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historian and journalist. Two years after receiving Whittier's gift Caroline Neagus married that other literary figure, then best known as a journalist and opponent of slavery—the author of the first antislavery novel. The effect of this last was such that when Miss Neagus asked the advice of a judicious friend as to the wisdom of accepting Mr. Hildreth, she received the reply, "The author of Archy Moore must be a good man." Thus the object of Whittier's dedication married the novelist whose name stands in American historiography as the author of an important six-volume history of the United States.

*The Johns Hopkins University*

## THE QUAKERS AS SOCIAL WORKERS AMONG NEGROES IN NEW JERSEY FROM 1763 TO 1804

BY MARION THOMPSON WRIGHT

VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SECTS interested themselves in the lives of the early Negroes of New Jersey. For the most part these groups were concerned with the spiritual preparation of these "heathens" for a future world rather than with their social uplift in the world in which they then moved. Consequently, so long as they could work for the spiritual freedom of these sons of Africa, they made few efforts to seek their physical release from the bondage which prevented their living the lives of free persons on earth. But Quakers, from the year 1688, initiated movements designed to enable these Negroes to live as men among men. Bearing in mind the revelations of an "inner light" which admonished them to do unto others as they would be done by, the members of this sect sought not only spiritual salvation but physical and social emancipation for their darker brothers. In view of their efforts not only to assist Negroes to gain their freedom from slavery but to aid them to effect optimum adjustments in their social relationships, the Quakers were in a true sense *social workers* among Negroes in New Jersey.

While engaged in the task of promoting the abolition of the traffic in human souls, Friends not only concerned themselves with the spiritual welfare and the mental enlightenment of the slaves and freedmen but, as mentioned above, attempted also to render aid in their temporal affairs. The story of their emancipational<sup>1</sup> and educational<sup>2</sup> efforts has already been told. We shall, therefore, consider the activities of Friends in respect to the social and economic well-being of the Negroes in New Jersey up to 1804, when the efforts of the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, under Quaker leadership, were consummated in the passage of the law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in this State. The Quakers endeavored not only to prepare the slaves for a constructive enjoyment of the liberty which was yet to come, but also to smooth the paths of the freedmen as they assumed responsibility for the management of their own lives. Let us consider, then, the social-work activities of these Quakers through two agencies: first, their superior and subordinate meetings; and second, the abolitionist societies initiated by them.

#### Activities of Superior and Subordinate Meetings

IT WAS MANY YEARS before the movement to abolish the importing, buying, and selling of Negroes<sup>3</sup> gained the momentum essential to effective action. Slowly the crusade got under way, until the influence of Anthony Benezet and John Woolman assured its final success. Just after the turn of the second half of the eighteenth century, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting

<sup>1</sup> Thomas E. Drake, *Northern Quakers and Slavery* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1933).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Woody, *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey*, Philadelphia 1923; Marion M. Thompson Wright, *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey*, New York 1941.

<sup>3</sup> For the story of this movement see William A. Cooper, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends towards Slavery," *Camden County Historical Society*, vol. i, no. 6, Jan. 15, 1929; Thomas E. Drake, *op. cit.*; Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism*, Philadelphia 1860; Allen C. Thomas, "The Attitude of Society of Friends toward Slavery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Particularly in Relation to its own Members," in *American Society of Church History*, vol. viii (1897), pp. 263-299.

directed its attack not only against the buying and selling of human beings, but also toward the release of those already in a state of servitude. This body also urged its members to "excite the masters . . . to give them sufficient instruction and learning in order to qualify them for the enjoyment of the liberty intended, and that they be instructed by themselves [the masters] or placed out to such masters and mistresses who will be careful of their religious education, to serve for such time, and no longer than is prescribed by law and custom for white people.<sup>4</sup> Four years later, in 1778, this body urged Friends to "advise them on all occasions particularly in promoting their instruction in principles of the Christian religion and the pious education of their children, as well as to advise them in respect to worldly concerns."<sup>5</sup> The superior meeting requested the subordinate meetings to appoint "Friends of judgment and experience . . . for this necessary service."<sup>6</sup> The minutes of subsequent yearly meetings reveal the continued concern of Friends in the spiritual, intellectual, and *social* well-being of the darker race.

Tracts and minutes of local meetings in New Jersey show in what manner the recommendations of the superior body were followed. For example, in 1763, when William Boen encountered difficulty in arranging for his marriage in accordance with Quaker custom, John Woolman "had a number of persons convened at a Friend's house, where they were married after the manner of our Society, and a certificate to that effect, furnished by those present."<sup>7</sup>

Interesting indeed is the case of James McCarty, which claimed the attention of the Shrewsbury Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings over a period of at least fourteen years. George Williams had bequeathed to his mulatto slave, James McCarty, his freedom. The freedman had, in turn, made the son of the deceased man his trustee. James McCarty acquired some estate, then died intestate, leaving a half sister with several children in slavery. The trustee asked the

<sup>4</sup> MS Minutes Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1774, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1778, p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 404.

<sup>7</sup> *Memorial of Mount Holly Monthly Meeting of Friends Concerning William Boen, a Coloured Man*, Philadelphia 1831, p. 4.

advice of the Monthly Meeting concerning the disposition of this estate. The Monthly Meeting in turn referred the case to the Quarterly Meeting.<sup>8</sup> For five years the case dragged on, during which time the Yearly Meeting recommended that the estate, valued at 489 pounds, 19 shillings, nine pence halfpenny, New Jersey currency at the rate of 8 shillings per ounce, be used to purchase the freedom of James McCarty's mother, sister, and sister's children and to provide the indemnity required by law.<sup>9</sup> In 1774, the Monthly Meeting finally reported the consummation of the purchase of the ex-slave's relatives from their several owners, except two of them who had been put out "to suitable places in order to be properly brot up and educated with intent when they arrive to mature age to be set free."<sup>10</sup>

Nine years later, 1783, the case again appears in the records when Minor, a niece of James McCarty, was through misunderstanding sold into slavery for life.<sup>11</sup> A committee appointed by the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings went into Virginia where the girl had been taken, effected her release, and secured wages for the time she had served "since coming of age."<sup>12</sup>

A minute of the East Branch Preparative Meeting discloses another situation in which Friends assisted in the adjustment of the economic affairs of a Negro. The report says that a meeting was "held in the meeting house called Robin's on the 16th day of the 12th Month 1801," at which time the last will and testament "of a certain Black man named Mingo," dated the 22nd of 11th month, 1788, was presented to the meeting by one of the members.

The meeting then proceeded to take said will under their consideration and therefore do find that the said testator hath firmly by said will aforesaid given granted and vested full power and absolute authority to said meeting to execute his the said Mingo's last will and testament and after deliberation the meeting appointed a committee to proceed therein to the full completing of their appointment under the direction of said meeting when necessary.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Minutes of Shrewsbury Quarterly Meeting, 24/iv/69 (24th of Fourth month, 1769, Old Style).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 27/x/70.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 25/iv/74.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 27/x/83.

<sup>12</sup> Minutes Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, 15/ix/85.

<sup>13</sup> Minutes East Branch Preparative Meeting, 16/xii/1801.

A minute of Burlington Quarterly Meeting reported that two Friends having each manumitted a Negro had expressed the desire

... to make a proper allowance for the time they were continued in their service after they came of age. After divers times deliberating thereon, Friends to whose care such cases had been referred advised that the sums should be ascertained by indifferent persons, and one of the Negroes being deceased, that the sum adjudged due in that case should be divided and paid to the next of kin, as in cases of intestate estates; which advice the Friends readily accepted and have taken measures to carry into effect.<sup>14</sup>

Abner Woolman appearing at a Haddonfield Monthly Meeting

... informed friends that his wife's father's estate at his decease had several Negroes, one of them (a man) was given to his wife which they could not be free to receive and had given him his liberty but judging said father's estate was increased by said Negroes labour requested a committee might be appointed to value their labour over and above the expense of bringing them up. His proportion of which he proposes to give for the use of said Negroes.<sup>15</sup>

The following month the committee reported that

... they met, and adjudged that his father in law's estate was bettered by the labour of his two Negro men to the amount of £56, and as the said Abner receives one third of his said father's estate, he agrees to give one third of said sum to said Negroes in proportion to their labour to one named Anthony the sum of £14/13/4 and to the other named James the sum of £4/0/0. In which sums he acknowledges himself debtor to the said Negroes as by a letter under his hand in this Meeting will appear.<sup>16</sup>

Another Haddonfield Monthly Meeting appointed a committee "to attend to the care of Becky a poor black woman."<sup>17</sup> A minute of the following meeting discloses that "the committee appointed to state the expense accruing for nursing and attendance on the black woman mentioned last Meeting reported that the accounts stated up to the 13th of this month amounts to

<sup>14</sup> Minutes Burlington Quarter Meeting, 25/viii/1783.

<sup>15</sup> Minutes Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, 13/vii/1767.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 10/viii/67.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 13/vii/95.

£32 . . 5 . . 6½ which the Preparative Meeting are desired to raise in the usual proportion and produce to the next Meeting.”<sup>18</sup>

The above cases represent specific illustrations of activities by Friends in their efforts to assist Negroes in effecting constructive social adjustments. Other minutes of local meetings bear testimony to additional attempts to carry out the advices of the Yearly Meeting. In 1780, Burlington Monthly Meeting continued the committee appointed in the years 1776, 1778, and 1779 to carry out its “religious care for the advice and spiritual and temporal instruction and improvement” of those who were restored to freedom, and their offspring.<sup>19</sup> Eight years later, in 1788, Friends were appointed to “join with women friends, in a solid visit to the families of such black people as are among us, and inquire into their situation and pursuits in life, administering to them such advice temporally and spiritually as may arise on their minds, agreeable to the sense of the last Yearly Meeting.”<sup>20</sup> In a later meeting this group reported that “in regard to an extension of care that justice may be done to the black people some attention has been given.”<sup>21</sup> In similar fashion Mount Holly Monthly Meeting declares, in “the case of Negroes as mentioned in extracts from the Yearly Meeting coming before this meeting, a committee was appointed to unite with the Quarterly Meeting already appointed on the subject,”<sup>22</sup> and “that there had been a care extended towards those Negroes that are set free.”<sup>23</sup> The Committee appointed by Evesham Monthly Meeting “to labour in a concern for the good of the oppressed Africans and their descendants, as well as of those set free,” reported that they had “many times met thereon and seriously attended to the business.”<sup>24</sup> Salem and Gloucester Quarterly Meeting likewise advised the Yearly Meeting that the “care recommended last year to be extended by Friends to free Negroes hath been attended to, and

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 10/viii/95.

<sup>19</sup> Minutes Burlington Monthly Meeting, 4/xii/80.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 1/xii/88.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 3/viii/89.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes Mount Holly Monthly Meeting, 9/xii/78.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 7/viii/83.

<sup>24</sup> Evesham Monthly Meeting, 7/ix/87.

committees appointed for that purpose and such who have families hath generally been visited.”<sup>25</sup>

The foregoing paragraphs demonstrate the social vision exercised by Friends in their concern for a constructive supervision over the temporal affairs of the freedmen. In a day when there were those who insisted that the sons of Africa were unable to manage their own lives and so were unfit for freedom, the value of these services cannot be overestimated. It was so very necessary that these former slaves receive guidance in the transition from a paternalistic life to one demanding complete self-control and self-direction. When breakdowns occurred in the management of their affairs, Friends served a very real need by rendering assistance in the adjustments of their social relationships and problems. It is thus evident that the freedmen were being considered as ends in themselves instead of means for satisfying the ends of others. Let us now give attention to the carrying on of these activities by societies established for the promotion of the abolition of slavery in which Friends furnished leadership.

#### **Societies for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery**

**J**UST AS the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends had continuously urged its subordinate meetings to assist the freedmen in the management of their affairs, so the annual conventions of delegates from abolitionist societies established in different parts of the United States implored its local societies to exercise a concern for the welfare of the Negroes in their midst. These groups furthered the tradition of not only seeking the release of slaves from bondage but also of attempting to effect the optimum social adjustments of those made free. The first annual convention urged “that addresses be sent to the different abolition societies, recommending to them to continue their zeal and exertions, in behalf of such of our African Brethren as are yet in bondage; also, to use their utmost endeavors to have the children of the free and other Africans, instructed in common literature—in the principles of virtue and religion, and afterwards in useful and

<sup>25</sup> Salem and Gloucester Quarterly Meeting, 17/v/79.



mechanical arts, thereby to prepare them for becoming good citizens of the United States."<sup>26</sup>

In the following year, 1795, the annual convention urged that consideration be given to "means of improving the condition of the Blacks, who are or may be, made free in the different states and of preventing the inconveniences that may arise from the degraded state of the Negroes in the United States."<sup>27</sup> The body further resolved "that this convention address the free black people, in the United States, exhorting them, by suitable arguments and motives, to such conduct and behavior as may be judged most proper to promote their own happiness, and render them useful members of society."<sup>28</sup>

In 1796, the convention urged the free Africans to teach their children useful trades, or "labor with their hands in cultivating the earth," since these employments were useful to health and virtue. It suggested further that in the choice of masters who were to instruct them in the above "branches of business," they should prefer those who would work with them, since by these means their children would acquire habits of industry, and be better preserved from vice, than if they worked alone, or under the eyes of persons less interested in their welfare. The body also pointed out that "in forming contracts" for themselves or children, with masters, they might for their own advantage and protection consult such persons as were capable of giving them the best advice, who were known to be their friends.<sup>29</sup>

That the local societies seriously considered the recommendation of the annual conventions is evidenced in records left by such groups. The Gloucester County Society paid Thomas Redman five pounds, four shillings to cover expenses for the support of Black Betty, who was under the care of her neighbors.<sup>30</sup> The Constitution of the Trenton Abolition Society stipulated that its members should inspect the morals and conduct of Free Blacks,

<sup>26</sup> *Minutes of the Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies Established in Different Parts of the United States Assembled at Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1794, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1795, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 1796, p. 13.

<sup>30</sup> "Minutes Gloucester County Association for the Abolition of Slavery," in Frank H. Stewart, *Geneological and Historical Miscellany No. 1*, Woodbury 1918, p. 27.

advise and protect them, render friendly help, instruct the young and see that they attend school, place out young persons and children to learn trades and become self-supporting, and procure employments, etc.<sup>31</sup>

The body at Burlington appointed a committee whose business it was

to promote family visits among those of the blacks and people of colour who are housekeepers and to collect them who are single at proper times and places, for the purpose, in general, of opening to them such admonition and council as may present. To advise them to an habitual attention to the duties of public worship—to enquire into their manner of life and to encourage among them good manners, industry, economy, etc.—to warn them against intemperance, bad company, and especially against making their houses a rendezvous for idle and vicious persons of any colour or description. To instil into them a sense of the importance of affording to their offspring school learning and of early placing them out in good places to learn useful business and to acquire industrious habits. To encourage the admission of black children into our common schools especially those who evince favourable dispositions and the promise of genius. To promote the setting on foot of private associations for the purpose of holding first day and winter evening schools for the black people,—and generally to devise and pursue the best plans for bettering the condition of this people, subject to the control of this meeting.<sup>32</sup>

From the foregoing discussion, then, it can be seen that Friends during the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries not only sought the spiritual salvation, the mental enlightenment, and the physical emancipation of the children of the darker race, but constituted themselves true social workers among Negroes, both bond and free.<sup>33</sup> They encouraged masters to “use them well” and to consider their emancipation. They assisted the freedmen by caring for them in illness, by supporting the indigent, by advising parents in the care and rearing of their children. They advised them in matters of employ-

<sup>31</sup> *The Trenton True American*, Trenton, N. J., March 19, 1802.

<sup>32</sup> Minutes New Jersey Society for Promoting The Abolition of Slavery, Burlington County Branch, 28/ix/1804.

<sup>33</sup> For an interesting general account of the social-work activities of the early Friends see Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work*, translated from the German by Thomas K. Brown, Jr., New York 1931, especially pages 197-233, dealing with the abolition of the slave trade and with slavery.

ment; sought to protect them from unscrupulous exploiters; endeavored to improve their household economy. They encouraged them to conform to the mores. By themselves respecting the personalities of the Negroes they attempted to stimulate similar behavior in the members of other groups. By teaching the Negroes to respect themselves they sought to ameliorate the conditions of those who still chafed under the bondman's yoke.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien.* Ein Bild aus der religiösen Ideengeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. By Lic. Friedrich Nieper. Neukirchen (Kreis Moers), Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins. 407 pp. 5.50 marks (paper); 7.00 marks (cloth).

THE SCOPE of this study is considerably broader than the title indicates. It also comprises an analysis of pietistic anabaptist movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the region of the Lower Rhine; their relationship to the Tunkers, Dompelaars, and the Ephrata community in Pennsylvania; and, in particular, a theological appraisal of their position toward the Bible, the sacraments, and salvation. Nieper devotes considerable space to the Germantown immigrants of 1683 and includes more background material to their history as Mennonites than has been given in the accounts so far published in English or in German. On p. 17, for example, the German text is quoted of two poems found on stained-glass windows in the home of the family of Op den Graeff, and several other documentary proofs in German are also recorded. The author criticizes W. I. Hull's contention for the Dutch nationality of the German immigrants as untenable (p. 93; see article by Hull in this BULLETIN, vol. 27 (1938), pp. 83-90) by arguing that Moers and Krefeld never severed the ties with the other German states after becoming the subjects of William of Orange who inherited the territory. There is also an occasional reference to the linguistic side of the problem; but with all the wealth of material, Nieper hardly adds anything decisive to the solution of the point in question. A variety of expressions by Paquet, Fuchs, Cattepoel, and others, has, so far, not been able to supply definitive proof that Dr. Hull was in error. A. B. Faust (*The German Element in the United States*, New York 1927, p. 46 ff.) mentions Penn's preaching in Germantown in the German language, and Hull himself did not take up the issue of the name of Germantown for an allegedly Dutch community; no comprehensive study of the linguistic aspect has ever been made. The problem, then, which for 250 years never appeared