

**EDWARD STABLER, "A KIND FRIEND
AND COUNSELLOR":
A QUAKER AND ABOLITIONIST IN
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA: 1790-1830**

by

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edited by

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Foreword

The Alexandria Archaeology Publications series is composed of papers on various aspects of research conducted under the auspices of Alexandria Archaeology, a division of the Office of Historic Alexandria, City of Alexandria, Virginia. The authors include professional staff members, university students and Alexandria Archaeology volunteers. Editing of the papers has been kept to a minimum. It should be understood that the papers vary in tone and level of technicality, since they were originally directed toward many different audiences.

We are pleased to offer the papers within this series and in so doing are opening our "manuscripts on file" - including professional conference papers, background documentary studies, student course papers, and volunteer research papers - to professionals and public alike.

Virginia Jenkins' paper on Edward Stabler and his commitment as a Quaker to African American freedom is a pioneering effort. Originally interested in Stabler by a historic study of the Stabler-Ledbetter Apothecary Shop (see Alexandria Archaeology Publications Number 26) precipitated by a City excavation, the author began a lengthy search through primary documents to record Stabler's involvement in emancipation and abolition of slavery. In pursuit of this goal, she was able to link Stabler's actions to his life history and Quaker thought. In the process, she provided assistance to us in our work excavating the Apothecary Shop.

This paper contains important information about the variety of methods conceived of and tried by Quakers and other like-minded Euro-Americans to free African Americans. As the paper chronicles, the Quakers attempted to reach this goal through different options over the years. Sometimes these attempts were directed at changing law in a general manner, such as multiple petitions to Congress; other methods were quite individualistic. The deed books are filled with Quaker actions to emancipate African Americans, sell land to free blacks, or act as witnesses to these events.

This paper links with other Alexandria Archaeology publications dealing with African Americans and Quakers: Lorna Anderberg's comparative paper (Number 28); Ted McCord's book on the Hayti neighborhood (1985); and Perry Wheelock's research on Robert H. Miller (Number 61). It is hoped that the publication of this paper will provide concrete documentation for the Quaker role in supporting the cause of freedom in Alexandria. As is usually the case when an archaeological site is excavated, far more information surfaces about the people than artifacts alone.

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Introduction

Much of the history of Quakers in America has been published by the Society of Friends to explain the Society to members and non-members. This material focuses on the history of the Pennsylvania Colony which, until the American Revolution, was dominated politically by Quakers. However, in the 1770s most Quaker politicians retired from active roles in government because of their pacifist beliefs. Quaker activities in New England are also discussed in many studies of the Society of Friends, since Quakers were actively proselytizing there and were subject to persecution. Although there were small groups of Quakers in other areas, very little has been written about them.

In the late 1770s and early 1780s, there was a movement within the Society to abolish slaveholding among Quakers. In 1784, the Virginia Meeting became the last Quaker community to reject slavery, and thereafter slaveholding Friends in all areas were supposed to be expelled from the Society. Historians of following periods have assumed that all Quakers were no longer slaveholders, but say little about their role in the abolition movement in the United States between 1790 and the Civil War.

Very little scholarly attention has been paid to Alexandria, Virginia; most authors have focused on its famous people such as George Washington, or on the history of buildings surviving from before the Civil War. Little attention has been paid to the social, economic and political history of the city. Few of the works about Alexandria even acknowledge that slavery existed here, let alone discuss the abolition movement. Also, little attention has been paid to the Quaker community in Alexandria since there is no extant meeting house on which to base a history. A complicating factor in the history of Alexandria is that it was part of the District of Columbia rather than of Virginia between 1787 and 1846. Therefore, histories of the Commonwealth of Virginia do not include Alexandria during this period, while histories of the District tend to ignore Alexandria.

Since the 1960s, a great deal of scholarly attention has been paid to the issues of abolition and race relations in the United States before the Civil War. This material provides helpful insights into white attitudes toward free blacks.

Edward Stabler, born in 1769 in Petersburg, Virginia was the son of a Quaker minister who had immigrated from York, England in 1753. Stabler moved to Alexandria in 1792 and established an apothecary business that remained in his family until 1934. He was a respected member of the community until his death in 1831. His son William wrote A Memoir of the Life of Edward Stabler, and stated that at his father's funeral, "The people of colour, who had found him a kind friend and a counsellor, gave evidence of their respect by following in a large body."¹ What little is known of the life of Edward Stabler and his relations with the black community in Alexandria reflects the political and social milieu of his time.

Edward Stabler: Quaker and Abolitionist

Until the middle of the 18th century, abolition was a minority position among Quakers in America. Many held slaves, and Quakers in Pennsylvania tolerated or were even deeply involved in the West Indian slave trade.² By the time of the Revolutionary War, many Quakers had become actively involved in the effort to abolish slavery in the new country. In 1774, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting instituted disownment for slaveholding, except in cases in which a slave was purchased as a preliminary to manumission (emancipation), and the Quaker Anthony Benezet "bombarded" the Continental Congress with antislavery demands.³ In 1775, Philadelphia Quakers organized the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, the first association to be devoted exclusively to abolition.⁴ Then, in 1776, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting declared that any Quakers holding slaves should be disowned.⁵ However, it wasn't until 1784 that the Virginia Yearly Meeting became the last group of Friends to free their slaves.⁶

In 1786, at the age of seventeen, Edward Stabler was apprenticed to a Quaker in York, Pennsylvania to learn the tanning trade. While in Pennsylvania he may have been exposed to the active antislavery activity of the Philadelphia Friends. In 1787, Stabler joined his brother William in Leesburg, Virginia and assisted him in the drug business for two years. William and Edward married sisters, Deborah and Mary Pleasants, in 1789 and 1794, respectively.

At the Constitutional Convention in 1787, the delegates were dedicated to the proposition that "government should rest upon the dominion of property."⁷ The idea of federal abolition of slavery was foreign to people with a strong belief in the sanctity of property. The prohibition of the international slave trade was proposed, but upon the objection of South Carolina, a twenty-year compromise was agreed upon under which the international slave trade would not be closed until 1808.⁸

There were many state and local antislavery societies scattered from Massachusetts to Virginia by 1792.⁹ Most of these societies were locally sponsored and dealt with local problems. There was no strong national organization, although nine state societies began to meet annually in Philadelphia in 1794.¹⁰ When Edward Stabler moved to Alexandria in 1793, many Quakers were actively investigating the legal titles by which slave owners held their slaves, and suing for the freedom of individual blacks whenever such titles were in doubt¹¹. Edward Stabler was active in the Quaker abolition movement.¹² In February, 1796, he advertised a meeting of the Society for the Relief of People Illegally Held in Bondage in the Alexandria Gazette.¹³

The 1790s were years of national consolidation of the gains of the Revolution. One of its foremost goals had been the protection of private property, and slaves were considered private property. There was no clear distinction between human rights and property rights.¹⁴ The Quakers were the only people who felt that enslavement of human beings was morally wrong and made such a distinction. However, strong post-revolutionary

belief in the political and economic dangers of slavery encouraged the northern states to free or provide for the gradual emancipation of all slaves by the 1790s. Virginia became the first slaveholding state to legitimize private anti-slavery action with the Manumission Act of 1782.¹⁵ This policy recognized individual anti-slavery sentiment and allowed for gradual emancipation without state interference in private property. However, other than the Quakers, very few people freed all their slaves. Robert McColley's study of slavery in Jeffersonian Virginia finds that between 1780 and 1810 "far from being commonplace, emancipation was quite exceptional..."¹⁶

As the number of individual slaves who were freed for various personal reasons grew, whites began to fear that they would contribute to discontent among the remaining slaves and would cause a rebellion. Free blacks in both North and South faced a white racism that allowed them few economic opportunities. Urban blacks became an increasingly visible poor class, to the consternation of their white neighbors.

The manumission activity of the 1780s and 1790s had unexpected consequences. By the late 1790s, a reaction to the abolition movement began to set in. In Virginia, there was growing irritation with antislavery agitation and the steadily increasing population of free blacks. In 1795, Virginia reinforced the master's position in freedom suits, and in 1798 the Virginia legislature passed a law to restrict the emancipation activities of the Quakers and Methodists, which stated, "In all cases wherein the property of a person held as a

slave demanding freedom shall come before a court for trial, no person who shall be proved to be a member of any society instituted for the purpose of emancipating Negroes from the possession of their masters shall be admitted to serve as a juror."¹⁷

In 1798 Edward Stabler was appointed an Elder in the Fairfax, Virginia Monthly Meeting. This was the meeting closest to Alexandria. (Individual Quakers belong to a monthly meeting where they worship once a week and meet for business once a month. A group of monthly meetings join four times a year for quarterly meetings, and a group of quarterly meetings comprise a yearly meeting (Bacon, p. 8 - see Bibliography). Elders were responsible for the spiritual life of the meeting, encouraged young ministers, and made sure that the messages given during the meetings were in keeping with the doctrine and customs of the Society.¹⁸

By 1802, the Quaker community in Alexandria was large enough to establish the Alexandria Monthly Meeting. It was also in 1802 that the residents of Alexandria petitioned Congress to forbid slave trading in the District of Columbia.¹⁹ The petition was denied.

The invention of the cotton gin and the Industrial Revolution in England provided a market for all the cotton America could grow. The extension of slavery into the western territories and the compromise during the Constitutional Convention that extended the international slave trade until 1808 also contributed to establishing slavery in the South even more

firmly than ever before.²⁰ In the South in the early 19th century, humanitarian efforts were directed at making slavery less brutal rather than at abolition. As paternalism grew, there appeared to be less reason why slavery should be abolished, particularly as there did not seem to be any place for free blacks in white American society and economy. People were far more concerned over the abolition of the African slave trade than over domestic slavery.²¹

Resistance to abolition began to harden as Virginia, Maryland and Delaware found that raising and selling slaves was the most profitable activity in worn-out agricultural areas. The District of Columbia became a convenient center for slave traders who kept slaves in pens or in the city jail until they had a group together to ship south. However, the sight of the slave pens and of lines of slaves chained together moving through the streets offended many residents and visitors. It was an embarrassment in the capitol of the "Land of the Free." Instead of experiencing a gradual decline as many people had assumed, the slave trade was gradually increasing in importance between the states of the upper and lower South.

In 1804, Edward Stabler escorted two English Quaker women on a religious visit to at least seven meetings in several southern states. In a letter to his wife, Stabler confided about the meetings:

In many instances, it appears as though we were almost in the confines of the shadow of death, as it relates to the spiritual life which is hid with Christ. They appear most eminently to be slighting their own mercies, both in temporal and spiritual concerns, from the exceeding hardness of their hearts towards the poor,

afflicted black people.²²

It comes as a surprise to find that in the same year, Stabler withdrew from the Society for the Relief of People Illegally Held in Bondage. According to his son, "He believed that his efforts would be more purely directed by the right influence, standing alone, than when subjected to the control of persons who had not passed through the same discipline with himself."²³ He found himself required "to keep aloof from all human institutions, whether civil, political or moral."²⁴ As Edward Stabler was becoming more deeply involved in the Society of Friends, he may have come in contact with many Friends who strongly disapproved of contact with members of other religious denominations, particularly "hireling clergymen".²⁵

Stabler was not alone in dropping out of antislavery organizations. Between 1806 and 1814 the national organization begun in Philadelphia in 1794 almost disappeared.²⁶ Organized anti-slavery societies in the North contributed to their own decline by achieving several of their main goals such as the abolition of the international slave trade and gradual abolition of slavery in the Northern states.²⁷ Many people's consciences were eased by the fact that something was being done about slavery, and by the belief that slavery would gradually disappear.

The end of the 18th and first part of the 19th century was a period of quietism and withdrawal from the world by members of the Society of Friends. Quakers tended to keep themselves and their children from contact with "the world's people" and withdrew to primitive simplicity in habits and dress.²⁸ However,

Edward Stabler's avoidance of the "world's people" did not extend to his business. In 1805 his apothecary business was flourishing to the extent that he was able to purchase his shop at 107 South Fairfax Street in Alexandria.²⁹ Shop records indicate that Martha Washington was one of his customers.³⁰

In 1805, another resolution was submitted to Congress that called for the emancipation of all slaves in the District of Columbia when they reached the age of twenty-five. This was also defeated.³¹ The backlash to abolition continued in Virginia with the passage of an amendment in 1806 to the manumission law of 1782. This amendment stipulated that all free blacks must leave the state within one year of emancipation; otherwise they were to be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor.³² Virginia was the first state to require newly freed blacks to migrate, and the number of free blacks in the District of Columbia increased nearly sevenfold between 1800 and 1810.³³

Edward Stabler's wife, Mary Pleasants Stabler, died in 1806, leaving him with five small children. During his fifteen month period of deep depression and grief, his widowed sister-in-law, Deborah Pleasants Stabler, took the children into her home to live with her own five sons. In 1808, he remarried, and his bride was Mary Hartshorne, the daughter of a Quaker merchant in Alexandria. Edward and Mary Hartshorne Stabler had ten children in addition to the five from Edward's first marriage.

During 1806, Stabler began to participate in the Alexandria Monthly Meeting as a preacher and minister. In 1808, he was called to visit families in the Alexandria and Baltimore monthly

meetings. His duty was to be sure that members kept to Quaker simplicity, did not drink to excess, and were not headed for marital difficulties.³⁴ As a minister, Stabler traveled extensively on Quaker business after 1808, to meetings in New England, New York State, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

By 1810, there were over 100,000 free blacks in the South who had established themselves as a major component of the economy.³⁵ After 1810, the rate of increase of free blacks fell sharply due to increasing opposition from whites who made it legally more difficult for masters to manumit their slaves.³⁶ However, Ira Berlin has shown that many slave owners simply let their slaves live as if they were free to avoid the responsibility of removing freed slaves from the state, or to avoid the legal process.³⁷ In North Carolina where there were heavy penalties for manumitting slaves, the Quaker community, beginning in 1808, agreed to act as trustees for blacks emancipated by non-Quaker slaveholders. By 1825, more than 700 blacks in North Carolina were living as if free under nominal Quaker ownership.³⁸ According to Berlin, the practice spread throughout the South, with a large increase in the number of quasi-free blacks.³⁹

During the Revolution, the British had promised freedom to slaves who would join the British army, and a number of blacks had done so. The War of 1812 with England renewed fears of a slave rebellion among the residents of the District of Columbia.⁴⁰ As in the Revolution, Quakers who refused to fight were ostracized. The Quaker community in Alexandria suffered

persecution at this time, and two of its leaders, one of them Edward Stabler, were imprisoned.⁴¹ By 1814, Stabler was at liberty, and he spent four months traveling to the yearly meetings in Rhode Island, New York, Philadelphia and monthly meetings in New Jersey and Massachusetts. In 1815 he purchased a three-story brick residence in Alexandria for his growing family.⁴²

By 1815 there was increasing national concern over the issue of the future of slavery and the free black population. Many Virginians viewed the internal slave trade as the only way to maintain a safe proportion between the races and opposed any efforts to close western territories to slavery.⁴³ Many northern whites opposed the expansion of slavery into the western territories, yet they feared the eventual effects of a free black population within the white community.⁴⁴ In 1816, the American Colonization Society was founded with the aim of establishing a colony in Africa for free American blacks.⁴⁵ This was a conservative response to the growing number of free blacks. Colonization appeared a respectable alternative for conservative whites with misgivings about slavery. People of many different points of view supported the idea of colonization. Those who favored abolition supported the plan as well as those who felt that a decrease in the free black population would secure the institution of slavery. Many whites felt that the evils of slavery were equal to the evils of a free black population in their midst and looked at colonization as the answer to their dilemma. They believed that the only solution would be in the

separation of the races.

Some Quakers supported colonization, but others denounced it as a clever way to quiet anti-slavery consciences while supporting slavery.⁴⁶ Edward Stabler appears to have been a supporter. His son William described an incident in which Stabler was overcome with emotion upon hearing that a young Virginian had freed his slaves and had sent them "at his own expense, but with their consent" to the American Colony in Africa.⁴⁷ Some Quaker societies saw colonization as the appropriate second step after emancipation but looked for areas in the United States or its territories in which to establish black communities. Many other Quakers and free blacks denounced colonization as immoral because it would separate families, strengthen the institution of slavery, and deport people who considered America to be their home. Despite Quaker beliefs in the dignity of all people as equal in the sight of God, many Quakers had difficulty with the actual integration of society and Quaker meetings only reluctantly admitted black members.⁴⁸

Despite his withdrawal from the antislavery society in 1804, Edward Stabler was deeply concerned about the existence of slavery. In an impassioned letter written in 1816, he discussed "the distressing and disgraceful circumstances of this internal traffic in the people of color in our country" and "the scandalous defect of our laws." He despaired over

How very small a portion of the evil can be removed by the most zealous efforts of the few, whose feelings are alive to its iniquity and its consequences...I have been almost at a loss to determine whether any advantage is derived from so feeble an opposition to its course....And when all that the friends of humanity can

do, shall be done, I fear that the avarice and obduracy of America will force this tremendous corrective upon them. The general government has indeed acted nobly in annihilating the trade to Africa for slaves; - but the same thing is carried on in our own land, and no effort is made to deprive it of even its most horrid features. It sickens my heart to reflect upon it..."⁴⁹

According to Weeks, Virginia Friends (in which he included Alexandria) were emancipationists rather than abolitionists and colonizationists.⁵⁰ They believed that an attempt by the federal government to abolish slavery would "cause excitement and alarm," and that the power over slavery rested in the States.⁵¹

In January 1816, the Alexandria Monthly Meeting appointed Edward Stabler to a committee to examine a proposal concerning slavery from the Yearly Meeting. The committee reported:

"The committee have agreed to report...in relation to our important testimony against slavery...It is known that the nature of the case...prohibits Friends from hiring slaves from those who hold them; it is therefore believed...that an application of the same principle renders it desirable, that in those cases in which we are dependent on others for the execution of our lawful business, we should give the preference to those who will perform the work by free men...also that Friends should avoid employing those as servants in their families who hire themselves from their owners.

"...[B]ut as our testimony strikes at...slavery...as well as traffic in them, it is believed that there is a strong obligation upon every member to guard assiduously against every violation of the principle [against the direct, or indirect employment of slaves]..."⁵²

The 1820 census for Alexandria shows a community that was thirty-two percent black, with 1,435 slaves, 1,168 free blacks and 5,615 white residents.⁵³ The response to this large black population was mixed. In 1819, citizens of the District of Columbia submitted a third petition to Congress that would forbid the transport of slaves through the city and the keeping of

slaves in the city before being shipped south.⁵⁴ This petition, too, failed. In 1821, a city ordinance was passed that required all free people of color to appear in person before the mayor within ninety days, and show him their papers of freedom. They also had to have certificates signed by three white residents vouching for the good character of each family.⁵⁵ Most blacks avoided the ordinance. An examination of the Free Negro Register for Alexandria shows that very few of the 1,168 free blacks in Alexandria actually complied. There was a total of 31 registrants in 1826 and 48 in 1827. Many of these people had been born free and were just getting around to registering. Several Alexandria Quakers appear as sponsors and may have encouraged families to register.

By the early 1820s, it had become obvious that gradualist abolition policies were not achieving their goal. The institution of slavery was thriving, and much of the national economy was dependent on slave labor. The efforts of the American Colonization Society had shown that individual contributions could not support the dream of sending large numbers of free blacks to Africa. As the Colonization Society began to look to the federal government for assistance, the issues of states' rights and limitation of the powers of the federal government took precedence over discussions of emancipation and colonization. The early 1820s witnessed a series of black rebellions and threats of Southern secession that forced conservative whites to draw back from abolitionist activity.⁵⁶ In Congress, the leadership of the major cotton producing states

made it clear that slavery was an essential and constitutionally protected institution that was no concern of the federal government nor of the non-slaveholding states.⁵⁷ Indeed, it is surprising that in the face of such opposition, the American Colonization Society persisted throughout the decade in trying to get federal support. This attitude in Congress also makes it clear why the various petitions by the residents of the District of Columbia to control the slave trade in the District met with failure.

The 1820s witnessed an increasingly vocal attack on the institution of slavery by Quakers. In 1823, the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery met in Philadelphia.⁵⁸ Elias Hicks, a popular Quaker minister from Long Island, New York appealed against any voluntary participation with slavery and asked people to avoid the fruits of slave labor.⁵⁹ In 1824, the Quaker Benjamin Lundy began to publish The Genius of Universal Emancipation in Baltimore, and in 1825, it went from a monthly to a weekly periodical.⁶⁰

From the deed records in Alexandria, it appears that the members of the Alexandria Monthly Meeting may have increased their emancipation efforts after 1825. In July, 1825, Edward Stabler and two of his sons witnessed an emancipation deed made by a fellow Alexandria druggist and apothecary, William Lamphier, for a female slave named Chaney Jackson whom Lamphier had purchased in 1813.⁶¹ (Appendix I contains records of Quaker sales, purchases and manumissions of slaves.)

During the summer of 1825, Edward Stabler "suffered with a

large and painful gathering in his right arm and hand" that left his right hand permanently crippled.⁶² Despite this, Stabler continued to travel as a minister and maintained a voluminous correspondence. It was at this time that his son, William Stabler, took over much of the everyday business of the apothecary shop, although he had been a partner with his father since 1819.⁶³

In December, Edward Stabler purchased a slave named Sally, about twenty-five years of age, and her infant child, for one dollar from Eleanor C. Stuart. This deed was witnessed by George W.P. Custis, the grandson of Martha Washington, and Cassius F. Lee.⁶⁴ In January, 1826, Stabler purchased two more slaves, named Matilda and Harriet, for one dollar from Eleanor Stuart.⁶⁵ This may have been the same type of transaction that was common among the Quakers in North Carolina who acted as trustees for emancipated blacks. Sally and her child were legally manumitted in May, 1827.⁶⁶ There is no record of Matilda and Harriet being legally freed.

Edward Stabler spent three months during 1826 traveling on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and in Delaware visiting monthly meetings and individual Quakers.⁶⁷ A friend suggested that he write a series of essays for publication on the evils of slavery based upon his observations during this trip. Stabler refused because, he said,

There are now so many combatants with political weapons engaged in this warfare, that it has assumed a new character; and it is now a difficult if not an impracticable affair to enter the field....I have long been of the persuasion, that much of the good that might have been done, has been obstructed by the attempts which

have been made to abolish slavery, having originated and been prosecuted upon political, instead of religious motives and convictions.

Stabler was concerned with the moral effect of slavery on the slaveowners, but was convinced that no one would listen to him.

In 1827, with the assistance of the fiery Quaker editor from Baltimore, Benjamin Lundy, a group of Quakers and Methodists in Alexandria withdrew from the American Colonization Society and established the Alexandria Benevolent Society to support manumission and colonization.⁶⁹ Thomas Jacobs, who owned two slaves, was the president.⁷⁰ Benjamin Hallowell, a well known Quaker schoolmaster and close friend of Edward Stabler, was the secretary. Samuel Janney, another Quaker who had been active in the American Colonization Society, was one of the founders of the Alexandria Benevolent Society and wrote a series of essays that were published in the Alexandria Gazette.⁷¹ These essays were titled "VIEWS of the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for ameliorating and improving the condition of the People of Color," and appeared as often as once a week beginning in April, 1827 through 1828. The essays were on such subjects as the comparative cost of free and slave labor, the politics of slavery, and the slave trade. In his autobiography, published in 1884, Benjamin Hallowell was careful to point out that the object of the Society was not to interfere with slavery, but to secure to the slaves their legal rights.⁷² He noted that the Society met every month until the Nat Turner insurrection in 1831, when it was thought most prudent to suspend the meetings; they were never resumed.⁷³ Despite the active participation of a number of Quakers in the

Alexandria community, Edward and William Stabler did not join the Benevolent Society. Hallowell noted that they were "fearful that the object of the society might be misunderstood."⁷⁴

Additional evidence of increasing abolitionist sentiment can be seen in the formation of other local societies in 1827. The Baltimore Friends formed the Baltimore Society for the Protection of Free People of Color to assist kidnapped blacks to regain their freedom.⁷⁵ Kidnapping and enslaving of free blacks was a continual problem with the District of Columbia, the center of the slave trade. Also in 1827, the recently organized Washington Abolition Society issued a statement on the deleterious influence of slavery upon the welfare and prosperity of the city.⁷⁶

In 1827, the Society of Friends split between the activist followers of Elias Hicks and the orthodox or quietist members. Edward Stabler attended the Yearly Meeting in New York where he visited Hicks on Long Island, and also attended meetings in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland.⁷⁷ In 1828, the Alexandria Monthly Meeting united with the Hicksite branch.⁷⁸ The Hicksite branch of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting determined in 1828 to renounce the use of all products produced by slave labor. Edward Stabler attended the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that year. Stabler appears to have been deeply involved in the politics of the Society of Friends. He corresponded with Elias Hicks and was deeply committed to the abolition of slavery.⁷⁹ Yet his scruples kept him from joining a society that included non-Quakers, and from making a public protest in the form of published essays.

In 1828, the firm of Franklin and Armfield opened their headquarters in Alexandria. They were the South's largest slave trading enterprise until 1837.⁸⁰ The firm kept their slaves in a pen on Duke Street, and sent one hundred or more to New Orleans every two weeks.⁸¹ Perhaps in response to this development, the Alexandria Benevolent Society submitted yet another petition to Congress that same year (see Appendix III).⁸² The petition proposed that all children of slaves born in the District of Columbia after July 4, 1828, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years. There was also a request for the repeal of those laws which authorize the selling of "supposed runaways" and for the prevention of the removal of slaves into the District for the purpose of sale, hire or transportation.

The petition was not granted. This petition was signed by 1,056 citizens of Alexandria, Georgetown and Washington City, although Benjamin Hallowell claimed that over 1,500 voters had signed it. At least 153 residents of Alexandria signed the petition, and 90 of them were slave owners (see Appendix IV). Of these, 80 had four or fewer slaves, and 64 had one or two, according to the 1830 Census. Twenty-two Quakers signed the petition, including William Stabler. Edward Stabler did not sign (see Appendix V).

In 1829, there is further evidence of Edward Stabler's personal antislavery activities. In April, he purchased a slave named Lilly for one dollar from George W.P. Custis, and in September, he purchased Nelson Hams, or Harris, from Custis' daughter, "with a view to forthwith emancipating him," also for the

sum of one dollar.⁸³ Edward and William Stabler also served as witnesses to the emancipation of a slave named Angy by James S. Gunnell, a dentist of the City of Washington in April, 1829.⁸⁴ It was not until 1831, however, that Nelson Harris and Lilly were legally emancipated by William and Mary Stabler as executors of their father's estate.⁸⁵ The 1830 Census shows the Edward Stabler household with 13 white members and 3 free black members. Unfortunately, it is not known who the free blacks were.

Edward Stabler continued in his active ministry with a two-month visit to the Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings in 1829, and a three-month trip to the New York and Baltimore Yearly Meetings in 1830.⁸⁶ He died in January, 1831 of scarlet fever at the age of 62.⁸⁷ That summer a bill for gradual emancipation was defeated in the Virginia Assembly by one vote, and it was agreed to reconsider the proposal at the next session.⁸⁸ Nat Turner's rebellion erupted in August, which put an end to any serious consideration of emancipation in Virginia. Despite an increasingly radical Northern abolition campaign, it was not until 1850 that the slave trade was ended in the District of Columbia as part of a compromise over admission to the Union of California and the new territories.⁸⁹ For Alexandria, no longer a part of the District, slavery would not be ended until after the Civil War and the occupation of the city by Union troops.

End Notes

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2. James Brewer Stewart, Holy Warriors (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), p. 15.
3. Stewart, Holy Warriors, p. 22.
4. Ibid., p. 23.
5. Richard Bauman, For The Reputation of Truth (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), p. 195.
6. Margaret H. Bacon, The Quiet Rebels (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1969), p. 95.
7. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 143.
8. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 142.
9. Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 344.
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Appendix I

Quaker Purchases, Sales and Manumissions of African Americans, from the Alexandria, Virginia County Court House Deed Books Q2, R2 and S2

DB Q2 p. 394

Know all men by these presents that I William Lanphier of the Town and County of Alexandria in the District of Columbia have from the date of these presents for myself, my heirs, my executors and administrators for and in considerations of the inviolable justice I owe to all mankind and diverse other considerations, emancipated, manumitted and set free forever from my service, and from serving any and all other claiming under me, my female negro slave named Chaney Jackson (when I bought from Benjamin D. Patterson on the fourteenth day of April One Thousand eight hundred and thirteen, as per bill of sale then made together with her future increase, and by these presents do emancipate, manumit and set free forever from my service as aforesaid the said Chaney Jackson together with her future increase, and I the said William Lanphier for myself, my heirs, my executors and administrators, unto her the said Chaney Jackson and her future increase the freedom herein conveyed and conferred against the claim or claims of all and every person or persons whatsoever claiming under me. I the said William Lanphier will by these presents forever warrant and defend.

In witness of every particular herein before expressed I have here unto signed by name and set my seal this twenty third day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty five.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of:

Edw Stabler
Thomas S. Stabler
Robinson Stabler

Recorded 12/5/1827

DB Q2 p. 48

Know all men by these presents that I Eleanor C. Stuart of the County of Alexandria and District of Columbia for and in consideration of reasons and in consideration of the sum of one Dollar to me in hand paid by Edward Stabler of said County do make and convey unto the said Stabler a certain slave woman named Sally - about twenty five years of age - and her infant child and by these presents I do warrant and defend the said slaves unto the said Stabler against the claim or claims of all persons whatever. As witness my hand and seal this seventeenth day of December 1825.

Witnesses: George W.P. Custis
Cassius F. Lee

At an United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia continued and held for the County of Alexandria the 10th day of April 1827. This Bill of Sale from Eleanor C. Stuart to Edward Stabler was proved by the oath of Cassuis F. Lee to be the act and deed of the [sic] Eleanor C. Stuart and ordered to be recorded.

DB Q2 p.47

Know all men by these presents, that I Eleanor C. Stuart of the District of Columbia for and in consideration of the sum of one dollar, to me in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do bargain and sell unto Edward Stabler of said County two slaves named Matilda and Harriet and by these presents I do hereby warrant and defend the claim of said Stabler, unto the said slaves against the claim or claims of all persons whatever. Given under my hand this thirty first day of January Eighteen hundred and twenty six.

Witnesses: George W.P. Custis
Cassuis F. Lee

At an United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia continued and held for the County of Alexandria the 18th day of April 1827. This Bill of sale from Eleanor C. Stuart to Edward Stabler was proved by the oath of Cassius F. Lee to be the act and deed of the said Eleanor C. Stuart and ordered to be recorded.

DB Q2 p.56

To all whom it may concern, be it known, that I William H. Wilmer of the town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia, for divers good causes and considerations me thereunto moving, as also in consideration of one dollar to me in hand paid, do release from slavery, liberate, manumit, and set free at the times specified as follows, the following negro servants, now in possession of Mrs. Hannah Somers: viz. Maria, aged about twenty five, to be free on the first day of January ensuing, her daughter Tamer born about first day of January eighteen hundred and sixteen to be free on the first day of January eighteen hundred and forty one; her son Henry, born 14th Nov. Eighteen hundred and eighteen, to be free on the 14th day of Nov. Eighteen hundred and forty three, her son George, born 12th July Eighteen hundred and twenty one to be free on the 12th of July Eighteen hundred and forty six, her son Thornton born 16th February 1823, to be free on the 16th February eighteen hundred forty eight, her son Armstead, born 1st August Eighteen hundred and twenty four, to be free on the 1st of August eighteen hundred and forty none, and her son Lewis, born 12th December 1825, to be free on he 12th December Eighteen hundred and fifty - which said servant Maria I sold to Mrs. Somers of Fairfax County for the term of ten years, which term expires on the first day of January ensuing (1827) her offspring being bound to serve Mrs. Somers until they attain the age of twenty five years, which term is

contemplated by this deed of manumission, in the several dated above specified, and by which its provisions are to be modified - the same negro Maria, aged as aforesaid, and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance, and the said negroes her offspring aforesaid at the time specified, I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted and discharged from all manner of servitude or service to me, my executors or administrators forever - In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty seventh day of November A.D. Eighteen hundred and twenty six.

Witnesses: John C. Mandell
Isaac Cannell
Daniel Morgan

At an United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia continued and held for the County of Alexandria the 10th day of April 1827. This deed from William H. Wilmer to negro Maria and her six children was proved by the oaths of Daniel Morgan and Isaac Cannell to be the act and deed of the said William H. Wilmer and the said Maria personally appeared in open Court, and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that she is, of sound mind, and body, and not over the age of forty five years it is ordered that the same be certified and the said deed recorded.

DB Q2 p.122

Item. - I give and bequeath to my grand niece Mary Clagett one Negro Girl called Clarissa and in case said Negro have a Child previous to or within nine months after my death, I give said Child to my niece Elizabeth Page.

Charles County, Maryland.

I hereby Certify that the above is a true extract from Mary B. Barnes Will, Recorded in my office 12/14/1826. William D. Merrick.

DB Q2 p.117

Know all men by these presents, that we William Fowle and Henry Daingerfield, out of our desire to confer a Boon and benefit upon our slaves, Lewis Campbell aged about fifty years, Julia aged about twenty five years, Letty aged about sixteen years and Eliza aged about nine years, do emancipate and set free, the aforesaid slaves.

In testimony whereof we have hereto set our hands and affixed our seals this twenty sixth day of January eighteen hundred and twenty seven.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us:
Benjamin H. Lambert
W.H. Foule

To all whom it may concern, be it known that I Harriet M. Lloyd of the County of Alexandria and District of Columbia for divers good causes and considerations me these unto moving and also in further consideration of one hundred and fifty dollars of lawful money to me in hand paid, have released from slavery, liberated, emancipated and set free, and by these presents do hereby release from slavery, liberate, manumit and set free my negro woman named Mildred Jackson being of the age of forty three years and able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance - and her the said negro woman named Mildred Jackson, I do declare to be henceforth free, manumitted and discharged from all manner of servitude and service to me, my Executors or Administrators forever. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 12th day of April 1827.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of:

Thomson F. Mason
Henry Lloyd

At an United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia continued and held for the County of Alexandria the 19th day of April 1827. This deed of Emancipation from Harriet M. Lloyd to Mildred Jackson, was proved by the oaths of Thomson F. Mason and Henry Lloyd to be the act and deed of the said Harriet M. Lloyd and ordered to be recorded.

I Martha Simms do swear that my removal into the District of Columbia, County of Alexandria, was with no intent of evading the laws for preventing the further importation of slaves; nor have I brought with me any slaves with an intention of selling them; nor have any of the slaves which I have bought with me been imported from Africa or any of the West India Islands since the first day of November One Thousand seven hundred and seventy eight. I have brought the following slaves to wit - Negro man Tom about twenty years old - dark complexion. Do. boy Curlistus about four years old - Chloe Ann a bright mulatto girl about eight years old - and Polly a dark coloured woman about twenty four years old, all slaves for life, which Slaves were all born and raised in the State of Maryland from whence they are now brought.

Martha Simms - her mark

Martha Simms whose name is subscribed above, personally appeared before the undersigned a Justice of the Peace for the County aforesaid, & made oath in due form of law, that the above Statement in writing tuching [sic] her intentions as regards the removal of her Slaves into this District, contains the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Given from under my hand this 13th day

of April 1827. Chs. Neale

DB Q2 p.117

Know all men by these presents, that I, Isaac Clark of the town of Alexandria and District of Columbia, for an in consideration of the love and affection which I have for my daughter Arbarilla free from bondage the said Arbarilla whom I purchased from Mrs. Rebecca Dulany - and I do hereby warrant and defend the said Arabeilla in the possession of her liberty against all claims, and claimants whatsoever. Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of April 1827.

Isaac Clark - his mark

DB Q2 p.86

Know all men by these presents, that whereas Eleanor C. Stuart of the County of Alexandria and District of Columbia, from a desire to restore to their natural Right of Liberty a female slave by the name of Sally aged about twenty five years, and her infant child, did by her bill of sale, dated the seventeenth day of December 1835, (and which was proved and ordered to be recorded at the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia and held in the County of Alexandria the 16th day of April 1827) convey to me all her right and title to the said slaves, and warranting the same against the claim or claims of all persons whatsoever. Be it known therefore to all whom it may concern, that I, Edward Stabler of the Town of Alexandria and County and District aforesaid do manumit and by this Deed of emancipation do set free the said female named Sally and her infant child, and by the powers conveyed to me be the said Bill of Sale above mentioned, do warrant and defend their said right of liberty against the claim or claims of all persons whatsoever - Witness my hand and seal this third day of the fifth month (May) in the year 1827.

Witnesses: Wm Stabler
Robert H. Miller

At an United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia continued and held for the County of Alexandria the 5th day of May 1827. Edward Stabler acknowledged this deed of manumission to negro Sally and her child to be his act and deed, and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that the said negro years and of sound mind and body the same is ordered to be Certified and the said Deed recorded.

DB Q2 p.176

Know by all men by these presents that I Thos. Vowell do hereby emancipate and set free a certain coloured lad named Josphe Williams aged about twenty years, born in Alexandria at my dwelling

on Water Street. His parents are Edmund & Sylvia Williams the mother is now a free woman, and on records in the County Court of Alexandria D.C. as per certificate of emancipation from myself - given under my hand & seal at Alexandria D.C. this 12th day of November 1827.

Witness: W. Cranch

DB Q2 p.209

Know all men by these Presents I Peter Loggins of the Town of Alexandria D.C. for divers good causes and considerations do hereby emancipate my daughter named Janney whom I purchased of Bernard Bryan, as (per Bill of Sale recorded in the Clerks office of the County of Alexandria) and her child Sally and her grandchildren Georgeanna, Creaxeanna and John - children of said Sally - I purchased my said child Janney when she was seven years of age - As witness my hand & seal this 17th day of November 1827.

Peter Loggins - his mark

DB Q2 p.488

Know all men by these presents, that I Townshend Waugh of the Town of Alexandria and District of Columbia believing that to hold a human being to unconditional and involuntary slavery, is contrary to justice and humanity, have resolved to emancipate, discharge and set free, and by these presents do emancipate, discharge and set free from slavery, and from all claims to labour or services of any kind, a certain coloured woman named Jane Ross about forty two years of age. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this sixth day of April 1828.

DB Q2 p.500

Know all men by these presents, that I Solomon Passons of the Town & County of Alexandria and District of Columbia, have emancipated and set free, a black man named Mayfield - aged Sixty years or thereabouts, who formerly belonged to the estate of John Coffee of Fairfax County Virginia, and sold by Henry Gunnel Administrator to the Widow Mary Coffee.

Whereas in 1816 Mary Coffee departed this life, and as administrator of the said Mary Coffee I sold at auction (as will appear by my account of second in the County Court of Fairfax) the said Mayfield, and became the Purchaser for his benefit, whenever he should refund the purchase money four hundred dollars and interest, he having paid the same I do hereby emancipate and whatsoever. Witness my hand & seal this fifth day of May Eighteen

hundred & twenty eight.

Witnesses: Robert H. Miller
Saml Miller

DB S2 p.533

Know all men by these presents, that I George W.P. Custis of the District of Columbia, for and in consideration of the sum of one dollar to me in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do bargain, sell & confirm to Edward Stabler of said District, all my right and title to a certain woman Slave named Lilly, and by these presents do warrant and defend the said Lilly to the said Stabler against the claim or claims of all persons whatever. Given under my hand and seal this 27th day of April 1829.

Witnesses: Mary A.R. Custis
Marietta Fumer

DB S2 p.14

Know all men by these presents, that I, Jacob Hoffman of the Town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia, did about the year 1813, sell for the term of ten years, the bearer hereof Clary to Samuel Harper then of this place, the said Clary with her issue to be free at the expiration of the said ten years, the said Harper sold her for the remainder of her term to Reuben Dyre then of Alexandria & he to Jonathan G. Thay and he to Thomas Patton, and he to Wm Henderson of Washington and he to John C. Wilson, and for the residue of the term to a Mr. Golden, that at the expiration of the said ten years the parties gave her liberty, but referred her to the subscriber of her freedom papers. I do hereby manumit, set free and fully discharge from my services the said Clary to enjoy her liberty, together with her three children, William a son, now about nine years old, Elizabeth a daughter about three years old, and a second daughter named Martha Ann, now about seven months old, the said Children to be subject to Clary their mother. The Son until he be fully of the age of twenty one years, the daughters until they shall arrive at the age of eighteen years. Given under my hand and seal this 27th of May 1829.

Witnesses: Wm Simms Registered 4/20/1830
Charles Bennett

DB S2 p.357

Know all man by these presents, that I Catherine Ramsay of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred dollars to me in hand paid by Samuel Miller of the Town and County of Alexandria, in the District aforesaid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have

bargained, sold, aliened and confirmed unto the said Samuel Miller a certain mulatto boy named Daniel about twenty years of age, to be held by the said Miller as his Slave for the term of ten years from the after the date of the signing and sealing of these presents: and then from and after the expiration of the term of the ten years aforesaid, I do declare the said boy Daniel to be free and emancipated from the claim and demand of all persons whosoever. And further, I do hereby warrant and defend the said Slave for the term of ten years as aforesaid to the said Samuel Miller against the claim or demands of all persons, whomsoever. And the said Samuel, for himself and his assigns, doth hereby covenant to release the said Daniel from his services at the expiration of the said term; and to permit him to enjoy his liberty free from this control, or the control of any person claiming by, through or under him; and that he will not sell or dispose of the said Daniel without his consent to any person to carry him out of the District of Columbia. In witness whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals this sixteenth day of July eighteen hundred and twenty nine.

In presence of: G. Ramsay
Elizabeth Ramsay
Mordecai Miller

DB S2 p.387

Know all men by these presents, that we William H. Fitzhugh and Mary L. Custis having heretofore made to Edward Stabler of Alexandria a bill of sale for a certain negro man named Nelson Harris with a view that he said Stabler might forthwith emancipate the said negro - And whereas it appears that the said bill of sale has been lost or mislaid: now therefore we the said William H. Fitzhugh and Mary L. Custis, as well in consideration of the sum of one dollar to us in hand paid, as that the said Stabler may at the next court for the County of Alexandria, proceed to emancipate the said Nelson Harris, do sell, grant and confirm to the said Edward Stabler all our right and title to the said: Witness our hands and seals this 26th day of September 1829.

Witnesses: Rosalie E. Stuart
Eleanor C. Stuart

DB R2 p.441

Known all men by these presents, that I James S. Gunnell (Dentist) of the City of Washington and District of Columbia, from a desire to restore to her natural right of liberty, my female slave Angy, have manumitted, and by this my act and deed to manumit and se at liberty the said Angy, a pale mulatto, and now about fourteen years of age. And I do hereby oblige myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, to warrant and protect the said Angy, in possession of her said natural right of liberty, against all claims and

claimants whatsoever. In witness whereof I affix my hand and seal in Alexandria this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine.

Witnesses: Edward Stabler
Wm Stabler

At an United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia continued and held for the County of Alexandria in the 7th day of November 1829. This Deed of Emancipation from James S. Gunnell to Negro Angy was proved by the affirmatives of Edward Stabler & William Stabler to be the act and deed of the said James S. Gunnell; and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the said negro Angy, is under the age of 18 years, the same was ordered to be certified and the said deed recorded.

DB S2 p.112

Know all men that I Robert H. Miller of the Town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia for divers good reasons me thereunto moving, have emancipated and set free, and do by these presents emancipate set free the following Slaves belonging to me vis. a negro woman named Maria Craney aged about eighteen years and purchased by me from B.H. Lewis - also a negro man named Oliver Edwards, purchased by me from Joseph B. Ladd of the Town of Alexandria. In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand and seal this twenty fourth day of March in the year eighteen hundred and thirty.

In presence of: Johnathan Butcher Recorded 4/21/1830
Charles Ross
Nathaniel E. Janney

DB S2 p.353

Know all men by these presents that I Richard H. Henderson, Executor of Thomas R. Nott decd, in consideration of three hundred and twenty five dollars by James Townsend, a man of Color, to me in hand paid; the receipt of which I acknowledge, have bargained, sold, conveyed, and confirmed, and do by these presents, bargain and sell, convey, and confirm to him the said James Townsend negro slaves Cardine and her children Sophia, William, and Eliza. To have and to hold the said slaves to him the said James Townsend his Executors, administrator and assigns. In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and affixed my seal this 28th day of May 1830.

Witness: W.R. Fitzhugh Recorded 11/8/1

DB S2 p.216

Know all men by these presents, that I William Morgan of Alexandria D.C., do hereby for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred

Appendix II
African American Manumissions
Alexandria County Court House
Deed Book Q2

<u>Owners</u>		<u>Slaves</u>
William Vietch	7/11/1827	Nicholas Snowden age 30
Mary Green Hardy	6/13/1827	Selina age 35 Charlotte age 14 William age 12 Emeline age 10 Amy age 7 Unah age 4
John Whiting	5/14/1827	Ellen Cole & her child Louisa
Francis Hoy his mark	5/28/1827	Betsy Bond
Harry Darnell his mark	2/8/1821	Tabitha Minor (Tabby) William Minor age 13
Thomas Preston	5/3/1825	Fanny Grinage
p.48 Harriet M. Lloyd	4/12/1827	Mildred Jackson age 43
p.56 William H. Wilmer	11/7/1826	Maria age 25 Tamer George Thornton Armstead Lewis
p.86 Edward Stabler	5/3/1827	Sally age 25 & her infant child
p.117 William Fowle Henry Daingerfield	1/26/1827	Lewis Campbell age 50 Julia 25 Letty 16 Eliza 9
p.117 Isaac Clark his mark	4/26/1827	Abarilla Clark
p.155 Wm Gibson Moses Gibson Susanna Garner Gibson, etc. Heirs of Isaac Gibson	12/3/1826	Alfred Clark

p.176	Thomas Vowell	11/12/1827	Joseph Williams	age 20
p.209	Peter Loggins his mark	11/17/1827	Janney Loggins Sally her child & her grandchildren Georgeanna Creaseanna John	
p.235	William A. Williams Richard Stanton	12/6/1826	Ann to be freed at age 25	
p.394	William Lamphier	7/3/1825	Chaney Jackson	
p.488	Townsend Waugh	4/6/1828	Jane Ross	age 42
p.500	Solomon Passons	5/5/1828	Mayfield	age 60

Alexandria County Court House
Deed Book R2

Manumissions

	<u>Owners</u>		<u>Slaves</u>
p.24	George Lindemburger Machenheimer Eliza Machenheimer	10/10/1828	Richard Knight as of 7/23/1836 when he is 21 years old
p.52	Robert Jamieson	11/8/1828	Jane Turley & her children: Marie Ann 12 yrs. Thomas 4 John 2 George 5 wks.
p.65	Reuben Johnston	11/11/1828	Sandy Butts
p.84	Charles McKnight	11/14/1828	James Townshend
p.90	Mordecai Miller	11/15/1828	Harry Nokes age 28
p.149	Henry Darnell A free Coloured man	11/29/1828	His children: Mary age 22 Charles 20 Priscilla 18 Henry 16
p.176	James P. Coleman	4/18/1829	Harriet Ann Dyson age 17
p.228	Jonathan Chambers Registered 4/18/1829 vouched for by Robinson Stabler	1/30/1821	Manuel
p.240	Charles W. Knight	1/5/1829	Carolus Anthony Chin age 26
p.248	John Child	1/6/1829	Rose age 17 to be free age 21 her offspring to serve until age 25
p.249	Delia Clarke	9/11/1828	Julia Gray, her daughter
p.308	Colin Auld	11/24/1829	Flora Johnson age 22
p.367	Children & heirs of Joseph Brick registered	6/24/1825 11/14/1829	Alice & her children Fanny Betsy James John Henry Sarah, granchild mother

			deceased
p.378	John Childs	1/26/1829	Margaret age 14 to be free at age 21 her offspring to serve until 25
p.441	James S. Gunnell	11/4/1829	Angy age 14
p.482	Caesar Valentine	6/5/1829	John Henry Richards
	to Jonathan Schofield until they reach age 21:		age 15
			Samuel L. Williams
			age 14
	the future increase of the females to become free when they do		Cecilia Whiting age 6
			Thomas Wesley Whiting
			age 4
			Alexander Washington
			age 2
			Murray Fairfax age 2 mos.
p.483	Caesar Valentine	6/5/1829	Priscilla Washington
			William Caesar
			Eloias Whiting
p.157	Elizabeth A. Cracroft	12/20/1829	Grace Marvell age 28

Alexandria County Court House
Deed Book S2

Manumissions

	<u>Owners</u>		<u>Slaves</u>	
p.14	Jacob Hoffman	5/27/1829	Clary William Elizabeth Martha Ann	age 9 age 3 7 mos.
p.14	Isaac Clark	3/26/1830	Delia	
p.110	Peggy Ashton	1/18/1830	Edward Oldham	age 39
p.112	Robert Miller	3/24/1830	Maria Craney Oliver Edwards	age 18
p.117	John Morgan his mark	3/19/1830	Cornlius Watson	
p.124	John M. Massie	4/23/1830	Jane Barney (Jenny)	
p.215	Wm. Fowle	11/11/1830	John Payne	
p.216	William Morgan see p.220 for sale document	10/4/1830	William Morrison	
p.216	Mana Blue her mark	11/19/1830	Maria Morris (daughter)	
p.357	Catherine Ramsay	7/16/1829	Daniel in ten years at age 30	
p.363	Isreal Lunt	11/24/1830	Joseph Frazer Letty Frazer(wife)	age 42 40
p.407	Robert Jamieson	11/27/1830	Dennis Carpenter	age 31
p.413	Thomas Preston	11/23/1830	Somerset Chase	
p.414	Catherine Ramsay	11/3/1830	Joseph age 7 when he reaches age 30	
p.424	Simon Dame	11/6/1830	Daniel Peter West	age 30
p.436	James Irwin	9/6/1830	Miran Seals & children Marsolina William Henry	

p.544	William Stabler Mary Stabler	4/23/1831	Lilly	age 33
p.545	James M. Steuart	4/25/1831	David Brooks	
p.545	Thomas R. Moott at his death	3/1/1831	Letty	
p.691	William Stabler Mary Stabler	11/7/1831	Nelson Harris	
p.696	Robert Anderson	5/10/1830	Calvin Jones	

Alexandria County Court House
Deed Books

African American Manumissions, 1826-1831
Alphabetical List of Owners

(Numbers in parentheses represent transactions which are not manumissions but are intended to result as such at a later date.)

<u>Owners</u>			<u># Slaves</u>
Robert Anderson (R.P. Anderson signed petition)	DB S2 p.696	5/10/2830	1
Peggy Ashton	DB S2 p.110	1/18/1830	1
Colin Auld	DB R2 p.308	11/24/1829	1
Mana Blue her daughter	DB S2 p.216	11/19/1830	1
Joseph Brick - heirs	DB R2 p.367	6/24/1825	5
Elizabeth A. Caracroft	DB R2 p.517	12/20/1829	1
Jonathan Chambers	DB R2 p.248	1/30/1821 (1829)	1
John Child	DB R2 p.378	1/26/1829	1
Isaac Childs	DB Q2 p. 117	4/26/1827	1
	DB S2 p.14	3/26/1830	1
Delia Clarke-her daughter	DB R2 p.249	9/11/1828	1
James P. Coleman signed petition	DB R2 p.176	4/18/1829	1
Mary L. Custis	DB S2 p.387	9/26/1829	(1)
Henry Daingerfield	DB Q2 p.117	1/6/1827	(4)
Simon Dame	DB S2 p. 424	11/6/1830	1
Harry Darnell	DB Q2	2/8/1821	2
Henry Darnell a free Coloured man- his children	DB R2 p.149	11/29/1828	4
William H. Fitzhugh	DB S2 p.387	9/26/1829	(1)
William Fowle	DB Q2 p.117	1/6/1827	4
Moses Gibson	DB Q2 p.155	11/11/1830	1

Wm Gibson signed petition	DB Q2 p.155	12/3/1826	1
James S. Gunnell	DB R2 p.441	11/4/1829	1
Mary Green Hardy	DB Q2	6/13/1827	6
Jacob Hoffman	DB S2 p.14	5/27/1827	1
Francis Hoy	DB Q2	5/28/1827	1
James Irwin	DB S2 p.436	9/6/1830	3
Robert Jamieson	DB S2 p.407	11/27/1830	1
	DB R2 p.52	11/8/1828	5
Reuben Johnston	DB R2 p.65	11/11/1828	1
Charles W. Knight	DB R2 p.240	1/5/1829	1
William Lanphier signed petition	DB Q2 p.394	7/23/1825	1
Harriet M. Lloyd	DB Q2 p.48	4/12/1827	1
	DB S2 p.407	6/9/1830	1
Peter Loggins his family?	DB Q2 p.209	11/17/1827	5
Israel Lunt	DB S2 p.363	11/24/1830	2
George Lindenburger Machenheimer	DB R2 p.24	10/10/1828	1
Eliza Machenheimer	DB R2 p.24	10/10/1828	(1)
John M. Massie signed petition	DB S2 p.124	4/23/1830	1
Charles McKnight	DB R2 p.84	11/14/1828	1
Mordecai Miller signed petition	DB R2 p.90	11/15/1828	1
Robert H. Miller signed petition	DB S2 p.112	3/4/1830	2
Thomas R. Moott	DB S2 p.545	3/1/1831	1
John Morgan	DB S2 p.117	3/19/1830	1

William Morgan signed petition	DBS2 p.216	10/4/1830	1
Solomon Passons signed petition	DB Q2 p.500	5/5/1825	1
Thomas Preston	DB Q2	5/3/1825	1
	DB S2 p.413	11/23/1830	1
Catherine Ramsay	DB S2 p.357	7/16/1829	1
	DB S2 p.414	11/3/1830	1
Edward Stabler	DB S2 p.86	5/3/1827	2
	DB S2 p.691	11/7/1831	1
Mary Stabler	DB S2 p.544	4/23/1831	(1)
	DB S2 p.691	11/7/1831	(1)
William Stabler signed petition	DB S2 p.544	4/23/1831	(1)
	DB S2 p.691	11/7/1831	1
Richard Stanton	DB Q2 p.235	12/6/1826	(1)
James M. Steuart	DB S2 p.545	4/25/1831	1
Eleanor C. Stuart	DB Q2 p.48	12/17/1825	(2)
	DB Q2 p.47	1/1/1826	(2)
Caesar Valentine	DB R2 p.482	6/5/1829	9
	DB R2 p.483	6/5/1829	3
William Veitch signed petition	DB Q2	7/11/1827	1
Thomas Vowell signed petition	DB Q2 p.176	11/12/1827	1
Townshend Waugh signed petition	DB Q2 p.488	4/6/1828	1
John Whiting	DB Q2	5/14/1827	2
William A. Williams signed petition	DB Q2 p.235	12/6/1826	1
William H. Wilmer	DB Q2 p.56	11/27/1826	7

Deed Books in the Alexandria County Court House

Tabulations of Deed Types

	Deed Book Q2 2 Years 5/1826-5/1828	Deed Book R2 1 Year 11/1828-11/1829	Deed Book S2 2 Years 3 Months 8/1829-11/1831
Property Transfers	218	188	202
Sale of Slaves	5	3	8
Manumissions	18	18	21
Other	8	11	11
Total Deeds	249	220	242

Percent of Total Deed Types

	Deed Book Q2 5/1826-5/1828	Deed Book R2 11/1828-11/1829	Deed Book S2 8/1829-11/1831
Property Transfers	88%	85%	83%
Sale of Slaves	2%	1%	3%
Manumissions	7%	8%	9%
Other	3%	5%	5%
Total Deeds	249	220	242

Appendix III

Memorial of the Inhabitants of the District of Columbia Praying
For the Gradual Abolition Of Slavery In the District of Columbia.

SLAVERY—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

MEMORIAL

OF

INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,

Praying for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

MARCH 24, 1828.

Referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia.

FEBRUARY 9, 1835.

Ordered, On motion of Mr. Hubbard, of New Hampshire, to be printed, with the names thereto attached.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

We, the undersigned, citizens of the counties of Washington and Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, beg leave to call the attention of your honorable body to an evil of serious magnitude, which greatly impairs the prosperity and happiness of this District, and casts the reproach of inconsistency upon the free institutions established among us.

While the laws of the United States denounce the foreign slave trade as piracy, and punish with death those who are found engaged in its perpetration, there exists in this District, the seat of the National Government, a domestic slave trade, scarcely less disgraceful in its character, and even more demoralizing in its influence. For this is not, like the former, carried on against a barbarous nation; its victims are reared up among the people of this country, educated in the precepts of the same religion, and imbued with similar domestic attachments.

These people are, without their consent, torn from their homes; husband and wife are frequently separated and sold into distant parts; children are taken from their parents, without regard to the ties of nature; and the most endearing bonds of affection are broken forever.

Nor is this traffic confined to those who are legally slaves for life. Some who are entitled to freedom, and many who have a limited time to serve, are sold into unconditional slavery; and, owing to the defectiveness of our laws, they are generally carried out of the District before the necessary steps can be taken for their release.

[Gales & Seaton, print.]

We behold these scenes continually taking place among us, and lament our inability to prevent them. The people of this District have, within themselves, no means of legislative redress; and we therefore appeal to your honorable body, as the only one invested by the American constitution with the power to relieve us.

Nor is it only from the rapacity of slave traders that the colored race in this District are doomed to suffer. Even the laws which govern us, sanction and direct, in certain cases, a procedure that we believe is unparalleled, in glaring injustice, by any thing at present known among the Governments of Christendom. An instance of the operation of these laws, which occurred during the last summer, we will briefly relate.

A colored man, who stated that he was entitled to freedom, was taken up as a runaway slave, and lodged in the jail of Washington city. He was advertised, but no one appearing to claim him, he was, according to law, put up at public auction for the payment of his jail fees, and sold as a slave for life! He was purchased by a slave trader, who was not required to give security for his remaining in the District, and he was, soon after, shipped at Alexandria for one of the southern States. An attempt was made by some benevolent individuals to have the sale postponed until his claim to freedom could be investigated; but their efforts were unavailing; and thus was a human being sold into perpetual bondage at the capital of the freest Government on earth, without even a pretence of trial, or an allegation of crime.

We blush for our country while we relate this disgraceful transaction, and we would fain conceal it from the world, did not its very enormity inspire us with the hope that it will rouse the philanthropist and the patriot to exertion. We have no hesitation in believing your honorable body never intended that this odious law should be enforced; it was adopted with the old code of Maryland, from which, we believe, it has been expunged since this District was ceded to the General Government.

The fact of its having been so recently executed, shows the necessity of this subject being investigated by a power which we confidently hope will be ready to correct it.

We are aware of the difficulties that would attend any attempt to relieve us from these grievances by a sudden emancipation of the slaves in this District, and we would, therefore, be far from recommending so rash a measure. But the course pursued by many of the States of this confederacy, that have happily succeeded in relieving themselves from a similar burden, together with the bright example which has been set us by the South American republics, proves, most conclusively, that a course of gradual emancipation, to commence at some fixed period, and to take effect only upon those who may thereafter be born or removed into the District, might be pursued without detriment to the present proprietors, and would greatly redound to the prosperity and honor of our country.

The existence among us of a distinct class of people who, by their condition as slaves, are deprived of almost every incentive to virtue and industry, and shut out from many of the sources of light and knowledge, has an evident tendency to corrupt the morals of the people, and to damp the spirit of enterprise, by accustoming the rising generation to look with contempt upon honest labor, and to depend for support too much upon the labor of others. It prevents a useful and industrious class of people from

settling among us, by rendering the means of subsistence more precarious to the laboring class of whites.

It diminishes the resources of the community, by throwing the earnings of the poor into the coffers of the rich; thus rendering the former dependent, servile and improvident; while the latter are tempted to become, in the same proportion, luxurious and prodigal.

That these disastrous results flow from the existence of slavery among us is sufficiently conspicuous, when we contrast the languishing condition of this District, and the surrounding country, with the prosperity of those parts of the Union which are less favored in point of climate and location, but blessed with a free and industrious population.

We would, therefore, respectfully pray that these grievances may claim the attention of your honorable body, and that a law of Congress may be enacted, declaring that all children of slaves, born in the District of Columbia after the fourth day of July, eighteen hundred and twenty-eight, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years; and that those laws, which authorize the selling of supposed runaways for their prison fees or maintenance, may be repealed.

And, also, that laws may be enacted to prevent slaves from being removed into this District, or brought in for sale, hire, or transportation; without, however, preventing members of Congress, resident strangers, or travellers, from bringing and taking away with them their domestic servants.

Jonathan Elliot	R. G. Lanphier	Thomas Donoho
Henry Burdick	Richard Wright	J. Harbaugh
B. Thruston	W. Gunton	Solomon Hubbard
W. Cranch	R. Kirkwood	Robert McCulloch
Thos. L. Thruston	Samuel Chester	Wm. Thumfert
Samuel Bacon	E. Arnold	Wm. Ward
Charles Bell	P. Mauro	John Stettinius
John Ellis	Richard Phillips	W. Harper
James H. Lowry	Wm. G. W. White	Charles B. Davis
Henry Prather	Walter Clarke	Stephen Y. Leyland
Robert Beal	John Dix	J. C. Dawes
M. Shaut	G. C. Grammer	Samuel Clark
Ezekiel Young	George W. Spangler	Samuel Wells
A. H. Young	Thomas Pursell	Jonas Newell
John Scrivener	J. D. Boteler	John Waters
John Boyle	W. M. Morrison	Luke Richardson
Wm. Ford	I. L. Skinner	N. W. Fales
John Este	D. A. Hall	Wm. Owner
Christian Buckley	M. Rearden	W. H. Mauro
Ralph Charlton	E. Jones	N. B. Keen
B. Chambers	Wm. Dougherty	Enoch Tucker
George Savage	Richard Ballard	S. P. Franklin
Charles Hunt	George M. Tubman	R. W. Hornor
Jacob Leonard	George Parker	Thomas C. Wells
Nathaniel Mullikin	A. B. Waller	John H. Gibbs
James Galt	Atcheson Thompson	James Riordan
D. M. Wilson	John Thompson	John Smith
J. Gideon, jun.	John Green	Ch. W. Goldsborough

Alex. McIntire
James H. Handy
Saml. Harkness
Josias Taylor
Jno. N. Moulder
Jno. Barcroft
Wm. O'Neale
Christian Hines
John Smith
John Rawling, jr.
Jas. Godfrey
Andrew Hoover
B. W. Maul
Patk. Leyne
Saml. Redfern
Samuel Brooks
Samuel Stott
Thomas Wetherald
Wm. Coolidge, jr.
Thomas Lundy
Thomas Thistlethwaite
Thos. Smith
Saml. Smoot
John Cook
David Hines
Saml. Hines
David Davis
James Williams
Jno. Williams
George Thompson
E. Washington Oliver
G. T. Rhodes
Leonard Ashton
Richd. Wills
George Lamb
Wm. Langton
James Carriet
George Parker
Wm. Keef
Frederick Hines
Robt. McCoy
Tho. J. Dallan
James C. Haughey
Wm. Mechlin
John D. Cox
Thomas Edwards
Lewis Dean
Charles Calvert
John Kavanaugh
John Street
R. S. Briscoe
Tho. Fillebrown, jr.

James Gaither
Thos. Wilson
J. Mechlin
James Druet
Jos. Shaw
L. Kervand
Charles Little
John Usher
C. W. Patterson
W. P. McKelden
Reuben Collin
N. Brashears
John C. Reinmele
Geo. W. Dashiell
Th. B. Dashiell
Jas. Moore, pr.
J. W. M. Cobb
James McClery
John B. Patterson
Alex'r McDonald
Win. Mackey
James D. Woodside
Edgar Patterson
George Beal
William Coltman
James Nowlan
Fred. Turton
Thos. Barclay
Thos. Gardner
Joseph Cooper
James Graves
James M. Rardom
Louis Graves
Samuel Drury, jr.
Obediah Moss
William McCoy
John Dewdney
J. H. B. Lee
Jo. L. Kecher
Levi Washburn
Robt. Ellis
H. Brodbeck
James Frere
R. T. Queen
B. L. Beall
John Brannan
Wm. S. Allison
Daniel Brown
Thos. Arbuckle
John C. Harkness
John W. Cannon
Warren Carpenter

Jacob Kleiber
John Weaver
John Thompson
John Hanly
John Sibley
Coye Anderson
Philip Boyle
John Miller
Valentine Pierce
Wm. Maul
Alexander Borland
Louis S. Tchiffely
John Burke
Jacob Hines
Elijah Ourand
Bernard Herty
Nathaniel C. Pugh
Jacob C. Tull
Nathaniel T. Davis
Charles Irwin
George H. Fulmer
Abijah Swallow
John N. Lovejoy, sen.
William R. Campbell
John C. Gabler
Andrew Stinger
John Stinger
Matthias Stinger
John Tobin
John Knoblock
John F. Stinger
F. Stinger
B. Williamson
Thompson Shard
Thomas Herbert
Ignatius Free
John Cumberland
Wm. Girdinston
James Murry
William Didenhover
Isaac Draper
Robert L. Didenhover
Thomas Hunter
Henry Hines
Thomas T. Parker
Avery E. Smoot
Charles Dean
T. E. Scott
R. Woodward
Geo. A. Adams
John Connor
Joel Cruttenden

Samuel McKenney
W. Redin
Thos. C. Wright
John White
Thos. Hoskinson
Richard Cropley
Charles E. Eckel
W. Noyes
Jos. Brooks
Henry Addison
Fra. Knott
James Thomas
Sedly Woodward
Charles Boteler
Thomas Orme
Frederick Garner
R. Moore
Levin D. Miles
Southey Parker
Andrew Collingwood
Wm. Goss
Edmund Hanly
John Hutchison
John Goodrich
John Mattingly
William Powers
Jos. Beardsley
Samuel Brereton
F. Lowndes
John Woodside, Wash-
ington city, a place
of merchandise in hu-
man beings !!!
Benj. Harrison
S. Handy, jr.
S. McKean
A. Ferguson
John N. Lovejoy, jr.
Benjamin Sibley
Mos. Martin
John Curl
Louis Frank his mark
Lemuel Williams
George Esling
John Wise
Danl. Moore
Wm. Peake
Thos. Thorpe
Geo. Macdaniel
James C. Dunn
Alexr. Suter
W. Engleman

Richard Elliott
Samuel Sutton
Eli Palmer
Wm. Didenhover
Jno. N. Waters
Leonard Ellis
John S. Nevius
Jos. S. Collins
James Birth
Zachariah Smoot
Robert Simons
Thomas Towers
Augusta Davis
F. Davis
Robert White
Richard Davis
J. S. Morsell, as to his
own rights and pro-
perty, but none others.
Wm. C. Atwater
James Kennedy
John Claxton
Henry Gaither
Henry Pyser
J. Carter, jr.
Jacob Carter, sen.
Daniel Stevens
Moore Dickson
Sampson Avard
M. Adler
Jno. Lutz
J. Dickson
Jeremiah Orme
D. English
Joel Brown
Samuel Tucker
Thomas B. Griffin
H. Yerkes
A. R. Watson
Tho. Carbery
Charles Schley
Henry Schley
Archibald Thompson
James Hutchinson
J. S. Scott
Wm. W. Scott
Levin Belt
Robert King
Joseph Marechal
Lewis Salomon
James Hutton
John Collingwood

Peter Johnson
William Johnson
Samuel Harkness, jr.
John Brackenridge
Gideon Beall
Job B. Mills
Wm. Thomson, jr.
John R. Hews
Henry Chamberlin
Benjamin Burgess
John Hoover
David Hoover
John Ricksuker
George G. Shaw
Calvert Roszel
Richard Glover
Basil Ragon
W. Lang
Francis Doyle
Joseph Milligan
Grafton Lowell
Ignatius Newton
Levin Cartwright
Arnold Boone
Matthew Mitchel
David Hughes
Samuel Cunningham
Michael Sardo
John Wilson
Patrick Donoghue
James L. Edwards
Jacob Hilbus
John M. Moore
J. N. Campbell
J. Wells, jr.
David Young
Jos. P. McCorkle
D. H. Haskell
Richard Cutts
H. S. Gardiner
Hiram Jenkins
L. Brooks
Jos. Mountz
L. Edwards
Edward Douglass
Geo. Lowry
Daniel Baker
John T. Tracy
John G. Jones
John Hepburn
James Harthorn
John Eslin

Peter Callan.
Henry Eckardt
John A. Knott
Charles Cumberland
Joseph Higdon
John Taylor
Nathan Moore
James Qrd, as regards
his own rights and
property, but none
others.

James Kelly
W. Brown
Samuel Rose, sep.
Charles O'Neill
Silas Moore
John Wilson
G. Cozens
Julius Watkins
Roland Clapp
Abraham Hines
Wm. Godfrey
Wm. R. Spalding
W. Wade
Chas. Tilley
Francis King
U. F. Hyde
Thomas McDonnell
William Ingman
William Thos. Cole
William L. Newton
John Tretler
Thos. H. Beall
Alexander Scott
John Coppersmith
Noble Hurdle
George Upperman
George Cilar
George Upperman, jr.
Abraham Stoner
Robert S. Clements
Joseph Cogswell
Thos. Holtzman, con.
Alexander S. Littlejohn
Joseph Jackson
S. B. Balch
Adam Young, jr.
Thomas Dove
John Robinson
James Leander Cath-
cart, provided that
the slaves, when libe-

rated, shall emigrate
to the settlement of
Liberia, at their own
expense, if able, if
not, at the expense of
either the Abolition
or Colonization So-
ciety, or the Govern-
ment, as the case may
be; but they must
emigrate.
Geo. Gilliss, provided
that the slaves, when
liberated, shall emi-
grate to the settle-
ment of Liberia, at
their own, or the ex-
pense of either the
Abolition or Coloni-
zation Society, or that
of the Government,
as the case may be;
but they must leave
the United States.
E. French.—Their free-
dom at 25, coupled
with the condition that
they leave the district.
A. M. Laub.—Their
freedom at 25, cou-
pled with the condi-
tion that they leave
the District imme-
diately thereafter.
Stephen B. Balch
John Boose
Henry Whitcroft
J. Mechlin, jr.
James G. Jones
Thomas Conner
John Milburns
Jonah Thompson
Bernard Bryan
Danl. Bryan
Reuel Keith
Tho. Semmes
Benj. Baden
Gery Atkinson
W. Bartleman
Thos. Vowell
Jas. Vansant
Isaac Cannell
John D. Vowell
J. R. Janney
S. W. Smith
Josiah H. Davis
Wm. Morgan
David Martin
Wm. A. Williams
Thomas Mount
James Lyles
Adam Lynn
Thomas Sanford
Robert W. Hunter
Luther Chamberlain
Geo. Johnson
Samuel Mark
John P. Coroman
Elisha Talbott
Abijah Janney
Thos. Jacobs
Wm. Stabler
John Douglass
Daniel McLeod
William Price
Kinzey Griffith
Simon Dearborn
J. H. White
John H. Mark
John Green
A. D. Harmon
Charles Pascoe
John Creighton
Levi Pickering
Thos. Stelle
Richd. Rock
Robt. Hodgkin
Harrison Bradley
Moses O. B. Cawood
William L. Gibson
John Major
Richd. D. Emerson
Silas Veitch
William Campbel
R. A. Bowie
R. R. Gurley
Benj. B. Beall
John P. Van Ness is
opposed to the trade,
though he knows no-
thing of the case of
the colored man sold
for fees, &c.
Wm. Reynolds

Cary Pratt
C. P. Thompson
F. Peyton
John J. Sayrs
Horatio Day
Presley Jacobs
Jacob Baugh
John C. Mundell
John Wood
Thos. L. Martin
Jas. Douglass, jr.
Benj. Barton
A. O. Douglass
Jno. M. Johnson
Robert H. Miller
Thomas Taylor
Wm. Veitch
John B. Hancock
N. S. Wise
A. P. Gower
Wm. Lanphier
Edw'd Sheehy
Lincoln Chamberlain
Phineas Janney
John W. Massie
Job Guest
T. Waugh
J. Shackelford
John M. Monroe
John Harper
Wm. L. Kennedy
James Entwisle
Robert L. White
Hiram Youst
Benj. Waters
Robt. Munro
John Patten
Wm. Foret
Samuel B. Shreve
Jonathan Field
Oliver Field
James Clare
Daniel Riggs
David Price
Geo. H. Smoot
E. Corning
George Jacobs
Edward Goodwin
Stephen Shinn
James Thomas
Wm. C. Spilman
John R. Mills

Elias Harrison
Solomon Parsons
Mordecai Miller
Samuel Plummer
Jonathan Shillaber
Ezra Lunt
Charles Mankin
Thomas Smith
James P. Coleman
Isaac Kell
J. W. Fairclough
Thomas Drury
George Drinker
Joseph Janney
Basil B. Hopkins
Samuel Isaacs
John Grubb
Benjamin S. Kinsey
Daniel Cawood
Jon. Ross
Nath. Perry
John Rodgers
Edward Smyth
Benoni Wheat
Ephraim Evans
Daniel Evans
John Roach
William Patterson
H. R. Whitney
Samuel Baggett
J. R. Riddle
Alexander Perry
Reid Cross
Charles Kooms
Hugh M. Logan
Levi Hurdle
Jos. Euches
Gerrard Plummer
John Snyder
W. C. Walton
H. Wilbar
O. L. Morse
R. A. Rudd
W. H. Miller
Samuel M. Janney
Benjamin Hallowell
James Atkinson
A. Fav
Samuel Wheeler
T. C. Tuley
John Girt
Samuel Janney

Samuel Peach
John Steiner
George Umbaugh
John Glasco
Daniel Serrin
Henry Cross
Jonathan Chapman
Washington Lewis
James Troth
John Skippon
Robert Barnes
John N. Macer
Robert Earl
J. Maul
William A. Collins
Alexander C. Moore
Massam W. Moore
James Thompson, jr.
Daniel Hines
George Wattles
[Illegible]
John Connell
Erasmus Ashton
W. H. Bonvue
Thomas G. Moore
Jeremiah Crown
Thomas Riggles
J. Simpson
John Dailey
George Dailey
Isaac Wilson
William Simkins
Peter Williams
Andrew Danby
William Parker
Christopher Cammack
Nathan Edmonston
James Lewis
Josiah Esseg
John Wilson
Elias E. Williams
George Mattingly
Jarrett Taylor
John Barry
Henry Ryan
John Courteney
John Hines, sen.
Robert M. Harrison
J. Douglas
Thomas I. Mudd
Thomas F. Harkness
Peter Cox

Joseph Boteler
 Peter Davis
 John W. Queen
 John Hillyard
 William Paradise
 Thomas S. Bingley
 Philip Williams
 C. Beatly
 Enoch Spalding
 William Coleman
 B. O. Shekell
 R. Burch
 James Watson
 John R. Watson
 E. Shey
 John Guthrie
 Joseph Thorpe
 David Hope
 Wm. McPherson
 Josias M. Speake
 Thomas S. Dorrall
 Thomas E. Baker
 Dison Moran
 Francis Godfrey
 Phill. Tracy
 Aquilia Banister
 Philip Hines
 John Drum
 Levy Biggs
 Samuel Cross
 Arthur Pritchard
 James Adams
 G. W. Hanes
 G. H. Jones
 Smith Luciford
 J. Peters
 Charles Jones
 John J. Sothvan
 Daniel Reintzel
 Thomas Henson
 William Mead
 Samuel Ratney
 Daniel Rhea
 George Wise
 John G. Berry
 Jesse Fox
 Louis Vivans
 William Dant
 Patricius Hepburn
 James Maitland
 George Cameron
 Patrick McGee

William Markward
 Henry Bishop
 William Bago
 Alexander Beedle
 W. Wannall
 William Matthews
 Ethan Allen
 Wm. Ryland
 Wm. D. Acken
 John Kelly
 Edward Barry
 James Martin
 John Judge
 Wm. Easby
 Thomas Lyndall
 Mordecai Booth
 Geo. Adams
 Samuel Hilton
 John Nowland
 James Owner
 Wm. Speiden
 Jo. Ratcliff
 Henry Aukward
 Robert Clarke
 Joseph Herbert
 James Danford
 Wm. Emack
 David Our
 Jeremiah Keily
 James Marshall
 Rollin H. Neale
 Robert Brown
 James Douglas
 James Martin
 James Nairn
 Robert Isherwood
 William Sutherland
 Thomas McIntosh
 Francis Hanna
 Thomas Howard
 Moses Shelton
 William Walker
 James Friend
 M. D. C. Marsh
 John Van Riswick
 Clement T. Coote
 John Chase
 Levi White
 William Peter
 Thomas Wheat
 Charles Venable
 George W. Grant

Thomas White
 James Bowen
 Edward Sweeny
 Bernard Gideny
 D. Butler, jr.
 John B. Ferguson
 Joseph Borrowes
 Wm. Elder
 Edward W. Clark
 Alexander McWilliams
 E. Baldwin
 John Carothers
 Daniel Page
 Wm. Thompson
 James Ewell
 John Pic
 Jehu Bayne
 Daniel G. Hickey
 John H. Smoot
 D. Vermillion
 Richard O. Haro
 Robert Armistead
 Henry Tirtjen
 Thomas M. Scholfield
 Samuel B. Ellis
 Philemon Moss
 George Duckworth
 Thomas Fogles
 James Snallan
 James Crandle
 Philip Otterback
 George Venable
 John M. Greene
 Walter Armstrong
 Jeremiah Perkins
 James Bury
 George Collard
 Wm. Doughty
 John Stillins
 Robert Clarke
 George Bran
 Benjamin Bean
 Griffith Coombs
 Wm. A. Smallwood
 George Scott
 Wm. Hawley
 John McChicand
 George Wood
 Robert Miller
 Elijah Chaney
 James Rowan
 Patrick Delaney

Jacob Janney
 Samuel Holtzman
 R. P. Anderson
 Nicholas Callan
 Wm. Galloway
 Daniel Cover
 Enoch Reynolds
 Andrew Harper
 David S. Waters
 A. Noerr
 John McLeod
 William Dowling
 Thomas H. Morgan
 Thomas Rigden
 Thomas F. Harrison
 William Harrison
 Pishey Thompson
 J. D. Smith
 Wm. Sawkins
 Christian Eckloff
 Godfrey Eckloff
 Lodowick Sheppard
 A. Jewitt
 Wm. Pote
 Wm. Harvey
 Daniel Hauptman
 J. M. Staughton
 Charles Longden
 James Lusby
 George Caton
 John Tabler
 Alexander Guy
 Joseph Wheaton
 Abraham Butler
 John Colburn
 H. Jenkins
 Jonas P. Keller
 David A. Gardner
 Robert B. Boyd
 W. W. Billing
 George Bushey
 Jos. Evritt
 Samuel Sryock
 Robert Miller
 Abraham J. Boss
 Charles B. Brown
 Jeremiah Gittings
 Joseph Gibson
 C. L. Colman
 Matthias Jeffers
 John Allen
 Thomas F. Gray

Wm. T. Griffith
 Thomas H. Brooks
 Samuel Ditty
 Jonas Newell
 Wm. H. Ward
 Charles Lyons
 John Coad
 Thomas Gerion
 John Wood
 David Munro
 George Crandell
 Benjamin Adams
 Wm. H. Prentiss
 W. Douglass
 L. H. Macher
 F. Keller
 John Foulkes
 Lund Washington
 J. F. Caldwell
 C. P. Sengstack
 W. Ward
 Cornelius McDermott
 Wm. Lloyd
 Clement McWilliams
 Ign. Milstead
 Joseph S. Wilson
 Wm. Ratcliff, sen.
 Dillon Hodgson
 Wm. Ratcliff, jr.
 James Clephane
 Allan Thompson
 Wm. H. Clementson
 Joseph F. Reed
 Enoch Arnold
 Rezin Orme
 W. H. Stewart
 Willard Drake
 W. B. Benson
 A. Cheshire
 Peter Lenox
 Wm. Lowry
 George Hercus
 Joseph Done
 Henry Ould
 J. W. Hand
 Wm. Archer
 Charles Pryse
 Anthony Preston
 John P. Davis
 Nelson Davidson
 Rignel G. Chaney
 Joseph Egan

John Coleman
 J. Watson
 Henry Barron
 Josiah Bosworth
 John G. Robinson
 James Edward Smith
 J. M. Baker
 John Duncanson
 Andrew T. McCormick
 Charles F. Wood
 George A. Smoot
 Wm. C. Ellison
 Samuel L. Knapp
 Sahret C. Barrett
 G. P. Maxwell
 Samuel Sherwood
 A. Woodward
 Benjamin Harwood
 William Ryan
 Charles F. Ellis
 William Dykes
 A. S. Stinchcomb
 William Martin
 James Thompson
 William Gleason
 Samuel Harwood
 William Riggsby
 Walter Hutcherson
 Peter M. Pearson
 William Sexsmith
 J. McFarland
 Robert Jackson
 H. Anderson
 Neal McNantz
 Benson McKenny
 William M. Ellis
 Charles Langley
 Benjamin Jones
 John Bright
 Thomas Richardson
 James Smith
 John L. Suit
 Joshua J. Henry
 A. Ramsay, jr.
 John Blackburne
 Joseph Cox
 Washington Duvall
 Thomas Gibson
 Robert King
 Dennis Orsburn
 Lewis A. Newman
 Thomas Anderson

Abel Cannon	John Lynch	John D. Murphey
William Moody	John Sessford	James Miller
George H. Grant	Samuel Myers	[Illegible]
Richard Harrison	Archibald Thompson	W. Rutherford
Owen McCue	Wm. Thomson	John M. Kennedy
[Illegible]	James Baxter	John Little
Nathaniel Durity +	Edward Holland	Wm. Harvy
Michael Nash	Joshua Towson	John McDuell
J. L. Martin	James Hagan	Wm. Borland
James Fry +	Joseph L. Scholfield	Wm. H. Berry
Joseph Helroyd	Seth Cartwright	Anthony Faulke
John Brady	George Cover	John McCatchen
Robert Speiden	Daniel Cover	John Mount
Frederick Hogge	Aquila Lockwood	John H. Harris
Larson Holm	Andrew Scholfield	B. W. Hunt
Anthony Somers	Wm. Harper, sen.	Henry Dawes
Peter J. Herold	Isaac Robbins	Owen Summers
Edward Mudd	James M. McRea	Samuel Chilton
A. G. Herold	J. C. May	Jesse Cromwell
Michael Quigley	James Hoban	John Cromwell
Wm. Coltman	Robert W. Fenwick	Henry Dashiell
George McDuell	John Ward	Samuel Heinicke
John Bailey	Henry Burdick	James Davis
Edward W. Lewis	M. Hines, by J. Janny	V. Carter
Wm. Slade	Thomas Bates	Basil H. Waring
John F. Thiel	Merrit Tarlton	Richard H. Williams
Alexius Simms	James M. Hosier	Elisha Dawes
Abys Simms	Wm. Gardner	Daniel Shryer
Richard Moony	Thomas Parsons	

Appendix IV

Alexandria Residents who Signed the 1828 Petition

* = Quaker

Gary Atkinson -	Guy Atkinson - wine & grocery store-Guy Atkinson & Son; 1830 Census: 5 white, 3 slave 0 free black
James Atkinson -	1830 Census: 13 white, 4 slaves, 0 free black
Samuel Baggett -	1830 Census - Elizabeth Bagget Baker. 8 white, 6 slave, 1 free black.
W. Bartleman -	William Bartleman, Merchant. 1830 Census: 5 white, 2 slave, 0 free black.
Harrison Bradley -	Cabinetmaker. 1830 Census: 12 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Bernard Bryan -	1830 Census: 7 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Danl. Bryan -	Postmaster 1830 Census: 11 white, 3 slave, 0 free black
William Campbell -	Campbell - House Carpenter 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 2 free black
Daniel Cawood -	Member of Alexandria Benevolent Society
Moses O.B. Cawood -	Mass O.W. Cawood 1830 Census: 13 white, 7 slave, 3 free black
Lincoln Chamberlain -	Merchant 1830 Census: 5 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Isaac Camrell -	Isaac Camrell 1830 Census: 7 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
James Clare -	1830 Census: 8 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
James P. Coleman -	Grocer 1830 Census: 5 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
William A. Collins -	Watchmaker 1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
E. Corning -	Ephaim Corning 1830 Census: 5 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
John P. Coroman -	John P. Coroman 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 2 free black

John Creighton -	Baker 1830 Census: 10 white, 9 slave, 0 free black
Reid Cross -	Reed Cross 1830 Census: 7 white, 6 slave, 0 free black
Josiah H. Davis -	Ropemaker 1830 Census: 11 white, 4 slave, 0 free black
Horatio Day -	1830 Census: 12 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Simon Dearborn -	Merchant, Tailor 1830 Census: 3 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Jas. Douglass Jr. -	James Douglass, Grocer 1830 Census: 9 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
John Douglass -	Merchant, Grocer 1830 Census: 7 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
*George Drinkler -	Laborer 1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 2 free black Member of the Alexandria Benevolent Society
James Entwisle -	1830 Census: 6 white, 2 slave, 1 free black
J.W. Fairclough -	Joseph W. Fairclough 1830 Census: 1 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Jonathan Field -	1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Wm. Gardner -	William Gardner 1830 Census: 7 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
John Girt -	John Girt 1830 Census: 2 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
*A.P. Gower -	Anthony P. Gover, Gouver - Oil & Paint Store 1830 Census: 5 white, 0 slave, 2 free black
*John Green -	Grocer 1830 Census: 4 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Kinzey Griffith -	Kinsay Griffiths - Gun Smith 1830 Census: 10 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
John Grubb -	Tobacconist 1830 Census: 9 white, 2 slave, 1 free black
Benjamin Hallowell-	School Teacher Secretary, Alexandria Benevolent Society

John B. Hancock -	Police Officer 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
A.D. Harmon -	Aaron Harmon - Boot & Shoemaker 1830 Census: 6 white, 0 slave, 2 free black
*John Harper -	Merchant, Quaker 1830 Census: 9 white, 3 slave, 0 free black
Wm. Harper, Sen. -	William Harper, Apothecary & Druggist 1830 Census: 8 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Elias Harrison -	1830 Census: 1 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
Rev. Mr. Harrison -	Presbyterian Minister 1834 City Directory
Robt. Hodgkin -	Wheelwright 1830 Census: 6 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
*Basil B. Hopkins	
*James M. Hosier -	James M. Hozier
Levi Hurdle -	Chairmaker 1830 Census: 10 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Samuel Isaacs -	Tailor 1830 Census: 9 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
George Jacobs -	1830 Census: 5 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Presley Jacobs -	1830 Census: 10 white, 2 slave, 0 free black Member Alexandria Benevolent Society
Tho. Jacobs -	1830 Census: 7 white, 2 slave, 0 free black President Alexandria Benevolent Society
*Abijah Janney -	Flour Inspector, Quaker 1830 Census: 11 white, 0 slave, 4 free black Member Alexandria Benevolent Society
J.R. Janney -	Johnathan R. Janney - Flour Merchant, Quaker 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 3 free black
*Joseph Janney -	Flour Merchant, Quaker 1830 Census: 10 white, 0 slave, 2 free black
*Phineas Janney -	Merchant & Banker, Quaker 1830 Census: 3 white, 0 slave, 4 free black

*Samuel M. Janney -	Samuel Janney - Quaker Member Alexandria Benevolent Society
Geo. Johnson -	Commission Merchant 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Jno. M. Johnson -	John M. Johnson 1830 Census: 5 white, 3 slave, 0 free black
Rev. Mr. Johnston -	Protestant Minister 1834 City Directory
Isaac Kell -	Tanner 1830 Census: 6 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Benjamin S. Kinsey-	1830 Census: 6 white, 1 slave, 1 free black
Charles Kooms -	Cabinetmaker 1830 Census: 6 white, 1 slave, 1 free black
Wm. Lanphier -	Lanphier - Apothecary & Druggist 1830 Census: 9 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Hugh M. Logan -	1830 Census: 7 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Ezra Lunt -	Grocer 1830 Census: 9 white, 9 slave, 0 free black
James Lyles -	1830 Census: 8 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Adam Lynn -	Magistrate - 1834 City Directory
Adam Lynn -	1830 Census: 3 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
John Major -	1830 Census: 8 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Charles Mankin -	1830 Census: 5 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
John H. Mark -	John Mark 1830 Census: Merchant Tailor, 2 free black
Samuel Mark -	1830 Census: 12 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
David Martin -	1830 Census: 6 white, 4 slave, 0 free black
Thos. L. Martin -	Hatter 1830 Census: 14 white, 4 slave, 0 free black
*Mordecai Miller -	Silversmith, Quaker 1830 Census: 6 white, 2 slave, 2 free black

*Robert H. Miller -	China Store, Merchant, Quaker 1830 Census: 7 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
*W.H. Miller -	William H. Miller, Tailor, Quaker 1830 Census: 6 white, 0 slave, 3 free black
John M. Monroe -	1830 Census: 2 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Alexander C. Moore-	Notary Public 1830 Census: 8 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
*Wm. Morgan -	Bootmaker, Quaker 1830 Census: 12 white, 2 slave, 1 free black
Thomas Mount -	Hardware Store 1830 Census: 10 white, 2 slave, 1 free black
Charles Pascoe -	Shoemaker 1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
William Patterson -	1830 Census: 6 white, 1 slave, 1 free black
*Samuel Peach -	Wireworker, Quaker 1830 Census: 5 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Alexander Perry -	1830 Census: 2 white, 4 slave, 0 free black
Levi Pickering -	Carpenter 1830 Census: 6 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
*Gerrard Plummer -	Flour Merchant, Quaker 1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
Samuel Plummer -	Teacher 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
David Price -	Carpenter 1830 Census: 13 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
William Price -	Boot & Shoemaker 1830 Census: 14 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Daniel Riggs -	1830 Census: 3 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
John Roach -	1830 Census: 7 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
Isaac Robbins -	Teacher 1830 Census: 4 white, 1 slave, 1 free black
Richard Rock -	Blacksmith 1830 Census: 17 white, 1 slave, 0 free black

John Rodgers -	John Rogers 1830 Census: 5 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
*Jon. Ross -	Former Quaker
Thomas Sanford -	Sailmaker 1830 Census: 11 white, 1 slave, 2 free black
John J. Sayrs -	John C. Sayrs 1830 Census: 6 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
*Andrew Scholfield-	Quaker 1830 Census: 2 white, 0 slave, 3 free black
Tho. Semmes -	Thomas Simms 1830 Census: 10 white, 4 slave, 2 free black
J. Shackelford -	James Shackelford - Saddler 1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 0 free black John Shackelford - Grocer 1830 Census: 7 white, 1 slave, 0 free black Shackelford member Alexandria Benevolent Society
Jonathan Shillaber-	Jonathan Shelleba - Magistrate 1834 City Directory 1830 Census: 2 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Stephen Shinn -	Merchant 1830 Census: 6 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
*Samuel B. Shreve -	Quaker, failed in Business 1828
S.W. Smith -	Samuel Smith 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Samuel E. Smith -	Quaker
Thomas Smith -	Rev. Thomas Smith - Protestant Minister 1830 Census: 4 white, 1 slave, 0 free black Thomas Smith - Metal Founder 1830 Census Thomas Smith - Carpenter 1830 Census
Geo. H. Smoot -	Coal Merchant 1830 Census: 5 white, 3 slave, 2 free black
Edward Smyth -	Grocer 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 2 free black
Wm. C. Spilman -	Boot & Shoemaker 1830 Census: 7 white, 0 slave, 0 free black

*Wm. Stabler -	Druggist, Quaker 1830 Census: 3 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
Thos. Stelle -	Thomas Steel 1830 Census: 3 white, 2 slave, 1 free black
*Elisha Talbott -	Quaker
C.P. Thompson -	Craven P. Thompson 1830 Census: 7 white, 5 slave, 0 free black
Jonah Thompson -	Merchant, President of Bank of Alexandria in 1821 1830 Census: 6 white, 7 slave, 0 free black
Jas. Vansant -	James Vansant - saddler 1830 Census: 9 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Wm. Veitch -	1830 Census: 10 white; 1 slave, 1 free black
John D. Vowell -	John C. Vowell - Doctor 1830 Census: 4 white, 14 slave, 0 free black
Thos. Vowell -	President, Mechanics Bank 1830 Census: 8 white, 3 slave, 0 free black
W. C. Walton -	William Walton 1830 Census: 8 white, 4 slave, 0 free black Walter Walton - Quaker - Alexandria Monthly Mtg.
T. Wangh -	Townsend Waugh - Member Alexandria Benevolent Society
John Ward -	Johnathan Ward - Plasterer 1830 Census: 3 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Benj. Waters -	Merchant 1830 Census: 7 white, 5 slave, 0 free black
Benoni Wheat -	Merchant 1830 Census: 8 white, 2 slave, 0 free black
Samuel Wheeler -	Shoemaker 1830 Census: 13 white, 2 slave, 1 free black
Robert L. White -	1830 Census: 6 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
H.R. Whitney -	Henry P. Whitney 1830 Census: 5 white, 1 slave, 0 free black
H. Wilbar -	Henry Wilbar 1830 Census: 1 white, 0 slave, 0 free black
Wm. A. Williams -	1830 Census: 7 white, 2 slave, 1 free black

John Wood - 1830 Census: 5 white, 0 slave, 0 free black

Wm. Morgan - Bootmaker
d. 2/4/1840 age 77 disowned by Monthly Meeting for failing in business
1825, reinstated 2/20/1834.
1830 Census: 12 white, 2 slave, 1 free black
freed a slave 1830.

Samuel Peach - Wireworker
disowned by Monthly Meeting 7/24/1823
1830 Census: 5 white, 2 slave, 0 free black

Gerrard Plummer - Flour Merchant
1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 1 free black

Jon. Ross - dismissed from Monthly Meeting for doing military
duty 12/23/1813.

Andrew Scholfield - 1830 Census: 2 white, 0 slave, 3 free black

Samuel B. Shreve - Failed in business 1828, absolved by Monthly Meeting.

Samuel E. Smith - 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 0 free slave

William Stabler - Druggist
1830 Census: 3 white, 0 slave, 1 free black
Appointed Elder 1834, Minister 1845

Elisha Talbott - or Tolbot
b. 1/21/1782 1830 Census: 10 white, 0 slaves, 2 free black
d. 8/11/1832

Appendix V

Quakers Who Signed the 1828 Petition

George Drinker - Elder in Alexandria Monthly Meeting. Member of Alexandria Benevolent Society. 1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 2 free black. Born December 5, 1776. Died February 1, 1846.

Anthony P. Gover or Gower - Oil and paint store. Married Sarah, daughter of Elisha Janney. 1830 Census: 5 white, 0 slave, 2 free black.

Benjamin Hallowell - School principal. Secretary and founding member, Alexandria Benevolent Society. 1830 Census, 13 white, 0 slave, 0 free black.

John Harper - Merchant. 1830 Census: 9 white, 3 slave, 0 free black.

Basil B. Hopkins - Member, Alexandria Monthly Meeting, 1827. Moved to Baltimore. Reported married out of unity, 1831.

James M. Hosier or Hozier - resigned from Alexandria Monthly Meeting 1826. Wife Hannah a Quaker minister. Wife and daughter joined another Society, May 21, 1829.

Abijah Janney - Flour inspector. Member of the Alexandria Benevolent Society. 1830 Census: 11 white, 0 slave, 4 free black.

J.R. Janney (Jonathan?) - Flour merchant. 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 3 free black.

Joseph Janney - Flour merchant. 1830 Census: 10 white, 0 slave, 2 free black. Born July 21, 1789. Died November 22, 1841.

Phineas Janney - Merchant and banker. 1830 Census: 3 white, 0 slave, 4 free black. Died 1852, age 75.

Samuel M. Janney

Samuel Janney - Founding member of Alexandria Benevolent Society. Published editorials in Alexandria Gazette. Active in American Colonization Society.

Mordecai Miller - Silversmith, merchant. 1830 Census: 6 white, 2 slave, 2 free black. Born September 17, 1764. Died April 2, 1832.

Robert H. Miller - Merchant, china store. President, First National Bank. President, Alexandria Water Company. Brother of William H., son of Mordecai Miller. Member and lecturer at Alexandria Lyceum. Married Anna Janney, 11 children. 1830 Census: 7 white, 0 slave, 1 free black. Freed 2 slaves, 1830.

1798-1874.

William H. Miller - Furniture merchant, tailor. Brother of Robert H., son of Mordecai Miller. 1830 Census: 6 white, 0 slave, 3 free black. Partner, Mt. Hebron Cotton Manufacturing Company.

Wm. Morgan - Bootmaker. Disowned by Monthly Meeting for failing in business, 1825. Reinstated, February 20, 1834. 1830 Census: 12 white, 2 slave, 1 free black. Freed a slave, 1830.

Samuel Peach - Wire worker. Disowned by Monthly Meeting July 24, 1823. 1830 Census: 5 white, 2 slave, 0 free black.

Gerrard Plummer - Flour merchant. 1830 Census: 4 white, 0 slave, 1 free black.

Jon. Ross - Dismissed from Monthly Meeting for doing military duty, December 23, 1813.

Andrew Scholfield - 1830 Census: 2 white, 0 slave, 3 free black.

Samuel B. Shreve - Failed in business, 1828. Absolved by Monthly Meeting.

W. Smith - Samuel E. Smith, 1830 Census: 8 white, 0 slave, 0 free black.

William Stabler - Druggist. 1830 Census: 3 white, 0 slave, 1 free black. Appointed Elder, 1834. Minister, 1845.

Elisha Talbot or Tolbot - 1830 Census: 10 white, 0 slave, 2 free black. Born January 21, 1782. Died August 11, 1832.

Appendix VI

Sources

I began with research done in 1985 on the Stabler Leadbeater Apothecary Shop in Alexandria, Virginia for which I had traced the Stabler family genealogy and property transactions in Alexandria. This research turned up several slave transfer and manumission deeds that involved Edward Stabler and two of his children.

Alexandria County Court House Deed Books

I searched three deed books covering the period of May, 1826 to November, 1831 for all records of manumissions and sales or transfers of slaves. I hoped to find other transfers and manumissions such as those that involved Stabler. There was only one other similar transfer of a slave for a nominal sum. I also looked at the slave owners, hoping to identify any individual who was a Quaker, or who was involved in the manumission of a large number of slaves. I also looked at the witnesses to see whether Alexandria Quakers, particularly Edward Stabler, were active in encouraging manumissions during this time. I looked at whether there was any increased manumission activity around 1828 when the Alexandria Benevolent Society was organized. There were several Quakers involved in this activity, but no evidence that their activity increased during this period.

Arlington County Court Records - Free Negro Register

The Free Negro Register for 1797-1827 for Arlington County includes Alexandria. The Register for 1828-1841 is missing. I examined the Register for the years 1825-1827 to see if there were any Alexandria Quakers or other citizens actively involved in providing affidavits for free blacks. I was able to identify several white Alexandria residents and one Alexandria Quaker, but none were particularly active.

Biographies and Autobiographies

At the Lloyd House, the historical branch of the Alexandria Public Library, I found the Autobiography of Benjamin Hallowell, and A Memoir of the Life of Edward Stabler, written by his son, William. I was not able to find any autobiographical material for other Alexandria Quakers in the nineteenth century. Benjamin Hallowell's autobiography was helpful in suggesting places to look for additional information about the Alexandria Benevolent Society. William Stabler, in editing his father's letters, left out all names and included very little information about his family life since he was primarily concerned with documenting his father's religious activity. There is no information given about Edward Stabler's relationship with the black community except for the fact that a number of blacks attended his funeral.

Petitions

I was able to find a printed copy of the Memorial of the Inhabitants of the District of Columbia submitted to Congress in

1828 in the Congressional Serial Set at the National Archives. The printed Congressional documents do not include the petitions submitted in 1802, 1805, and 1819. I was not able to follow up at the Archives to see if the original documents were still in existence. The 1828 document included the list of signators. I alphabetized the list of 1056 names and compared it to the 1830 Census for Alexandria to try to identify Alexandria residents. I was able to match 153 names with an additional 13 that may also have been from Alexandria. Many people signed using their first initial, which made identification difficult. There is also a problem with spelling. The original documents, both the Census and the Petition, were hand written. Whoever copied each document probably made guesses as to a number of the names. In matching the names, I made some allowances for near spellings such as Talbot for Tolbot.

1830 Census for Alexandria, D.C.

I used a set of index cards prepared for Alexandria Archaeology that listed each head of household with the household composition, i.e., numbers of whites, slaves and free blacks. Many of the cards also included occupation. Out of a total population of 8241, there were 789 white male heads of households. I used this information to look at the people who signed the 1828 petition, and counted the number of signers who had slaves in their households, and those who did not. Only the names of the heads of households are given in the Census, so that it is possible that a number of white adult males would not be included if they did not maintain their own households. In addition, this is not an absolute indication of slaveholding because many people either rented slaves for their own use or rented out their slaves to others. However, it does show the signers with households that used slave labor. I looked at the occupations of those signers with slaves as opposed to the occupations of those without slaves and found no major differences. I looked at the number of slaves per household and found that most households had one or two slaves, and very few had more than four. One signer had 14 slaves in his household. Three Quakers had slaves in their households.

1834 Alexandria City Directory

In his autobiography, Benjamin Hallowell stated that the 1828 petition was "signed by all the judges of the courts, nearly all the gospel ministers in Alexandria, Washington and Georgetown, and over 1500 voters of the District."⁹⁰ I used the 1834 Directory and the 1830 Census material to try to identify judges and gospel ministers with very little success. The Directory listed ministers by title, such as Rev. Mr. Davis, rather than by first name, so that it was not possible to make any positive identifications using this source. There were a number of ministers who were definitely not signers of the petition.

Alexandria Gazette

Benjamin Hallowell noted that Samuel Janney had published a series of essays in the Alexandria Gazette in 1827 and 1828 for the Alexandria Benevolent Society. I was able to find four of

the articles in searching the Gazette for January through June, 1827. None of the articles were signed.

Alexandria Gazette

The Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy lists Quakers by Monthly Meeting. I do not know how complete this encyclopedia is, but I was able to find the names of a number of Quakers that matched the information in the 1830 Census. I also found information about individual Quakers in histories of Alexandria, and in several unpublished student papers on file with Alexandria Archaeology.

Manumission Law

I spent some time in the George Washington University Law Library looking for the manumission statutes in effect in the 1820s. The holdings of the library do not go back that far.

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