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**The Germantown Protest:  
Origins of Abolitionism among  
the German Residents of Southeastern Pennsylvania**

One of Pennsylvania's greatest resources is its population. Few states can boast the multitude of ethnic groups and cultural heritages that coexist within the commonwealth's boundaries. Frequently unnoticed is the fact that racial and ethnic groups have often shared the same living space. The results of such historic interactions need to be studied. In doing so, perhaps we can develop strategies which will facilitate the peaceful coexistence if not the active cooperation of Pennsylvania's diverse groups.<sup>1</sup>

In the following I propose to explore one such historic relationship of a racial and an ethnic group: Afro-Americans and Pennsylvania Germans. Obviously the limits of the present format preclude a truly comprehensive study of this complex topic. Instead, my comments will focus on a historic document whose three-hundredth anniversary falls in 1988: the Germantown Protest. Much has been written about this first protest in the New World against the African slave trade and it seems improbable that anything startlingly new or different could be said about it. However, a "reception history" of the document may perhaps shed some new light on its significance and its importance for German-Black relations after 1688.

In attempting to trace the origins and manifestations of German-Black interactions it is important to place those interactions in the general context of race relations in the commonwealth. Such an undertaking must of necessity thread its way between the Scylla of platitudinous generalities and the Charybdis of anecdotal speculation. Recent commentaries on German-Afro-American attitudes indicate that the truism of monolithic German anti-slavery sentiment does not withstand the acid test of close scrutiny. In the 1985 edition of his *Pennsylvania Germans: A Persistent Minority*, William Parsons characterizes German-Black relations thusly:

Pennsylvania Dutch and blacks lived in close contact in the southern tier of counties in the state. They ignored each other in daily affairs. Virtually no Negroes in Pennsylvania worked as farm labor in the area where Dutch farmers predominated. Few Germans sought employment in the cotton mills, whose black workers were "good at cotton." Pennsylvania Dutch held no animosity toward blacks, as many urban workers of the time did. In fact, to some degree, a feeling of sympathetic understanding existed. The poor German on the same rung of the social ladder as the Negro, often made common cause with him.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps unintentionally Parsons delineates an ambivalent relationship in which one group morally sympathizes with another group but socially avoids it.

This ambivalence is particularly manifest in a quote drawn from a nineteenth-century travel book which Parsons cites in order to emphasize the response made by a Black resident of Bethlehem to the question "Are you happy in this half-German state of Pennsylvania?" The answer is a classic example of "puttin' on massuh": "Yes, sir, col[ore]d people are as white as anybody here, if they behave. Col[ore]d people like the Germans, there's no deception with them."<sup>3</sup>

Implicit in these statements is the imposition of behavioral norms and the recognition that acceptable social behavior is solely determined by strict adherence to those norms. Such circumstances are normal except in this case social acceptability means a willingness to sacrifice. Submersion of one's individuality (spontaneity) and cultural identity are explicit in the equation of "behaving" with becoming as "white as anybody." Blackness in that context can only mean socially unacceptable behavior.

The blatant subservience of this testimony prepares the way for the double entendre of the final statement. One can read it either as "Germans are open and friendly" or as "Germans do not try to disguise their feelings, positive or negative" towards Blacks. In either case these statements from a resident of Bethlehem demonstrate that there are nuances to German-Black relations which have yet to be fully understood or appreciated.

In like manner La Vern J. Rippley has uncovered not fully researched overtones in nineteenth-century German attitudes towards Blacks:

Led by the liberal Forty-eighters, the German press in America prior to the Civil War was closely allied with the cause of abolition. Some of the older German papers, however, made no apologies for their opposition to abolition. At best, they conceded that gradual emancipation of the slaves might prove satisfactory. Often the older papers sided with English-language editors in opposing suffrage for the blacks.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly German-Black relations were and are much more complex than the frequently asserted generality of German opposition to slavery would lead us to believe. Rippley's contrast of forty-eighter and earlier German attitudes towards abolition is an important contribution to this discussion since it forces a clarification and definition of terms. When



one refers to German-Black relations, it is important to be clear about what one means by "German" or, for that matter, "Black" since geographical location and time are important factors in this or any group interaction. German-Black contacts in a nineteenth-century northern farming community would be different than in an eighteenth-century southern city.

This need for differentiation leads us to our historical context and our actual topic—the Germantown Protest. The German migrations to Pennsylvania are a matter of historical record and volumes have been written on the successive waves that followed the initial settlement of 1683. The facts about the Afro-American presence in Pennsylvania, however, bear repeating since it is a history that is still being uncovered and written.

At least four decades before the creation of Germantown, Blacks lived in the Delaware River Valley. They had been brought there by Dutch and Swedish settlers who needed their labor to insure the survival of their colonies.<sup>5</sup> African slavery had come to the New World shortly after Columbus' final voyage. The ruthless exploitation of the European colonists and the heroic resistance of the conquered Indians necessitated a new source of labor. Africa was chosen as that source by the same colonial powers that sought to divide the New World into spheres of influence.

As a result of Spain's weak infrastructure it was necessary to sell the burgeoning slave trade to a succession of European countries beginning in 1517. The Netherlands was just one of those countries to reap the economic benefits of the *assiento*. It is well known how the human cargo from a Dutch ship was brought to Jamestown in 1619 to begin the process which resulted in the legalization of slavery in the English colonies in the latter third of the seventeenth century.

The arrival of the Quakers in the Delaware Valley changed the status of the enslaved Blacks very little. Like the Spaniards, Dutch, Swedes, and Portuguese before them the Quakers readily accepted the cheap source of labor which the Africans represented. Colonists were difficult to persuade that it was worthwhile to risk their lives and fortunes and come to the wilds of America. The economic advantages of having a literally perpetual supply of cheap labor far outweighed possible moral objections to trading men, women, and children like commodities. In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, slave labor played an important role in the creation and maintenance of the colonial economy. The growth of the slave trade in Pennsylvania during the 1680s and the arrival of the German settlers set the stage for conflict.

In 1684, just one year after the settlement of Germantown, 150 Africans were reportedly sold in Philadelphia.<sup>6</sup> These and the majority of African slaves sold into the commonwealth up to the Revolutionary War were brought from Africa via the West Indies. The intermediate stop was necessary to acclimate the Africans as well as to prepare them for the strict discipline expected of them during their lifetime of servitude. The proliferation of African slaves moved four of the Germantown residents, Garret Henderichs, Derick op de Graeff, Francis



Daniell Pastorius, and Abraham op den Graef, to send a protest to the Monthly Meeting held at Richard Warrel's.

In their protest dated 18 April 1688 the signatories outlined their reasons why they were opposed to what they termed the "traffick of men Body." Much has been written about this protest and the Germantown settlers who authored it. A survey of the many articles, essays, and books which have appeared since the late nineteenth century reveals that one article, Hildegard Binder-Johnson's "The Germantown Protest of 1688 against Negro Slavery" attempted to interpret the protest out of its historical context while emphasizing the unique circumstances surrounding its formulation and reception.<sup>7</sup>

The protest was delivered to the Monthly Meeting on 30 April 1688 and then forwarded to the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings in the same year. No action was taken and the document was "lost" until the following statement appeared in the Quaker publication *The Friend* on 13 March 1844: "The testimony of the Friends at Germantown against slavery, sent up to the Yearly Meeting of 1688, has, within the last few days, been discovered."<sup>8</sup> Therefore we are dealing with rather unique circumstances. The Germantown Protest can only be considered a manifestation of internal discussion since there is no evidence that anyone outside of the Monthly and Yearly Meetings was aware of it. By the nineteenth century when the text was rediscovered, it was useful as a tool to legitimize Quaker leadership in the anti-slavery movement. But what does the protest tell us about German relations with Blacks in the seventeenth century?

Binder-Johnson interprets the protest as a secular statement that uses economic arguments to persuade the Quaker leadership to terminate the slave trade. Her basic hypothesis is that the non-English, Northern European immigrants to Pennsylvania rejected slavery for two reasons. First, slavery was unknown to them especially in its New World manifestation.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, Pastorius' mission in the New World was to represent the economic interests of the Frankfort Land Company by welcoming new colonists and directing them in a manner so as to insure that the colony would be a financial success.<sup>10</sup> The proliferation of slavery—at least in the view of the protesters—threatened the efforts to attract colonists because, as the text emphatically states:

You surpass Holland & Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quackers doe here handel men licke they handel there ye Cattel. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it?<sup>11</sup>

Binder-Johnson quotes the above passage to support her thesis but a slightly different reading of this and another passage creates a new perspective on the protest.

The sentence "You surpass Holland & Germany in this thing" is a clear statement of a fact which interpreters of the protest to date have not fully appreciated. What Pastorius is referring to here is the European



slave trade. Contrary to Binder-Johnson's assertion, Northern Europeans—indeed, almost all Western Europeans—were acquainted with the African slave trade and some segments profited from it. Slavery existed, of course, during Antiquity but its modern manifestation, European exploitation of Africans, began in the Middle Ages.

There is a growing body of scholarship on African-European interactions and one of the more interesting is Hans Werner Debrunner's *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe*.<sup>12</sup> This kaleidoscopic survey of contacts between Europeans and Africans since the Middle Ages both fascinates and confounds the reader because of its encyclopedic scholarship. Debrunner weaves documented references to Africans in Moorish Spain<sup>13</sup> and in the entourage of the illustrious Hohenstaufen emperor Friedrich II,<sup>14</sup> together with illustrations of African saints in German cathedrals and reports on Black communities within Europe's major seaports to create a most unusual tapestry of cross-cultural contacts.

Of special interest for our purposes is Debrunner's account of what he terms the "Iberian Centuries," or contacts established by Spain and Portugal with Africa 1450-1650. According to Debrunner the first Africans arrived in Portugal in 1436.<sup>15</sup> They were captives brought to Europe by Prince Henry the Navigator to use in his grand scheme to open trade with Africa. As noted above, circumstance dictated that Spain and Portugal would have to resort to *assientos* or trade agreements with trade associations or other European nations to exploit fully the commerce with Africa which included people and goods. At various times between 1500 and 1750 Holland, France, England, and reportedly the German trading house of Welser benefited from this lucrative trade.<sup>16</sup>

Very little has been written about German involvement in the slave trade. Prussia, for example, established trade settlements on the coast of Guinea in 1680 and on the island of Arguin in 1687.<sup>17</sup> Both efforts were short-lived because their proponent, Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector, died in 1688. Debrunner notes that the treaty which transferred the Prussian colonies to Holland supposedly assured Prussia a supply of "court moors" for the amusement of its nobility.<sup>18</sup> According to the British Foreign Office's *Peace Handbook* on German possessions in Africa, the treaty which transferred the holdings of the Brandenburg African Company to the Dutch West Indian Company was signed in 1718; interestingly enough, reference is made to a financial settlement that included "7,200 ducats and 12 negroes."<sup>19</sup>

"Court moors" or "Hofmohren" were not an uncommon feature of German or, for that matter, European courts. Alfred Lindner, for example, traces in his article "Die Nachkommen eines gräflichen Kammerröhren der Rokokozeit: Die Baderfamilie Thomas in Greiz"<sup>20</sup> the genealogy of a twentieth-century Thuringian family that is a direct descendant of an eighteenth-century court moor named Heinrich Conrad Guinea who served at the court of Reuß-Plauen. In the Hessian State Archives there are also numerous references to court moors, several from the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup>



Further research is obviously needed on the presence of Africans in the German-speaking regions of Europe. It can, however, be affirmed without reservation that Africans were present at the majority of German courts during the seventeenth century. Consequently, it is unlikely that Pastorius or any member of his party was unacquainted with Africans or the slave trade. Pastorius, as a native of Sommerhausen, was most certainly cognizant of the courts at Fulda, Kassel, and Hanau—all of which had court moors. Dutch involvement in the slave trade during most of the seventeenth century would likewise seem to preclude ignorance of slavery on the part of the Dutch settlers in Germantown. No, it is more likely that a reason for the Germantowners to protest was not so much that slavery was encountered in the New World for the first time but that slavery was being practiced there also.

Too little attention has been paid to the economic side of the protest which Binder-Johnson rightfully emphasizes. The Germantown protesters cautioned that the existence of slavery in the colony would dissuade further immigration. However, since Africans and an expanding slave trade were also to be found in Europe, this warning would seem to lack compelling logic, especially in light of the subsequent events. After the protest had been issued the question of the slave trade and Quaker involvement was submerged in protracted internal discussions that delayed decisive action for almost three generations. Despite repeated petitions from other sources and Quaker unwillingness to resolve a divisive issue and thus risk the sort of permanent political crisis such as that which obtained from the framing of the federal constitution to the outbreak of the Civil War, the predicted interruption in the flow of colonists to Pennsylvania never materialized. Why the German colonists did not avoid Pennsylvania after 1688 is really the point where an interpretation of the Germantown Protest must begin.

Overemphasis of the humanitarian connotations of a protest against slavery has obscured the tangible self-interest embodied in the protest. Why did the Germantown settlers come to the New World? The instructions given to Pastorius by the Frankfort Land Company were in essence a directive to make a profit.<sup>22</sup> Slavery would seem to be the ideal construct for a mercantilistic colonization scheme. What better way would there be to maximize profits than to utilize a relatively inexpensive labor supply that would be self-sustaining? Given the economic realities of colonization, opposition to slavery would have to be considered not only utopian but also inimical to the profit motive. The Pastorius-guided protest would seem therefore to contradict the colony's mission.

In many social contexts morality and religion are utopian in that they elicit behavior that conflicts with prevalent social norms. To remain with our example, the abolitionist who opposes slavery on moral or religious grounds is perceived by the slaveholder to be not only a utopian idealist but also a pernicious threat because he seeks to destroy what the slaveholder considers the very foundation of the economic and thus social order. The motivation for the Germantown Protest must be placed in a context other than that of a struggle between moral absolutes. The



very decision not to publicize their protest by petitioning the Yearly Meeting instead of the legislature was an obvious strategy to avoid confrontation and thus perhaps achieve change without conflict. But what did the Germantowners hope to achieve?

The text of the Protest clearly indicates that the Germantowners objected in principle to what was being done with Blacks and they said so in no uncertain terms:

There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; macking no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, wch is right & reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of ye body. . . . But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against.<sup>23</sup>

What the Germantowners objected to was that servitude was forced upon the Africans. There is no indication that they were opposed to servitude per se or that they were necessarily espousing the cause of the African because they were committed to freedom or integration of the African into colonial society on equal footing with themselves.

If the protest can be used as a measure of German attitudes towards Africans then one finds there the same ethnocentrism and attitude of superiority that generally characterized European attitudes towards Blacks during the Colonial Period.<sup>24</sup> Referring to the Africans the protesters noted "Now tho' they are black, we can not conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones."<sup>25</sup> Although they plead the golden rule as the basis for coexisting with all men regardless of background or race, the Germantowners clearly recognize a difference between the races. The unusual use of the word "Neger" in a context where one would expect "moor" or "Ethiopian" because of Pastorius' German background<sup>26</sup> and the astute comparison that in "Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wch are of a black Colour"<sup>27</sup> are clear indications of the Germantowners' awareness of the interdependency of color as a racial distinction and economic exploitation. Remarkably the group around Pastorius is able to transcend the popular prejudice of the day and plead the case of the African on the very pragmatic grounds of self-interest.

In condemning the practice of slavery the Germantowners prophesy one of its possible consequences:

If once these slaves, (:wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men:) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these Masters & mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom; as you have to keep them slaves?<sup>28</sup>



The Germantowners suggest that slavery may not only prove dangerous to the slaveholders in the sense that it puts them and their families at jeopardy to suffer retribution from the slaves but that ultimately Quaker willingness to adhere to non-violence could be put to the test. These are, of course, hypothetical arguments which, nevertheless, are not without their logic; indeed, Pennsylvania's notorious Black Codes of the eighteenth century are most certainly prefigured here.<sup>29</sup>

Another motive for the Germantown Protest was a much less hypothetical situation: the survival and development of the Germantown economy. Unfortunately very little research has been done on the impact which slavery had on the development of free labor in seventeenth century Pennsylvania. The Germantowners were primarily artisans and it is difficult to assess what impact the Quaker use of slaves had on the burgeoning Germantown economy. A petition given to the Pennsylvania Assembly on 3 February 1707 holds perhaps a clue to the difficulties which the Germantowners either experienced or predicted in 1688:

A Petition of several Freemen, Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, complaining of the Want of Employment, and Lowness of Wages, occasioned by the Number of Negroes belonging to some of the Inhabitants of the said City, and others, who being hired out to work by the Day, take away the Employment of the Petitioners, to their great Discouragement; and praying that Provision for Restraint of so many Negroes as are at present employed be made by the House, was read, and ordered to be read again.<sup>30</sup>

At this point it is difficult to say whether or not the Germantowners faced or expected a similar dilemma. However, if one reads the Germantown Protest as a document of protest against unfair economic disadvantage then the subsequent interactions of Germans and Blacks before the Revolutionary War are more plausible and less contradictory.

It is indisputable that Germans were slaveholders—not just in Pennsylvania but also in the South. Equally factual is German support for the abolition movement in its various stages. Rippley is not the first to comment on the variety of German responses to the Afro-American presence. In the 1850s the *New York Tribune*, a staunch abolition supporter, devoted several articles to schisms in the German-American community because of the slavery issue, especially regarding its spread to the newly-opened territories.<sup>31</sup> Likewise in 1870 Cincinnati's *Der deutsche Pionier* published an article on the same phenomenon and titled it characteristically "Deutsche Sklavenhalter und germanisierte Neger."<sup>32</sup>

Binder-Johnson closes her discussion of the Germantown Protest by citing figures from the 1790 census. In so doing she reduces the German anti-slavery impulse to a numbers' game. Irish-Americans owned 6,578 slaves in 1790. Scotch-Americans owned 27,570 in contrast to the English and Welsh who owned 258,684 slaves. By comparison, German-Americans owned 3,079.<sup>33</sup> Since Germans owned fewer slaves they



were obviously the strongest supporters of abolition. Binder-Johnson obviously ascribes to the simplistic notion that the statistics of 1790 are causally related to the protest one hundred years before.

The fallacy in this logic is apparent. By linking the protest and the census, Binder-Johnson overlooks the practice of manumission which became widespread in the eighteenth century. Also she neglects to examine where the German slaveholders were concentrated. Were they in the North or South? What religious affiliation, if any, did these slaveholding Germans entertain? How many slaves were freed by Germans during the eighteenth century, not how many Germans had slaves in 1790 would seem to be a more appropriate question in this context.

Similarly, if one can perceive the Germantown Protest as a pragmatic declaration of common sense doctrine, then it would perhaps be possible to deal more consistently with the many apparent contradictions in German-Afro-American interactions. Then perhaps we can understand how the Germantowners could protest against African slavery in 1688, but Cornelius Bom, who joined the settlers in Germantown, could write to Rotterdam in 1684 "I have no regular servants except one Negro whom I had bought."<sup>34</sup> We could then also better appreciate the Moravian experience in the West Indies and Bethlehem<sup>35</sup> or understand the relationship between George Michael Weiss, minister of the Reformed Calvinist faith in Montgomery County, and his slave Gideon Moor who caused quite a furor by suing the congregation in the 1760s for ownership of land he thought was given to him by his master.<sup>36</sup> Finally we can then perhaps reconcile the fact that Germantown which was the site of the historic protest was also the locale where less than a century later on 24 March 1766 the following resolution was passed:

It was unanimously Resolved by the said Inhabitants That as a separate lot of land of sufficient largeness situate on the Northwest side of Bowman's Lane in Lower Germantown, has several years ago by the whole Germantown Inhabitants been purchased on purpose for and as a separate and distinct Burying ground for all Strangers, and negroes and mulattoes as die in any part of Germantown;—

That therefore henceforth no Negroe or Mulattoes shall be buried or suffered to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground nor on any part thereof on any pretence whatsoever,—nor any stranger but what by the overseers of the said Burying Ground for the time being shall in their judgment and discretion shall be judged suitable and be admitted to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground.<sup>37</sup>

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Special address delivered at the Twelfth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Millersville University of Pennsylvania, 28-30 April 1988. All



quotations from the Germantown Protest have been brought into accord with the orthography and punctuation of the original document as reproduced after page 220 of this volume of the *Yearbook* [eds.].

<sup>2</sup> William Parsons, *Pennsylvania Germans: A Persistent Minority*, new ed. (Collegeville: Chestnut Books, 1985), 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; quoted from Johan Georg Kohl, *Travels in Canada and Through the States of New York and Pennsylvania* (London: G. Manwaring, 1861).

<sup>4</sup> La Vern J. Rippley, *The German Americans* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), 163f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Edward Raymond Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania, 1639-1861*, repr. (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 1f.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York: Scribner, 1976), 63.

<sup>7</sup> Hildegard Binder-Johnson, "The Germantown Protest of 1688 against Negro Slavery," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 65, no. 2 (April 1941): 145-56.

<sup>8</sup> *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal* 17, no. 16 (13 March 1844), 125.

<sup>9</sup> Binder-Johnson, 155.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 150f.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Binder-Johnson, 152.

<sup>12</sup> Hans Werner Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe: A History of Africans in Europe before 1918* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1979).

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

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> Rolando Mellafe, *La Introducción de la Esclavitud negra en Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, 1959), 19.

<sup>17</sup> U.K. Foreign Office, Historical Section, *Peace Handbooks 18: German African Possessions (Late)* (London: HMSO, 1920), 15.

<sup>18</sup> Debrunner, 96f.

<sup>19</sup> U.K. Foreign Office, 16.

<sup>20</sup> *Genealogie: Deutsche Zeitschrift für Familienkunde* 6, no. 6 (November/December 1963).

<sup>21</sup> E.g., a tailor's bill for a moor's clothing sent to Count Philipp Ludwig von Hanau dated 1578 (1 C Staatsobershaupt, 6 Hofstaat 63, GK 86/27836, Hessian State Archives, Marburg/Lahn).

<sup>22</sup> Binder-Johnson, 148.

<sup>23</sup> Louis M. Waddell, ed., "The Germantown Protest," in *Unity from Diversity* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania. Historical and Museum Commission, 1980), 37.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

<sup>25</sup> Waddell, 37.

<sup>26</sup> Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1889) states unequivocally that *Neger* is a borrowing from the French during the eighteenth century when the grammarian Adelung noted its usage by contemporaries such as Kant, Herder, Schiller, and Wieland.

<sup>27</sup> Waddell, 37.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> W. E. B. DuBois and A. Leon Higginbotham provide the best interpretation of these laws in their books *The Philadelphia Negro* and *In the Matter of Color*, resp. It can, of course, be cogently argued—as both authors do—that the extremely restrictive laws imposed on Black Pennsylvanians reflected a general fear not only of slave revolt but also of the very presence of Blacks in Pennsylvania society.

<sup>30</sup> Louis M. Waddell, ed., "Free Laborers Object to Black Slaves," in *Unity from Diversity*, 38.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *New York Tribune*, "The Germans and Slavery" (22 January 1851), p. 4, col. 3. and (24 January 1851), p. 5, col. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Otto Niemeyer, "Deutsche Sklavenhalter und germanisierte Neger," *Der deutsche Pionier* 2 (1870-71), 280-84.

<sup>33</sup> Binder-Johnson, 155.

<sup>34</sup> In Samuel W. Pennypacker, "The Settlement of Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine* 4 (1880), 25f.



<sup>35</sup> The Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church took an early interest in the conversion and education of Blacks as well as Indians. There is evidence in the church records that the relationship of Blacks to the brotherhood was not as untroubled or benevolent as historians would have us believe.

<sup>36</sup> "Gideon Moor: Slave, Freedman and Litigant," *Penn Germania* 13, no. 5 (May 1912), 364-68.

<sup>37</sup> Peter D. Keyser, "A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-Ground," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 8 (1884), 419.



