

**AMERICAN CIVIL WAR ROUND TABLE OF AUSTRALIA
(NEW SOUTH WALES CHAPTER)**

**A CONVICTION SET TO ACTION
- MOTIVATIONS AND METHODS
BEHIND THE UNDERGROUND
RAILWAY**

AUGUST 2004

This paper has been prepared by Matthew Brazil to support his family's presentation to the New South Wales Chapter of the ACWRTA at its August 2004 meeting.

The paper is a well researched study of an area of 18th and 19th Century American history that Round Table members might have only a passing knowledge. Members are likely to be unaware, however, of the detail of the mechanisms of escape and the problems encountered by both those coordinating the escapes, the so-called conductors, and the slaves seeking freedom.

The paper uses contemporaneous materials to highlight the strong feelings of antipathy between the slave-holders and the abolitionists and to illustrate the dire consequences for an escaping slave being caught. In addition, the influence of the judicial processes in supporting the slave owners by repressive legislation based on an ideology of the African-American not being worthy of American citizenship is demonstrated in stark detail.

This paper is commended to all Round Table members as providing an interesting, accurate and detailed account of an area of great controversy and sectional division of 19th Century American society. The author, himself an American by birth, has been able to provide us from his many years of studying his country's history some rare insights into the institution of slavery and reactions against it that ultimately led to the four years of that most fearful conflict in American history – the Civil War. This paper is a "must read" for all those interested in the political and social issues associated with the War.

Run away from the subscribers, TWO NEW NEGROE MEN, one a tall fellow, the other short and well made; both branded on the right breast "IB." Whoever will deliver the said negroes to us, or to the warden in the workhouse in Savannah, shall receive a reward of Twenty Shillings Sterling for each, over and above what the law directs.

*Johnson and Wylly
Savannah Georgia Gazette
16 August 1764*

Run away from the subscriber, A NEGROE FELLOW named BILLY, well known in and about Savannah. Whoever will deliver him to the warden of the work-house shall receive a 20 shilling reward, and whoever harbors him may depend on being prosecuted.

*John Simpson
Savannah Georgia Gazette
25 October 1764¹*

¹ *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730's to 1790, Vol 4: Georgia*
Compiled by Lathan A. Windley (Westport, CT; Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 8-9

“An Underground Road”

In the book *His Promised Land*, John P. Parker, former slave and conductor on the Underground Railroad, tells his biographer that the movement gained its name in an incident shortly after the War of 1812, at Ripley, Ohio. Ripley lay on the north bank of the Ohio River, and was a “major terminus” of the Underground Railroad.² Separating the slave state of Kentucky from the free state of Ohio, the Ohio River was a major obstacle to runaways fleeing north. As the fugitive slave Tice Davis ran amongst piles of lumber in a shipyard and disappeared, a workman commented to the pursuer that “the slave disappeared so quickly that he must have gone on an underground road.” Parker opined in his unpublished oral biography, told to Frank Moody Gregg in the 1880s, that the word “rail” was added after the introduction of the steam railroads. The modern, edited autobiography³ adds some evidence to this from an 1860 account by W.M. Mitchell,⁴ and this story is also cited in Strother’s *The Underground Railroad in Connecticut*.⁵

One striking element in any examination one finds of the Underground Railroad, with Abolitionists and others on one side, and slave owners and traffickers on the other, was the intensely bitter feelings they had against each other. Their struggle was long standing and rooted in the contradictions presented by slavery as a lucrative institution in a republic founded on the ideals of liberty. It seems very unlike what Bruce Catton wrote about those who fought the Civil War:

*“The elements in this war were mixed and contradictory. If one side robbed corpses and the other side robbed housewives, there was on both sides, deep in the bones and the spirit, this strange absence of rancor, which may, in the end, explain why it was that the two sections were finally able to reunite after a war, which would seem to have left scars too deep for any healing”.*⁶

As we examine the motivations that led people to participate in the Underground Railroad, and the secret methods used to run it, this bitterness is evident as one undercurrent driving the story.

The Roots of the Struggle

Flight from slave masters goes back as long as slaves existed in the American colonies, as indicated by the advertisements cited above, from 1764. Some early runaways fled west and joined Indian tribes just beyond the frontier of settlements in the Appalachians or in the swamps of the Carolinas and Florida. Many were welcomed, but as the frontier moved westward, this option gradually disappeared.⁷

The earliest complaints of one North American region against another that we found in researching this topic happened in 1659. Dutch settlers in New Netherlands warned that if Maryland did not make sufficient efforts to return fugitive slaves fleeing in all directions including **south**, that New Netherlands would “publish free liberty, access and recess to all servants, negroes, fugitives, and

² Besides *His Promised Land* and *The Underground Railroad* (cited immediately below) accounts mentioning Ripley as a major terminus include Randolph Paul Runyon, *Delia Webster and the Underground Railroad* (University Press of Kentucky, 1996), and Ann Hagedorn, *Beyond the River* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002).

³ John P. Parker, *His Promised Land* (Ed: Stuart Seely Sprague; New York: WW Norton and Co., 1996).

⁴ W.M. Mitchell, *The Underground Railroad* (London, 1860), p.4.

⁵ Horatio T. Strother, *The Underground Railroad in Connecticut* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University press, 1962), p. 5; Parker (Sprague, ed.), op. cit., p.9.

⁶ Bruce Catton, *The Army of the Potomac: Glory Road* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1952), p. 72.

⁷ Albert A. Nofi, *The Underground Railroad and the Civil War* (Conohohoken, PA: Combined Publishing, 2000), pp. 14-15

runaways which may go into New Netherlands". The Dutch also lodged protests against the French for passively allowing refuge in Quebec.⁸

So in this early period, flight away from slavery was omni-directional, if often aimed towards the western and southern frontiers. This changed during the American Revolution when the British promised emancipation to any slave who deserted the Continental Army (while the Continental Congress, behind in this competition, debated how to handle Negro enlistment). Eventually in 1779 even Georgia and South Carolina offered enlistment and eventual emancipation to slaves who fought the British. But too many Africans anticipated, correctly, that peace would bring an end to this enticing offer. The desertions to the British and flight toward Canada continued throughout the war.⁹

If the phenomenon of the runaway goes back at least 200 years before Lincoln's election, when was the first organized assistance, the precursor to the Underground Railroad? There may have been several, the earliest we found cited was in the 1680's, but without many specifics. One organization was revealed in a letter by George Washington in 1786, when he observed that "a society of Quakers formed for such purposes have attempted to liberate" an escaped slave belonging to one Mr. Dalby of Alexandria, Virginia. Later that year Washington wrote about his own slaves: "The gentleman in whose care I sent him has promised every endeavor to apprehend him, but it is not easy to do this, when there are numbers who would rather facilitate the escape of slaves than apprehend them when they run away."¹⁰

The French Revolution added reasons to flee north. With the promise of "liberty, equality, fraternity" came the news of a revolt on the island of San Domingo, where the majority population of slaves rose in unity, slaughtered their white masters, and established self government. The violence contributed to oppressive laws in the US including the first Fugitive Slave Law (1793). Slave revolts, both large and small, sprang up between 1791 and 1802, and then again in 1811. With the War of 1812, the British once again offered emancipation. The Americans counter-offered freedom in exchange for enlistment, but insurrections continued from 1812 to 1814.¹¹

As the ideals of the French Revolution urged slaves to revolt and flee, an event in the first years of the 19th century stands out as an early example of collaboration with northern whites. A slave named Stephen Smith bought by Continental Army General Thomas Boude and taken to his farm in Columbia, Pennsylvania was joined by his runaway mother in 1804. She was soon pursued and found by her mistress, who attempted to kidnap her back. Young Stephen summoned the general who ordered the woman slave owner away. The event outraged the town against the visiting slave owner. Over the next four years runaways, hearing of this, attempted to reach Columbia. If caught before making it to this safe territory, they were seized or shot. Fifty-six who did reach the town were sheltered there by Quakers and Methodists while a legal battle raged over their fate.¹² While this event did not lead directly to the extensive escape system leading to Canada that was established later, precedents and practices were established for whites of conscience to work and assist those in flight for their lives.

By the 1830s a sufficient number of people, white and black, were in place and actively assisting runaways so that an informal network began to develop. However, secrecy was the hallmark of their work - any white who made a decision to assist in the Underground Railroad was likely to run into opposition, both from the community and within his or her family. A letter to one Anna Hayes who

⁸ Henrietta Buckmaster, *Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement* (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1941) pp. 11-12

⁹ Buckminster, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 19; Horatio T. Strother, *The Underground Railroad in Connecticut* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1962), pp. 5-6.

¹¹ Ibid, pp. 20-23.

¹² Ibid, pp. 20-24.

was known among her relatives to be working in cooperation with the Railroad expressed a common sentiment of the era:

“Galway, New York April 9th, 1841 “. . . I have heard you had trouble for helping the Blacks with a Ride[.] let me know about that too. I should think it would be more pleasure and as much profit to wait on your own Family and let the Concerns of others Especially the Blacks go to others for help. I am opposed to Slavery but think free states better not interfere with the Laws of the States Where Slavery Exists no further than to exert a good moral influence. . . James Hayes”

Not all family members shared his disapproval. Later that year, Anna's half brother, Michael Johnston, wrote:

Albany 31 October 1841 “. . . I must take this opportunity before I close this to express my approbation of the course you have pursued in regard to the slaves that providence cast in your way... Your affectionate brother Michael Johnston”¹³

The original 1793 Fugitive Slave Law allowed slave owners to pursue runaways. It did not require Federal officials to assist slave owners and was largely ignored in the north - southerners who pursued and located runaways in northern states often received little cooperation from local police and others. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was meant to remedy this situation, and required Federal officials to assist in the recovery of runaways. This offended some in the north who felt that a state should be able to decide such matters independent of other institutions. Mutual antagonism was aggravated by the Dred Scott Decision in 1857, perhaps the high court's most shameful decision, which maintained that no slave or ancestor of a slave could ever become a citizen of the United States and therefore could not sue in a Federal Court. This decision, because it declared the Missouri Compromise of 1820-21 unconstitutional, also raised the possibility that no state could bar slavery if a slave owner chose to move there.¹⁴ Due to these developments, fugitives in the 1850's aimed more surely for Canada, the only sure haven, and the number of people in the US's northern states sympathetic to the plight of the slave increased. Some historians see Dred Scott as an important event leading to Lincoln's nomination, and the Civil War itself.

The Underground Railroad then did not create the runaway, nor did it assist slaves to make their initial escapes. Rather, it was organized because on one side slavery existed with its enormous but easily lost capital investment, and on the other because people were trying to escape it and some concerned citizens, citing the ideals of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and religion, wished to assist runaways. The Railroad appears to have been a loosely organized movement based on personal conscience and in some cases conspicuous bravery. Scholars and readers will probably never know the complete history of the movement because records were destroyed or purposely not kept, and many oral accounts that were passed down in families became exaggerated over time. However, it is known that escape became easier with the rise of the Abolitionist movement shortly before the American Revolution. People became abolitionists for various reasons, including religion: Quakers, Methodists, and Mennonites, among others, became important and much of the available information about religious people who organized themselves to help free slaves is from these groups. As the option of fleeing to nearby Indian tribes disappeared, the loosely organized efforts to assist those who sought to flee north became more important.

¹³ Carol Pirtle, *Escape Betwixt Two Suns: A True Tale of the Underground Railroad in Illinois* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000). P. xxiii.

¹⁴ Nofi, op. cit, pp.21-22; *Africans in America: Dred Scott's Fight for Freedom* (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2932.html>).

From Slave Owners to Abolitionists: The Example of the Quakers

By the time of the Civil War, the religious convictions held by certain groups were a strong influence behind the Abolitionist movement, but they evolved, variously in the different regions, over many decades. Quakers were slave owners in the early colonial period, and did not back away as a group from supporting slavery until the mid 18th century. The earliest record that discouraged Quakers from holding slaves appears to have been in 1688, when the Germantown (Pennsylvania) Meeting passed a resolution that stated:

“There is a liberty of conscience here that is right and reasonable, and there ought to be likewise a liberty of the body, except for evil doers, which is another case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against.”¹⁵

It took decades for Quakers as a group to live up to this first protest. There was proliferation of this sentiment, if not actual progress, represented by the 1717 Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island in a resolution urging members to examine their consciences if they kept or imported slaves. Gradually this meeting and the larger meeting of the colony of Rhode Island grew to resolutely oppose slavery: first condemning the importation in 1727, questioning but not condemning ownership in 1743, then calling actual ownership “unallowable” in 1769. By 1773 the Quakers of Rhode Island began expelling members who persisted in owning slaves (one of those expelled in 1774 was Stephen Hopkins, the former governor of the colony). That same year Quakers began lobbying for the abolition of slavery in Rhode Island,¹⁶ and eventually in 1787 there was a society of Quakers, cited above, that were known by George Washington to be assisting runaway slaves in Virginia. In 1815 a Quaker “manumission” society was formed in Tennessee that secretly assisted runaways, and was at least loosely connected to Quaker communities in New Petersburg and Greenfield Ohio that sent them further north to safe houses (called “stations” in Indiana and beyond).¹⁷ By this point Quakers as a group had concluded that slavery was an evil to be abolished, but there was disagreement over the timing of this action: some felt it best to remain passive and avoid violence, while others said that the evils of slavery were so bad that they had to be immediately opposed.

Even among those determined to take immediate, active steps, there was disagreement about methods. The 1816 formation by leading Quakers of the American Colonization Society, organized to settle free Negroes in America, was supported as a means to encourage slave owners to give up their human property but opposed by other Quakers who believed that the Society would discourage slaves to seek freedom by any means available.¹⁸

To sum up the evolution of Quaker motivations, they at first questioned, then discouraged, then prohibited slave ownership within their own Meetings. Finally they lobbied for slavery to be outlawed in their own states, and eventually became activists in large numbers in the Abolitionist cause, and in the Railroad. In this they were a partial reflection of the north as a whole.

Abolitionist Associations: The American Anti-Slavery Society

Activism increased with the formation of the Abolitionist Movement. In 1833 a meeting was held in Philadelphia to form the American Anti-Slavery Society. William Lloyd Garrison presided. Its members, including some Quakers but not dominated by them, would participate first in active

¹⁵ Margaret Hope Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of Quakers in America* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1985), pp. 94-95.

¹⁶ Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1923) pp. 156-166.

¹⁷ Hagedorn, op. cit., pp. 19-20; 82-83.

¹⁸ Jones, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

lobbying against slavery and assistance to runaways, and some would go on to become conductors in the Underground Railroad.¹⁹ One of their early actions was the “great pamphlet campaign of 1835” that sent more than a million copies of anti-slavery publications from New York to Alabama, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia via mail and messenger. This campaign to “overthrow slavery by revolutionizing public sentiment” provoked mobs in Charleston in July of that year to seize mailbags and burn them at the post office. In the autumn a grand jury in Virginia called for the extradition of the society’s executive committee to stand trial, and in December President Andrew Jackson called for the passage of a bill that would outlaw distribution of “incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection,” and asked the northern states to pass laws outlawing abolitionist organization. In response, anti-slavery organizations proliferated in the north. For example in Ohio, the number of such associations increased from twenty-five in 1835 to 120 in 1836.²⁰ After a call in Congress to reject all anti-slavery petitions, a flood of them descended on Capitol Hill: thirty-four thousand such petitions were received in the 1834-35 session, 110,000 in 1835-36, and 300,000 in 1837-38.²¹

Methods of Escape

“A thousand lives seemed to be concentrated in that one moment to Eliza. Her room opened by a side door to the river. She caught her child, and sprang down the steps towards it. The trader caught a full glimpse of her, just as she was disappearing down the bank; and throwing himself from his horse, and calling loudly on Sam and Andy, he was after her like a hound after a deer. In that dizzy moment her feet to her scarce seemed to touch the ground, and a moment brought her to the water’s edge. Right on behind they came; and, nerved with strength such as God gives only to the desperate, with one wild cry and flying leap, she vaulted sheer over the turbid current by the shore, on to the raft of ice beyond. It was a desperate leap, -impossible to anything but madness and despair; and Haley, Sam, and Andy instinctively cried out, and lifted up their hands, as she did it.

The huge green fragment of ice on which she alighted pitched and creaked as her weight came on it, but she stayed there not a moment. With wild cries and desperate energy she leaped to another and still another cake; -- stumbling, -- leaping, -- slipping, - - springing upwards again! Her shoes are gone, -- her stockings cut from her feet, -- while blood marked every step; but she saw nothing, felt nothing, till dimly, as in a dream, she saw the Ohio side, and a man helping her up the bank.”²²

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 104

²⁰ Hagedorn, op. cit., pp. 99-101

²¹ Ibid, pp. 121-122

²² Harriet Beecher Stowe, **Uncle Tom’s Cabin: Or, Life Among the Lowly** (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1897), pp. 66-67.



Harriet Beecher Stowe

Eliza's fictional escape, described in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, across the Ohio to Ripley is possibly the most well known flight of a runaway, and was based on a factual episode according to the autobiographies of John P. Parker and A.L. Rankin.²³ The largest numbers of successful escapes were from the northern border states, especially Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland. Parker noted that slaves would often escape without much forethought except that many timed their flight just as the corn harvesting season approached - the fields, already well suited for hiding in during the day, doubled as a source of food. This may have applied more to slaves in the Border States than those from the Deep South, who anticipated a year long walk to Canada.

In these walks, runaways relied upon one another for directions, advice, and food. Instances of betrayal, while evident, were relatively few. The lone man or small group fleeing on foot was the most common, while hiding on a ship or a train also was tried. At one stage or another, if runaways came into contact with Abolitionists in the Underground Railroad, a prepared segment of the journey would be taken over by the Railroad, with its charges hidden in a secret compartment in a wagon or carriage and sent off to the next "station" if still in disputed territory, or to the next "depot" if on safer ground.

While walking, runaways would sometimes find signs in the countryside left by Underground Railway conductors or other runaways that assisted in confirming directions. A well-known sign was a drawing, often in charcoal, or a tree of a peg leg and a foot that marked a trusted path. The Big Dipper constellation or "drinking gourd" and the North Star were also used for direction north, as described in the folk song "Follow the Drinking Gourd":

When the Sun comes back
And the first quail calls^a
Follow the Drinking Gourd.
For the old man^b is a-waiting for to carry you to freedom
If you follow the Drinking Gourd.

The riverbank^c makes a very good road.
The dead trees will show you the way.
Left foot, peg foot, traveling on,^d
Follow the Drinking Gourd.

The river ends between two hills
Follow the Drinking Gourd.

²³ Parker, op. cit.; Hagedorn, op. cit, pp 136-139 and 300-301. According to one of Rankin's sons, Rankin told the story to Harriett Beecher Stowe and her husband a year after the incident. Stowe probably protected Rankin by leaving his name out of the incident so that he could avoid prosecution for assisting the flight of a fugitive.

There's another river on the other side^e
Follow the Drinking Gourd.

When the great big river meets the little river^f
Follow the Drinking Gourd.
For the old man is a-waiting for to carry you to freedom
If you follow the drinking gourd.

Notes:

- a. *The appearance in the southern states of migratory quail in the winter heralded the Winter Solstice, and therefore a more northerly and higher sun each day.*
- b. *Peg Leg Joe – the drawing of a peg leg and a foot used as a sign for direction in remote places, often placed on dead trees.*
- c. *Tombigbee River, leading northward from the Gulf of Mexico toward Tennessee.*
- d. *Another reference to the peg leg Joe markers.*
- e. *Tennessee River, which flows northward across Tennessee and Kentucky.*
- f. *The Tennessee River and the Ohio River (over 800 miles north of Mobile), where Underground Railroad guides would meet fugitive slaves on the northern bank and transport them north.*

Riskier methods were rare, but attempted. Slaves dressed themselves up to “pass” as whites and travel with false papers: men dressed as women or vice versa to lend plausibility to slaves and “master” or “slave trader” parties traveling north. One of the most famous escapees, Frederick Douglass, disguised himself as a seaman, and traveled from Maryland to Philadelphia aboard a train.²⁴ An often told story is that of Henry “Box” Brown, who was assisted to parcel post himself over a 26 hour journey from Virginia to Philadelphia.

A common theme of stories about the Underground Railroad was the violence that accompanied confrontations between slave owners and Railroad “conductors” and other sympathizers. High rewards in the thousands of dollars and promises of death upon capture were offered against the more famous conductors such as Harriet Tubman and John P. Parker. Parker’s house on the banks of the Ohio in Ripley, Ohio, was occasionally visited by slave hunters, who could travel freely



Harriet Tubman

over the state line from Kentucky: they would demand entrance to search for slaves, which Parker always kept out of sight, and then angrily leave. It is amazing that Parker survived, because he

²⁴ Nofi, op.cit., pp.24-25.

believed in direct action, and for years regularly took forays south over the state line himself to rescue groups of runaways. Tubman’s forays were even bolder and of longer range.



Underground Railroad routes. Source: US National Park Service, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/detailedroutes.htm>

On one such foray, Parker found reward posters tacked to trees offering \$1,000 for his capture.²⁵ His account of life in Ripley in the 1840s and 50s leaves little room for doubt about the anger each side felt towards the other, which one scholar of the period, Ann Hagedorn, has dubbed “The war before the war”:

There was a time when fierce passions swept this little town, dividing its people into bitter factions. I never thought about going uptown without a pistol in my pocket, a knife on my belt, and a blackjack handy...this was a period when men went armed with pistol and knife and used them on the least provocation...when pursuers and pursued stood at bay in a narrow alley with pistols drawn, ready for the assault. When angry men surrounded one of the (Front Street) houses, kept up gunfire until late in the afternoon, endeavoring to break into it by force, in search of runaways. These were the days of passion and battle which turned father against son, and neighbor against neighbor.²⁶

²⁵ Hagedorn, op.cit., pp. 232-237; 256-257

²⁶ Hagedorn, op. cit., p. 5

The Onset of War

Accounts about how the outbreak of the Civil War changed the mission of the Railroad often begin with the observation by Thomas Garrett that only a handful of slaves passed through his station after the war began: now they were fleeing by the thousands as Union forces came close,²⁷ especially after the Emancipation Proclamation. In contrast, Ripley Ohio apparently remained busy with runaway traffic north, and occasional raids from the south.²⁸

The war enveloped those who had been supporting the Railroad such as William Seward, the “attorney general” of the Railroad who became Lincoln’s Secretary of State, and entirely changed their roles. Some conductors worked as scouts for the Union Army, the most famous of these being Harriet Tubman, who, while working as a nurse in the Carolinas, was asked to accompany an expedition by the 2d North Carolina Regiment up the Combahee River. Hiding places used by the Railroad were used by escaping Union soldiers. There were other incidents in which Railroad people took opportunities to help with Union escapes and operations, but, interestingly, there were none in connection with the Pinkerton intelligence operations in the south. The only exception found, not really connected to the Railroad, was the escape on 15 March 1862 of the Pinkerton operatives Pryce Lewis and John Scully from Henrico County Jail, when black prisoners sang to cover the noise of their escape.²⁹

In one often-noted incident, the plans for the Confederate iron clad ship *Merrimack* were stolen by a free black woman, Mary Touveste, who took a job in the home of one of the Confederate officers supervising its construction. After she stole the plans and fled, she made her way north via the Underground Railroad.³⁰

Focused on reconstruction at the end of the war, on 14 April 1865 Lincoln sent the Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison along with Major Robert Anderson, the 1861 commander of Fort Sumter, back to raise again the US flag over South Carolina at the spot where the first shots had been fired. The events of the terrible war were to be nullified amidst deep symbolic gestures, including a triumphant walk through the streets by Garrison, whose head was once demanded by South Carolina.³¹ But Lincoln heard neither of that walk nor of the flag’s ascent over Sumter because of his almost simultaneous demise at Ford’s Theater. While north and south reconciled, there was no meeting of the minds between Africans and Abolitionists on one hand and former slave-owners on the other. Lincoln may not have been able to imagine that a song like Follow the Drinking Gourd could be taught in primary schools across the country 140 years later, but perhaps he would have known that some county school boards would see fit to overlook it as a subject of instruction.

²⁷ Nofi, op. cit., p. 52

²⁸ Hagedorn, op. cit., pp. 267-269

²⁹ James D. Horan, *The Pinkertons: the Detective Dynasty that Made History* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1967), pp. 103-105

³⁰ Nofi, op. cit., pp.55-56

³¹ Buckmaster, op. cit., pp. 329-331

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