. 3.

Showing their different Crimes, and the number committing each particular Crime.

Stealing.....	50	Number brought up.....	382
Larceny.....	135	Burglary and felony.....	6
Assault with intent to kill.....	36	Stealing horses and buggys.....	2
Horse Stealing.....	11	Bigamy.....	2
Manlaughter.....	8	Assault with intent to rob.....	2
Murder in second degree.....	35	Rogues and vagabonds.....	2
Murder in first degree.....	8	Burglary, arson and larceny.....	1
Arson.....	22	Rape, stealing horse and carriage	1
Burglary.....	21	Having an abolition pamphlet in	
Felony.....	5	his possession called "Uncle	
Rape.....	6	Tom's Cabin".....	1
Assault with intent to rape.....	8	Highway robbery.....	1
Receiving stolen goods.....	4	Setting fire to the Penitentiary	
Enticing and assisting slaves to		buildings.....	2
run away.....	9	Robbery.....	5
Burglary and assault with intent		Rape on a child five years old... 1	
to kill.....	7	Killing horse and mule.....	1
Robbery and assault with intent		Murder.....	4
to kill.....	1	Burglary and larceny.....	6
Forgery.....	4	Stealing chickens.....	1
Obtaining goods and money un-		Assault with intent to kill and	
der false pretences.....	9	larceny.....	2
Forging papers to obtain land		Total.....	422
warrants.....	3		
Number carried up.....	382		

TABLE No. 4.

Showing the County or Court from which the Prisoners were sent.

Baltimore City.....	150	Number brought up.....	343
Baltimore County.....	59	Dorchester.....	19
Allegany.....	14	Kent.....	5
Talbot.....	14	St. Mary's.....	6
Anne Arundel.....	17	Charles.....	2
Washington.....	20	Caroline.....	3
Somerset.....	7	Prince George's.....	8
Frederick.....	12	Carroll.....	15
Harford.....	15	Queen Anne's.....	8
Cecil.....	17	Calvert.....	1
Howard.....	8	Montgomery.....	5
Worcester.....	10	United States Court.....	7
Number carried up.....	343	Total.....	422

TABLE No. 3.

of different Crimes, and the number committing each particular Crime.

Number brought up.....	377	Number brought up.....	377
.....	151	Forging papers to obtain land warrants.....	1
with intent to kill.....	46	Burglary and felony.....	1
.....	12	Stealing horse and buggy.....	1
.....	7	Bigamy.....	2
second degree.....	40	Assault with intent to rob.....	2
.....	5	Rogue and vagabond.....	1
first degree.....	7	Burglary, arson and larceny.....	1
.....	15	Rape, and stealing horse and carriage.....	1
.....	20	Having incendiary papers in his possession.....	1
.....	5	Highway robbery.....	1
with intent to rape.....	5	Setting fire to the Penitentiary..	2
.....	4	Robbery.....	11
.....	7	Rape on a child five years old..	1
.....	7	Killing horse and mule.....	1
.....	7	Burglary and larceny.....	12
.....	1	Assault with intent to kill and larceny.....	4
.....	3	Total.....	422
.....	3		
.....	3		
.....	377		

TABLE No. 4.

of the County or Court from which the Prisoners were sent.

Number brought up.....	356	Number brought up.....	356
.....	58	Dorchester.....	10
.....	16	Kent.....	6
.....	17	St. Mary's.....	4
.....	25	Charles.....	4
.....	18	Caroline.....	3
.....	4	Prince George's.....	10
.....	7	Carroll.....	12
.....	15	Queen Anne's.....	7
.....	10	Calvert.....	4
.....	15	Montgomery.....	4
.....	9	U. S. Court.....	1
.....	356	Total.....	422

TABLE No 3.

Showing their different Crimes, and the number committing each particular Crime

Murder	5	Number brought up,	327
Murder in the 1st degree	9	Obtaining goods and money under false pretences	4
Murder in the second degree	38	Forging papers to obtain land warrants	1
Manlaughter	5	Burglary and felony	2
Whore	4	Rogue and vagabond	1
Drunk	12	Burglary, arson and larceny	1
Peep on a child five years old	7	Rape and stealing horse and carriage	1
Assault with intent to Rape	1	Having an abolition pamphlet in his possession, called Uncle Tom's Cabin	1
Swearing	4	Highway Robbery	1
Larceny	14	Setting fire to the Penitentiary Buildings	2
False Stealing	128	Killing Horse and Mule	1
Assault with intent to kill	9	Burglary and Larceny	13
Burglary	42	Stealing Chickens	3
Forgery	17	Assault with intent to kill and Larceny	1
Swearing	3	Burning a Church	1
Whore	14	Passing Counterfeit Money	1
Stealing Stolen Goods	2	Maiming	1
Leading and Assisting Slaves to run away	6		
Burglary and assault with intent to kill	6		
Burglary and assault with intent to kill	1		
Number carried up,	327	Total,	362

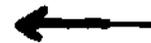


TABLE No. 3

Showing their different Crimes, and the number committing each particular Crime.

Murder	6	Number brought up,	310
Murder in the first degree.....	6	Obtaining goods and money up- der false pretences.....	3
Murder in the second degree....	35	Burglary and Felony.....	1
Manslaughter	5	Burglary, Arson and Larceny..	1
Felony	1	Rape and stealing horse and car- riage.....	1
Arson	14	Highway Robbery.....	1
Rape	5	Setting fire to the Penitentiary Buildings.....	2
Rape on Child five years old....	1	Killing Horse and Mule.....	1
Assault with attempt to commit a Rape	8	Burglary and Larceny.....	12
Stealing	13	Stealing Chickens.....	3
Larceny	123	Assault with intent to kill and Larceny.....	1
Horse Stealing.....	10	Burning a Church.....	1
Assault with intent to kill.....	33	Passing Counterfeit Money.....	7
Burglary.....	17	Maiming.....	1
Forgery	2	Assault with intent to Rob.....	1
Robbery	14	Embezzling Letters from the Baltimore Post Office.....	1
Receiving Stolen Goods.....	1	Making Counterfeit Coin.....	2
Enticing Slaves to runaway....	7		
Burglary and assault with intent to kill.....	6		
Robbery and assault with intent to kill.....	1		
Number carried up,	310	Total,	348

SELECT LIST OF PRIMARY SOURCES CONSULTED

- Dorchester County Court, Cambridge, Maryland
Court Papers
Clerk's Docket
- Dorchester County Library, Cambridge, Maryland
Newspaper Collection
- Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, Maryland
Newspaper Collection
Rare Books Collection
- Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania
The Quaker Collection
Friends' Intelligencer
The Friend
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers
Afro-Americana Collection
Library Collection
- Library Company of Philadelphia
National Anti-Slavery Standard
Pamphlets Collection
- Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Newspaper Collection
Manuscripts Division
- Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services,
Division of Correction Headquarters, Baltimore, Maryland
Maryland Penitentiary Annual Reports
- Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland
Newspaper Collection
Maryland Penitentiary Annual Reports
Genealogical Indexes

Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland
Maryland State Papers (Executive Papers)
Maryland Penitentiary Records
Maryland Secretary of State Records
Federal Census Records
Dorchester County Records
Newspaper Collection
Library Collection

Maryland State Law Library, Annapolis, Maryland
Maryland Penitentiary Annual Reports

McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland
Newspaper Collection

Methodist Historical Society, Lovely Lane Church, Baltimore, Maryland
Zion's Herald

Swarthmore College
Quaker Indexes
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