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National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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X New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historical and Architectural Resources of the Underground Railroad in Ohio

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B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Underground Railroad in Ohio, ca. 1800-1865
Abolitionism in Ohio, ca. 1800-1865

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Donna M. DeBlasio, Director & Marcelle Wilson, Research Historian

organization Center for Historic Preservation, Youngstown State University date Jan. 5, 2001

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city or town Youngstown state OH zip code 44555

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Barbara Power Dept. Head Planning, Inventory & Registration July 9, 2001
Signature and title of certifying official Date

Ohio Historic Preservation Office -- OH SHPO
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

for Patrick Andrus 6/28/2002
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

Wherever there has been oppression, there has been resistance to it, in the form of individual acts of rebellion as well as organized efforts by groups of people united in a single cause. Such is the story of the Underground Road, later dubbed the Underground Railroad after the invention of steam railroad transportation in the nineteenth century. From the first instance of Europeans bringing Africans (as indentured servants, later they came as slaves) to Virginia in 1619 to the time slavery was outlawed by the 13th amendment, slaves have always attempted to flee captivity and assert their freedom. While this is true, the Underground Railroad is usually associated with the first seven decades of the nineteenth century, when it was active in many free states bordering slave states. Ohio was one of the most active states whose people aided and abetted fugitive slaves by the Underground Railroad in the decades prior to the Civil War. Activity of the Underground Railroad in Ohio was driven by the state's geographical location, the types of people who settled in the state (including free African-Americans and former slaves), and their demonstrated sympathy for the plight of African-Americans.[1]

Slavery was not always the entrenched institution it became in the United States. British North America began as a colonial dependent of England, with the founding of the first permanent settlement of Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. The first record of Africans being imported into the colony is in 1619, although these Africans were not bound to life-time servitude but served a term of indenture and then were freed, like their European or White counterparts. Slavery as a labor system became entrenched in Virginia in the 1650s and 1660s, although "The courts clearly recognized property in men and women and their unborn progeny at least as early as the 1640s, and there was no law to prevent any planter from bringing in as many [slaves] as he wished."[2]

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[1] Wilbur Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967.) 37.

[2] Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995.) 297.

Slavery existed in every colony in British North America during the colonial era with few people, except the Quakers and possibly New England Congregationalists, lodging any real protest to the enslavement, ownership, and abuse of African peoples. Initially, Quakers did own slaves and treated them as property, but they, as a religious group, began to abhor the practice and eventually banned slave ownership by their members. Early accounts can be found where Quakers published their opposition to the system of slavery, but the idea to abolish the institution did not gain wide acceptance in the North until the American Revolution. During that era, ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening stirred the public's imagination and were utilized by men such as Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and others to fuel the call for independence from Great Britain. Such ideas not only pertained to the issues of taxation without representation, violation of natural rights, and corruption in government, but also (for some people) lent themselves to the plight of the slaves in the colonies. If ever a group was oppressed, denied their natural rights and freedoms, it was the African slaves in North America, forced to labor for another without any compensation, protection from abuse, or legal recourse. The American Revolution ended in a resounding victory for the Americans and began the reevaluation of slavery for some people in Northern areas. During and after the revolution, colonies such as Vermont placed strict prohibition of slavery in its 1777 Constitution and Rhode Island in 1784 "provided freedom for all children of slaves born thereafter, at age twenty-one for males, eighteen for females. New York lagged until 1799 in granting freedom to mature slaves born after enactment, but an act of 1817 set July 4, 1827, as the date for the emancipation of all remaining slaves."[3] What caused this change of heart in the Northern part of the United States? Several reasons can be cited to explain this change in beliefs and ideology. Some African-Americans, slave and free, participated on the side of the Americans and served in the military during the war. Americans recognized that once "a slave...had fought for the freedom of America [he] could hardly be expected to resume his properly submissive position in servitude after the war."[4] "American slavery was a reign of violence, emotional[ly] as well as physical[ly]"[5] and groups such as the Quakers, Presbyterians, Scots Covenanters, and free

[3]George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1984) 271.

[4] James W. St. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.) 5.

[5] Henrietta Buckmaster, *Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement,* (New York: Harper & Brother, 1941.) 2.

Blacks, and Wesleyan Methodists supported or would come to support the abolition of that institution.[6] Others moving to the Old Northwest included New Englanders who brought their antislavery sentiments with them and free people of color who aided in the abolitionist movement. By 1860, according to census records, Blacks increased their presence in Ohio, especially in Southern Ohio, and they constituted 2% of the population of the state.[7] Economics factored into the decision as well. The Northern economy differed from that found in the South. It was not based on the large planting of a single crop, which required intensive care and cultivation. The Northern economy was more diversified and its agriculture sector was supported by small scale farming and a slow growing industrial base. There was little need for a large, unpaid labor force of slaves; farmers and their families, with perhaps the help of a few hired servants easily accomplished the work.

By the 1790s, slavery was ending in the North and perhaps would have met its demise in the South, but for the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793. This machine revolutionized the cotton growing economy. Prior to its invention, a slave would spend his/her entire day cleaning one pound of cotton of its seeds. After the invention of the gin, a slave could clean fifty pounds of cotton per day, making the processing of raw cotton for the English and the emerging American market extremely profitable.[8] The growing manufacturing industries in England and New England welcomed the cotton grown in the Southern United States and huge profits resulted from its exportation. The necessity of a large, unpaid labor force to work the fields reaped immense profits for Southern slave owners and made the system of slavery an economic necessity in the South. The South pinned its future on cotton and slavery.

BEGINNINGS OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

Slaves constantly resisted their condition of life-time servitude and found ways to daily resist and protest their situation. For obvious reasons of harsh, brutal retribution they often concealed their protests. Methods of protest included feigning illness, breaking the master's tools, working

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[6] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad.* 32.

[7] Census of 1860.

[8] Berkin, et.al. *Making America: A History of the United States*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997.) 170-195.

slowly in the field, harming or killing livestock, burning the master's dinner, putting ground glass in the master's food, and mistreatment of infants placed in slaves' care. Such methods of protest went generally undetected by the master or his overseer, but were a way for the slave to vent his or her frustration at the hopeless situation in which he or she lived. Aside from these small forms of protest, and larger ones such as attacking one's master, which were met with severe punishment, slaves did not always remain the "docile servants" they appeared to Whites in the South.

Escape was also a means of protest, but the consequences of recapture and punishment, mistreatment of family members or their being sold away especially to the deep South or put to death, made slaves think hard before pursuing this avenue. Slaves escaped and ran away from their masters well before the advent or the evolution of the Underground Railroad. Several options presented themselves to desperate, disconsolate slaves and they fled North to freedom and independence or South into Mexico where land was available and, after 1830, slavery was prohibited.[9] The enslaved consistently escaped captivity and took refuge in isolated areas and with free African American and Native American communities. Runaway slaves often sought refuge in woods, swamps, forests, mountains, and unclaimed territories, in addition to the aforementioned border countries of Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean. Though some runaways fled randomly, the most successful ones deliberately plotted their departure. Methods of escape varied widely among runaways, and personal accounts verify the challenges slaves faced to gain freedom.[10]

Not all runaways were successful. Often, slaves ran to nearby isolated areas for a few days or weeks, after which hunger, inclement weather, and the threat of wild animals generally forced most deserters to return to their masters. While the obstacles to freedom were numerous and often life threatening, many slaves were fortunate enough to gain their freedom. One source shows that the most successful runaways, using inland as well as coastal waterways, often posed as sailors, fishermen, and stewards on steamboats and sailing vessels. Generally, they traveled to various seaports in hope of securing their freedom. For the most part, runaways who fled from

[9] Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973.) 147.
[10] Blassingame, *Slave Testimony.* 339-349.

the Upper South successfully made it to the North and Canada and freedom. Yet, recent studies suggest that refugees who fled from the Deep South actually remained in the region and assimilated into the nearby urban free Black and Native American communities.[11] Accordingly, between 1790 and 1810, free Black populations in major Southern cities such as Baltimore, Charleston, Richmond, and Savannah escalated as thousands of deserters migrated to these areas searching for loved ones, employment, and homes. Still, others who did not want to risk capture migrated to the West, and began their new lives in small towns and rural areas, or journeyed through southern Texas on their way into Mexico.[12]

The beginnings of the Underground Road are difficult to pinpoint, but mention of it can be found in the eighteenth century, referred to by George Washington in two letters in 1786. Washington mentioned runaway slaves and the fact that members of the Quaker faith aided such slaves who fled their masters.[13] Operations of the Underground Railroad continued within Quaker communities in the North at the turn of the nineteenth century as well as in free Black settlements which proliferated in northern cities in the 1800s.[14] Due to the dangerous nature of being associated with the Underground Railroad, secrecy was instrumental to the success of its operation. Such ideas have been perpetuated over time, but many significant Underground Railroad workers, such as Levi Coffin of Cincinnati, John P. Parker of Ripley, Ohio, William Still of Philadelphia, Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York and Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware aided fugitives in the open and rarely suffered legal action or violence.[15] Participants in the Underground Railroad could be sentenced to long prison terms, from five to twenty years, if caught and convicted of helping fugitive slaves escape their masters.[16] While that is true and

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[11] John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.) 26, 115.

[12] Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South. (New York: New Press, 1992) 37-40, 50-60, 155-165. Franklin, *Runaway Slaves,* 115.

[13] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad,* 33.

[14] William Breyfogle, *Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad,* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1958.) 166-67. National Park Service. *The Underground Railroad. (*NHLM Theme Study, 22.)

[15] Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad,* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967.) 94-96.

[16]Stuart Seely Sprague, ed., *His Promised Land: Autobiography of John Parker, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996.)* 158; fn158.

does make the historian's task of researching this epoch in American history more difficult, evidence has been collected which sheds a great deal of light on the operation and operators of this system. The available evidence indicates that one of the first chronicled, planned escapes occurred in the late 1780s, when Philadelphia Quakers aided a group of escaping slaves into freedom from the state of Virginia.[17] Thus began the illustrative Underground Railroad. From its inception to its end, the Underground Railroad aided thousands of slaves fleeing bondage and cruel masters and fueled discontent, anger, and hostility between northerners and southerners, ultimately to be decided in war. It is impossible to accurately assess how successful was the Underground Railroad. Census records and antislavery advocates and opponents never agreed upon a number, the North as well as the South always expanded the number of slave losses for propaganda purposes.[18] Aid to fugitive slaves came in various forms, which might include such help as food, clothing, protection from slave hunters, a place to sleep and/or hide, money, and/or guidance to the next "station" on the journey to freedom in Canada. Such assistance came from individuals, mutual aid societies, free African-Americans, and benevolent societies.

There were numerous reasons why slaves decided to runaway from their masters and attempt a new life in another area. According to Marion Gleason McDougall, author *Fugitive Slaves: 1619-1865,* slaves themselves, while being interviewed by conductors on the Underground Railroad, listed four main reasons which prompted them to risk severe punishment in an attempt to escape slavery. The most commonly mentioned reason slaves fled their masters was the insatiable thirst and quest for freedom. Slaves ran away from "kind" as well as cruel masters to be free. Barbarous treatment was also noted as a reason for running away, which was often noted by Southerners as well as Northerners. A third reason was the fear of being sold into the Deep South, which had a notorious reputation as a place of excessive work loads and extreme physical abuse. The fourth reason most slaves mentioned for fleeing slavery was that they had no ties to the area or master after their family members, including children, had been sold away

[17] Wilbur H. Siebert, "Light on the Underground Railroad," *American Historical Review 1,* (New York: MacMillian Co., 1896), 460: Charles L. Blockson, "Escape from Slavery: The Underground Railroad," *National Geographic Society,* (July 1984), 9.

[18] Gara, *The Liberty Line.* 37-40.

to other areas.[19] Diverse reasons surely were noted, but those four mentioned above were cited again and again as the prime motivating forces which made a slave chose to flee his or her master. There were other ways out of slavery, but they were not always available to all slaves. Self-purchase was often a way for an industrious slave to legally become free. The slave would work at additional jobs, save his or her money, and pay his or her master the agreed amount. This was done more commonly than many might suspect. Not all masters allowed their slaves to purchase their own freedom, and some unscrupulous masters took their slaves' money and reneged on the agreement.[20] Some abolitionists and antislavery advocates such as Quaker Issac Hopper of Philadelphia encouraged slaves to seek legal means of gaining their freedom, saying "It is desirable to obtain thy liberty in a legal way, if possible, for otherwise thou wilt be constantly liable to be arrested, and may never again have such a good opportunity to escape from bondage."[21] Some masters freed their slaves out of feelings of guilt or fear; this was especially true after slave revolts, like Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831. Others left orders in their wills that their slaves were free upon their death. One other recourse left to slaves, and it was successful occasionally, was legal action. A slave, with the aid of abolitionists, could sue in court for his or her freedom. There are cases where this was successful, but when faced with court costs, a White judge and legal system, the odds were not in the slave's favor. The Dred Scott case in 1857-1858 illustrates this point perfectly.

In 1831, technological innovation, in the adoption of the steam railroad system, merged with increasing numbers of escaping slaves fleeing north to create the name of the Underground Railroad (which became the popular title of the Underground Road sometime in the 1840s, depending on which source one cites), which was cloaked in secrecy. The term "Underground Railroad" is one which excites Americans as they think of the dangerous, secret, and illegal but noble activity conducted in a "clandestine manner," but the source of the term is hard to discover. As Larry Gara mentions in *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground*

[19] Marion Gleason McDougall, *Fugitives Slaves: 1619-1865*, (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1891.) 54.
[20] Quarles, Benjamin, *Black Abolitionists*, 59.
[21] Gara, *The Liberty Line*, 70-71.

Railroad, "At least four writers include different versions of the origin of the term," thus to lend credence to only one would probably be inaccurate.[22] Eber M. Petit claims that the term began in Washington, D.C., where it appeared in an 1839 newspaper. A runaway slave is said to have told his captors that he journeyed North by "the railroad [which] went underground all the way to Boston."[23] Another story is said to have arisen with refugee Tice Davids, who fled from slavery in Kentucky and sought shelter and protection with Ripley, Ohio minister John Rankin. Davids had been closely pursued by his owner who lost sight of him near the Ohio River. This led Davids' master, astonished and shocked, to wonder if Davids had "gone off on some underground road."[24] A similar story was told but placed the event as occurring near Columbia, Pennsylvania.[25] Levi Coffin "recounted a story of a slaveholder who, after he had abandoned his search for a fugitive, commented that there must be an underground railroad of which Coffin was president."[26] According to another source, the term Underground Railroad first appeared in 1840s publications. Focusing on such an idea, activists and escaped slaves used railroad terminology to help describe and hide their illegal activities.[27] Wherever it originated, Northern abolitionists liked the new name attached to their activities,

> The mystification was enhanced logically by the good humor of the operators who forthwith called themselves 'conductors,' stationmasters,' 'breakmen,' and 'firemen,' called their houses 'depots' and 'stations,' talked of 'catching the next train,' and began sedulously to cultivate a wonder and a marveling in the minds of the uninitiated.[28]

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[22] Ibid. 173.

[23] Ibid. 173.

[24] Conrad R. Stein, *The Story of the Underground Railroad*, (Chicago: Children's Press, 1981), 5-20. Virginia Hamilton, *Many Thousands Gone: African-Americans from Slavery to Freedom,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 53-56; Buckmaste, *Let My People Go,* 59.

[25] Gara, *The Liberty Line*, 174.

[26] Ibid. 173.

[27] Stein, Conrad R. *The Story of the Underground Railroad.* 5-20. Hamilton, Virginia. *Many Thousands Gone.* 53-56; Buckmaster. *Let My People Go.* 59.

[28] Buckmaster, *Let My People Go,* 59.

Quaker aid to runaway slaves in the north is noted as some of the earliest participation and activity on the Underground Railroad, which began in Northern states after the American Revolution and in the early nineteenth century. Rapid growth and expansion of African-American communities in Northern cities helped escalate such activities as Black churches and fraternal organizations provided food, clothing, and safety to runaway slaves from the South.[29] Free Blacks in the North established vigilance committees and mutual aid societies in an effort to aid escaping slaves. These all Black, or nearly all Black, groups aided fugitives by providing them with a safe place to stay, food, medical attention, clothing, modest amounts of money, "papers," information of their legal rights, and shielded them from kidnappers in the area. The principal duty of the vigilance committees was four fold: to provide the escaped slave with employment in the North, give him introductory letters, find him a place to live, and provide instruction and protection during his initial days and weeks of freedom.[30] The vigilance committees were a combination of both "underground and upperground Railroad" activity.[31] Such committees could be found in all of the major Northern cities which also had Underground Railroad conductors and employees. Cleveland, Ohio's vigilance committee, for example, was composed solely of Black members. It consisted of nine people, five men and four women, all devoted to aiding fugitives. Between April of 1854 and January of 1855, this committee aided more than 275 runaways to freedom in Canada.[32]

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN OHIO

The history of the Underground Railroad in Ohio begins early in the nineteenth century and spans the decades until slavery was outlawed in the United States with adoption of the 13th amendment in 1865. Earliest accounts testify that in 1812 a slave was freed from his captor "by Colonel James Kilbourne," a Worthington, Ohio official. The slave was later "sent north aboard one of the government wagons engaged at the time in carrying military supplies to Sandusky."[33] Testimony to the early activity of the Underground Railroad can be found from residents and participants in Ohio. Warren County resident, Job Mullin states, "The most active time to my knowledge was from 1816 to 1830," while Eliakim H. Moore of Athens, (treasurer of Ohio

[29] Breyfogle, William. *Make Free.* 166-167.
[30] Quarles. *Black Abolitionists.* 145-155.
[31] Ibid. 150.
[32] Ibid. 153.
[33] Siebert, Wilbur. *The Underground Railroad.* 38.

University) and Dr. Thomas Cowgill, Kennard, Champaign County resident, date the Underground Railroad as being active in the early 1820s in Ohio.[34]

The Underground Railroad is generally believed to be an informal operation, largely through localized efforts, which operated in secrecy as well as in the open. Gara notes that "The grand minority who existed in every community perfected its organization and carried on its service," making it useful to fugitives who encountered it on their way North to freedom.[35] Much of the romanticism of the Underground Railroad and the various myths and legends which have become entrenched in Americana over time can be traced, initially, to Harriet Beecher Stowe's publication, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was "directed to the heart and conscience of the nation" and its "impact in molding opinion [in favor of antislavery sentiment] was indisputable."[36] The "road," where it existed might form along the routes runaways took on their journeys north to freedom.

When studying the Underground Railroad and its effectiveness, one must not lose sight of the fugitive him/herself, "The relatively few slaves who did escape were primarily dependent on their own resources," and free Blacks and African-Americans contributed significant amounts toward aiding and protecting fleeing slaves.[37] Frequently, when slaves traveled the line, they "often did so after having already completed the most difficult and dangerous part of their journey alone and unaided." In certain areas or neighborhoods, houses or "stations" on the Underground Railroad could be spaced twelve to fifteen miles apart, the approximate distance a runaway could walk in a night, and often the lines in rural areas generally were places for fugitives to hide, seek nourishment, and clothing. Some stops on the northward Underground Railroad were thirty miles apart and runaway slaves rode concealed in wagons which could cover the distance in a night's journey.[38] Rural areas were generally populated by Whites who were sympathetic to the plight of African-Americans while urban

[34] Ibid. 38.
[35] Gara, *The Liberty Line*, 9.
[36] Ibid. 133.
[37] Ibid. 18.
[38] John Hope Franklin, and Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery To Freedom: A History of African-Americans.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997) 185; Gara., *The Liberty Line.* 94.

areas such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York City had both Black and White Underground Railroad employees. African-American churches often organized and operated vigilance committees and fraternal groups to aid runaways who entered the city.[39] Ohio had a mixed population, with large areas of White settlement as well as large towns and communities of Northerners who were not abolitionists or even held antislavery sentiments. Some, perhaps many, were racists, while others were simply opportunists who took advantage of proffered rewards for runaway slaves. The North was not always a land of freedom for African-Americans, slave or free.[40]

There were various elements which were present in Ohio, as well as other states, that made some of its citizens willing to risk condemnation by their neighbors, violence from slave hunters, and prosecution for violation of federal and state laws. According to Wilbur H. Siebert, author of *The Underground Railroad From Slavery To Freedom*, Ohio was an instrumental participant in the activity of aiding fugitive slaves to freedom. Siebert states,

> The conditions that determined the number and distribution of stations throughout this region are clearly discernible even in the incomplete data with which we are forced to be content. It is safe to assert that in Ohio the conditions favorable to the development of a large number of stations, and the dissemination of these throughout the state, existed in a measure and combination not reproduced in the case of any other state.[41]

It seemed only common sense to oppose slavery, "To the men who saw the rails of the Underground Railroad lying all about them, who knew that slave catchers lived not a day's journey away, action was [only]...natural."[42] Even to Ohioans who favored freeing slaves, the job would not be an easy one, for not all of Ohio's citizens supported abolitionism. Similarly, the harsh reality was, "In Ohio Negro-hatred burned with fierce intensity," making devoted

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[39] Carlton Mabee, *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 Through the Civil War,* (London: The MacMillian Company, 1970) 274-275.

[40] Gara, *The Liberty Line.*, 6, 62, 64.

[41] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad,* 114.

[42] Buckmaster, *Let My People G,* 66.

Underground Railroad conductors and employees even more determined to succeed despite the various dangers and obstacles put before them.[43] Violence was not limited to New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, "The Ohio mobs were to prove as bloody and tenacious" as those found in larger cities. Such activity was driven by fear, hatred, and competition for jobs, but its primary target was the African-Americans, abolitionists, and Underground Railroad workers, those noble people who aided fugitive slaves.[44] While this might be true, it ignores the fact that some areas in Ohio held antislavery beliefs; one such place was the Western Reserve[45] where "if the majority of the Western Reserves' inhabitants were not reformers they were at least more tolerant," than other area of the state.[46] The fact that William Lloyd Garrison made a successful tour of the Western Reserve from August 15th through September 12th, 1847 is another indication of the area's strong antislavery sentiments. Garrison lectured to large crowds in Youngstown, Oberlin and thirteen other towns in the Reserve.[47]

The first element which contributed to Ohio's participation in the Underground Railroad was its population. The Northwest Ordinance established in 1787 set guidelines for settlement of the new territories and guaranteed freedom of religion and prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crimes.[48] Once the territory was open to settlement, people from New England settled in small clusters in the northern and eastern parts of Ohio. The Society of Friends or Quakers, known for their abolitionist sentiment, moved to the southern, southwestern, central and eastern parts of the state, while "Covenanters and antislavery Southerners and some Negroes" moved to the area as well.[49] Other groups of people settling Ohio also brought antislavery sentiments with them, including the old Chillicothe Presbytery (south central Ohio), Scottish Covenanters, and the Wesleyan Methodists. Scottish and Scots-

[43] Ibid. 66.

[44] Ibid. 66.

[45] Ohio's Western Reserve makes up most of the northeastern section of the state. This land, which was originally known as "New Connecticut" because it was part of the eastern state's colonial land claims, became home to many settlers from New England and western New York.

[46] National Historic Landmark Nomination, Wilson Bruce Evans House by Donna M. DeBlasio, 1996.

[47] Mayer, Henry.,*All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 366-367.

[48] Knepper, George W. *Ohio and Its People*, (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1989) 61.

[49] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, 114-115.

Irish descendants were also historically opposed to slavery and their presence in Logan and Morgan Counties, Ohio where they were known to be ardent supporters of runaway slaves, added to the state's reputation as an active participant in the Underground Railroad. Ohio's native inhabitants, the Ottawa Indians under Chief Kinjeino in the northwest part of the state likewise were willing to aid fugitive slaves on their way to freedom in Canada. Ohio was, in addition to being the home of Whites with antislavery beliefs, also home to large settlements of free Blacks or African-American communities in Jackson and Brown Counties, New Guinea settlement in Belmont County, Pike County, Cincinnati, and Poke Patch in Lawrence, Ohio, whose community inhabitants aided other African-Americans fleeing from bondage. A large number of African-Americans also resided in Ripley, Ohio where the Black section was known as "Little Africa" or "Africa Hill".[50] Add to this the various colleges and universities which promoted abolitionist ideals such as Universalist Oberlin College, Presbyterian Western Reserve College, Presbyterian Lane Seminary, African Methodist Episcopal Wilberforce, and Geneva Hall in Northwood, Logan County, Franklin College in New Athens, Harrison County, and it is easy to understand why "there was no break in the business of the Road from the beginning to the end" in Ohio.[51] Ripley College was founded by noted abolitionist John Rankin, but suffered hard times when admission of African-American students in 1831 split the college community and the town.[52]

The second element which contributed to Ohio's important role in the Underground Railroad was its physical location. Its borders with slave states, in addition to its various waterways and helpful inhabitants, made it an obvious choice as a route to freedom. Seibert notes of Ohio's locale, "It bordered Kentucky with about one hundred and sixty miles of river frontage; and Virginia with perhaps two hundred and twenty-five miles or more, and crossings were made at almost any point."[53] Major terminal stations on Lake Erie in Ohio included Sandusky, Cleveland, Toledo, Ashtabula Harbor, Painesville, Huron, Lorain, and Conneaut which were

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[50] Ibid. 30-35.

[51] Ibid. *The Underground Railroad.* 40, 115. Buckmaster., *Let My People Go*, 72-73. Blockson. Charles L. *Hippocrene Guide to the Underground Railroad,* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994.) 261.

[52] Knepper. *Ohio and Its People.* 192.

[53] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad,* 114-115.

always busy with passenger service.[54] Ohio was dotted with numerous trails, paths, and routes which fugitive slaves took on their way to freedom, and "Ashtabula Harbor, Cleveland and Sandusky, each seems to have been the terminus for four or five lines of Road, while perhaps only two or three lines ended at Toledo and Painesville, and one each at Huron, Lorain and Conneaut."[55] Charles L. Blockson notes in the *Hippocrene Guide to the Underground Rail Road* that at least five main routes existed in Ohio and fugitive slaves traveled them often to safety and freedom. One way went from Norwalk, Ohio through Wakeman, to Oberlin, through Lakewood, Ohio and on to Cleveland which had access to both water and rail transport. A second "road" took runaways northeast through Medina, Ohio to Berea, terminating in Cleveland. The third route noted by Blockson ended in Brecksville, Ohio. It began in New Philadelphia and took "passengers" through Massillon and Cuyahoga Falls to Brecksville. A fourth route, which ended in Cleveland, took slaves from Portsmouth, Ohio, to Warren, Ohio and then on into the city of Cleveland. The fifth pathway for fleeing slaves took full advantage of the state's fine rail lines. Slaves were put on either the Columbus and Cincinnati Railroad or the Cleveland and Western Railroad and escaped through Alliance, Ohio into Cleveland. Completion of railway lines to the Great Lakes areas occurred by 1850 and Underground Railroad conductors and employees utilized these, calling them *surface lines*.[56] Blockson also notes that "A number of escaped slaves were delivered by schooners at the foot of Superior Street in the city as early as 1815."[57] By the late 1830s, James G. Birney, an Ohio abolitionist, noted that "slaves were escaping in great numbers to Canada by way of Ohio [and] such matters are almost uniformly managed by the colored people."[58] Seibert notes that, "There were probably more surface lines in Ohio than any other state."[59] While not everyone followed these five trials, Siebert identifies many other routes taken by escaping slaves. The southern part of the state, according to Siebert's map in his

[54] Ibid. 146.
[55] Ibid. 146.
[56] Ibid. 78.
[57] Blockson,, *Hippocrene Guide,* 253.
[58] Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 145.
[59] Seibert, *The Underground Railroad,* 78.

The Underground Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom indicates that points of entry into the state were numerous, in areas such as Moscow, Red Oak, and Rome, to name a few.[60]

Waterways were a significant part of the Underground system, especially early on and for states connected to large bodies of water and rivers. Slaves utilized steamships, riverboats, canals, and other forms of water transportation to make their way to major seaport cities located along rivers, lakes, and streams. Some ended up in New York, Pennsylvania, Boston, Cincinnati, and other areas. From big cities, members of the Underground Railroad then put runaways on wagons, ships, and/or trains for the last leg of their journey into Canada.[61] Slaves fleeing states like Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Tennessee would travel on the Ohio River, the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and receive aid and guidance from members of the Underground Railroad along their way to freedom. One benefit to escaping by way of the Ohio River was that it periodically froze in winter and allowed slaves to run across it without worry of finding water transport to Ohio. One noted slave who fled over the frozen Ohio River, was "Eliza," made reference to in Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* She returned several times to help lead her children, who remained in slavery in the South, to freedom in Canada.[62]

Although the Underground Railroad did have some semblance of organization and operated successfully in its aid of runaway slaves to freedom, many people mistakenly believe that it was a fully operational system, widely linked from locations in the South directly through the North, so that all a slave had to do was contact a member and he or she would be automatically directed from that point on. Such was not the case, and because the activities Underground Railroad employees conducted were illegal, opposed by most southerners, and a violation of federal and state laws, secrecy and spontaneity were keys to its ultimate success. The Underground Railroad

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[60] Ibid. Map. 112-113 insert.

[61] James Haskins, *Get On Board: The Story of the Underground Railroad.* (New York: Scholastic Books, Inc., 1993) 16-17: Mabee, *Black Freedom*, 275.

[62] Seibert, *The Underground Railroad,* 105; Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide,* 265. Sprague, *His Promised Land*, 12-13.

was not the result of abolitionist activity and abolitionists (those actively engaged in working for the immediate end of slavery) did not always support it. Many abolitionists and antislavery activists believed that the Underground Railroad was employed in an illegal activity which would further enrage southern slave owners and make their [abolitionists'] task more difficult.

The Underground Railroad did not further the ultimate goal of emancipation of African-Americans because it caused people to "hide from tyranny, instead of defying it." Some of the most uncompromising opponents of slavery considered such activity useless or even immoral. The abolitionist objective was to make America a safe country for African-Americans to live in; abolitionists were clear; they wanted "to end slavery, not to help a few former slaves, and even those most interested in fugitive aid usually made a clear distinction between the two activities."[63] While this distinction between abolitionists, people holding antislavery sentiments, and workers in the Underground Railroad is necessary for an accurate portrayal of Northerners' various positions on the subject, many people, when faced with the opportunity to aid a fugitive, would give such aid.[64] It was not uncommon for a Quaker or some other sympathetic family to hear a knock at their door in the middle of the night and find a fugitive on their steps in need of food and directions, although occasionally word was sent ahead of the slave's arrival and preparations were made in advance. There is no doubt that the Underground Railroad did exist in various forms in the North, but in spite of this fact, "most of the runaways did not know of it. Even Negroes who had lived in the northern states were [often] unaware of whatever underground railroad may have existed."[65] Southern slave owners took special care to keep such information away from their slaves, lest they attempt to flee.

Leadership in the Underground Railroad was achieved through personal actions and "individual performance and examples, not by election or appointment."[66] In other words, people who did the most work and sacrifices to aid runaway slaves earned their titles in the Underground. Underground operations relied heavily upon secretiveness and coded messages which would alert other operators of danger, forthcoming passengers, and other important information. While this

[63] Gara, *The Liberty Line*, 18, 76, 4, 73.
[64] Ibid. 88.
[65] Ibid. 58-59.
[66] Breyfogle, *Make Free*, 173-174.

was true in some areas, some operators of Underground Railroad activity conducted their work openly, as mentioned previously. The Underground Railroad is one of the remarkable examples of both African-Americans and Whites united in a single cause and cooperating together, in some instances, to aid those in need. Fugitives, "...were aided in their flight by members of their own race and by sympathetic White persons willing to defy a law they rejected as unjust."[67] Revisionist historians such as Larry Gara, John Hope Franklin, and Loren Schweninger, among others, claim that the role of White antislavery and Underground Railroad workers has been overemphasized over time while the role and story of African-Americans, both slave and free, has been under-emphasized and largely ignored.[68] This claim has merit, owing to the fact that most histories, until recently, were largely written by White abolitionists, White Underground Railroad workers, and White historians. Such errors can be remedied with additional research, acknowledgment of African-American contributions to the story of the abolition and antislavery movements, and a magnification of the roles the fugitive actually played in this "historic drama." While in operation for quite a few years, the first formal organization of the Underground Railroad, according to Marion Gleason McDougall in *Fugitives Slaves: 1619-1865*, occurred in 1838 when Robert Purvis was named its "President."[69] Each state had its own members, and men in Ohio such as Levi Coffin of Cincinnati, (who gave early service to the cause in North Carolina and Indiana; he was first called the "President" of the UGRR by a Southerner[70]) the Reverend John Rankin of Ripley, and George W. S. Lucas of Salem were well known conductors who kept the lines running smoothly.[71]

While there have been countless anonymous participants in the daily, weekly, and yearly activities of the Underground Railroad, some men and women have reached a kind of mythological fame through their heroism and participation in aiding fugitives to their destination of freedom. James Fairfield, a White Virginia abolitionist is renowned for his countless trips into the South to lead slaves north to freedom. For more than twelve years he spent his time aiding

[67] Merton L. Dillon, *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority,* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1974) 134.

[68] Gara, *The Liberty Line,* 18, 62. Franklin, *Runaway Slaves,* 115-120.

[69] McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves,* 63.

[70] Buckmaster, *Let My People Go,* 78.

[71] Seibert, *The Underground Railroad,* 32, 70, 78.

African-Americans and gave his life to the cause in 1860 when he was found dead, apparently in an insurrection in Tennessee.[72] Harriet Tubman, an escaped slave from Maryland,is known as the "Moses of her people" for her tireless efforts to lead slaves into freedom. Tubman is credited with rescuing over three hundred African-Americans from the shackles of slavery before the Civil War.[73] Frederick Douglass, an African-American slave from Maryland, escaped from slavery then went on to lecture, write, and advocate for the immediate end of slavery. He is known to have been a conductor on the Underground Railroad in Washington, D.C.

Ohio's abolitionist-minded citizens were instrumental in ensuring the success of the Underground Railroad in that state and conveying their passengers to safety. In the early years, John Sloane of Ravenna, David Hudson (founder) of Hudson, and Owen Brown (father of John Brown) set the tone for the state by aiding fugitive slaves from slave hunters and were "among the first of those known to have harbored slaves in the eastern part" of the state.[74] Former slave, John P. Parker, first resided in Cincinnati after purchasing his freedom from his Mobile, Alabama master. There he aided a barber in freeing his family who still resided in slavery in the South. Later, Parker married and moved to Ripley, Ohio, a well-known abolitionist town, with an African-American section known as "Little Africa," and home of the Ripley Abolitionist Society with 300 members.[75] Parker frequently traveled to the slave states of Kentucky and Virginia and aided hundreds of runaways north by boat across the Ohio River. Despite Ripley's abolitionist reputation, there were those who opposed the work of these reformers. Parker described the fears he had: "There was a time, however, when fierce passions swept this little town, dividing its people into bitter factions. I never thought of going uptown without a pistol in my pocket , a knife in my belt, and a blackjack handy. Day or night I dare not walk on the sidewalks for fear someone might leap out of the narrow alley at me."[76] Josiah Henson, Ohio resident and former slave, is known to have rescued more than 200 slaves from Kentucky to freedom in Canada.[77] Another famous Ohioan who aided the cause of the fugitive slave, was Cincinnati resident Harriet Beecher Stowe. Stowe, her husband Calvin, and her brother-in-law aided fugitive slaves and their experiences were the inspiration for her work, *Uncle Tom's*

[72] Buckmaster, *Let My People Go*, 192-199.
[73] Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman*, (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1990) 35-36, 55-65.
[74] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*,37.
[75] Sprague, *His Promised Land*, 8
[76] Ibid., 74-85.
[77] Buckmaster, *Let My People Go*, 76-77.

Cabin.[78] Stowe's work was credited with igniting the Northern public's outrage over the institution of Southern slavery.

Ohio politicians involved in the Underground Railroad included Joshua R. Giddings, Congressman from Jefferson in Ashtabula County, House member Quaker Richard Mott, Congressman Sidney Edgerton, and Toledo Congressman James M. Ashley.[79] In 1848, Ohio Governor William Bebb, refused Kentucky's demand to extradite fifteen people for their aid of a runaway slave from that state. Bebb, in an interesting statement, said that Ohio laws "did not recognize property in man."[80] While the role of politicians in the Underground Railroad is disputed by some historians, it is true that many politicians of the era found it akin to political "suicide" to be labeled an abolitionist. A politician could hold antislavery views but worked vigorously to avoid the designation of abolitionist. The Liberty Party, Free Soil Party and the Republicans all held antislavery views, generally believing that slavery should be contained and not expand any further. Such a "moderate" stance, they felt, would appease abolitionists, attract anti-slavery advocates who supported the "free soil" ideology, and would not be too odious to Southerners. While this strategy might have worked in the North, Southern politicians made no such distinctions and labeled all such antislavery politicians with the opprobrious epithet "abolitionist."[81] To many Northerners as well as Southerners, the term abolitionist denoted a small, extremist, vocal minority.

Famous Ohioans who provided aid to runaways include Reverend John Rankin of Ripley, and Levi Coffin of Cincinnati who was a conductor on the Underground Railroad and collected money from friends and businessmen to aid fugitives in the way of providing food, clothing, and railroad and ship tickets for slaves.[82] Religious participants of the Underground Railroad system

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[78] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad,* 105; Buckmaster, *Let My People Go*, 220-224.

[79] Ibid. 105, 92.

[80] McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves,* 41. Error found in McDougall, who lists 1848 Ohio Governor as Bell, but George W. Knepper states in *Ohio and Its People* that Ohio's 1848 governor was William Bebb of Butler, Ohio, 471.

[81] Larry Gara, "Who Was An Abolitionist?" in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists.* Martin Duberman, ed., (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.) 46-50.

[82] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad,* 32, 78.

included James Gilliland of Red Oak, William Dickey of Fayette and or Ross County, Russellville native Jesse Lockhart, Robert B. Dobbins of Sardinia, Hugh S. Fullerton of Chillicothe, and Greenfield resident Samuel Crothers. These men were the spiritual leaders of the Presbyterian Churches, which would become tireless opponents to slavery and "fugitives finding their way into the vicinity of any one of them were likely to receive the needed help" on their journey north.[83] Military men such as Colonel John Stone of Belpre, and David Putnam, Jr., of Marietta aided slaves crossing the Ohio River, using owl calls to indicate that all was safe for the runaways. I. Newton Pierce was active in Alliance, as was Judge Thomas Lee of the Western Reserve.[84] Early in the history of the state, "It has been said that the Hopkins, Salsbury, Snediger, Dickey, and Kirkpatrick families, of Southern Ohio, forwarded more than 1,000 fugitives to Canada before 1817," showing the state's early and active participation in helping to end slavery.[85] The list of Ohioans aiding in the Underground Railroad is very long, and often incomplete due to the illegal nature of the business and secrecy employed for its success.

Ingenious ways were developed throughout the history of the Underground Railroad in which to forward slaves to northern destinations and avoid detection by slave hunters and angry masters. Participation in the trafficking of slaves to freedom had its risks as well as its rewards of knowing that one was "doing the Lord's work.." Risks were seen in the fact that some slave catchers often disguised themselves as being sympathetic to the plight of runaways in order to attempt to infiltrate the Underground system in the North. Often such attempts were poorly made and easily detected. A few African-Americans also attempted to find out such information for rewards offered by Southern slave owners. Whether Black or White, such informers were held in contempt by those willing to aid fugitives.[86] Southern slave owners offered large rewards to possibly sway some people to return runaways,

> The offering of rewards for fugitives brought unpredictable results. Often they would stimulate the Yankee's zeal to prove that he was not amenable to bribes

[83] Ibid. 32.
[84] Ibid. 47-60.
[85] Ibid. 87.
[86] Buckmaster, *Let My People Go*, 112. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, 161.

and drive a man with no Abolition sentiments to the aid of the fugitives. At other times, $500 or $1000 would make a greater appeal than a man's humanity.[87]

Some unscrupulous Blacks also posed as fugitives in order to gain sympathy, money, clothing, and other aid offered by vigilance committees and antislavery societies established to help runaways in need. Such impostors went so far as to collect money to purchase freedom for their non-existent relatives supposedly still in bondage in the South. Such fakers not only misused the trust and sympathy of Northern abolitionists but also drained antislavery societies' coffers, already low on funds, and supplies intended to aid those truly in need.[88] Advertisements appeared in abolitionist journals and newspapers warning the public to be aware of such trickery and often published descriptions of African-American impostors who had successfully preyed on the sympathetic.

Underground Railroad participants established other ways to aid slave movement throughout Ohio, using the latest transportation technology, in the form of steam railroads, as well as less technical devices. In Clinton County, Ohio, Quaker Abram Allen purchased a specially designed wagon, nicknamed *the Liberator*, in which he could hide eight to nine runaway slaves. A book binder in Troy, Ohio owned a grand wagon with large, concealed drawers in which he transported slaves, out of sight of slave hunters. Meigs County farmer, Horace Holt clandestinely hauled slaves in his wagon as he traveled back and forth to southern Ohio selling reeds. Businessman, James W. Torrence and his friends at Geneva Hall in Northwood, Ohio shipped "grain, feathers, and fugitives to Sandusky" in an effort to get them to freedom.[89] In addition to devising ways to hide slaves in wagons and on trains, disguises were often employed, as escapes from masters grew and southerners increased their attempts to recover their lost property. Some disguises were fairly simple, men dressed in women's clothing and vice versa, but other slaves and Underground Railroad activists employed more ingenious ways to camouflage their "passengers." Underground agents, in cooperation with him, shipped Henry

[87] Buckmaster, *Let My People Go,* 67.
[88] Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, 160-161.
[89] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad,* 59-63.

"Box" Brown from Virginia to Pennsylvania as a means of circumventing slave hunters. Frederick Douglass, during his escape from Maryland, posed as a sailor and thus achieved freedom, while Ellen and William Craft of Georgia disguised themselves as master and slave to get out of the South.[90] Runaways with light complexions might either pass themselves off as Whites or darken their skin with burnt cork to alter their appearance and lessen the possibility of recognition from slave hunters and pursuing masters.[91]

Routes and stations of the Underground Railroad in Ohio and the Western Reserve, "dotted [the landscape] over with communities where [runaway] Negroes learned the meaning of Yankee hospitality."[92] In the southern part of the state, the station at Cincinnati was used frequently.[93] Gallipolis was as significant as Cincinnati because of its location on the Kanawha River corridor. In Poland, Ohio, Dr. Jared P. Kirtland is known to have used his home as a station to aid fugitives in the 1820s and 1830s, while a large Quaker presence in Springboro, Mount Pleasant, and Salem, Ohio, were known to be part of the Underground Railroad system.[94] In Massillon in northeastern Ohio, fugitives followed tow paths which led to Cleveland, and an Underground Railroad station where slaves could board ships for Canada.[95] Jefferson, Ohio lawyer and Congressman Joshua Giddings, used his law office as a station to assist fleeing slaves. In Cherry Valley, Ohio, the King & Brothers' Cabinet Shop, as well as other places, was used to hide weapons for John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid in 1859. Owen Brown, father of abolitionist John Brown, lived in Hudson, Ohio. In his barn, located on Hill Road, there reportedly was a secret niche in the floor. Brown hid slaves there until it was safe to send them to the next station. Reverend Daniel Alexander Payne, former bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the first president of Wilberforce College—the first college owned and operated by African-Americans—often hid fugitives in the various churches in which he preached.

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[90] William Still, *The Underground Railroad: A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, &c.* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1872.) 67-75; 380-400. Douglass, *Life and Times*, 196-205.

[91] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, 30-50. Gara. *Liberty Line*. 48-49.

[92] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad, 31.*

[93] Ibid. 70.

[94] Ibid. 104, 93.

[95] Ibid. 142.

Wilberforce, Ohio is the location of Maxwell House and Howell Place, two stops on the Underground Railroad. Xenia, Ohio was an extremely active area for the road, and has seven homes which were stations for such activity. Westerville, Ohio was the residence of the Reverend William Hanby. Aided by his friends and eldest son Benjamin, Hanby hid fugitives in his barn behind his home. Colonel William Hubbard was a fervent abolitionist and conductor on the Underground Railroad. It is believed that he had a tunnel dug which traveled from the base of his barn to the shore of Lake Erie. Although some historians debate this fact, it certainly adds to the mystery of the Railroad's history. Lecturer and antislavery advocate Benjamin Lundy lived for awhile in Mount Pleasant, Ohio. It is believed that Lundy was the first person to propose that abolitionists support their cause by not buying any items produced by slave labor. To further that goal, a free labor store was established, named the Mount Pleasant Free Produce Company, and opened its doors in 1848, uniting the community in a collective "boycott of all goods produced by slave labor." The Quakers were adherents of this policy as were others and the idea of a free labor store soon spread to other states.[96] Lundy is also the author of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* an antislavery newspaper.[97] Ohio and its Quaker population set the stage for the state's future antislavery activities. In 1817, Charles Osborn, a Quaker in Mount Pleasant initiated publication of America's first newspaper advocating the abolition of slavery. This paper, *The Philanthropist*, was the first of many ways in which some Ohioans began to show their aversion to the institution. Lundy contributed to this newspaper prior to publishing his own, and formed the first antislavery society in Ohio in 1816. The Union Humane Society, formed at St. Clairsville helped like minded neighbors articulate their ideas concerning the enslavement of human beings.[98]

Historically, Ohio's laws and court systems have not always supported runaway slaves and those "morally guided" people who aided them. Federal law, in the form of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, "offended the popular sense of fair play" and may have swayed some Ohioans to support abolitionists. Not only in Ohio, but all over the North, "Slavery was weakened by people seeing the fleeing slave and [the various attempts] to recapture him."[99] In the early 1800s, Ohio established laws which provided for the capture and return of runaways. In the 1840s and 1850s,

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[96] James L. Burke, and Donald E. Bensch, "Mount Pleasant and The Early Quakers of Ohio," in *Ohio History, Volume 83: Autumn, 1974.* (Columbus, Ohio, Ohio Historical Society, 1974.) 247.

[97] Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide,* 255-266.

[98] Burke and Bensch, "Mount Pleasant and The Early Quakers of Ohio," 246-250.

[99] Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 143-145.

men were prosecuted for aiding and abetting runaway slaves in Ohio. This led to the proposal of a "Defense League of Freedom" which would aid people, slave or Underground Railroad participant, in the legal battles and fees incurred while violating the Fugitive Slave Law.[100] The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which forced Northerners to aid slave hunters, had the opposite effect for many people who had not previously aided runaway slaves. The new law outraged many Northerners who saw it as offensive. Joshua Giddings and many other Northerners denounced the law as "unconstitutional and an act of piracy."[101] After the passage of the law, in Zanesville, Ohio[102], residents of Muskingum County's African-American community resolved to fight the law by extending aid to any runaway arrested in their area under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. At a state-wide meeting in January, 1851, a group of African-Americans in Columbus, Ohio condemned the new law, calling it "an outrage upon humanity."[103] Ohio did pass some personal liberty laws which were designed to impede the hated fugitive slave laws, but these were largely ineffective in breaking the slave system entrenched in the South.[104]

Some famous legal cases did occur in Ohio during the era of the Underground Railroad. The 1846 case of former slave Jerry Finney of Columbus, Ohio, foreshadows the later and more famous Dred Scott decision. Finney, who believed he was free because "he had been brought to Ohio by or with the consent of his owner and had thereby become a free man," was arrested as a fugitive slave.[105] William Henderson, the Justice of the Peace in Franklin County, engineered Finney's arrest and denied his request for a fair trial. Finney was returned to Kentucky; in the meantime, Henderson was questioned as to why Finney did not get a fair trial. The JP replied that "the Columbus magistrates were 'a set of damned abolitionists.'"[106] As word of Finney's capture spread, many of the citizens of Columbus were outraged. A party pursued the kidnappers as far as Cincinnati, but they were too late. A public meeting condemning the

[100] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad,* 102-105.
[101] Dillon, *The Abolitionists,* 188.
[102] There was a name change for the town, "Originally named Springfield...In 1814, its name was changed to Putnam, and in 1835 it was incorporated. Thirty-seven years later Putnam was annexed to city of Zanesville." National Register Nomination, Putnam Historic District, August, 1975.
[103] Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 202, 209.
[104] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad* 245-246.
[105] Alfred E. Lee. *History of the City of Columbus Capital of Ohio.* (New York and Chicago: Munsell, 1892). 509-601.
[106] Ibid.

actions of Henderson and his allies took place at the Town Street Methodist Episcopal Church. The speakers expressed their determination to rescue Finney. The citizens of Columbus raised $500 to match $500 from the governor of Ohio, Mordecai Bartley, to bring the kidnappers to trial. Two of the kidnappers, Jacob Armitage and Alexander C. Forbes were charged with violating Ohio law in seizing and abducting Finney. The two men were arrested by the state of Kentucky, but were released because Kentucky law protected agents of slave owners retrieving fugitive slaves. The Ohio lawyers argued that because Finney was brought to a free state with the consent of his owner, he was a free man. Forbes was then indicted by the Grand Jury of Franklin County and the other kidnappers, including Henderson and Armitage were also indicted as aiders and abettors of Forbes. Henderson was found guilty and the other defendants were acquitted, on the basis of their being unfamiliar with law and facts of Finney's freedom. Henderson appealed to the Ohio Supreme Court and his sentenced was reversed on the basis that he had acted in good faith. As for Finney, the people of Columbus paid for his release and he returned to Ohio a free man.[107]

The famed Oberlin-Wellington Rescue Case is one which is often referred to where citizens in Ohio, without the use of violence, freed a re-captured fugitive and set him free. This action led to an intense, long drawn out trial of the "rescuers" from Oberlin in Federal Court in Cleveland for violation of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Many citizens were arrested for violation of the law, but were eventually freed.[108] There are other examples of legal proceedings in Ohio. In 1842 John Van Zandt of Hamilton County, Ohio was found guilty of aiding nine fugitives in their efforts to gain freedom. In 1854 attorney Rush Sloane, Sandusky, Ohio, also was found guilty when he aided seven fugitives.[109]

THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

The history of the abolitionist movement in America is generally confined to the years of the 1830s to 1865. Antislavery activity occurred long before these years, but the proliferation of societies devoted to the immediate end of slavery really began to appear with the activities of

[107] Ibid.
[108] Siebert, *Underground Railroad,* 335-337.
[109] Ibid. 102-104.

William Lloyd Garrison and his New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832.[110] Prior to this, individual efforts to help fugitives flee their bondage and end slavery were small in nature and generally ineffective, except in the North. Antislavery and abolitionist societies proliferated in the nineteenth century and were effective in getting the discussion about slavery and its immoral nature into society. They helped fuel the debate which eventually ended in civil war for America. Although the terms abolitionist, Underground Railroad worker, and antislavery seem synonymous today, they had very different meanings in the nineteenth century. To help clarify the various meanings of the terms, brief definitions are necessary. To most people of the day, the term abolitionist was not really put into use until William Lloyd Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society become well known in the early 1830s. Associated with Garrison, an abolitionist was an extreme person, generally very vocal, demanding an immediate end to slavery, advocating equality for African-Americans in society, and using "uncompromising language" to drum the message into the "dense" American public. Garrison, in his zeal for his cause, created a great deal of controversy and made many enemies. His was an unyielding position and he would be heard. Antislavery was another term which had broad meanings, "Scholars distinguish between those opposed to slavery in an abstract sort of way and those who were actively involved in the abolitionist movement." [111] Gara provides an excellent illustration of this point in the example of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson owned slaves but found the institution undesirable and believed that it would one day be eliminated. Such a comparison goes to the heart of the matter. Antislavery Northerners might advocate slavery's end, could work toward that goal, aid fugitives in distress, advocate "free soil" ideas, but also hold racist ideologies about the inferiority of African-Americans.

Most, if not all, abolitionist organizations called themselves antislavery societies and used the terminology interchangeably.[112] Underground Railroad workers fit into the antislavery category. They were not sponsored by or an off-shoot of abolitionist organizations. Abolitionists and antislavery people were divided on the matter of the usefulness of aiding fugitives. Some concentrated their energies solely upon this type of work and found it immensely gratifying. Others gravely doubted the wisdom of sending fleeing slaves to Canada, which represented to

[110] Aileen S. Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850,* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Publishers, 1989.) 3-4.

[111] Gara, Larry., "Who Was An Abolitionist?" in *The Antislavery Vanguard*, 33-40.

[112] Ibid.

them another form of colonization, an idea Garrisonians were adamantly against. Other antislavery people felt that by sending slaves to Canada the problem of how the two races would exist together was solved by eliminating the problem altogether. Garrisonians and other antislavery activists were willing to aid fugitives when the need arose but did not devote significant amounts of time, energy, or money to the activity; but they were often found using the Underground Railroad as fodder for their antislavery propaganda machine. Mention of the "secret and highly effective" mechanism infuriated Southerners and gave moral boosts to Northerners. Abolitionists and antislavery societies made more use of the Underground Railroad in this manner than in any other way. Abbey Kelly, a Quaker abolitionist, summed it up this way, aiding fugitives and working to free jailed antislavery people, "such things should be done but were not the weightier matters of real Antislavery work."[113]

The strength of the antislavery and abolition movements was in their diversity. At one extreme, nonviolent supporters exposed the inhumanity of slavery through literary and oratorical accounts. Most of the works and speeches came primarily from ex-slaves who told of their lives in bondage and their desire for freedom. Jupiter Hammon and George Moses Horton provide the most notable examples of the slave experience expressed in poetic form. Acknowledged as the first African-American poet, Hammon wrote several poems and essays beginning with "An Evening Thought: Salvation by Christ, with Penitential Cries" in 1761. Similarly, Horton spoke of his desire for freedom in "on Liberty and Slavery" (1797), his first published poem. He used the same theme in a volume of poems entitled *The Hope of Liberty,* published in 1829. Doubtlessly, the most celebrated Black poet of the antebellum era was Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. Born a free Black in Baltimore, Maryland, Harper protested slavery in popular pieces such as "The Slave Mother" and "Bury Me in a Free Land." A noted lecturer on the abolitionist circuit, her most recognized publication, *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* (1854), received wide attention that helped further the support of antislavery activity in the North.[114]

During the peak of the abolitionist movement, slave narratives gave ex-slaves such as Olaudah Equiano, Frederick Douglass, Solomon Northrup, William and Ellen Craft, and Linda Brent the opportunity to reveal the cruelty and degradation of slavery and the slave trade. Not only was

[113] Ibid. 33-45.

[114] Avarh E Strickland,. and Jerome Reich., *The Black Experience: From Slavery to Reconstruction.* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974). 107-115.

slavery degrading to slaves, but it also brought down White society as well. Some of the works were written by the slaves themselves, some were edited by Whites, while others were told to Whites who wrote them and published them, in an effort to expose the horrors of slavery. William Wells Brown, a former runaway and Underground Railroad agent, employed the theme of escape in his book, *Clotel: or the President's Daughter* (1853), and his tragedy *Escape, or a Leap for Freedom* (1858). The success of these novels, narratives, and autobiographies inspired the publication of many poems, essays, and plays that reflected African-Americans' desire for freedom and equality.[115] They also showed the immorality of slavery and its negative effects on Southern communities. Antislavery supporters reported the conditions of slaves and the ideology and work of abolitionism in a series of newspapers. *The Philanthropist,* 1817, published by Quaker Charles Osborn in Mount Pleasant, Ohio was the first American newspaper to deal with the issues of the abolition of slavery.[116] *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was another one of the earliest antislavery papers, published from 1827-1835, edited by Ohioan Benjamin Lundy. This paper was conservative in nature, espousing ideals set forth by the American Colonization Society to free slaves and colonize them in Africa. This was not a popular idea with many antislavery Northerners and free Blacks. Salem, Ohio was the site of the 1840s - 1850s publication of *The Anti-Slavery Bugle,* an organ of the Western Garrisonians and used strong language to put its antislavery message across to the public.[117] William Lloyd Garrison, perhaps the most famous abolitionist known, also published an antislavery newspaper beginning in the 1830s. The *Liberator* was a weekly paper with attacks on slavery in the forms of sermons, addresses, articles, and advertisements. Poets of the day, including Quaker John Greenleaf Whittier and James Russell Lowell, contributed to the antislavery sentiment and submitted works to the *Liberator*. Most importantly Garrison, through the *Liberator,* espoused an immediate end to slavery without colonization or compensation to slave owners. John Russwurm and Samuel B. Cornish, both African-Americans, published their own antislavery newspaper in New York in 1827, called *Freedom's Journal*. This was America's first Black newspaper and it gained nationwide attention and support from Black communities for its espousal of antislavery ideas in

[115] Quarles. *Black Abolitionists*. 65. Berry, Mary Frances and John W. Blassingame. *Long Memory: The Black Experience.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.) 66-70.

[116] Burke and Bensch. "*Mount Pleasant.*" 246-247.

[117] Ibid. 230. Gara. "Who Was An Abolitionist?" in *The Antislavery Vanguard.* 36.

the North.[118] Frederick Douglass, a former slave and well-known abolitionist, lecturer, and spokesperson, also published a newspaper called the *North Star*. His paper espoused the immediate end to slavery and supported the idea of equal treatment for African-Americans.[119] African-American David Jenkins published an antislavery newspaper in Ohio, *The Palladium of Liberty*, which actively lobbied against the state's rigid Black Laws.

One of the first attempts to end slavery in the nineteenth century was an ignoble effort in the form of the American Colonization Society (ACS) which began in 1816. This society, founded by Robert Finley, a New Jersey Presbyterian Minister, and other like-minded reformers, gained modest support from a few religious groups, some Northerners, some slave owners in the Upper South, some Quakers, and politicians such as Henry Clay, who believed that slavery was evil but at the same time did not know what to do with freed African-Americans, believing they could not be permitted to live and work in the same communities as Whites.[120] The Society proposed that slavery should end, slave owners be compensated for loss of their property, and that slaves be shipped to Africa where they could live peacefully. Myriad Northerners opposed this organization on many different levels. Garrison and his followers believed that the ACS was racist in nature. The society did not believe in the equality of Blacks and Whites. The idea to send slaves to Africa was impractical. The number of slaves born in America rose daily and the thought of sending such a large number of people to that continent was not feasible, plus the cost of their travel and the establishment of their colony would be extremely high. Free Blacks opposed the society as well, recognizing the organization's inherent racism. They saw it as an attempt to expel all of their people to Africa and charged the organization with threatening them with exile to foreign shores. One of the strongest voices against colonization was that of Maria W. Stewart, the first woman to publicly speak out against slavery. She declared that she would not be sent to a strange land—before that would happen, "a bayonet shall pierce me through.."[121] The American Colonization Society was never extremely successful or popular but was in

[118] Tripp, Bernell E. *Origins of the Black Press: New York 1827-1847.* (Northport, Alabama: Vision Press, 1992.) 12-20. Suggs, Henry Lewis, editor. *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979.* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983.) 3-10. Quarles. *Black Abolitionists.* 80-90.

[119] Mabee, Carlton. *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 Through the Civil War.* 11-15. Litwack, Leon F. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.) 230-240. Quarles 12-25. Douglass. 100-110.

[120] Dillon, *The Abolitionists,* 19-20.

[121] Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism,* 4-8; Quarles. *Black Abolitionists*, 1-8.

existence into the 1840s and managed to send thousands of slaves to Liberia, the colony it purchased for its plan in Africa.

The Abolitionist Movement of the 1830s through the Civil War was largely composed of three elements: free Blacks, religious groups, [122] and militant White reformers who supported the use of any means possible to end slavery. Free Blacks were enthusiastic supporters of the immediate end of slavery in America. They contributed money to antislavery societies; established youth abolitionist societies, some composed solely of Black children, others of both Black and White members; schools and self-improvement organizations; supported temperance efforts, and the Garrisonians. Black leaders included the renowned Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Robert Purvis, Charles Lenox Remond, Nathaniel P. Rogers, and others who worked independently and with other abolitionist societies to achieve their ultimate goal, the end of slavery.[123] In 1833, America saw the formation of juvenile antislavery societies. An all girls group was formed in Rhode Island which raised almost one hundred dollars for the cause. Ending slavery and elevating all Blacks in society was always the goal for African-Americans active in the antislavery movement. Self-improvement efforts took various forms as Black people saw the evil effects of over consumption of intoxicating liquor. A huge temperance and abolitionist meeting took place in Salem, Ohio rallying the Black population there in April, 1849. The morning hours were filled with temperance lectures and the afternoon with inspiring antislavery rhetoric. In July of 1849, Hanover, Ohio residents held a similar meeting, showing the importance and linkage between the two activities.[124] In addition to temperance, African-Americans also supported mutual aid societies, literary and cultural programs, and better schools. In this last endeavor, several efforts were made to create and fund educational programs and schools for Black children. John Malvin in 1832 established the School Education Society in Cleveland, Ohio. The Massillon, Ohio Ladies' Society for the Education of Free People of Color was founded in 1840. Its goal was two fold, to promote Black people and increase support for the antislavery movement. The women believed it was time to give back to the Black population of Ohio, "Long enough surely have we received the taxes of the colored man to help educate poor White children, and now let us as a band of sisters unite in vigorous efforts to repair their wrongs." In some schools supported by this group, salaries of teachers were

[122] Burke and Bensch. "*Mount Pleasant.*" 246-250.
[123] Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 131-145.
[124] Ibid. 29-30, 92-96.

paid by the Ohio Female Anti-Slavery Society.[125]

Ohio resident Charlotte Forten was an African-American active in the struggle to end slavery. At the tender age of 17, she joined Salem's Antislavery Society. She became an advocate of education and taught at Salem's Normal School.[126] Education and uplift, previously mentioned as important themes for African-Americans, culminated in Ohio in the form of higher education for Blacks. Oberlin College permitted Blacks to receive an education there, as the result of an agreement struck with the Tappan brothers of New York State who saved Oberlin from bankruptcy. In exchange for funding from the Tappans, Oberlin leadership agreed to admit the Lane Rebels from Lane Seminary in Cincinnati and a Black student from the school, James Bradley. In addition to Oberlin's admission of African-Americans, it was also renowned for its admission of women. Another institution of higher learning, Wilberforce College, was established in Ohio. It was the first college for African-Americans, owned and operated by Blacks. It exemplified its commitment to the abolitionist and antislavery cause through the choice of its name, after the early British Abolitionist, William Wilberforce.[127] The various efforts of African-Americans helped further the cause of emancipation and showed the determination of this group to aid Southern slaves.

William Lloyd Garrison was one of the best known abolitionists of the era. He began his career of fighting for immediate emancipation and the end of discrimination and segregation of Blacks early in the 1830s. Through his newspaper, the *Liberator*, and the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, Garrison and his allies worked long and hard to end slavery in the United States. Garrison was committed to the use of moral suasion, not violence, to get his message out to the masses. He was successful with his message, and by 1835, the society received both "moral and financial support from African-American communities in the North and had established hundreds of branches throughout the free states, flooding the North with

[125] Ibid. 109-110.
[126] Ibid. 180.
[127] Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide,* 261.

antislavery literature, agents, and petitions demanding that Congress end all federal support for slavery."[128] Antislavery sentiment in the North was significant. In 1837 there were 1,006 antislavery societies in the United States (presumably all Northern operations). More remarkable than that is the fact that 21% or 213 of those societies were located in Ohio.[129]

By the 1840s, abolitionists and antislavery advocates began to disagree with each other over the tactics to be used in the continuation of the fight against slavery. A split occurred in the American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS), between those led by Garrison who supported the use of petitions, women as leaders, lecturers, and workers, as well as having equal rights in the society, and those who espoused the development of a political party to aid in electing larger numbers of abolitionist minded politicians and possibly even electing an abolitionist President. Garrison remained in control of the AAS, while his opponents formed another antislavery organization, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Other antislavery advocates formed the Liberty Party and nominated James G. Birney as its candidate for president in both the elections of 1840 and 1844.[130] The Free Soil Party wanted to stop the spread of slavery. In Ohio, this political party supported the efforts of enfranchising African-American men. Joshua Giddings, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, and Salmon P. Chase were considered "friends of Blacks" in the Free Soil Party and could be counted on to propose more rights and equal treatment for Blacks in Congress.[131]

The dissatisfaction among conservative abolitionists with the more radical Garrisonians was not the only problem facing organized antislavery. There was growing discontent among Black abolitionists as well. While free Blacks had long openly opposed slavery, it was not until the appearance of Garrison and his followers that they were actively welcomed into the cause and worked with Whites side by side. Yet, while Blacks were permitted to work with the White abolitionists, they were hardly considered peers. Many of the White abolitionists often adopted a paternalistic attitude toward their Black brethren. They were prone to giving advice to Blacks.

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[128] Complete Reference Library Compact Disc. *The Reader's Companion to American History, 1991.* Abolitionist Movements.

[129] Duberman, *Antislavery Vanguard,* 337.

[130] Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism,* Preface-12. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 180-195. Complete Reference Library CD. Abolitionist Movements.

[131] Quarles, *Black Abolitionists,* 186.

What was even more irksome was that many African-Americans felt that the White abolitionists generally were not as supportive of quality for their race as they purported. When the 1840 split in the AAS occurred, many Black abolitionists questioned what their stand ought to be. For the most part, they stuck with Garrison, but the open rift encouraged African-Americans to air their grievances in public. In general, African-American abolitionists tended to focus on more practical actions, such as John Parker's frequent trips into slave territory, risking his own life to smuggle slaves north to freedom. They also focused more on fighting for social and political equality. They believed it was important to fight for the vote and other civil rights, combating racial prejudice wherever it was found.[132]

Radical militants within the abolitionist movement include John Brown, David Walker, and others, such as the slaves who led rebellions in an effort to effect immediate freedom for themselves and their fellows. Nat Turner, an African-American slave living in Virginia, although not an abolitionist per se, did begin one of the bloodiest slave rebellions in American history which helped to bring the issue of slavery and emancipation to the forefront of Southern and Northern society in the 1830s. John Brown was involved from an early start in the abolitionist movement. While living in Ohio as a child, Brown was introduced to dedicated opponents to slavery by his father Owen, an active abolitionist. Later John Brown moved to Kansas with five of his sons and became involved in the struggle to keep slavery from spreading further west. He led a small band of antislavery zealots who fought with and killed five pro-slavery men near Pottawottamie Creek. Such activity gained Brown notoriety and fame, which he utilized to attract more followers to his antislavery activities. In late 1859, Brown led a group of approximately twenty-one men on a raid of a federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown wanted to obtain enough weapons and ammunition to arm slaves in the South. His desire was to foment rebellion and start an insurrection among the slaves, so that they would take an active part in their own emancipation. Brown's attack was poorly planned and carried out, and

[132] Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, vii-ix, 48-49, 68-84.; Roy E. Finkbine, et. al., eds. *Witness for Freedom: African-American Voices on Race, Slavery, and Emancipation,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). 15-27.

he and his men were soon surrounded by federal troops. Brown was hanged December 2, 1859 and quickly became a martyr for the abolitionist cause.[133]

David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizen's of the World*, in 1829 was considered an " 'incendiary' abolitionist publication...from the North." Walker was a free, well educated black in Boston, who lectured throughout the north and belligerently espoused ending slavery. In his *Appeal,* Walker encouraged slaves to fight for their freedom. His work denounced the harm that Whites had historically had done to Blacks and used "religious and revolutionary zeal" to attack Southern slavery, calling it, " 'the most wretched abject servile slavery, that ever a people was afflicted with since the foundation of the world' and summoned the slaves to rise up and slay 'our cruel oppressors and murderers,' those White masters who have 'stolen our rights, and kept us ignorant of Him [God] and His divine worship.' "[134] Such outspoken contempt for the White race, who had historically enslaved, raped, physically and mentally abused, and often murdered African-Americans, made Southern slave owners fear for their safety and tighten restraints and control over their slave populations. Such uprisings as Gabriel Prosser's slave rebellion in Richmond, Virginia in 1800, Denmark Vesey, in 1822 in Charleston, Virginia, and Nat Turner's in Southampton County, Virginia in 1831 increased Southerners' fear of their slaves and led to their denouncing Northern abolitionists, and an increasing belief that slaves could never be freed because of the threat they posed to Whites.[135]

In addition to the various men involved in the abolitionist movement, many women became active antislavery advocates in the 1830s and 1840s. They joined antislavery organizations out of a desire to end slavery, but it eventually led to an understanding of the limitation of their own rights in society. The women's movement of the 1840s and beyond was gradually formed by the activities women pursued in attaining freedom for the slave. Women quickly understood that they were fighting for rights, equality, and an end to discrimination for African-Americans but the White women of most abolitionist societies could not vote, speak to mixed gender audiences, or petition Congress because such activities were "unladylike." Women did not let that argument

[133]Stephen B. Oates, "John Brown," In *American Portraits: Biographies in United States History.* Weisner, Stephen G. and William F. Hartford, editors. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998.) 262-275.

[134]Stephen B. Oates, *The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion.*, (New York: New American Library, 1975.) 55-56.

[135]James, Henrietta, et.al. *America's History*, (New York: Worth Publishers, 1997.) 182.

deter them, and espoused not only equality for Blacks but also for themselves. Sarah and Angelina Grimke were perhaps the most well known early abolitionist women of their day. They were raised on a plantation in the South, where they grew to hate the institution of slavery. After moving North, they joined an abolitionist organization and worked for emancipation. They were soon denounced for not behaving in a proper fashion because of their gender. Such criticisms were rebuffed by the sisters, causing them to espouse the idea that "whatever is morally right for a man to do is morally right for a woman to do."[136] Other women who joined first the abolitionist then women's rights movement include Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Sojourner Truth. These women worked tirelessly to end slavery, end discrimination, and achieve equality for Blacks and women in America. They joined the lecture circuit, traveling hundreds of miles every year, by rail, stage coach, and horseback, to spread their dual message that not only are slaves human and entitled to "life, liberty, and happiness," but women are also human and just as entitled to those same "inalienable rights." (It should be noted that while White male and female abolitionists were against enslavement, some but not all, did not see Blacks or African-Americans as social equals.)

Ohio's best known female abolitionist was Betsy Mix Cowles of Austinburg in Ashtabula County. The daughter of Congregational minister Giles Hooker Cowles, Betsy was an 1838 graduate of Oberlin College's Lady's course. She was an early supporter of antislavery as a founder of the Ashtabula County Female Anti-Slavery Society in the late 1830s. Under the influence of radical abolitionist Abby Kelley Foster, whom Cowles met in the 1840s, Betsy became a dedicated Garrisonian. She served as an officer in the Garrison affiliated Western Anti-Slavery Society (WAS) and wrote articles for the WAS's organ *The Anti-Slavery Bugle.* Cowles was also a staunch supporter of women's rights, serving as the presiding officer of Ohio's first women's rights convention in Salem in 1850. The Cowles home in Austinburg was known as a station on the Underground Railroad.

Such abolitionist activity in the North, from peaceful as well as violent advocates of emancipation, greatly angered Southerners. The antislavery rhetoric was everywhere; in Congress it was suppressed through the gag rule. In literature it was in the form of "scattered sheets, left by the wayside, in parlors, barrooms, stage coaches, railway cars, and boat decks, sent

[136]Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Women's Rights Emerges within the Antislavery Movement: 1830-1870,* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2000) preface.

blindly through the mails to all public addresses," and by 1835 "over one million [pieces of abolitionist literature] went to the South." Abolitionists did not stop at simply sending paper; they printed their antislavery messages on handkerchiefs and in pictures representing a desire to free slaves, which were inserted into all items sent South.[137] The few slave rebellions of the 1800s and the agitation of abolitionists and the antislavery movement increased Southerners' fear for their safety and the future of their economy, making any further compromise on the issue of slavery impossible. The next step in the debate of slavery in America would be war.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Due to the very clandestine nature of the Underground Railroad it is difficult to find concrete data and primary sources upon which to base facts surrounding its existence, its workers, and the fugitives aided to safety in the North or Canada. Mystery and legend surround this historic topic, perhaps more so than any other event or era in American history. It excites the mind with the concepts of secret passages, danger, tunnels, hidden compartments, and the like and thus many inaccurate accounts of the Underground Railroad have proliferated over time. Larry Gara, a revisionist historian, has attempted to remedy the story of the Underground Railroad and authenticate some of the legend surrounding this system of aid to runaway slaves which operated from early on until the Civil War. Gara, in *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* refutes certain stories made famous over the years and urges readers and students of history to critically analyze the validity of the local traditions and stories told about the Road. He cautions that "hearsay, rumor, and persistent stories orally passed [down] from generation to generation are not proof of anything."[138]

Much of the romanticism of the era and the activity of the underground come from works of fiction, beginning with Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and continue to the present

[137] Buckmaster, *Let My People Go,* 83.
[138] Gara, *The Liberty Line,* 192.

day.[139] Other information garnered about abolitionist and antislavery activity is in oral testimony from the workers themselves, often years and decades after the events had passed. Gara warns that often these people were attempting to cement their deeds and actions into history and make their names well known to future Americans. Also, they won the "good battle" and wrote about a time when they were not assured of victory, and were vilified and hated by many in society.[140] Perpetuating the legend, contends Gara is harmful, because it "distorts the nature of the activity and exaggerates its impact on national events."[141] Gara believes that the Underground Railroad did exist but doubts its extent, organization, and effectiveness. He believes that it was largely a local, not national effort, only operated in Northern states, and did not "transport" nearly as many "passengers" as many have purported.[142] He also notes that by evaluating the role and importance of White abolitionists, antislavery workers, and Underground Railroad employees, the role, history, and important contribution of the African-American, both free and slave, is thus diminished.[143] Gara admits, "There is probably at least a germ of truth in most of the stories concerning the mysterious institution, though the scattered seeds of historical fact which mature into legends have a way of multiplying beyond belief."[144]

Wilbur H. Siebert, author of *The Underground Railroad From Slavery To Freedom,* provides readers and historians with a well written work concerning the various efforts of the Underground Railroad largely based upon oral testimony and written accounts from abolitionists and antislavery people and their relations, collected in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Siebert accepts the testimony of those people who "were there" and recounts the various stories which many of us have heard in one style or another. His work is lengthy, thoroughly documented, and fascinating. Siebert focuses largely on the activities in Ohio but also devotes time and space to events occurring around the country. His work makes a very strong case in favor of believing everything one has ever heard about the Underground Railroad. That is just the problem, according to Larry Gara, who refutes much of Siebert's monumental work. Gara attacks

[139] Ibid. 11.
[140] Ibid. 169-172.
[141] Ibid. 193.
[142] Ibid. 90,9, 93.
[143] Ibid. 6-7,18-20.
[144] Ibid. 17.

Siebert's use of primary, oral testimony, which relies "too heavily on the memories of aged abolitionists," of whom some were hesitant to present unsubstantiated information while others "claimed to have excellent memories."[145] Unfortunately, due to the very nature of the illegal activity which many antislavery activists engaged in, they were not likely to document their activities, lest such evidence be used against them in court. True, close scrutiny is necessary with any oral testimony, but oral histories have proven to be extremely useful and factual primary sources of the past, often supplying information which can not be obtained anywhere else.

Criticism leveled by Gara also addresses Siebert's use of Southern propaganda as a way of illustrating the effectiveness of the Underground Railroad. Once again, letters, diaries, Congressional speeches and legislation, as well as newspaper accounts and church records, are all useful forms of documentation. Discretion must be employed in their use, but nonetheless, they are valid. Gara examined the Siebert collection of abolitionist correspondence and criticized the various letters as lacking in details. Such criticism is worthy of consideration. Gara seems to criticize Siebert's use of oral evidence and testimony but then uses some of that very testimony and evidence in his work. It makes it difficult for readers to know just when to trust a source, as Gara often does, and when to disregard it. Gara certainly does have valid points; abolitionists who wrote accounts of their exploits during the 1830s and 1840s were by no means objective, they had an agenda,[146] and did not keep good records, for various reasons. Memories do fade as people age, but his criticism seems too harsh against Siebert and his use of oral history to document the past events and activities of the Underground Railroad.

Larry Gara also takes the works of Henretta Buckmaster, author of *Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement*, and William Breyfogle, author of *Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad*, to task for perpetuating the myths and inaccuracies of the road and its activities. He feels that both authors interject too much emotional material designed to make the Underground Railroad romantic and mysterious.[147] In spite of the fact that Gara criticizes many historical accounts of the

[145] Ibid. 190-191, 166-170.
[146] Ibid. 169.
[147] Ibid. 12-15.

Underground Railroad, several works and articles published more recently have shed light on some of the legendary stories and recognize the influence, aid, and roles played by free Blacks/African-Americans and fugitives. One such work is John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger's *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation,* which makes the slave and his struggles, in slavery and freedom, clear. The fugitive is active and the aid provided along his journey to freedom is sporadic at times, making it evident that, "Although no specific scheme ensured success, those who made it to the North were often among the most ingenious, persistent, and intelligent runaways."[148] William Still's *The Underground Railroad* is one of the better accounts from an African-American Vigilance Committee member in Philadelphia. This is a true, eyewitness account from someone participating on the front lines of the antislavery battlefield. Gara comments that Still's work emphasizes the fugitive as hero while including the activities White abolitionists and antislavery people contributed to the cause.[149] Editor Martin Duberman has collected several revisionist works in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists*. This variety of works reevaluates the roles of Whites and Blacks in the struggle to end slavery and examines some of the myths which are still circulating about the Road and its illegal activity. Terms such as abolitionist, antislavery society, and the like are examined and explained to clarify confusion caused by the various interpretations of the day. Such essays provide a new interpretation of the roles played in securing freedom and how active African-Americans were in this cause.[150] Benjamin Quarles' *Black Abolitionists* describes the various roles and activities African-American and Black antislavery advocates played in the drama of the antebellum period. Quarles properly places fugitives and Black abolitionists in the center of the story and illustrates how effective such people were in helping to end slavery in America. He reviews the various groups and organizations formed to help reform the lives of African-Americans and illustrates the effectiveness of men such as Robert Purvis, Charles Lenox Remond, and Nathaniel P. Rogers in elevating their race and working toward a common goal, the emancipation of slaves and the end of bondage permanently.

Larry Gara's 1962 essay, *Friends and The Underground Railroad,* furthers the examination of the role Whites played in abolition and antislavery activity and highlights the roles Quakers

[148] Franklin and Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves,* 117-120.
[149] Gara, *The Liberty Line,* 175-177.
[150] Gara,"Who Was An Abolitionist?" in *Antislavery Vanguard,* 34-40.

exercised in the Underground Railroad. Gara's goal, which he successfully accomplishes, is to uncover the various positions Quakers took on the issue of slavery and the amount of aid they contributed. He contends that the issue of ending slavery split the Quaker sect, many opposed the use of meeting houses to speak on the topic, and many supported the American Colonization Society (which had racist tendencies). [151] The reputation the Friends received as operators of the Underground came from fiction and the propensity of a few renowned Quakers, such as Coffin and Garrett, to actively aid fugitives to safety.[152] James L. Burke and Donald E. Bensch's article *Mount Pleasant and The Early Quakers of Ohio* also examines the roles the Quakers played in abolition and antislavery movements in the nineteenth century. The authors show the active role some Friends played in aiding runaways, but assert that "Historians have pointed out that perhaps no other sect was so unanimous in its support of abolitionism as the Quakers, but because they were torn between their hostility to slavery and their traditional preference for peace rather than violent reform, they did not provide the principals of the movement." Their reputation is gleaned from a few significant men and women in the movement rather than their collective role as a whole.[153]

At the same time, several Ohio counties had a large contingent of Quakers residing within their boundaries. Originally, many of these men, women and children migrated from the slave state of Virginia to the free state of Ohio, precisely because the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 outlawed the "peculiar institution" in their new homeland. The essential Quaker doctrine of the "Inner Light," which held that in God "there is neither male nor female," demanded a true Friend to question the justification for racial slavery. Their faith saw all people as equal, therefore slavery, in theory, could not be tolerated. While there were Quakers who did not warm to the prospect of assisting runaways, there were many who felt the need to live their faith and were active in providing safe havens for fugitives. Ohio counties like Belmont, Jefferson, Columbiana, Clinton, Clermont, Highland, Stark and Warren all had sizable Quaker populations.[154] In nearly each one

[151] Gara, "*Friends and the Underground Railroad*," 3-10.
[152] Ibid. 8-10.
[153] Burke and Bensch., "*Mount Pleasant*," 245.
[154] The Census of 1850 shows that the Ohio counties with the greatest number of Quaker Meetinghouses were: Belmont—13; Clinton—12; Columbiana—8; Jefferson—8; Stark—5; and Warren—8; United States Bureau of the Census, Census of 1850.

of these there were or still are properties associated with the Underground Railroad; in some cases, such as Mt. Pleasant in Jefferson County, there was also a sizable African-American settlement. It seems clear that the African-Americans who settled in these places felt safe enough—and welcome enough—to make their homes amongst the Quakers.

In Byron D. Fruehling and Robert H. Smith's article *Subterranean Hideaways of the Underground Railroad in Ohio: An Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Critique of Local Traditions,* a regional examination of Underground Railroad stops is examined for proof of secret tunnels, passages, and rooms used to conceal slaves during the antebellum period. The ultimate conclusion of the authors is that one must carefully examine local history accounts and the structures themselves for evidence of past deeds. In their analysis of seventeen structures and homes, which have underground stories attached to them, Fruehling and Smith found no physical or historical evidence of the purported tunnels, hiding places, or other verification of concealment for fugitives. Generally places attributed for this purpose were "commonplace domestic installations" of the nineteenth century and no more.[155] They conclude that their evidence does not disprove that Underground Railroad workers never created places of concealment for fugitives, just that they were "extremely rare." Secrecy was not as important as many have believed and typical places were often used, when necessary, to hide fugitives from slave hunters. Such places include barns, attics, basements, outbuildings, and woods and fields. Freuhling and Smith believe that the Underground Railroad did exist, but caution people to critically examine both written and oral accounts as well as reputed stops on the Underground Railroad carefully.

A certain amount of caution is necessary to discover more accurate information about the Underground Railroad. Its name alone conjures images of a route, operating in extremely dangerous circumstances, underground, with all sorts of secret compartments, codes, and the like. While some of those images might be true, they were seldom the case. There is evidence that the Underground Railroad did exist but "there is little evidence to support the idea of a well-

[155] Freuhling and Smith, "Subterranean Hideaways," 105.

developed conspiracy. Certainly the abolition movement produced no such institution."[156] The story is a fascinating one which tends to reiterate the idea that you can not believe everything you read or hear. To ascertain the facts one must employ knowledge, physical examination of structures considered part of the underground route, and some skepticism. We may never know the complete story of how the underground worked, how many fugitive slaves were aided by it, or how many people participated in its activity, but by removing some of the fantastic stories, myths, and legends, we may arrive at a clearer and more accurate picture of this event in American history. The truth about Underground Railroad activity lies some point in between Wilbur H. Siebert's and Larry Gara's accounts, and half the challenge is finding that point.

[156] Gara, *Liberty Line*, 69.

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F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The significant role Ohio played in the Underground Railroad is evident by the extant Ohio properties associated with it. These sites are found in nearly every region of the state, in urban and rural areas, port cities and inland communities. Many are well documented both in the written sources as well as through oral history. When documenting sites related to African-American history, the oral tradition is particularly important, especially when studying an activity that was, by its nature, secretive. The Friends of Freedom Society and the Ohio Underground Railroad Association have entered into their data base many sites and buildings throughout Ohio that are in some way associated with the Underground Railroad. These properties run the gamut from private homes such as the John P. Parker House in Ripley to communities such as Mount Pleasant to cemeteries such as the African-Jackson Cemetery and the Burlington 37 Cemetery.

Applicable Criteria

In documenting Underground Railroad properties, the documentation must be verifiable using professional methods of historical research. In many cases, the record of the historic Underground Railroad activity associated with a specific property may be fragmentary. The documentation should cite a variety of sources and should be corroborative, verifiable, and include primary sources whenever possible and known standard sources such as Wilbur Siebert's research. The time frame for Ohio Underground Railroad properties is ca. 1800 to 1865; this period spans the time from the beginnings of extensive White settlement of Ohio through the end of the Civil War and passage of the thirteenth amendment to the United States Constitution, outlawing slavery. The property can be a station, a structure associated with an important person or event connected to the Underground Railroad, an institution with ties to the Underground Railroad, or even entire communities that had the reputation of providing aid to runaway slaves. The most likely criterion to apply is association with some aspect of the Underground Railroad's history – i.e. Criteria A and/or B. Archaeological sites with historical associations with Underground Railroad activities may qualify under Criterion D. Such resources would require evaluation under specific research designs. In rare cases, properties may be eligible under

Criterion C as representing a significant type or method of construction for the presence of physical features – specific rooms, passages associated with Underground Railroad activities. In these examples, strongly verifiable primary-source documentation corroborated with extant historical physical evidence must be present.

Integrity

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. In general, Underground Railroad-related properties eligible for the National Register must date to within the period of significance (c. 1800-1865), represent significant associations with events, persons, broad patterns associated with the Underground Railroad, and possess physical integrity. Judging integrity requires a sound understanding of the history and significance of the property as it relates to the Underground Railroad theme. Most likely Underground Railroad-related properties will possess integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. Essential physical features relating to materials, design, and workmanship must be present to the extent possible for the property to convey its historic association and period of significance. Essential physical features may include their basic form, roof shape, floor plans, and exterior construction materials, interior details and features. Additions and major alterations must be judged by their impact on the ability of the property to convey its significance. Essential physical features must be visible enough to convey significance and period of significance. If a historic exterior is covered by non-historic material, the property may still be eligible if significant form, features, and detailing are not obscured. The rarity of extant examples of Underground Railroad-related resources may justify accepting a greater degree of alteration or fewer features, however, the property must still retain enough physical evidence to convey its significance and historic time period.

Assessing integrity of an Underground Railroad-related property involves three essential steps. 1) the essential physical features representing the property's historical significance must be defined. 2) the presence of the essential physical features sufficient to convey its significance must be determined. 3) the property must be compared to other similar known properties.

The properties listed below run the gamut from high style structures like Allencroft in Oberlin to vernacular buildings like the John Rankin House in Ripley. All of the properties listed here were

built prior to the Civil War, with the exception of the cemeteries, which had burials after the Civil War. In many cases, the remaining Underground Railroad properties tend to be found in smaller communities where there has been less urbanization and industrialization as opposed to cities. Only a few of the properties listed below are located in or near urban areas. Much of this is due to the fact that urbanization and urban renewal destroyed many structures that may have had an association with the Underground Railroad. There are few outbuildings included in this section mainly because these structures are even more fragile in terms of surviving into the 21st century than residences or institutional buildings. Surely outbuildings like barns were used to hide fugitives, but these structures are often the first to go when they have outlived their usefulness—or the residence may exist, but the rest of the farm is now a subdivision. The Underground Railroad physical record is a fragile one; locating the properties associated with this important American institution can be challenging, but it is worthwhile.

In compiling the list of associated property types, the most significant and well-documented extant structures were selected as a basis for establishing registration requirements. The associated property types are arranged by the following categories, which are based on those established in the National Historic Landmarks Survey, *Underground Railroad Resources in the United States Theme Study*[157]:

Stations on the Underground Railroad: These are properties that at one time or another harbored fugitive slaves. Historians of the Underground Railroad have not come to any real conclusion on what, exactly, constitutes an actual "station." Were slaves harbored there only on one occasion?[158] Was it a place generally known to be a safe haven for slaves? Those selected for inclusion here are ones for which there is strong historical evidence for their role in the Underground Railroad. These "stations" were known to harbor runaways on more than one

[157] United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, *Underground Railroad in the United States Theme Study*, (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior), 1998, 35-36.

[158] For example, during the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue, when the Rescuers saved fugitive slave John Price from his captors, Price was housed by Professor Timothy Fairchild, an Oberlin professor. Fairchild had never before (nor after) harbored a runaway slave, but made an exception in Price's case. Thus, Fairchild's home, if it were extant, would not be considered a station on the Underground Railroad—however it might be placed in the category of connection to events that are a part of the history of the Underground Railroad.

occasion. The historical evidence includes information found in diaries and letters, abolitionist newspapers such as the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, and a strong oral tradition. In some cases, these properties are also associated with prominent men and women in the antislavery movement who were known conductors. The historical evidence must be verifiable and corroborative through written sources. The property must date to c. 1800-1865 and must retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, association, and essential features to convey its significance.

Properties Associated with Prominent Persons: These are properties where known conductors lived, worked, or were associated with in some manner. If the property was also an Underground Railroad Station, it is not included here but rather with the Underground Railroad Stations. Some of these properties are associated with prominent abolitionists, who occasionally may have harbored or assisted fugitive slaves, but were outspoken opponents of slavery. The properties should be associated with the individuals during the time of their active involvement with the Underground Railroad or other antislavery activity. The property must retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, association, and essential features to convey its significance.

Properties Associated with Documented Slave Escapes: These properties have some connection with documented escapes by slaves, including homes of rescuers, exclusive of being an Underground Railroad Station. Properties must date to c. 1800-1865. Properties must retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, association, and essential features to convey significance.

Properties Associated with Legal Challenges to Slavery: These are properties associated in some way with trials relating to slavery. The property must have a significant association with the trial and retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, association, and essential features to convey historical significance.

Institutions Associated with the Underground Railroad and Antislavery: In some cases, entire institutions have some association with the Underground Railroad and antislavery. The institutions are broken down into the following subcategories: Churches and Colleges:

> *Churches:* These are religious structures that are associated with congregations that were founded by or included former slaves, encouraged assisting fugitive slaves and/or

strongly promoted abolition. Throughout the North, there were a number of cases where individual congregations split over the issue of slavery. For example, in Austinburg in Ashtabula County, the Congregational Church split into two groups—one supporting abolition, the other not. After the Civil War, the Congregationalists reunited; unfortunately, neither one of the pre-Civil War church structures are extant. Property must date within period of significance (c. 1800-1865). The property's historic associations with the theme must be determined to be important within the theme. Property must retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, association, and essential features to convey its significance. Property must qualify under Criteria Exception A for religious properties.

Colleges: There are several colleges in Ohio that gained reputations as hotbeds of antislavery as well as havens for fugitive slaves. Properties must date to period of significance (c.1800-1865) and must have been historically associated with the theme. Property must retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, association, and essential features to convey its significance.

Cemeteries: These cemeteries are the final resting places for fugitive slaves, abolitionists, and/or noted conductors. Cemeteries, while usually exempt from National Register nomination, can be nominated if they were the final resting places of persons who were fugitive slaves or had some other ties to the Underground Railroad for which no other property with direct association to their historic contributions is known to still exist. Historical research on possible extant properties should be demonstrated. Persons must be shown to be of transcendent importance in their associations with the Underground Railroad Movement or the cemetery may be associated with historical events associated with the Underground Railroad Movement. Entire cemeteries must qualify under Criteria Exception D for cemeteries. An individual grave of an important person associated with the Underground Railroad located in a larger cemetery that may not qualify under Criteria Consideration D should be evaluated under Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces and Graves.

Communities: In a few cases, entire communities were safe havens for fugitive slaves. While most Ohioans harbored anti-Black sentiments common to other Americans of the time, there were a few places that were more progressive in their view of race relations. Towns like Mt.

Pleasant and Springboro, where there were large Quaker populations, proved to be more welcoming to the former slaves. Oberlin was also known as a haven for Blacks, where jobs were available, not to mention Oberlin College, which freely admitted Blacks (and women) on an equal basis with White men. Ashtabula County, where many New Englanders settled, was reputed to be the most antislavery county in the nation; however, it never had a large African-American population in the antebellum period. Also included here are settlements of free African-Americans, which were especially prominent in counties like Brown and Highland in southwestern Ohio and Miami and Mercer counties in western Ohio. Historic Districts reflecting historical associations with the Underground Railroad theme may be identified. The majority of resources in a historic district must date to the temporal period associated with the theme (c. 1800-1865) or be otherwise justified as relating to the Underground Railroad theme. A Historic District should retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, association and individual properties retain essential features to convey their significance.

I. Stations on the Underground Railroad

Betsy Mix Cowles House, St. Rte. 45, Austinburg, Ashtabula County. Betsy Mix Cowles was one of Ohio's leading Garrisonian abolitionists, as well as a feminist and educator. Cowles and her family sheltered fugitive slaves, references to which are found in the official organ of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*. The wood frame house was built in 1815; there have been some alterations and additions, but the original house is intact. According to Betsy Cowles' will, the front parlor had to be maintained as it was when she lived there, and the family has lived up to the terms of the will. While not on the National Register, it may be eligible under Criteria A and B, given its association with abolitionism, the Underground Railroad, the early women's movement and the Cowles family.[159]

The Hubbard House, NW Corner Lake Ave. and Walnut Blvd., Ashtabula, Ashtabula County. Built in 1834, the Hubbard House, also known as "Mother Hubbard's Cupboard" and the "Great Emporium" was a major terminus for the Underground Railroad in eastern Ohio. William Hubbard, who migrated to Ashtabula from New York in 1834, was a native of Connecticut. He built his substantial brick Greek Revival home upon arriving in the port city of Ashtabula and

[159] Donna M. DeBlasio, *"Her Own Society:" The Life and Times of Betsy Mix Cowles, 1810-1876*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Kent State University, 1980.

joined other members of his family in their lumber yard and warehouse business. Hubbard often housed fugitive slaves, as stated by Seibert, "Night after night conductors landed passengers in his cellar or hayloft." The house is located near the shores of Lake Erie and it was rumored that a tunnel existed running from the house to the lake which slaves used to escape to Canada over water. Dr. John White, a professor of anthropology at Youngstown State University, led a dig at the Hubbard property and found no evidence of a tunnel. Given the Hubbard House's proximity to the shore and the antislavery sympathies of many local residents, the necessity of such a tunnel is debatable. The Hubbard House, which has been altered considerably since its listing on the National Register, is currently operated as a museum by the Ashtabula Area Museum and Historical Society.[160] National Register, 1973.

Daniel Howell Hise House, 1100 Franklin Ave., Salem, Columbiana County. Quaker Daniel Howell Hise was a leading abolitionist in Salem. His home, originally constructed in the 1840s, with major additions in 1857 and 1863, was a station on the Underground Railroad. In a diary entry dated April 26, 1849, Hise wrote, "Attended a secret meeting in connection with the Underground Railroad. Went to Thomas Harner's after one of our poor fugitives, having had information that the hounds were baying on their track. We thought it is prudent to move them into another neighborhood, and shall proceed to do so tonight after midnight."[161] National Register, 1999.

Case-Barlow Farm, 1931 Barlow Rd., Hudson, Summit County. Lora Case was a well-known Underground Railroad activist; according to oral tradition, his parents, Chauncey and Cleopatra Case hid fugitive slaves in a wooded lot at the edge of the farm. Lora was also a childhood friend of John Brown. Built ca. 1820, this brick farmhouse retains much of its integrity. It is a vernacular Federal house with a small rear addition.[162]

David Hudson House, 318 North Main St., Hudson, Summit County. The founder of Hudson, David Hudson was an active agent for the Underground Railroad. In 1826, his son David, Jr.

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[160] National Register Nomination, Col. William Hubbard House, January, 1973.
[161] National Register Nomination, Daniel Howell Hise House, October, 1998; DeBlasio, *"Her Own Society."*
[162] http://www.geocities.com/kent-history/ugrrhudson.htm.

noted in his diary, "Two men came this evening in a sleigh, bringing a Negro woman, a runaway slave, and her two children." This Federal four over four house was built ca. 1806. It retains much of its integrity, although the windows may be replacements and a door was added on the lateral wall.[163] Contributing property in Hudson Academy Historic District, National Register, 1975.

Jeremiah Root Brown House, 204 Streetsboro St., Hudson, Summit County. A brother of John Brown, Jeremiah Root Brown operated an Underground Railroad station at this farmhouse. Brown also stored weapons here for the raid on Harper's Ferry for his brother. This large wood frame Greek Revival house has some Italianate elements; it was built ca. 1850. There is an addition in front (a screened in porch) and the windows may be replacements. However, the house retains much of its integrity.[164]

Halsey Hulbert Homestead, 5484 Seville Rd., Seville, Medina County. A migrant from Endfield Connecticut, Halsey Hulbert built this Greek Revival structure in 1835. Hulbert was a prominent abolitionist who actively supported the Liberty Party. Several sources, including Wilbur Seibert and the memoirs of Hulbert's daughter, Maria Hulbert Malteson, note that fugitive slaves were harbored here on several occasions. Although the house was not along "the customary route...it had its visitors."[165] National Register,1988.

John P. Parker House, 300 Front St., Ripley, Brown County. In 1850, Alabama-born free Black John P. Parker, arrived in Ripley, Ohio and soon built this 1853 Greek Revival side hallway house. At that time, Ripley was famous among slave owners as a "notorious abolitionist hole." Upon his settling in Ripley, Parker engaged in scouting both sides of the Ohio River to locate, guide and assist in any way, fugitive slaves. He is credited with personally aiding the escape of over nine hundred slaves. Parker published his memoirs under the title, *His Promised Land: The Autobiography of John P. Parker, Former Slave and Conductor on the Underground Railroad.*[166] National Historic Landmark, 1996.

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[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] National Register Nomination, Halsey Hulbert House, December, 1988.
[166] National Register Nomination, John P. Parker House, March, 1971.

John Rankin House, Liberty Hill, Ripley, Brown County. One of the most active "conductors" on the Underground Railroad, John Rankin preached against slavery as early as 1815. In 1826, his series of thirteen letters, denouncing the "peculiar institution" appeared in book form as *Letters on American Slavery*. By the 1820s, Rankin began assisting runaway slaves, hiding as many as twelve slaves at one time in his home. Harriet Beecher Stowe visited the Rankin House, heard the story about "Eliza," an escaped slave, and incorporated it into *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The Rankin house was built in 1828. It is a one and a half story vernacular structure, with some alterations and the addition of a front porch. The house sits on a hill; the steps leading from the bottom to the top of the hill are called the "staircase to liberty."[167] National Historic Landmark , 1996.

Samuel Smith House and Tannery, 103 Jefferson St., Greenfield, Highland County. Samuel Smith built this Federal stone house in 1821-1822. A prominent citizen, Smith was a prosperous tanner and miller. He was also abolitionist who was known to harbor fugitive slaves in his house.[168] National Register, 1978.

Paint Hill, 17 Mead Dr., Chillicothe, Ross County. Also known as Renick House and Presbyterian Manse, George Renick built the original part of the structure in 1804. Renick, who was a member of the Chillecothe Presbytery, made a strong stand against slavery in 1836. He was also a leading livestock farmer, noted for making the first extended overland cattle drive in the U.S. Although the existing National Register nomination does not include its Underground Railroad associations, Paint Hill was a station on the Underground Railroad.[169] National Register, 1973.

Tanglewood, 172 Bellview Ave., Chillicothe, Ross County. John McClean, a Roman Catholic priest, started construction of this Greek Revival home about 1850. Lawyer Richard Douglas

[167] Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide*, 255-266.
[168] National Register Nomination, Samuel Smith House and Tanner, June, 1977.
[169] National Register Nomination, Paint Hill, July, 1972.

purchased Tanglewood, but died shortly after its completion. Local oral history notes that it was a station on the Underground Railroad, this information is not currently mentioned in nomination.[170] National Register, 1979.

Kelton House, 586 E. Town St., Columbus, Franklin County. Abolitionists Fernando Cortez and Sophia Stone Kelton built this Greek Revival house in 1852. Family oral history records that the family hid runaways on the property--in the barn, in a 300 barrel cistern or in the servants' quarters. In 1854, Sophia Kelton found two runaway slave girls from Virginia named Martha and Pearl. Sophia nursed the ailing Martha, but Pearl Hartway kept going on to Wisconsin, which she believed was safer. Martha stayed with the Keltons and eventually married Thomas Lawrence, the family's cabinetmaker.[171] National Register nomination does not document these Underground Railroad associations, much of this research has been discovered since property listed in National Register. Contributing building in East Town Street Historic District, National Register, 1976.

Benjamin Hanby House, 160 W. Main St., Westerville, Franklin County. Benjamin Hanby's father, the Reverend William Hanby, settled in Westerville in 1854. The Hanbys and their next door neighbor, Otterbein College president the Reverend Lewis Davis, harbored fugitive slaves on their respective properties. In 1850, Benjamin wrote the first stanza and verse of "My Darling Nelly Gray" after hearing his father describe a romance between two slaves who were separated by their Kentucky master when he sold Nellie Gray down the river to Georgia. After witnessing a slave auction, he completed the song.[172] National Register, 1970.

Jonathan Wright Homestead, 80 W. State St., Springboro, Warren County. The home of the town's founder, who was active in the antislavery movement and the Underground Railroad. Wright, his wife Mary and their children were all devout Quakers, who devoted themselves to the cause of the fugitive slave. Wright built this house in about 1815 as a Federal style side hallway.

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[170] National Register Nomination, Tanglewood, August, 1979.
[171] National Regsiter Nomination, East Town St. Historic District, April, 1976.
[172] Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide,* 255-266.

The house was remodeled in the 1930s with a Colonial Revival porch and classical front door frame.[173] Contributing building in Springboro Historic District, National Register, 1999.

Dabney House, 115 S. Main St., Springboro, Warren County. This Pre-classic I-House, which was built ca. 1830, may have been a station on the Underground Railroad. Little is known about the Dabney Family, who built the house nor the next owner, Mary J. O'Neal Hadley. Mrs. Hadley purchased it in 1833. Local Underground Railroad historians believe that this was a station; the excavation of a basement in the 1990s, may add credence to this story, especially given Springboro's reputation as a safe haven for fugitive slaves.[174] Contributing building in Springboro Historic District, National Register, 1999.

Josiah Thomas House, 205 S. Main St., Springboro, Warren County. Built between 1825 and 1835 by Samuel Dearth, this house was sold to Josiah Thomas in 1837. Thomas used it as both his residence and his business, which was a harness shop. Thomas was a staunch Quaker, an abolitionist, and according to a 19th century history, his home "was a conspicuous station on the famous underground railroad" and that Thomas himself was "an efficient and sagacious stationmaster." The Thomas house is a four over four Federal vernacular structure with two additions and other alterations including display windows on the north elevation.[175] Contributing building in Springboro Historic District, National Register, 1999.

Mahlon T. Janney House, Hannah Janney House, 155 East Mill St., Springboro, Warren County. Mahlon T. Janney built this house in about 1850 on farmland, where he made his livelihood. Janney was a Quaker; the property is believed to be a station on the Underground Railroad. The house is a side hallway with some alteration, including conversion of door into a window.[176]

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[173] National Register Nomination, Springboro Historic District, N.D; Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Jonathan Wright Homestead, December, 1997.
[174] Ibid; Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Dabney House, January, 1997.
[175] Ibid; Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Josiah Thomas House, January, 1997.
[176] Ibid; Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Mahlon T. Janney House, Hannah Janney House, October, 1997.

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James Stanton House, "Greenhill," 8894 Tanglewood Dr., Springboro, Warren County. A native of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, James Stanton moved to Springboro in 1825 and built this house the following year. Stanton was a staunch Quaker and active abolitionist whose house was a station on the Underground Railroad. Once situated on a 114 acre farm, most of the property is now a subdivision. The house itself remains; it is a Pre-Classic I-House that exhibits elements of the Federal style. There have been alterations, including replacement windows, but generally the exterior's integrity remains.[177] National Register, 1980.

Foster-Butterworth Farm, 9299 Butterworth Rd., Hamilton Township, Warren County. Benjamin Butterworth was a Virginia native who came to Ohio in 1812. He built this farmhouse (along with Moorman Butterworth and John Dyer) between 1813-1815. According to a late 19th century history, Benjamin Butterworth was "imbued with all the prejudices against human slavery," so much so that he freed his own slaves before moving to Ohio. The elder Butterworth, who died in 1833, passed his ideals on to his son, Benjamin. The younger Butterworth was associated with the antislavery movement and "his home became one of the depots for the underground railroad." Butterworth had a distinguished career in law, crowned by his appointment as US Commissioner of Patents in 1873. The original house is still intact, although there have been some alterations and additions. There are other outbuildings still remaining on the property as well, including a springhouse and barns. Although not on the National Register, it may be eligible under Criteria A, B, and C for its associations with the Underground Railroad, farming, Butterworth himself and architecture.[178]

Reuben Benedict House, 1463 County Road 24, Marengo, Morrow County. Reuben Benedict, one of the earliest settlers in the Quaker hamlet of Alum Creek, built this house ca. 1828. Alum Creek was known to be a haven for fugitive slaves and the Benedict house is mentioned as a station by several sources, including Wilbur Seibert as well as several county histories. According to the memoir of one former slave, "...From there I went out to the Benedict

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[177] National Register Nomination, James Stanton House, "Greenhill," 1980.
[178] Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Foster-Butterworth Farm, July, 1978; *The City of Cincinnati and Its Resources*, Cincinnati: The Cincinnati Times-Star Co., 1890, 167.

settlement. There I found another colored man a resting—he had been there a day or two."[179] The house has been altered, but still retains a high degree of integrity. National Register, 2000.

Naff Conrad House, "Loghurst", Boardman-Canfield Road (Route 224), Canfield Township, Mahoning County. Loghurst was built around 1805 by Conrad Naff, a first generation German-American who moved to the Canfield area from Heidelberg Township, PA. Naff built the original, 2 ½ story section of this house of logs hewn from the property. He also dug a cellar as part of the original structure. A later frame addition (1820s) makes up part of the current structure. In 1827 Jacob Barnes purchased the house and property. Barnes was born in Connecticut, moved to Virginia where he married and farmed, and finally migrated to Canfield because of his strong abolitionist sympathies. Local legend and some secondary sources cite Barnes as participating in the UGRR movement by harboring slaves at the Loghurst site between 1830 and 1848. He was well known in the area for his abolitionist sentiments. The house is currently restored to its early 1900's appearance, using items from the Arthur Kyle family, Loghursts' final owners. Kyle and his family operated the 71-acre property as a truck farm from 1902 through the 1950's. In 1978 his daughter, Josephine, donated the house, property and acreage to the Western Reserve Historical Society for preservation and use as an educational facility. Current National Register nomination does not document the Underground Railroad associations. National Register 1974.

James and Sophia Clemens Farmstead, 467 Stingley Rd., Palestine (Greenville), Darke County. James Clemens, a free Black, purchased land in Darke County, Ohio in 1818 and founded the community known as Longtown, which became a settlement for African-Americans and persons of mixed racial ancestry. The Clemens' were among the founders and original settlers of the community. Several sources identify the Clemens farmstead as a station on the Underground Railroad. Siebert notes that "The Clemens and the Alexander's were the leaders in the movement there [Longtown]."[180] Clemens' grandson, James R. Clemens served in the Civil War. The farmhouse was built sometime between 1827 and 1857. It is a Classic I-House, with its balanced, five bay façade, two story height and one room depth. There are Greek Revival

[179] National Register Nomination draft, Reuben Benedict House, May 1999; Wilbur Siebert Collection, Ohio Historical Society, Box, 108.
[180]National Register Nomination, James and Sophia Clemens Farmstead, by Roane D. Smothers,28 September 2000.

elements to the structure, including an entablature and frieze at the façade roofline and cornice returns on the gabled ends of the roof. Many of the windows appear to be the original wood framed, six over six double hung sash. The major exterior alteration is a mid-nineteenth century brick porch. Both the interior and the exterior retain much of their integrity.[181] The timber frame barn still stands. National Register 2001.

Samuel and Sally Wilson House, 1502 Aster Place, Cincinnati, Hamilton County. Samuel and Sally Wilson moved with their seven children and aunt to Columbia, Ohio (now a part of Cincinnati) from New Hampshire in 1828. Sally and Samuel joined the Reading Presbyterian Church and by 1840 had become outspoken abolitionists. Their sympathies with the plight of the slave made them unwelcome in Reading, and the family moved to College Hill (also now a part of Cincinnati) in 1849. College Hill was far more welcoming to abolitionists like the Wilsons. The family built the extant structure in 1849 and it became a station on the Underground Railroad. Most of the family was involved in attacking slavery. While attending Lane Seminary, the Wilson sons worked with local Quakers who helped fugitive slaves get to Levi Coffin's home in Indiana. There is good documentary evidence for the family's involvement in the Underground Railroad. Samuel and Sally's daughter, Harriet Wilson, wrote a letter to Wilbur Siebert, documenting the family's role in helping escaped slaves. Other sources include a manuscript by the Wilsons' grandson Dr. Samuel Tyndale Wilson and a local publication by the Cincinnati Historical Society which further give evidence to the Underground Railroad connection. Finally, the current owner recalls that as a child, several elderly African-American men stopped by the house to see the cellar where they had hidden. The Greek Revival structure retains much of its integrity, although it was covered with asbestos siding in 1945.[182] National Register, 2000.

II. Properties Associated with Prominent Persons

Joshua R. Giddings Law Office, 112 North Chestnut and Jefferson Sts., Jefferson, Ashtabula County. One of Ohio's most ardent antislavery advocates, Joshua R. Giddings, served the people of northeastern Ohio for many years in the House of Representatives. In Congress, he vocally

[181] Ibid.
[182] National Register Nomination, Samuel and Sally Wilson House by John T. O'Neil and Mary Ann Olding, March 2000.

opposed slavery and called for its immediate abolition. He, and fellow abolitionist from Jefferson, Senator Benjamin F. Wade, were both known to harbor fugitive slaves. One escaped slave, Charley Garlick, lived with the Giddings family. Giddings' daughter, Maria, was also an abolitionist. No properties associated with Senator Wade exist; the Greek Revival law office, which is basically unaltered, is the only extant property associated with Giddings.[183] National Historic Landmark, 1974.

John Brown, Jr.'s House, Dorset Rd., St. Rte. 307, Cherry Valley. Ashtabula County. The son and namesake of John Brown, young John Brown, Jr. followed in his father's footsteps. He left home to attend the Grand River Academy, a manual labor school in Austinburg founded by Betsy Mix Cowles' father, Giles Hooker Cowles. Brown organized several secret societies known either as the League of Freedom or Sons of Freedom. A number of sympathetic souls in Cherry Valley and other small towns in Ashtabula County hid weapons used on the raid on Harper's Ferry. Many of Brown's friends wanted to try and free John Brown, Sr. after the raid, but he dissuaded them because of the danger. Young Brown's home became an armed camp, with sentries posted around the house and iron sheets placed on the second floor to protect the people in the building.[184]

John Brown's House, 514 Diagonal Rd., Akron, Summit County. One of the most famous of abolitionists, John Brown, spent several years in various parts of northeastern Ohio. He lived in this two story frame home from 1844 to 1846. It is now owned by the Summit County Historical Society. [185]

Whedon-Hinsdale House, 2727 Hudson-Aurora Rd., Hudson, Summit County. In 1841, Owen Brown, father of John Brown, married Lucy Hinsdale and moved to this house. Like his famous son, Brown was a leading abolitionist in Hudson, as well as the town's "stationmaster" on the Underground Railroad. Built ca. 1830, this vernacular house has some Greek Revival elements, including cornice returns and classical doorway. There is a large addition which overwhelms the small, story and a half original wood structure.[186]

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[183] DeBlasio, "*Her Own Society.*"
[184] Ibid; Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide*, 255-266.
[185] http://www.geocities.com/kent-history/ugrrsummit.html
[186] http://www.geocities.com/kent-history/ugrrhudson.html

John Brown Farmhouse, 1842 Hines Hill Road, Hudson vic., Summit County. 1824. Associated with John Brown and UGRR activity of brother Olliver and Father Owen Brown. National Register, 1977.

Elizur Wright, Jr. House, 120 Hudson St., Hudson, Summit County. Elizur Wright, one of the leading abolitionists in America, lived in this house when he was a professor at Western Reserve College. Wright went on to edit the antislavery magazine, *Human Rights*, served as secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and edited the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* newspaper. The house, which was constructed ca. 1820, has Federal elements, including an excellent entrance portico. There is a large two story ell edition in the rear as well as other alterations.[187] Contributing building in Hudson Historic District, National Register, 1973.

Harriet Beecher Stowe House/Lyman Beecher House, 2950 Gilbert Ave., Cincinnati. Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, lived in this house from 1832 to 1835, when she moved to nearby Walnut Hills with her husband, Calvin Stowe. While living in Cincinnati, Stowe interviewed many fugitives and included their experiences in her famous novel. She also befriended Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, where *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was first serialized. Although she moved from Cincinnati to Brunswick, Maine in 1850, it was her time in Ohio that inspired one of the most influential works of fiction in U.S. history.[188] National Register, 1970.

Potts-Mullen-Hormell Homestead, 1800 Lower Springboro Rd., Springboro, Warren County. John Potts, who owned this property in the mid-1850s, was a Quaker who assisted in freeing slaves belonging to Bennett Rains, as they traveled through Springboro. Because of this, the house has a reputation in local lore as a station on the Underground Railroad. The house was built in the early 1820s, probably in two stages. While a garage was attached to the back of the

[187] Ibid.
[188] http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/undeground/oh1.htm.

house, building essentially retains its integrity. While not on the National Register, it may be eligible under Criterion A and C.[189]

Nathaniel Collins House, 200 Front St., Ripley, Brown County. Ripley's first mayor, Nathaniel Collins (1775-1831), built this home in about 1812. His children, Thomas, Eli, and Theodore, were prominent conductors on the Underground Railroad in Ripley. A 1910 photograph identifies the house as "a refuge of runaways." This house, which has been altered, but still retains much of its integrity, was the home of Thomas Collins.[190] Thomas Collins was a member of the Anti-Slavery Society of Ripley.[191] Contributing building in Ripley Historic District, National Register, 1985. (listed as Thomas Collins house in nomination)

Benjamin Lundy House, Union St., Mt. Pleasant, Jefferson County. In 1821, Benjamin Lundy began publication of one of the first significant antislavery newspapers, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Lundy originally published the paper in Steubenville, Ohio, about twenty miles from Mt. Pleasant, and carried it home on his back. He also was an early advocate of the free labor movement, which essentially boycotted anything produced by slave labor. Although he started out supporting colonization, Lundy eventually converted to the cause of abolition. Throughout his life, Lundy traveled throughout the US working to end slavery. In 1828, Baltimore slave traders attacked him and he nearly lost his life. While this house has traditionally been associated with Lundy, he probably never lived here. He may have boarded here at one time and no doubt was a frequent visitor. The home was actually owned from 1815 to 1843 by Dr. Isaac Parker, a prominent Quaker and trustee of the Ohio Yearly Meeting. Dr. Parker may have harbored fugitive slaves here.[192] National Historic Landmark, 1974.

The Free Labor Store, Union St., Mt. Pleasant, Jefferson County. Attached to the Lundy house, the Free Labor Store opened in 1848 and operated until 1857. Started by Quakers for the Free Produce Association, the Free Labor Store sold nothing produced by slave labor. It was the only

[189] Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Potts-Mullen-Hormell Homestead, October, 1997.
[190] Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Nathaniel Collins House, September, 1976.
[191] *Minutes Anti-Slavery Society of Ripley*, 1836.
[192] Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide*, 255-266.; e-mail correspondence Jennie McCormick to Donna DeBlasio, 13 July 2000.

store of its kind in Ohio.[193] Contributing building in Mt. Pleasant Historic District, National Register, 1974.

III. Properties Associated with Documented Fugitive Rescues

Wilson Bruce Evans House, 33 Vine St., Oberlin, Lorain County. In 1854, free-born Black brothers Henry and Wilson Bruce Evans migrated to Oberlin from North Carolina. The Evans brothers were skilled carpenters; they built Wilson's home in 1856. Although not active abolitionists, both brothers were deeply involved in the famous Oberlin-Wellington Rescue. In 1858, Henry and Wilson Bruce Evans, along with other citizens of the Oberlin area led a successful attempt to save John Price, a former slave who had been recaptured for return to his master. The Rescuers, as they called themselves, saved Price and safely saw him to Canada. For their efforts, the Rescuers, including the Evans Brothers, were jailed under the terms of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. After demonstrations on their behalf led by Ohio politicians Senator Salmon P. Chase and Representative Joshua R. Giddings, the Rescuers were released in July, 1859. A monument commemorating their efforts is located across the street in Martin Luther King, Jr. Park.[194] National Historic Landmark, 1997.

Allencroft, 134 S. Professor St., Oberlin, Lorain County. Built in 1861, this brick Italianate house also has ties to the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue. It was built by one of the participants in the Rescue (i.e. a "Rescuer"), Ralph Plumb. In 1855, Ralph and his brother Samuel migrated to Oberlin from New York state, where they were both active abolitionists. After participating in the dramatic rescue of runaway slave John Price from slave catchers, Ralph eventually joined the Union Army during the Civil War. Plumb left Oberlin in 1865, selling his home to physician Dr. Dudley Allen. The Allen family donated the house to Oberlin College in 1899. There are several historic additions and alterations to the building.[195] National Register, 1978.

Dr. John Rogers House, 307-309 Front St., New Richmond, Clermont County. Built ca. 1825-1830, this Federal style house was owned and occupied from the 1820s to 1882 by Dr. John B.

[193] Ibid.
[194] National Historic Landmark Nomination, Wilson Bruce Evans House, January, 1997.
[195] http://www.oberlin.edu/~EOG/Default.htm

Rogers. Although best known as the physician who delivered U. S. Grant, Rogers was an active abolitionist. He was a close friend of James G. Binney and son-in-law of Senator Thomas Morris, Clermont County's most renowned abolitionist. Rogers was locally known as a "Liberty Chieftain" on the Underground Railroad. House is in good state of preservation.[196]

IV. Properties Associated With Legal Challenges to Slavery

Rush P. Sloane House, 403 East Adams St., Sandusky, Erie County. Lawyer, abolitionist and Underground Railroad participant Rush P. Sloane purchased this ca. 1850 Italianate house in 1854. Sloane studied law under F.D. Paris, a leading Sandusky abolitionist whose home was a station on the Underground Railroad. Sloane's most well known action on behalf of fugitive slaves came in 1852, when seven runaways arrived in Sandusky on the Mad River and Lake Erie Railroad. The slaves were later captured, so Sloane petitioned the mayor of Sandusky on the grounds that the runaways may have been improperly arrested and detained. One of the captors showed that he had legal papers of ownership and filed charges against Sloane under the Fugitive Slave Act. Sloane was tried, found guilty and fined $3,000 plus court costs of $1,330.30. [197] National Register, 1975.

VI. Institutions Associated with the Underground Railroad and Antislavery

A. Churches

Free Congregational Church, 5 E. Streetsboro St., Hudson, Summit County. Owen Brown established and paid for the construction of the Free Congregational or "Oberlin" Church in 1842. Members of the Church had to pledge to fight against slavery. John Brown made his last appearance at this building on his way to Harper's Ferry in 1859. This large Greek Revival building has been altered considerably over time and is now a commercial enterprise, featuring several small businesses.[198] Included in the Hudson Historic District, National Register, 1973.

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[196] Ohio Historical Inventory CLE-442-10 and National Register Questionnaire, May 2001.
[197] http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/underground/oh6.htm.
[198] http://www.geocties.com/kent-history/ugrrhudson.htm.

Putnam Presbyterian Church, 467 Woodlawn Ave., Zanesville, Muskingham County. Built in 1835, the Putnam Presbyterian Church is a brick, Gothic revival structure that has few alterations. A center of abolitionist activity, this congregation boasted a number of Underground Railroad conductors. The first pastor of the church was William Beecher, brother to Harriet Beecher Stowe.[199] Contributing building in Putnam Historic District, National Register, 1975.

Second Baptist Church, Sandusky St., east of Main, Mechanicsburg, Champaign County. Originally known as the First Methodist Church, the first building was a log structure built in 1815, on a site behind this building. This building was constructed in 1858, after the Methodists split over the issue of slavery. The Methodist Protestant Church, the group supported by abolitionists, worshipped in this building. They continued to use it until 1894, when they sold the building to the Black Second Baptist Church. The Baptist congregation formed before 1880 and has used this building for ninety years. It is the only remaining building still in use associated with this particular congregation. The church is Greek Revival and has some interior alterations to make room for offices, restrooms, and a mechanical room, but the sanctuary is still intact. The only exterior alteration is that the steeple was destroyed in a fire in the 1930s and not replaced.[200] National Register, 1985.

Red Oak Presbyterian Church, Ripley, Brown County. Built ca. 1817, Red Oak Presbyterian Church was the spiritual core of a strongly antislavery community. Its pastor, the Rev. James Gilliland, was a conductor on the Underground Railroad. Rev. Gilliland served this congregation for 36 years, during the height of Underground Railroad activity in Ripley. Not only did he aid the runaways, but he also preached sermons and held rallies for the cause of the slave. Red Oak Church was also the site of the 1848 annual meeting of the Brown County Anti-Slavery Society. According to the Minutes of the Ripley Anti-Slavery Society, the members agreed, "Resolved that the Anti-Slavery cause is the cause of God and Righteousness, and requires the combined influence of all its friends, and that any division of feeling or action among the opposers of this fearful evil, political and moral, is of itself to be deplored."[201] National Register, 1982.

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[199] National Register Nomination, Putnam Historic District, August,1975.
[200] Ohio Historic Inventory Form, Second Baptist Church, June, 1984.
[201] National Register Nomination, Red Oak Presbyterian Church, 1982; Minutes, Ripley Anti-Slavery Society, vol. 444, Ohio Historical Society.

Friends Meeting House, Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County. Built in 1814, the Friends Meeting House was one of the most important structures in the largely Quaker community. Many of the Quakers who worshipped here were either antislavery advocates and/or involved in the Underground Railroad. The structure is now operated as an historic site by the Ohio Historical Society.[202] National Register, 1970.

Congregational Church of Christ, West Lorain and North Main Streets, Oberlin, Lorain County. Large brick Greek Revival style building built 1842-44. The church has strong historical associations with Oberlin College and the community. One incident documented in the nomination, cites that twenty-nine Oberlin citizens were arrested in 1859 for assisting the escape of a fugitive slave, including the superintendent of the Sunday School and the professor of Moral Philosophy. When the group were released, the welcoming home ceremonies were held in the church.[203] National Register, 1974.

Macedonia Church, Burlington-Macedonia Rd., north of U.S. Route 52, Burlington, Lawrence County. The only known extant antebellum African-American church in Ohio, the Macedonia Church was a refuge for freed slaves who came to this community. The original congregation organized in 1820 and in 1830 affiliated with the Providence Association of Churches, organized that year by local African-American religious leaders. The congregation built this structure in 1849; before that time, members worshipped in each others' homes. In that year, a group of thirty-two newly freed slaves arrived in Burlington and joined the congregation. Their former master supplied them with $10,000 to purchase homes outside of the slave South. The building has been altered, but much of the original interior decoration remains. In 1870, because of dampness on the original site, the congregation moved the building approximately 200 yards away.[204] National Register, 1978.

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[202] Blockson, *Hippocrene Guide*, 255-266.
[203] National Register Nomination, The Congregational Church of Christ, 1974.
[204] National Register Nomination, Macedonia Church, October, 1976.

B. Colleges

Western Reserve College, Hudson, Summit County. Established in 1826, Western Reserve College was the first college in northern Ohio and a center of antislavery activity. A diary entry from 1834 noted, "A runaway slave, his wife and child..." arrived at the campus. The students collected five dollars and sent the family on to Cleveland. The original buildings were inspired by the Yale campus, since Connecticut was home to the founders. One of the founders was the Rev. Dr. Giles Hooker Cowles, an alumni of Yale and pastor of the Congregational Church in Austinburg, Ohio. He was the patriarch of the Cowles family whose home was a station on the Underground Railroad. Owen Brown served as the college's treasurer and abolitionist Elizur Wright was a faculty member. The campus is now the home of the Western Reserve Academy, a private boarding and day school for elementary and high school students; the college itself moved to Cleveland and is currently Case-Western Reserve University.[205] National Register, 1975. (Western Reserve Academy)

Granville Academy, 105 W. Elm St.,Granville, Licking County. Built in 1833 by the Granville Congregational Church as a Female Academy and church meeting room, it was the site of abolitionist meetings in the 1830s as well as a dramatic trial involving a fugitive slave. In 1841, a fugitive slave named John was tried under Ohio's Black Laws, and was threatened with extradition back to slavery. Judge Bancroft ruled that Ohio's extradition law, which was one of the Black Laws, was unconstitutional.[206] Contributing building in Granville Historic District, National Register, 1980.

VI. Cemeteries

African-Jackson Cemetery. Springcreek Township, Miami County. This cemetery is the final resting place for the freed slaves of John Randolph, who resided in the village of Rossville. Due to difficulties in documenting the history and structural integrity of the buildings, most of which post-date 1865, the cemetery is one of the best extant properties in Rossville with ties to the antebellum slave community.[207] National Register, 1982.

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[205] http://www.geocties.com/kent-history/ugrrhudson.htm; DeBlasio, *"Her Own Society."*
[206] Draft, text for Ohio Historical Society marker for Granville Academy, 1999.
[207] National Register nomination, African Jackson Cemetery, May, 1982.

Burlington 37 Cemetery, Burlington, Lawrence County. Upon his death in 1848, Virginia slave owner James Twyman bequeathed freedom to his slaves. Thirty-seven of the newly freed slaves purchased land in southern Ohio. The only extant remnant of the community is the cemetery, where many of the freed slaves and their descendents are interred.[208] National Register, 2002.

Barnett Cemetery, Pebble Township, Pike County. The Barnett Cemetery was the final resting place for local African-Americans from 1849 until 1941. Several conductors on the Underground Railroad are buried here, including James Barnett, who died in 1865.[209]

Westwood Cemetery, 429 Morgan St., Oberlin, Lorain County. The Westwood Cemetery was established in 1864 and is the burial place for a number of notable Oberlinians connected to the Underground Railroad. Those interred here include Wilson Bruce Evans (see entry under "events"), former slaves, and abolitionists. There is a monument in the cemetery to Lee Howard Dobbins, a young fugitive slave, who died in Oberlin while enroute to Canada, in search of freedom. Also buried here is Lewis Clark, an African-American whom many believe was the inspiration for the character of George Harris in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[210]

Hope Cemetery, N. Lincoln Way, Salem, Columbiana County. One of the members of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Edward Coppock is buried in Hope Cemetery. Coppock was hanged for participating in the raid on December 16, 1859.

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[208] National Register nomination, Burlington 37 Cemetery by Marua Johnson, Marcelle Wilson and Donna DeBlasio, Aprol, 2001.
[209] http://www.angelfire.com/oh/chillicothe/ugrr.htm
[210] http://www.oberlin.edu/~EOG/Default.htm

VII. Communities

Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County. Founded in 1803, Mt. Pleasant was settled by Quakers from the South and soon became an early leader in the antislavery movement. By 1817, the town became a refuge for fugitive slaves. Several extant structures from the early nineteenth century relating to the community's commitment to assisting slaves still exist. There was also a sizable African-American population in the community, rising from 0.025% in 1820 to 14.8% by 1860. The local Quakers were willing to hire African-Americans and educated their children. They were also able to purchase property in the area. Given this quiet defiance of Ohio's Black Laws (which restricted African-Americans in nearly every phase of existence such as voting and even education), there is little doubt that at least a few citizens of this community were willing to help out runaway slaves. The significance of Mt. Pleasant not only in the Underground Railroad but in the history of African-Americans in Ohio is immeasurable. Most of Mount Pleasant is a National Register district and a National Historic Landmark nomination is pending.[211]

Benjamin Lundy House
The Free Labor Store
Friends Meeting House

[211] The authors would like to thank Jennie McCormick, author of the National Historic Landmark nomination for Mt. Pleasant, for her insights into the role of the Underground Railroad in that community. E-mail correspondence, Jennie McCormick to Donna DeBlasio, 13 July 2000.

Springboro, Warren County. Founded in 1815 by Jonathan Wright, Springboro became an important center of Underground Railroad activity. By 1850, Ohio had the third largest Quaker population in the nation, many of whom lived in Warren County. Springboro, like other nearby towns, was known as a safe haven for fugitive slaves because of the large Quaker presence. Several properties remain that have an association with the Underground Railroad or fugitive slaves. The best documented properties are listed here and described further under the appropriate property type.[212] Springboro Historic District, National Register, 1999.

Jonathan Wright Homestead
Dabney House
Josiah Thomas House
Potts-Mullin-Hormel Homestead
James Stanton House "Greenhill"
Mahlon T. and Hannah Janney House

Oberlin, Lorain County. Founded in 1833, Oberlin was a unique community in many ways. One of its most important and distinctive features was the presence of a large number of free Black residents. Although free Blacks had lived in Ohio since statehood in 1803, their numbers were relatively small. By 1860, they comprised only about two percent of the state's population. The majority lived in southern Ohio; Hamilton County had the largest percentage of free Blacks. Eastern Ohio, particularly in areas where there was a significant Quaker presence, also housed a sizable Black population. Despite the region's strong antislavery sentiment, large Black communities were uncommon in northern Ohio—Oberlin was the exception. According to the 1860 census, there were 549 Blacks living in Lorain County; 442 lived in Oberlin itself. The total population of the Village of Oberlin in 1860 was 2,114. Even hotbeds of abolition like Ashtabula County had far fewer Black inhabitants (25 African-Americans out of a total population of 34,035 in1860).[213] Thus, Oberlin stood out as a haven for free Blacks.
The antislavery sentiments of many Oberlin residents as well as the large free Black population were instrumental in the daring attempt to rescue a fugitive slave who had been recaptured by slave catchers. In 1858, there were three separate unsuccessful attempts to recapture alleged fugitive slaves. The community took great pride that it had never lost any of its Black citizens to

[212] National Register Nomination, Springboro Historic District, N.D.
[213] United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of 1860.*

slave catchers. The most well-known attempt to recapture a fugitive slave was aborted by the famous Oberlin-Wellington Rescue. In September,1858, a Kentucky slave catcher and several others captured an alleged fugitive slave name John Price. They brought Price to the nearby town of Wellington to await a southbound train. In the meanwhile, word of Price's capture spread to Oberlin and in short order a number of residents and students sped to Wellington to save Price. Among the rescuers were African-American brothers Henry and Wilson Bruce Evans. The rescuers freed Price and eventually saw him safely to Canada. A federal court then indicted thirty-seven persons for breaking the odious Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. After an eight month stay in a Cleveland prison, the jailed rescuers were freed. During their stay, many rallies and mass demonstrations on behalf of the rescuers, took place. The Oberlin-Wellington Rescue became a cause celebre for opponents of slavery and the rescuers were considered heroes in the fight against injustice. This event was important in adding fuel to the tinderbox of sectional animosity, placing the United States ever closer to civil war.[214]

The properties in Oberlin associated with the Underground Railroad are:

Wilson Bruce Evans House
Allencroft
Congregational Church of Christ

[214] National Register Nomination, Wilson Bruce Evans House, January, 1997.

Ripley, Brown County. Located along the Ohio River, the small town of Ripley was a haven for free Blacks in Ohio. The area boasted a large African-American community known as Poke Patch, where noted conductor and former slave, John P. Parker lived. In the early nineteenth century, Ripley was described as a "notorious abolitionist hole" because of the number of antislavery advocates. The activities of those involved in the Underground Railroad helped to inspire Harriet Beecher Stowe in her writing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[215] There are several extant properties with strong ties to the Underground Railroad; they are:

John P. Parker House
John Rankin House
Red Oak Presbyterian Church
Nathaniel Collins House
Ripley Historic District

Hudson, Summit County. Founded in 1803 by David Hudson and a number of settlers from Goshen, Connecticut, Hudson became a center of antislavery activity and a haven for fugitive slaves. For a time, Owen Brown, father of John Brown, and several of his children lived in Hudson. The founding of Western Reserve College in 1826 brought other antislavery advocates to the community such as Elizur Wright.[216] The following properties in Hudson included in this document are:

Elizur Wright House
Case-Barlow Farm
David Hudson House
Western Reserve College (Western Reserve Academy)
Whedon-Hinsdale House
Jeremiah Root Brown House
Free Congregational Church
Hudson Historic District

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[215] Bl;ockson, *Hippocrene Guide*, 255-266.
[216] http://www.geocities.com/kent-history/ugrrhudson.htm.

Salem, Columbiana County. Founded in 1806, Salem was home to a large Quaker population, which contributed to the antislavery sentiments of many residents. The town was known to be friendly to runaway slaves as well as a center of abolitionist activity. In the 1840s, abolitionists established the headquarters of the Garrisonian-affiliated Western Antislavery Society here. The WAS published its official organ, the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* out of Salem. The town was also home to the first women's rights convention in Ohio in 1850. Unfortunately, many of the important buildings connected with the Underground Railroad are no longer extant. Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the WAS exists but is much altered; the Salem Historical Society built a replica of the structure which they call Freedom Hall. The Hicksite Friends Meeting House, site of the 1850 Woman's Rights Convention, is also gone.[217] The best-documented Underground Railroad properties are:

Daniel Howell Hise House
Hope Cemetery

Alum Creek, Morrow County. Located in Morrow County, Alum Creek is an unincorporated hamlet that began as a Quaker settlement. Several county histories note the importance of this community in harboring and assisting fugitive slaves, due in large part the presence of the Quakers. The Benedict family in particular was noted for being particularly active in the Underground Railroad.[218] A property in this community noted here is:

Reuben Benedict House

Rossville, Springcreek Township, Miami County. This small village, located near the town of Piqua, was the home of small group of freed Blacks who were the former slaves of Virginian, John Randolph. Upon Randolph's death, these newly freed slaves moved to Ohio in 1846, based on the provisions of the late statesman's will. Land was purchased for them in southern Mercer County, but due to opposition from local Whites, the ex-slaves moved into the woods on the floodplain of the Great Miami River at a site known as Rossville. While not

[217] http://www.ci.salem.oh.us/; DeBlasio, *"Her Own Society."*
[218] National Register nomination, Reuben Benedict House, May, 1999.

directly connected to the Underground Railroad per se, this little settlement, with more historical and archeological investigation, may reveal considerable information about the lives of Ohio's antebellum African-American communities. Descendents of the Randolph slaves still live here. Research on early properties in Rossville is difficult because there is little in the official record about the properties. There was also a disastrous flood in 1913 that washed away many homes. Rossville was only one of many African-American rural settlements in antebellum Ohio, many of which disappeared for a number of reasons including White hostility and greater economic opportunities elsewhere. The most well preserved property with ties to the original slave settlement is:

African Jackson Cemetery

Longtown, Palestine (Greenville), Darke County. James Clemens, a freed slave from Virginia, was one of the founders of this mixed race community in about 1820. How Clemens arrived in Ohio is in some dispute (one source claims he had to leave Virginia or he would be re-enslaved; another states that his owner Adam Sellers, purchased land in Ohio and gave his slaves their freedom). The Clemens family had a great impact on this new community, founding the Longtown School, which became the Union Literary Institute, a boarding school for indigent youth, no matter their race. Other African-American families moved to the community, which was known as the Greenville Colored Settlement at one time. Several sources, including Wilbur Siebert as well as several local histories, indicated the importance of Longtown as an active Underground Railroad community. Only nine structures in the original Longtown settlement remain.[219]

James and Sophia Clemens Farmstead

Felicity, Clermont County. The village, originally known as Feestown, was founded in 1817 by William Fee, a member of the county's most prominent Underground Railroad family. The Bullskin Trace, (now S.R. 133), an early fugitive escape route, runs through Felicity. The Felicity Wesleyan Church, a Network to Freedom site, had a number of congregants who were active in

[219] National Register Nomination, James and Sophia Clemens Farmstead by Roane D. Smothers, September 2000.

the Underground Railroad. Oliver Fee, Democrat Party leader and merchant, was the leader of the Felicity Network. He publicly proclaimed pro slavery viewpoints and thereby gained the trust of slave hunters. When they came to help in capturing escaped slaves he directed them away from their hiding places. There was sizable black community in Felicity who actively assisted slaves to freedom. On one occasion in the fall of 1858, the black citizen vigilance committee deployed about the town when it was made known that a group of slave hunters was coming to Felicity. They confronted the hunters and told them to leave. When they refused the members of the committee threw rocks and bricks at the Kentuckians, driving them from the village.

G. Geographical Data

The historical and architectural resources of the Underground Railroad in Ohio covers the historical state boundaries of Ohio. Resources may be located anywhere within the geographic limits of the state. They can be found in any region, county, municipality or rural area of the state of Ohio.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The multiple property documentation of the historic and architectural resources of the Underground Railroad in Ohio is based upon a variety of research materials, ranging from archival to electronic. Completed National Historic Landmark and National Register Nominations for properties associated in some way with the Underground Railroad were the starting point. These were complimented by Ohio Historic Inventory forms for unlisted National Register eligible properties. The Friends of Freedom Society and its research arm, the Ohio Underground Railroad Association, are currently in the process of creating a data base of Underground Railroad sites and structures in the state. A number of the properties that have already been identified are included here. Many of these properties are posted on their web page, which was helpful in compiling this multiple property documentation. Primary sources used included abolitionist publications like the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, which was published in New Lisbon and Salem, Ohio and the Betsy Mix Cowles Papers at the Kent State University Archives. In selecting properties for inclusion in this documentation, the importance of oral history was also considered. Until the late twentieth century, oral history was often dismissed by scholars as being "unreliable" at the very least and "folklore" at the worst. Since the rise of the new social history in the 1960s and 1970s and the concurrent interest in tape recording oral recollections, oral history has come under serious re-examination as a significant and important primary source. Many of the properties in this documentation have a strong oral history tracing their connection to the Underground Railroad. No serious researcher should rely solely on oral history (or any other single piece of documentary evidence, for that matter). However, combining oral history with other sources such as Wilbur Siebert's massive Underground Railroad research, minutes of antislavery society meetings, fugitive slave memoirs, letters, journals, diaries and/or other written documents will help the researcher in combing through the myth and legend of the Underground Railroad. Although archeological sites are outside of the purview of this documentation, these can also add to our knowledge and consideration of Underground Railroad properties, especially in conjunction with the oral and written sources.

The historic context of the Underground Railroad is grounded in the standard secondary sources in the field, especially the important works of Lara Gara and John Hope Franklin. To put the Underground Railroad itself in context, an understanding of the development of the institution of slavery is a necessary starting point, from its beginnings in the seventeenth century through its final demise in 1865. The early opposition to slavery and its evolution into the abolitionist movement of the 1830s and beyond is also a key to understanding the Underground Railroad. The examination of the Underground Railroad itself begins with the earliest chronicled escapes in the 1780s and carries through to the outbreak of the Civil War. The historic context section begins on the broad, national level. It is then placed in the context of the history of the Underground Railroad and abolition in the state of Ohio, as this is the geographic limit of the study.

The Underground Railroad theme does not lend itself to classifying properties based on architectural style or property type. Rather, the properties were grouped based on the manner in which they are associated with the Underground Railroad. These classifications were determined using the National Park Service's *Underground Railroad Resources in the U.S. Theme Study*, with a few modifications (i.e. a general category for institutions which includes both churches and colleges; a category for cemeteries; and a category for communities in general). The other categories on which the property types were based are: (1) Stations on the Underground Railroad; (2) Properties associated with prominent persons; (3) Properties associated with documented slave escapes; and (4) Properties associated with legal challenges to slavery. Underground Railroad properties had to be built prior to 1865, the date of the passage of the thirteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution. There may be exceptions such as cemeteries, where persons connected to the Underground Railroad may have been interred or monuments erected after 1865.

In terms of the integrity of the associated properties, several factors helped determine inclusion in this document. Those properties that are National Historic Landmarks or listed on the National Register were automatically included, if they were extant. For those properties not already listed, but included here, several methods were used to determine their inclusion. In some cases, the properties were visited by one of the authors to assess the integrity, at least from the exterior. These properties included all of the buildings in Hudson and the Betsy Mix Cowles house in Austinburg. For the other unlisted properties, the authors relied on Ohio Historic Inventory forms as well as utilizing the knowledge of Ohio Historic Preservation Office staff familiar with the sites in question. No ruins or parts of buildings were included; only properties still standing were examined to establish a context for this multiple property documentation.

During preparation of this cover form, several Underground Railroad scholars and outside readers reviewed the manuscript. They include Cathy Nelson, State Coordinator, Ohio Underground Railroad Association; Carl Westmoreland, Historian, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center; Dr. Larry Gara, Professor of History Emeritus, Wilmington College; and Beverly Gray and James Caccamo, Ohio Underground Railroad Association.

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Parker, John P. House, by Judith Dulberger, 1996

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Rankin, John, House, (NHL) by Judith Dulberger, 1997.

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Springboro Historic District by Judith B. Williams, 1999.

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Mahlon T Janney and Hannah Janney House by Judy Williams, October, 1997.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ohio National Register Properties in the MPD and Their Criteria

Appendix 2: Where to go in Ohio for Underground Railroad Resources

Appendix 3: Maps of Ohio Underground Railroad Trails, Properties, and Communities

Appendix 1: Ohio National Register Properties in the MPD and Their Criteria

Property	Criteria
African-Jackson Cemetery	A, Consideration D
Benedict, Reuben House	A, B
Evans, Wilson Bruce	B (NHL, A, B)
Free Labor Store	A, C (Mt. Pleasant Historic District)
Lundy, Benjamin House	B (NHL)
Friends Meeting House	A, C
Allencroft	A, C
Giddings, Joshua Law Office	B (NHL)
Hanby, Benjamin House	B
Hise, Daniel Howell House	A, B
Hubbard, Col. William House	B
Hulbert, Halsey House	B, C
Kelton House	B, C (East Town Street Historic District)
Congregational Church of Christ	A,C, Consideration A
Brown, John, Farmhouse	B
Macedonia Church	A, C, Consideration A
Putnam Presbyterian Church	A, C (Putnam Historic District)
Naff Conrad House, "Loghurst"	A, C
Burlington 37 Cemetery	A, Consideration D
Paint Hill	B, C
Parker, John P, House	A, B (NHL)
Potts-Mullen-Hormell Homestead	A, C
Rankin, John House	B (NHL)
Red Oak Presbyterian Church	B, C, Consideration A
Wilson, Samuel and Sally House	A, C
Second Baptist Church	A, C, Consideration A

Sloane, Rush House	B, C
Smith, Samuel House and Tannery	B, C
Stanton, James House, Greenhill	B, C
Stowe, Harriet Beecher House	B
Tanglewood	C
Western Reserve College	A, C
Wright, Jonathan Homestead Dabney House Thomas, Josiah, House Janney, Mahlon T. and Hannah House	A, C (Springboro Historic District)
Clemens, James and Sophia House	A, C
Granville Academy	C (Granville Historic District)
Free Congregational Church	A, C (Hudson Historic District)
Wright, Elizur, Jr., House	
Collins, Thomas, House	A, C (Ripley Historic District)

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Appendix 2: Where to go in Ohio for Underground Railroad Resources

The Ohio Historical Society's Archives-Library holds a number of resources useful for the study of the Underground Railroad in the state. These include:

Manuscript Collections:

Wilber Siebert Collection
Daniel Howell Hise Diaries, 1849-1883
Ripley Anti-Slavery Society Minute Books, 1835-1843, 1848
John P. Parker Collection
Peyton Polly Collection
WPA ex-slave narratives

Newspapers:

The Ohio Historical Society has microfilm copies of most of Ohio's newspapers from the earliest publications through the present. This includes the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, which was first published in New Lisbon, Ohio and then in Salem.

Researchers might want to begin their work at the OHS web site, http://www.ohiohistory.org to learn about holdings that might be useful in studying the Underground Railroad. Besides using the searchable data base, researchers might also follow the link to the "African-American Experience in Ohio" from the OHS collections page.

Other Ohio archives also have materials that may assist researching the Underground Railroad. Four notable facilities are:

Kent State University Archives
Betsy Mix Cowles Papers
Cowles Family Papers

Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Cleveland
Minutes, Ashtabula County Female Anti-Slavery Society

Oberlin College Archives
The Rescuer
Local history files

Cincinnati Historical Society Library at Cincinnati Museum Center
Collections relating to the early history of Ohio and the Ohio River Valley

The Ohio Historic Preservation Office maintains records useful to the study of the Underground Railroad. These are:

National Register of Historic Places nominations
Ohio Historic Inventory forms
Ohio Archeological Inventory forms

The National Register listings are also available online through the Ohio Historical Society's web site.

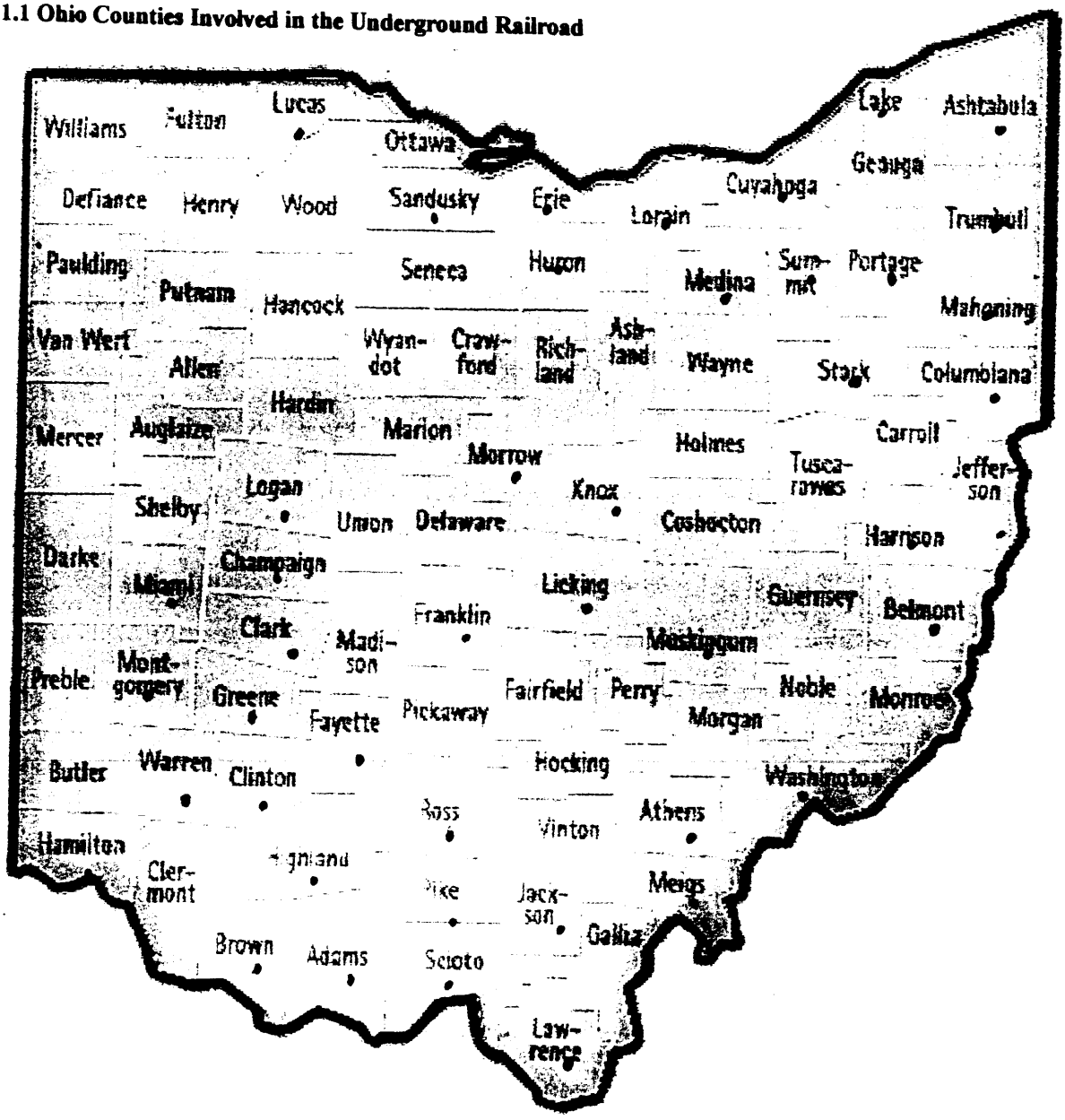
Researchers may also want to investigate sources closer to home such as their local historical society or public library. Some other records that may prove useful include United States Census records, newspapers, county maps and atlases and county histories.

The Underground Railroad in Ohio Project
Map Information with Overlays

Map 1.1 Ohio Counties involved with the Underground Railroad

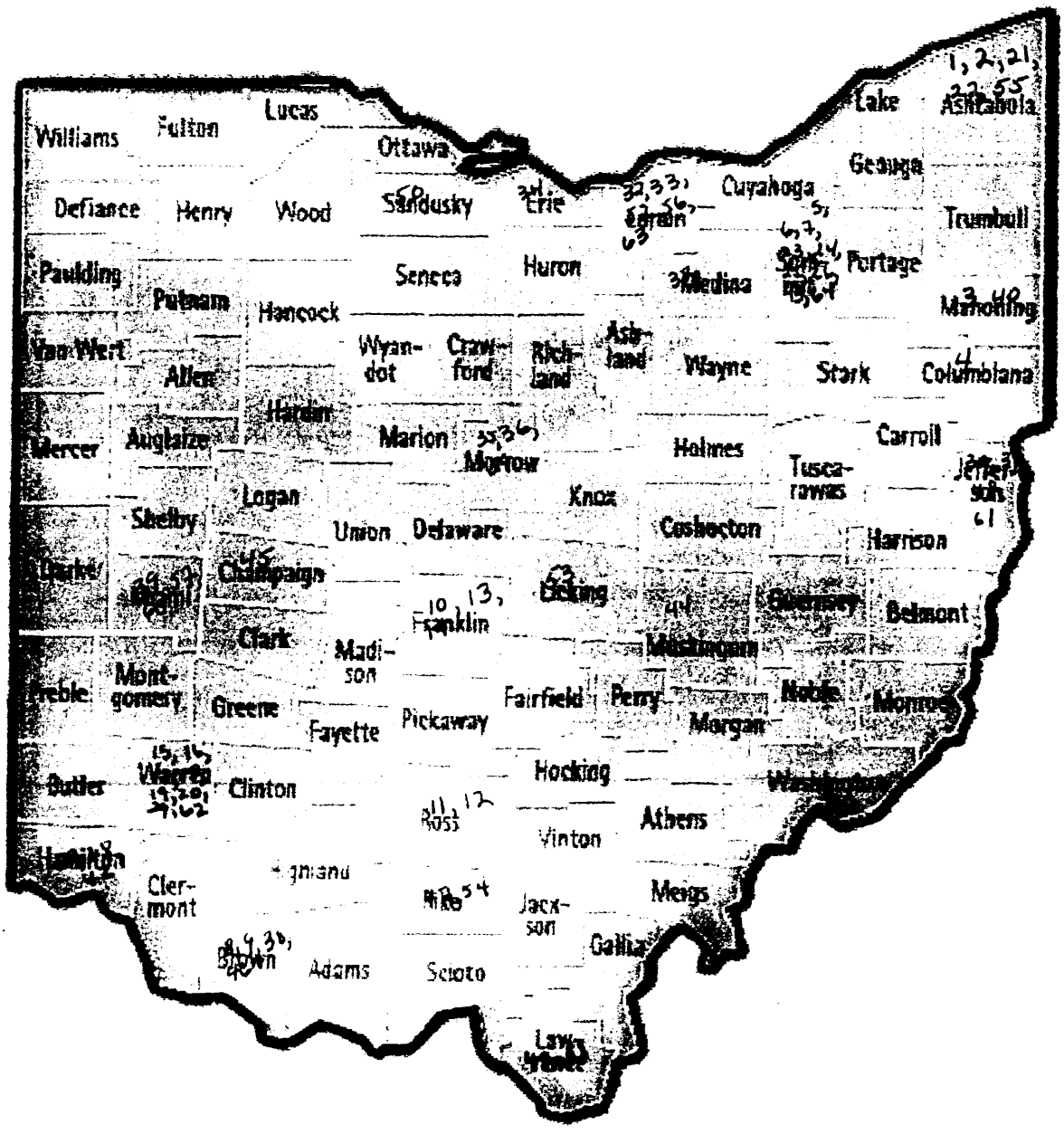
Hamilton County
Washington County
Stark County
Meigs County
Belmont County
Columbiana County
Lucas County
Mahoning County
Licking County
Muskingam County
Montgomery County
Lake County
Huron County
Summit County
Brown County
Franklin County
Jefferson County
Scioto County
Harrison County
Jackson County
Highland County
Sandusky County
Pike County
Athens County
Miami County
Clinton County
Champaign County
Tuscarawus County
Adams County
Warren County
Lorain County
Lawrence County
Clark County
Erie County
Cuyahoga County
Trumbull County
Ashtabula County
Greene County
Knox County
Ross County
Fayette County
Logan County
Portage County
Morrow County
Medina County

Map 1.1 Ohio Counties Involved in the Underground Railroad



Map 1.2 Properties Associated with the Underground Railroad

1. Betsy Mix Cowles House—St. Rte. 45, Austinburg, Ashtabula County, Ohio
2. The Hubbard House—NW Corner Lake Ave. and Walnut Blvd., Ashtabula County, Ohio
3. Dr. Jared Potter Kirkland House—44 Audubon Rd., Poland, Mahoning County, Ohio
4. Daniel Howell Hise House--1100 Franklin Ave., Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio
5. Case-Barlow Farm--1931 Barlow Rd., Hudson, Summit County, Ohio
6. David Hudson House--318 North Main St., Hudson, Summit County, Ohio
7. Jeremiah Root Brown House--204 Streetsboro St., Hudson, Summit County, Ohio
8. John P. Parker House--300 Front St., Ripley, Brown County, Ohio
9. John Rankin House--Liberty Hill, Ripley, Brown County, Ohio
10. Samuel Smith House and Tannery--103 Jefferson Street, Greenfield, Franklin County, Ohio
11. Paint Hill--17 Mead Dr., Chillicothe, Ross County, Ohio
12. Tanglewood--172 Bellview Ave., Chillicothe, Ross County, Ohio
13. Kelton House--586 E. Town St., Columbus, Franklin County, Ohio
14. Benjamin Hanby House--160 W. Main St., Westerville, Franklin County, Ohio
15. Jonathan Wright Homestead--80 W. State St., Springboro, Warren County, Ohio
16. Dabney House--115 S. Main St., Springboro, Warren County, Ohio
17. Josiah Thomas House--205 S. Main St., Springboro, Warren County, Ohio
18. Mahlon T. Janney House--Hannah Janney House, 115 E. Mill St., Springboro, Warren County, Ohio
19. James Stanton House--"Greenhill," 8894 Tanglewood Dr., Springboro, Warren County, Ohio
20. Foster-Butterworth Farm--9299 Butterworth Rd., Hamilton Township, Warren County, Ohio
21. Joshua R. Giddings Law Office--112 North Chestnut and Jefferson Sts., Jefferson, Ashtabula County, Ohio
22. John Brown, Jr.'s House--Dorset Rd., St. Rte. 307, Cherry Valley, Ashtabula County, Ohio
23. John Brown's House--514 Diagonal Rd., Akron, Summit County, Ohio
24. Whedon-Hinsdale House--2727 Hudson-Aurora Rd., Hudson, Summit County, Ohio
25. Spring Hill Farm--2827 Hudson-Aurora Rd., Hudson, Summit County, Ohio
26. Elizur Wright--Jr. House, 120 Hudson St., Hudson, Summit County, Ohio
27. Harriet Beecher Stowe House--2950 Gilbert Ave., Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio
28. Nicholas Longworth House--"Belmont," 316 Pike St., Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio



Map 1.2 Properties Associated With the Underground Railroad

29. Potts-Mullen-Hormell Homestead--1800 Lower Springboro Rd., Springboro, Warren County, Ohio
30. Benjamin Lundy House—Union St., Mt. Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio
31. The Free Labor Store--Union St., Mt. Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio
32. Wilson Bruce Evans House—Vine St., Oberlin, Lorain County, Ohio
33. Allencroft—134 S. Professor St., Oberlin, Lorain County, Ohio
34. Rush P. Sloane House—403 East Adams St., Sandusky, Erie County, Ohio
35. Aaron Benedict House—Marengo, Morrow County, Ohio
36. Reuben Benedict House, Marengo-- Morrow County, Ohio
37. Halsey Hulbert Homestead—5484 Seville Road, Seville, Medina County, Ohio
38. Nathaniel Collins House—200 Front Street, Ripley, Brown County, Ohio
39. York Rial House—McFarland Street at Miami Street, Piqua, Miami County, Ohio
40. Naff-Conrad House—"Loghurst," Mahoning County, Ohio
41. James and Sophia Clemens Farmstead—467 Stingley Rd., Palestine, Darke County, Ohio
42. Samuel and Sarah Wilson House—1502 Aster Place, Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio

Churches

43. Free Congregational Church—5 E. Streetsboro St., Hudson, Summit County, Ohio
44. Putnam Presbyterian Church—467 Woodlawn Ave., Zanesville, Muskingham County, Ohio
45. The Second Baptist Church—Sandusky St., east of Main, Mechanicsburg, Champaign County, Ohio
46. Red Oak Presbyterian Church—Ripley, Brown County, Ohio
47. Eden Baptist Church-- Pebble Township, Pike County, Ohio
48. Friends Meeting House—Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio
49. Macedonia Church—Burlington-Macedonia Road, north of U.S. Route 52, Burlington, Lawrence County, Ohio
50. Second Baptist Church—Sandusky County, Ohio

Colleges & Schools

51. Western Reserve College--Hudson, Summit County, Ohio

52. Oberlin College, Oberlin--Lorain County, Ohio
53. Granville Academy—Granville, Licking County, Ohio

Cemeteries

54. Barnett Cemetery--Pebble Township, Pike County, Ohio
55. Pioneer Cemetery--St. Rte. 45, Austinburg, Ashtabula County, Ohio
56. Westwood Cemetery—429 Morgan St., Oberlin, Lorain County, Ohio
57. African-Jackson Cemetery—Springcreek Township, Miami County, Ohio
58. Burlington 37 Cemetery—Lawrence County, Ohio

Communities

59. Alum Creek—Morrow County, Ohio
60. Rossville—Springcreek Township, Miami County, Ohio
61. Mount Pleasant—Jefferson County, Ohio
62. Springboro—Warren County, Ohio
63. Oberlin—Lorain County, Ohio
64. Hudson—Summit County, Ohio

Map 1.3 Other Underground Railroad and Abolitionist/Antislavery Involvement

Δ African-American Communities

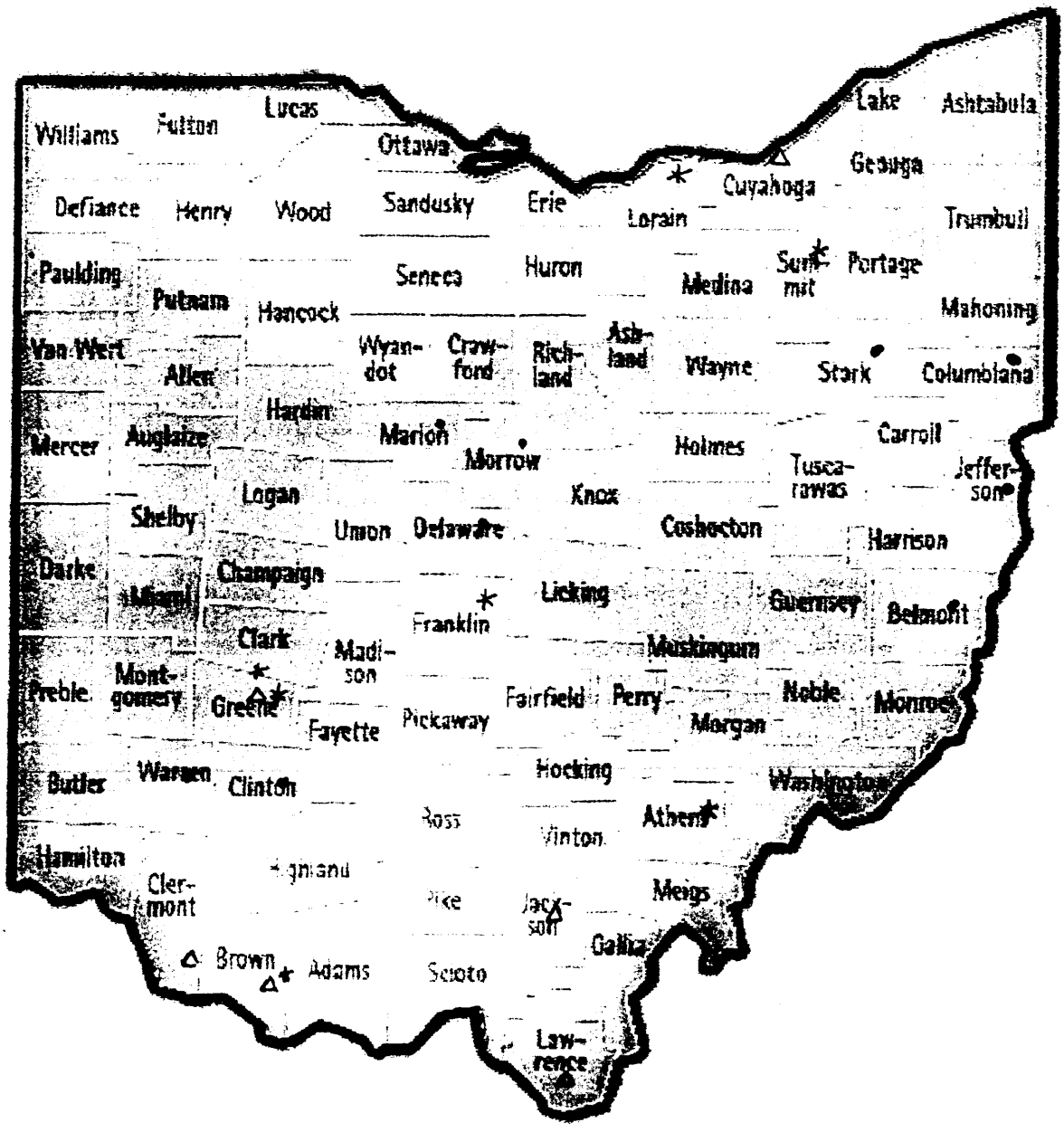
Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio
Cleveland, Cuyahoga County, Ohio
"Little Africa," "Africa Hill," Ripley, Brown County
"Little Africa," Delaware County
Pee Settlement, Pike County
Poke Patch, Lawrence County, Ohio
Xenia, Greene County, Ohio
Stewart Settlement, Jackson County, Ohio

*** Ohio Colleges which admitted African-Americans**

Ripley College	1829	Brown County	
Oberlin College	1833	Lorain County	admitted African-Americans after 1835
Wilberforce College	1856	Greene County	owned by AME Church in 1860s
Western Reserve	1826	Summit County	
Ohio University	1804	Athens County	admitted African-Americans in the 1820s
Otterbein	1847	Franklin County	
Antioch College	1852	Greene County	
Albany Manual Labor University			

• Quaker Communities and Churches

Belmont County	Stark County	Marion County
Clinton County	Warren County	
Columbiana County	Morrow County	
Jefferson County	Delaware County	



Map 1.3 Other Underground Railroad and Abolitionist/Antislavery Involvement

Map 1.4 Underground Railroad Routes Within Ohio

Route #1

This route was in the north eastern part of the state and ran through Medina (Medina County) to Berea and ended in Cleveland (Cuyahoga County)

Route #2

This route went from Norwalk (Huron County), through Wakeman (Huron County), to Oberlin (Lorain County), through Lakewood and Cleveland (Cuyahoga County)

Route #3

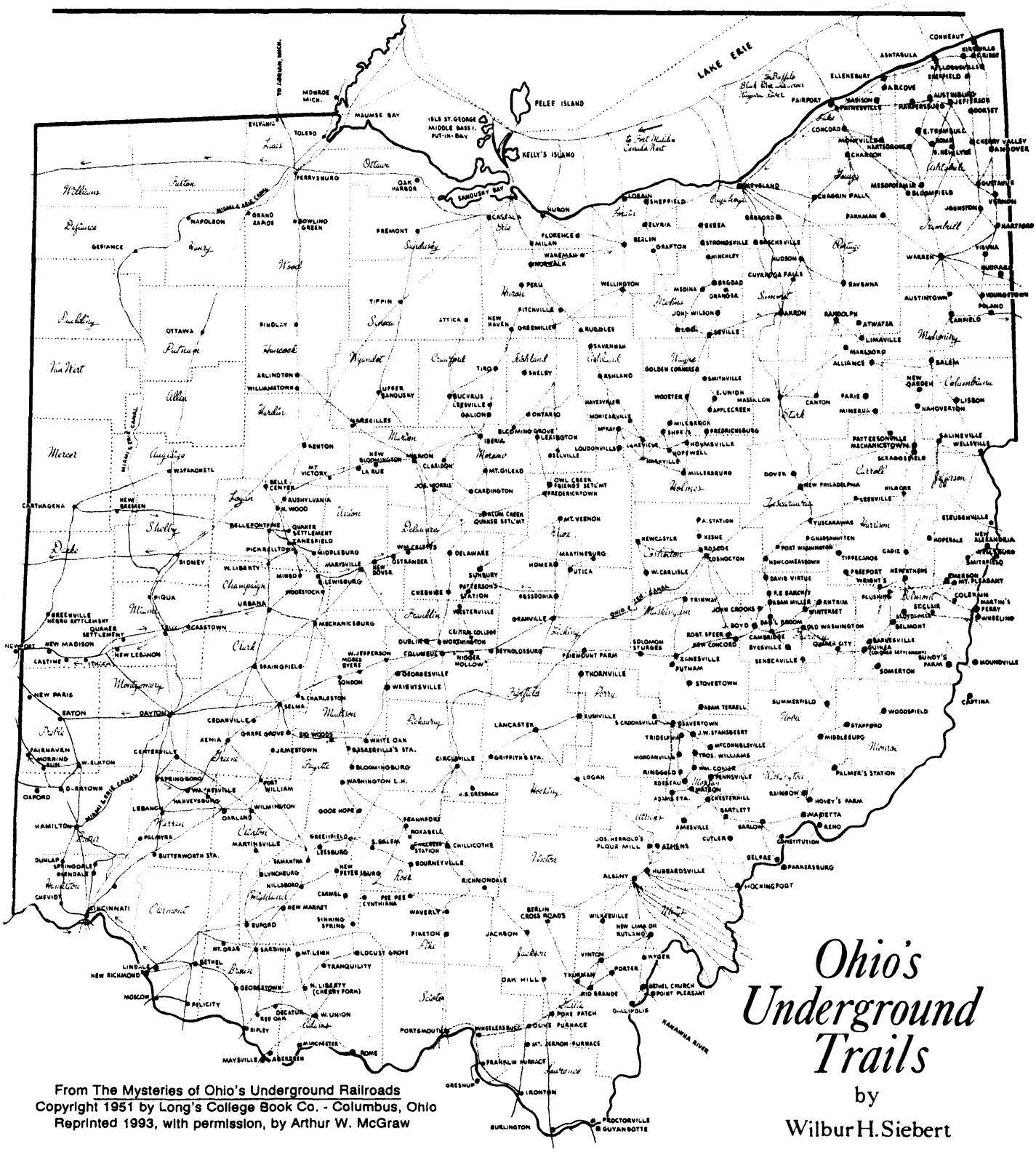
This route went from New Philadelphia (Tuscarawas County) into Massillon (Stark County) and Cuyahoga Falls (Summit County) ending in Brecksville (Cuyahoga County)

Route #4

This route ran from Portsmouth (Scioto County) into Warren County.

Other routes, which were used to aid escaped slaves to freedom, utilized the railroads, such as the Columbus and Cincinnati Railroads and the Cleveland and Western Railroads. Schooners were also used to transport runaway slaves by water.

Source: Charles L Blockson. ***Hippocrene Guide to the Underground Railroad.*** New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994.



Map 1.4 Underground Railroad Routes Within Ohio