

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

MT. PLEASANT HISTORIC DISTRICT

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Mt. Pleasant Historic District

Other Name/Site Number:

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Roughly bounded by Union Street alley on the north, Cemetery Street on the east, Union Street alley on the south, and Market Street on the west

Not for publication: Vicinity:

City/Town: Mt. Pleasant

State: Ohio County: Jefferson Code: 081 Zip Code: 43939

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property
Private: X
Public-Local: X
Public-State: X
Public-Federal: \_\_\_

Category of Property
Building(s):
District: X
Site:
Structure:
Object:

Number of Resources within Property
Contributing
41
2
43

Noncontributing
66 buildings
sites
1 structures
objects
67 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 77

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

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**4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this \_\_\_\_\_ nomination \_\_\_\_\_ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property \_\_\_\_\_ meets \_\_\_\_\_ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Certifying Official

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property \_\_\_\_\_ meets \_\_\_\_\_ does not meet the National Register criteria.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Commenting or Other Official

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

**5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION**

I hereby certify that this property is:

- \_\_\_\_ Entered in the National Register
- \_\_\_\_ Determined eligible for the National Register
- \_\_\_\_ Determined not eligible for the National Register
- \_\_\_\_ Removed from the National Register
- \_\_\_\_ Other (explain):

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Keeper

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Action

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**6. FUNCTION OR USE**

Historic:	Domestic Domestic Commerce/Trade Commerce/Trade Commerce/Trade Religion Government	Sub:	Single dwelling Hotel Financial Institution Specialty Store Department Store Religious Facility Post Office
Current:	Domestic Domestic Commerce/Trade Recreation and Culture Vacant/Not in Use	Sub:	Single Dwelling Hotel Specialty Store Museum

**7. DESCRIPTION**

Architectural Classification:      Early Republic: Federal  
    Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century: Greek Revival  
    Late Victorian: Italianate, Queen Anne

Materials:

Foundation: Brick, Stone  
 Walls: Wood (log), Stone (sandstone), brick, Metal (aluminum), Synthetics (vinyl)  
 Roof: Metal, Asphalt  
 Other: Metal

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**Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.**

The Mount Pleasant Historic District comprises the historic core of this small rural Ohio village (1990 population: 498). Mt. Pleasant is located in far-eastern Ohio, 20 miles southwest of Steubenville, Ohio, and six miles west of the Ohio River. Occupying a picturesque ridgetop above the Short Creek Valleys, Mt. Pleasant is surrounded by rolling farmland broken by wooded ravines and reclaimed strip mines.

The linear plan for Mt. Pleasant reflects the “main street model of settlement” described in “The Road as a Corridor for Ideas,” an article by the noted cultural geographer Hubert G. W. Wilhelm. The central feature of the early town plan is the location of a principal linear street and one or two parallel back streets. According to Wilhelm, main streets and back streets were interdependent, with Main Street serving as the primary commercial and residential artery and the back street used for heavier traffic. Since there was neither space nor compatible land use on the main street for public structures such as churches and schools, these typically were located along the back streets.<sup>1</sup>

Mt. Pleasant, along with Springboro in Warren County and Morristown in Belmont County, Ohio, are excellent examples of the “linear road town” model frequently platted along early nineteenth century turnpikes. Like Springboro, Ohio; Grantsville, Maryland; and Waterford, Virginia (NHL, 1970), most of Mt. Pleasant's physical development occurred prior to the Civil War, after which time the village was bypassed by the expanding railroad network. Fortuitously, at least from a historian's perspective, this twist of fate resulted in the survival of a significant concentration of pre-Civil War architecture in the historic district.

Mt. Pleasant, and Union Street in particular, present a streetscape of small town architecture with most of the buildings set close together on narrow lots, fronting directly on the sidewalk or at a shallow setback of only a few feet. One of the characteristic features of Mt. Pleasant is the noticeable lack of historic buildings facing the north-south streets and the “back” streets. Only along the edges of town are there visible clusters of historic properties, namely the Quaker Meetinghouse, public school, churches and cemeteries. The 168 lots that constitute the original plat and the Caruthers addition, have never been fully developed. The 1871 Atlas map of Mt. Pleasant indicates few of the lots facing North and South Streets had any improvements. The only major alteration to the historic street grid has been the grassing-over of West Street between Union and North Streets (Map #1).

**Original Mt. Pleasant plat, additions and boundaries**

County histories cite the founders of Mt. Pleasant as Robert Caruthers and Jesse Thomas, who filed a plat for the village September 27, 1803. Actually there were five original proprietors including Jesse's brother John Thomas, his brother-in-law Aaron Brown, and Enoch Harris, but the latter two simply held partial lots where the section line crossed the western row of town lots. The Thomas brothers had the lots west of Concord Street — Jesse those north of Union St. and John those to the south — Caruthers the lots east of Concord Street. John Thomas soon moved to Columbiana County and was forgotten by old timers who sometimes referred to the early village as “Jesse-Bob” town for Thomas and Caruthers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, “The Road as a Corridor for Ideas,” in *The National Road* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 260-261.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Caldwell, *History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio* (Wheeling: Historical Publishing Co., 1880), 530; Joseph B. Doyle, *20<sup>th</sup> Century History of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio* (Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Co., 1910), 485; William Henry Hunter, “The Pathfinders of Jefferson County, Ohio,” *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications* 6 (Columbus: Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society, 1898), 152; Jefferson County Deed Record A:352-53. The proprietors owned specific lots that they were free to sell individually rather than as tenants in common. Early records frequently spell the name Carithers or

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The plat was surveyed by Horton Howard, one of two Quakers from Carteret County, North Carolina, who in 1797 were delegated by their monthly meeting to investigate land prospects in the Northwest Territory. Their favorable report encouraged a group of these North Carolina Quakers to migrate north in 1800 — including Abigail Stanton, the widowed mother-in-law of Jesse Thomas and Aaron Brown and one of the motivating spirits behind the migration that created the town. Over half a century later one of her grandchildren — Edwin M. Stanton — would become President Lincoln’s Secretary of War. Abigail was a staunch anti-slavery advocate who purchased land in Jefferson County specifically to free the family’s Negro slaves. Her husband’s 1798 will stated “My desire is that all the poor black people that ever belonged to me be entirely free whenever the laws of the land will allow it,” and in naming his wife as executrix he entrusted her to “protect them and see that they be not deprived of their rights or anyway misused.”<sup>3</sup> These seem to have been the sentiments of the majority of North Carolinians who settled in what became Mt. Pleasant Township and platted the village. In Ohio, Abigail freed her husband’s slaves and allowed them to live on small parcels sufficient for homes, gardens, and a family cow or pig —ensuring a community that from the beginning had a population of free black as well as white citizens.<sup>4</sup> Her son-in-law, Jesse Thomas, was part of a larger North Carolina group that migrated north in the summer of 1802.<sup>5</sup>

The plan to establish a village originated among these migrating Quakers — many of whom had skills as craftsmen and merchants — but relations were cordial with the Associate-Reformed Presbyterians who were already on the site and from whom many purchased land. These Scots-Irish Presbyterians held strict ideals about individual liberty that were compatible with the anti-slavery sentiments of their Quaker neighbors. Robert Caruthers was part of this group of “Seceder” Presbyterians who migrated to the Northwest Territory from western Pennsylvania in the 1790s and filed warrants for the land in Range 3, Township 7 that included the parcels he later sold to the Thomas brothers.<sup>6</sup> On November 5, 1802, Caruthers contracted to sell 101 acres, much of which would be used for the village plat, but he did not receive his patent from the U.S. government until February 1804, and Jesse and John Thomas made their final payments to Caruthers and obtained their deeds on August 25, 1804, nearly a year after the village had been surveyed.<sup>7</sup>

The one hundred and thirty-two lots of the original Mt. Pleasant plat are aligned on an axis that follows a ridge bisecting the village east to west with Union Street and north to south by Concord Street — each eighty feet in

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Carothers, but in the spirit of consistency this document spells it Caruthers as preferred by local historians.

<sup>3</sup> Nathan M. Thomas, *An Account of His Life* (Cassopolis, MI: Stanton B. Thomas, 1925), 10-12 quotes his grandfather Benjamin Stanton’s will. Nathan Thomas was a son of Jessie and Avis Stanton Thomas, born Jan. 3, 1803 at Mt. Pleasant. His autobiography describing his boyhood in Mt. Pleasant and his years as a physician in Michigan, was written in the 1870s and later published by his grandson.

<sup>4</sup> Jefferson County Deed Records do not show land transfers by Abigail or her heirs to known blacks, and it is presumed that the North Carolina Quakers who founded Mt. Pleasant allowed their former slaves to live on parcels of their own land. The settlement of New Trenton (now Emerson) about one mile west of Mt. Pleasant evolved from a cluster of homes occupied by these free blacks and is today centered on an African-American Baptist Church that traces its origins to the mid-nineteenth century. A similar arrangement for the group of slaves manumitted in 1825 by Virginian Thomas Beaufort arranged for Quaker Benjamin Ladd to serve as their trustee holding a 200 acre tract a few miles north of Mt. Pleasant that was subdivided into parcels for about forty families. This “McIntire” or “Haiti” settlement is described in detail in an undated letter from Tuskegee professor C. A. Powell in the *Journal of Negro History* 1 (1916): 304-06.

<sup>5</sup> William Henry Stanton, *Our Ancestors the Stantons* (Philadelphia: 1922) outlines the families of the ten Stanton children who lived for varied lengths of time in the Mt. Pleasant area and includes illustrations of many Stanton family artifacts from the pioneer period in Jefferson County.

<sup>6</sup> This was part of the Original Seven Ranges established by the Continental Congress in 1785. See C. E. Sherman, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions* (Columbus: Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey, 1925), 38-39. Although Mt. Pleasant Township was in the third range west from the cardinal point at the Pennsylvania-Virginia state line, the curving southwest course of the Ohio River left only a half township between Mt. Pleasant Township’s eastern boundary and the river.

<sup>7</sup> Jefferson County Deed Records, A:427 & 435. Jesse Thomas purchased 71 ½ acres and John Thomas 29 ⅜ acres.

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width. No one recorded the intention of the founders, but it was apparently quite deliberate that the main street connected the lands of the Presbyterians on the east and the Quakers on the west, and that the primary intersection was named "Union" and "Concord" as befit the peaceable Quakers' relationship with their neighbors. Paralleling Union Street were North and South Streets, while East and West Streets — all sixty feet in width — flanked Concord Street. Parallel alleys between Union Street and North and South Streets provided access to the rear of each lot for stables and outbuildings. Perimeter streets on all four sides were thirty-five feet in width. There is an elegant simplicity to this rectangular grid design emphasized by the intersections of East, West and Concord Streets with Union Street where "there is taken from the front corner of each [lot] a square of twenty-five feet" to form three public squares to be "appropriated for the general benefit of the inhabitants and not become private property."<sup>8</sup> Each town lot had 65 feet of frontage and 166.2 feet front to rear except for the aforementioned corner lots on Union Street. It was an unusually sophisticated design for an Ohio town plat in 1803.

As evidenced by a circa 1810 map, sales of lots in the pioneer village were brisk, although most structures erected before the War of 1812 were of log construction, the first brick buildings being Jesse Thomas' brick home at the north end of West Street and a subscription school erected just west of the village in 1809.<sup>9</sup> Within a decade the first addition was platted by Robert Caruthers. This addition of thirty-six lots was recorded on May 13, 1812, extending Union, North and South Streets eastward, and intersecting each north and south with Uniting and High Streets, each forty-five feet in width. Lots were of the same size and configuration as the original plat but there was no provision for public squares, and it may have been at this point that this concept was abandoned.<sup>10</sup>

The war with England brought a booming economy and rapid growth as towns like Mt. Pleasant provided supplies for the troops on the northwestern frontier. The plat for an addition of sixteen lots on the western side of town was filed by Enoch Harris on October 7, 1814.<sup>11</sup> These were irregularly shaped lots, fronting an extension of Union Street that doglegged northwest along an early trail that followed the natural ridge toward the farms west of town and the Short Creek Friends Meeting.<sup>12</sup> This was soon followed by an addition of twenty-four lots on the northwest side platted by Israel French on June 27, 1815, and a fourteen-lot addition platted by Caleb Dilworth and Isaac Brown on August 30, 1815, which extended East Street to the south.<sup>13</sup> Although black residents were integrated throughout the village in rental properties and as servants in the homes of whites, most African-Americans who purchased property were located in the Harris or French additions, or in the small settlement of New Trenton [Emerson] platted by William and Joseph McCaughey January 17, 1816, about a mile west of the Short Creek Meeting house.<sup>14</sup> It was in this area that many of the free blacks who migrated from North Carolina with their former masters erected their first log homes.

The Mt. Pleasant village of Charles Osborn and Benjamin Lundy's days was described in Kilbourn's 1821 gazetteer as a thriving post town with 120 dwellings, a printing office, bank, several stores, a brick school and

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<sup>8</sup> Jefferson County Deed Record, A:252. These "squares" were abandoned in the nineteenth century but neither early records or photographs, reveal exactly when. Today those structures facing Union Street reveal no obvious setback.

<sup>9</sup> Neither of these buildings remains standing today.

<sup>10</sup> Jefferson County Deed Record, C:623.

<sup>11</sup> Jefferson County Deed Record, E:45.

<sup>12</sup> The meetinghouse erected in 1807 no longer stands, but the surrounding cemetery contains the graves of many of the Quaker pioneers and the early African-American residents of the Mt. Pleasant area. Because many of these are no longer legible and because of its distance from the village, this property is not included in the historic district.

<sup>13</sup> Jefferson County Deed Records, E:291-92, E:356.

<sup>14</sup> Jefferson County Deed Record, E:435-37.

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market house, and brick meeting houses for the Society of Friends, the Seceders, and the Methodists. Within a six-mile radius there were eleven flour mills, twelve sawmills, a paper mill, two common fulling mills and a woolen cloth factory.<sup>15</sup> When the western economy collapsed with the banking crisis of 1819, Mt. Pleasant's prosperity was dealt a severe blow. The configuration of the original plat together with the Caruthers, Harris, French and Dilworth/Brown additions, established a town of two hundred and twenty lots whose boundaries remained unchanged until after the Civil War.<sup>16</sup> The incorporation of the Mt. Pleasant and Martinsville [Martin's Ferry] Plank Road in 1851 resulted in some development just east of town at mid-century, but being bypassed by the National Road, canals, and railroads, allowed Mt. Pleasant to preserve a major portion of the early nineteenth-century village that played a significant role in Quaker and anti-slavery history both in Ohio and the nation.<sup>17</sup>

**Current Mt. Pleasant Historic District**

The eastern edge of Mt. Pleasant is reached from the south by State Route 647 and from the west by State Route 150 which brushes the northwest corner, but neither road bisects the historic district which follows Union Street from the Harris addition eastward across the original village plat and the Caruthers addition. The Mt. Pleasant Historic District was entered into the National Register in 1974, and the Ohio Historic Inventory of forty-four contributing properties was completed by the Ohio Historical Society in 1985. The Benjamin Lundy House and Free Labor Store has previously been designated a National Historic Landmark (1974).

The six blocks that once included a main street of intermingled commercial and residential properties are now almost exclusively residential with none of the gas stations and fast food restaurants typical of twentieth-century progress. In several instances, such as on Lots #37, #39, #143 and #145, the parcels have not been built on again, while a few parcels (#9, #15, and #135) appear to have never been developed. There is only a single intrusive element in the district, and that is a modern bank building at 298 Union Street, Lots #23, 25, and 27. Over the years fire and demolition have taken their toll. In 1985 the I.O.O.F. Union Hall (Lot #29), a three-story brick vernacular building erected in 1858, was demolished. More recently, fire has taken houses on Lots #143 and #145. The large tract immediately southwest of the Quaker Meetinghouse was the site of the Friends Mt. Pleasant Seminary Boarding School (1837-1875). The building was destroyed by fire in 1875 and never rebuilt.

The architecture of the Mt. Pleasant Historic District is primarily a vernacular interpretation. The earliest buildings reflect the Federal style — usually three or five-bay I House plans, often with L wings to the rear on the corner lots. Domestic and commercial buildings were interspersed throughout the village and several double houses survive with a common wall that initially separated residential from commercial space. Shortly after mid-century Italianate architecture became prevalent for the residences of the community's more prosperous citizens. Brick is the preferred building material although several frame, and at least one log structure, survive.

The **Society of Friends, Ohio Yearly Meeting House** now owned by the Ohio Historical Society is the most significant building in the village both architecturally and historically (Building #1; Lots # 79-87 odd; Photos #1-5).<sup>18</sup> It was erected at a cost of \$12, 345 during 1814-15 from locally fired brick. Jacob Ong (1760-1857), a

<sup>15</sup> John Kilbourn, *Ohio Gazetteer* (Columbus: P.H. Olmsted, 1821), 120.

<sup>16</sup> Mount Pleasant, *Atlas of Jefferson County, Ohio* (New York: F.W. Beers & Co., 1871), 35.

<sup>17</sup> "Incorporation of Mt. Pleasant & Martinsville Plank Road Company," *Laws of Ohio*, vols. 48-49, 340-42, Feb. 11, 1851. John Hogg was president and George Jenkins secretary of this ill-fated venture that went bankrupt by 1854.

<sup>18</sup> The following descriptions comprise the more pivotal contributing resources in the district. The historic name or address of the resources appears in boldface print. Address, Building Map #, historic lot numbers, and where available, photo numbers are

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Quaker minister and resident of nearby Smithfield, was the principal architect/builder. The 92 by 60 foot two-story building is typical of the plain meeting houses preferred by Quakers. Brick walls twenty-four inches thick are laid in Flemish bond on all four elevations, and twin entries for men and women grace both the four-bay gable (east) end and the six-bay south side. Windows have plain stone slip sills and lintels. The interior, designed to accommodate 2000 or more persons on stiff-backed benches, has a three-tier minister's gallery on the north side whose occupants faced the auditorium. On the south side and both ends, galleries above the main floor were designated in the original plans as "youth galleries." The auditorium's most distinguishing feature is a partition of poplar panels that could be lowered from the attic with a cogwheel and winch that required four men to operate it, completely dividing the men's side on the east from the women's side on the west. Town lots 79, 81, 83, 85, 87 and out lot 12, occupying approximately six acres were deeded to the original Yearly Meeting trustees Jonathan Taylor, Isaac Parker, James Kinsey, Rouse Taylor, and Horton Howard in 1817. After the schism in 1828, the Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers agreed to share this building, holding separate yearly meetings at different times, and after the Orthodox Quakers had the Wilbur/Gurney split, all three groups shared joint title and met separately. The Hicksite Quakers held the last yearly meeting in this building in 1918. Its significance is enhanced as the site of the second Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention in 1837.<sup>19</sup>

The oldest known surviving structure in Mt. Pleasant is the **Enoch Harris Store** (Building #7, 168 Market St., Lot #170, Photos 8-9) an 1804 log building rehabilitated in 1993 by the Mt. Pleasant Historical Society. This post and girt log building is probably typical of the construction of the earliest structures in this community. Harris — one of the early North Carolina anti-slavery migrants, who platted the subdivision mentioned above — apparently operated a commercial establishment in this key location at the western end of the village until 1844. The building was later covered with siding and operated as a general store for more than fifty years by Pickney Lewis Bone, well known locally for his service as a drummer boy during the Civil War.<sup>20</sup>

Across the street, 506 Union St. (Building #6, Lots #167, 168, & 169), is typical of the two story Federal, Flemish bond brick buildings erected as the village prospered and grew during the War of 1812. Referred to locally as the **Benjamin Lundy House-Free Labor Store**, (National Historic Landmark, 1974; photo #11, 12, Figure 4) it is more appropriately associated with Dr. Isaac Parker, who owned the property from 1815 until 1843. The three-bay structure on the East Side was built prior to 1815 by Enoch Harris and perhaps operated as a hotel/boarding house for visitors exploring prospects in the booming town. The two-bay addition on the west was apparently built shortly after Dr. Parker's purchase, perhaps to provide space for examining and treating patients. Parker was a leader of the Quaker community, serving as one of the five trustees of the Ohio Yearly Meeting from its founding in 1815 until its division in 1831. Charles Osborn's journal recorded staying with Parker when he visited the Mt. Pleasant Yearly Meeting in 1815 and Parker undoubtedly hosted many visiting Quaker leaders during this time period. Benjamin Lundy may have stayed here briefly after his marriage in 1815 or later when he participated in Ohio Yearly Meetings — but he was already establishing his saddle business in St. Clairsville, Ohio, and is known to have organized the Union Humane Society there that summer. Oral tradition and an historic photograph indicate that this was one of the three different sites occupied by the Free Labor Store at Mt. Pleasant from 1848 to 1857.<sup>21</sup> After the death of his wife, Dr. Parker married Quaker

given in parentheses.

<sup>19</sup> Ohio Historic Inventory JEF-632-15; "Quaker Meeting House," Ohio Historical Society; James L. Burke and Donald E. Bensch, "Mt. Pleasant and the Early Quakers of Ohio," *Ohio History* 83 (Autumn 1974): 234-36; Jefferson Co. Deed Records, G:11, N:165-67; *Ohio Yearly Meeting Report*, August 24, 1814, 23; "Ong Family History," Mt. Pleasant Historical Society. The Quaker Mtg. House was designated a State Memorial in 1950 when the Trustees of the Yearly Meeting transferred the building to the State of Ohio.

<sup>20</sup> OHI form, JEF 658-15; Mt. Pleasant Historical Society brochure.

<sup>21</sup> OHI form, JEF 657-15; Jefferson Co. Deed Records E:359-60; Free Labor Association minutes and street scene



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widow Hannah Hosier who sold her property on the north side of the street to the trustees of the African Methodist Episcopal Church for their first church building, a structure that no longer survives.<sup>22</sup>

The growth and prosperity that the War with England brought to Mt. Pleasant is exemplified in three elegant town houses erected about 1813 on the north side of Union St. between Concord and East Streets. The **Hogg Mansion** at 287 Union St. (Building # 38, Lot #30; photo #31; Figure 8) is the largest and grandest at three stories, with stone steps and iron railing following the slope of the street to its raised entrance. The doorway reflects Adamesque influences with its elliptical fanlight and Ionic columns on either side of the door accenting the sidelights. The fanlight is crowned with a stone hood accented by a fluted keystone and culminates in dripstones carved with a shell design. Windows are six-over-six with stone sills and lintels, and those above the entrance on the second and third floors have sidelights that echo the entry. On the left bay an arched passageway allowed wagons to drive through to the rear. The gable end features interior double chimneys and elliptical vent. A streetscape photograph taken ca. 1890 shows the west gable end of the Hogg Mansion (Figure 7). A large two story gallery and ell extend to the rear. The interior is highlighted by a three-story circular stairway.<sup>23</sup> In 1830 the value of Lot 30 and improvements was \$1,500, the second highest amount assessed a single lot in the village.

John Hogg was an English immigrant and this home reflects the style of a London town house. He prospered during the War of 1812 supplying saddles and harness for American troops, and operating a pork packing business with his partner and next-door neighbor Joseph Gill, who became president of the town's first bank when it was incorporated in 1816.<sup>24</sup> The **Amos Jones House** at 279 Union St. (Building #39, Lot #32, Photos 32-35) and the **Pettit-Starr House**, 269 Union St. (Building #41, Lot #34, Photo #36), built for merchant Merrick Starr are more modest two-story buildings, but feature identical Flemish bond construction and identical Adamesque entries and carved stone hoods. The Jones House bears an 1813 date inscribed in its stone keystone and it is probable that the others were built at the same time by the same craftsmen.<sup>25</sup> Although such designs were then available in Asher Benjamin's *American Builder's Companion*, this is unusually sophisticated carpentry and masonry for rural Ohio at this time. In 1838 the Starr House was owned by Robert Finley and the western half of lot 34 had "improvements" assessed at \$1,008.00.

The **Flanner House** at 284 Market St. (Building #2; Lots #86 & 88, Photo #6) is a modest 1831 frame one-and-a-half-story structure that reflects both the period following the economic depression of 1819 and Quaker simplicity. This two-room cottage with two entries and a single story addition to the rear was built for William and Peninah (Parker) Flanner, both recognized as Quaker "ministers" and delegates to the 1837 Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention at Mt. Pleasant. Their daughter Abigail lived here while teaching at the Mt. Pleasant Friends Seminary south of the nearby meeting house and their son Dr. William Flanner was a physician at Mt. Pleasant.<sup>26</sup> The printing shop of Elisha Bates — earlier owned by Charles Osborn — was across the street but no longer survives.

Built ca. 1835, the **John Gill House** (438 Union St., Building #18, Lots #13 & 15, Photo #17) is from the same time period but reflects the prosperity and optimism of businessman John Gill (1809-1873), who established a

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photographs, Mt. Pleasant Historical Society.

<sup>22</sup> Jefferson County Deed Record Y:215-16. This included 78 feet from the West Side of lot 176 and the East Side of lot 178 and included the school for Negro children that had probably been taught by her daughter Maria Hosier.

<sup>23</sup> OHI form, JEF 671-15.

<sup>24</sup> Doyle, *History of Steubenville and Jefferson County*, 485-90; "Hogg Family," Mt. Pleasant Historical Society.

<sup>25</sup> OHI forms, JEF 672-15, JEF 673-15; Jefferson Co. Deed Records, C:173, B:613.

<sup>26</sup> OHI form, JEF 631-15; J. P. Flanner, "A Brief Memoir of William Flanner of Stillwater Quarterly Meeting" (Mt. Pleasant: Enoch Harris, Printer, 1860).

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silk mill in 1839 on the rear of this lot. This large two-story U-shaped Greek Revival residence features a recessed entry porch supported by ca. 1910 period revival Doric and fluted Ionic columns in antis. Like most of the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century residences in the village, the brick is laid in Flemish bond and the six-over-six windows have stone sills and lintels. The seven bay front elevation actually consists of two buildings, both laid in Flemish bond. Decorative pinwheels carved into raised stone corner blocks decorate the window lintels. Below the cornice along the north gable and carved into raised stones are the inscriptions "J.W.G. 1835" [John W. Gill] and "19 J.W.S. 10." [J. W. Sands]. The recessed corner entrance and columns were added in 1910. This corner lot, like many in Mt. Pleasant, tended to garner the more substantial improvements. The **Benjamin Stanton House** (437 Union St., Building #15, Lot #14, Photo #18) is an asymmetrical, four bay brick I House. Built ca. 1830-1840, the house exhibits Flemish bond brickwork, 6 over 6 windows and stone lintels and sills. In 1838 Stanton's improvements were assessed at \$448.00. Immediately west of the Stanton House is **443 Union Street**, (Building #14, Photo #18) an early 19<sup>th</sup> century two story brick vernacular dwelling clad with aluminum siding. Although clad in modern material, the house retains its historic setback, massing, roof pitch, and wall fenestration.

Brick improvements, especially three and five bay buildings, distinguish several of the corner lots. The **William Reid House** (355 Union St., Building #25, Lot 2, Photo #25) is a five bay brick Federal I house with two story brick ell. The façade is laid in Flemish bond and the 6 over 6 window lights feature stone lintels. It was built ca. 1840 by William Reid, a Justice of the Peace and member of the Mt. Pleasant Board of Education for 43 years. Framing the northeast corner of Concord and Union Streets is **337 Union Street** (Building #32, Lot #24, Photos 25, 28). In 1838 Vincent Mitchell was assessed \$1,000 for "1 house" and 24' of the western portion of the lot. The building exhibits 3 bays along Union Street and 10 bays on Concord Street. For many years the building was a bank and post office (Figure 6).

An early vestige of Mt. Pleasant anchors the northwest corner of East and Union Street. The former **Bank of Mt. Pleasant** (265 Union St., Bldg. #42, Lot #34, Photo #36) is a symmetrical three bay, Federal style building laid in Flemish bond. The tax duplicate for 1838 assessed "1 banking house" at \$672 for a 30' portion of Lot 34.

Diagonally across the street is the **Dr. A. J. Alexander House** (246 Union Street, Bldg. 57, Lot 35, Slide #14). This side hallway dwelling (ca. 1849) is one of many buildings in Mt. Pleasant exhibiting a façade laid in Flemish bond.

Another pivotal three bay, side hallway house with Flemish bond masonry is the **Lemuel Jones House** (397 Union St., Building #20, Lot #10, Photos 23-24). Built flush to the sidewalk, this early (ca. 1840) house features 9 over 6 lights on the first floor, 6 over 6 lights on the second floor and jack arch lintels. The 3 bay wooden porch is late 19<sup>th</sup> century provenance. Research indicates Samuel Jones built the house for his son Lemuel. In 1838 Samuel Jones was assessed \$728 for "1 house" on Lot #10.

Small-scale storefronts are a distinguishing characteristic of several early Mt. Pleasant buildings. The **Bracken Store** (397 Union St., Building #21, Lot #10, Photo #24), built ca. 1830-1840 by Samuel Jones, exhibits an intact three-part wooden storefront. The storefront is actually part of another 2 bay, two-story building adjacent to the west.<sup>27</sup> The small brick vernacular building (**346 Union Street**, Building #31, Lot #1, Photo #22) was built ca. 1856 as a blacksmith shop and subsequently served as a shoe shop and bank. The Mt. Pleasant

<sup>27</sup>Although non-contributing, among the village's most intact stores is the Burriss Store (311 Union St., Building #36, Lot #26, Photo #30), a frame vernacular building built ca. 1895.

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Historical Society acquired the property in 1960 and today it serves as their museum.

As was customary, several existing houses were subsequently incorporated into larger, more fashionable homes. The **J. M. Mercer House** (391 Union St., Building #22, Lot #8, Photo #24) appears to be a ca. 1850 five-bay brick I House that was enlarged and “modernized” in 1884. Although a newer portico has been added to the façade, the house contributes to the significance of the district.

Brick row houses, a now rare but historically characteristic feature of Ohio “pike towns,” contribute to the physical setting of Mt. Pleasant. The **Kirk-Dilworth Row** (191-199 Union St., Buildings #54-56, Lot, #44; photo #39; Figure 9) consists of three, two story Federal vernacular houses. Built ca. 1815, all three houses are laid in Flemish bond (facades). The **Kirk House** (205 Union St., Building #53, Lot #42, Photo #39) was built by Eli Kirk, one of Mt. Pleasant’s earliest landowners and a Quaker abolitionist. In 1830 Kirk’s lot and improvements were assessed at \$880.00. The **Abe Dilworth House** is a six bay brick building that originally was a three bay house with three bay addition. In 1830 Abe Dilworth (\$570) and Greenberry Plummer (\$505) jointly owned Lot #44 and improvements. Both were among the first property owners in Mt. Pleasant.

Two row buildings at **171 Union Street** (Buildings #62-63, Lots #134 and #136, Photo #41) exhibit Federal vernacular design elements. The four bay, two story I House plans remain intact. In 1838 Robert Patterson was assessed for \$560.00 of improvements on the western half of Lot #134, and Adam Dunlap \$448 for all of Lot #136. Deed research suggests the house at 171 Union Street may have been built for Samuel Israel ca. 1814-1816.

Although Federal vernacular style “I” houses continued to be built in Mt. Pleasant into the middle of the century — frequently with Greek Revival elements such as gable ends with cornice returns and entries crowned by triangular pediments — later brick examples are usually laid in common bond and frame structures reflect more vernacular craftsmanship than the prosperous homes erected during the War of 1812 and the economic boom that followed it.

The **Samuel Gill House** (486 Union St., Building #16, Lot #21, Photos #11 and 13) is a five bay, center hall I House faced in stretcher bond brick. Built ca. 1846, the house features bold returns, garret windows and a trabeated entrance. Gill was a banker by trade and built this house in 1846 after razing the older home built in 1816. This is believed to be the site of the Union Humane Society.

A three bay side hallway plan, the **Dr. J. T. Updegraff House** (400 Union St., Building #26, Lots #9 & 11, Photo #19) was built ca. 1846 in the Greek Revival vernacular style. The house has Flemish bond brickwork and six over six windows on the second floor. Dr. Updegraff (1822-1882), a Quaker abolitionist, was a field surgeon during the Civil War and later served in the United States Congress and Ohio Senate.

The frame residence now known as “**Sunnyside**” (24 Union St., Building #86, Lot #32A, Photos 54-56), built ca. 1859, has received several additions including a large semi-circular Queen Anne porch in the latter part of the nineteenth century, but the original five-bay I house may have been erected by David Milner on the three acre parcel he owned at the eastern end of Union Street. Milner granted a right-of-way to the Mt. Pleasant and Martinsville [Martin’s Ferry] Plank Road Company that was chartered in 1851, and he briefly operated a temperance hotel although it is not known whether the site was here or in town. Although this was an ideal stopping point for coaches approaching from the east, both the plank road and the temperance hotel were unsuccessful. Mt. Pleasant was doing too little too late to create a position for itself on Ohio’s transportation

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network<sup>28</sup>. Based on the fact that the original pre-1860 I House with interior gable end chimneys is visually intact, and the rear ell exhibits historic six-over-six lights, this resource contributes to the district.

East of the Milner House is the **Binns House**, (20 Union St., Building #87, Lot #34, Photo #57) a brick house with Greek Revival and Italianate elements, erected shortly after 1856 for Mt. Pleasant banker Jonathan Binns. It is a three bay block with a recessed single bay on the west side, a central entry with simple transom and sidelights, a square columned portico and classical cornice. Its most distinguishing feature is its rooftop lantern with square lights and balustrade. Binns was an English immigrant and Quaker leader who served as clerk of the Ohio Yearly Meeting and treasurer of the Free Labor Association.<sup>29</sup>

By the late 1850s the Italianate style was becoming more popular and several Mt. Pleasant residences reflect this choice by prosperous families building houses during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. This is illustrated in the 1858 **Updegraff House** (388 Union St., Building #27, Lots#7 & 9, Photo #20-#21). This five-bay brick building has a central entry with transom and sidelights, a bracketed cornice, and hipped roof accented by a bracketed lantern with three pointed arched windows. David Updegraff (1830-1894) was the third generation of this prominent Quaker family, his grandfather served as a delegate to the 1802 Ohio Constitutional Convention voting to enfranchise Negro males, and his parents, David and Rebecca Updegraff, served as delegates to the 1837 Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention at Mt. Pleasant and actively assisting fugitive slaves. David was a farmer and stock breeder who offered horses to the Union army although as a pacifist Quaker he refused to bear arms.<sup>30</sup>

Although the Ohio Yearly Meeting House is the only early nineteenth-century public building to survive in Mt. Pleasant, cemeteries mark the locations of the three earliest churches. The largest is the Quaker Cemetery about a half-mile west of town (outside the district boundaries) that was adjacent to the Short Creek Meeting House (demolished). Many of the graves of pioneer Quakers and African Americans buried here are no longer marked with tombstones. The oldest cemetery within the Mt. Pleasant Historic District is the **Seceder Cemetery** (Site #85, Photos 48-51) that adjoined an 1810 church building just southeast of the Caruthers Addition. Robert and Mary Caruthers are among the original pioneers buried here, in a family plot surrounded by an ornamental iron fence. A number of the ornate sandstone tombstones here are the workmanship of S. J. Miller, a local mason of the 1830s (Photos #52-53)<sup>31</sup>. Miller's house at **218 Union Street**, (Building #58, Lot #39, Photo #37) (1837) is a three bay, side hallway house faced with tooled sandstone blocks, presumably cut by Miller. The **Methodist Cemetery** located on Lots #22 and 25, (Site #75, photos #44-45), dates to 1815 and contains the burials of several early Mt. Pleasant residents, including John Hogg.<sup>32</sup>

Rehabilitation efforts have come slowly to Mt. Pleasant. Heritage tourism has only recently been actively promoted, and economic growth has largely bypassed rural Jefferson County. Still, several properties such as the Burriss Store and the Tin Shop, have been rehabilitated. Two properties, the Enoch Harris Store and Gill

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<sup>28</sup> OHI form, JEF 635-15; Jefferson Co. Deed Records, Z:406, C2:461-2. It is possible that the original portion of this residence was built shortly after 1850 by Matthew Terrell, brother-in-law of Jonathan Binns, whose homes shared a large spring on this property according to Jefferson Co. Deed Records, B2-263-64.

<sup>29</sup> OHI form, JEF 636-15; Jonathan Binns file, Mt. Pleasant Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup> OHI form, JEF 653-15.

<sup>31</sup> Esther Weygandt Powell, *Tombstone Inscriptions and Family Records of Jefferson County, Ohio* (Akron: privately printed, 1968); S. J. Miller file, Mt. Pleasant Historical Society.

<sup>32</sup> Although non-contributing to the district because of its construction date, the Mt. Pleasant United Methodist Church anchors the northeast edge of the district (228 High St., Bldg. 74, Lot #154). Built ca. 1868, the church exhibits late design influences of the Greek Revival style.

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House were awarded Certified Local Government (CLG) subgrants in 1997 and 1999 for structural repairs and rehabilitation.

**PROPERTY LIST**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Contrib./Non-Contrib.</u>
1. Ohio Yearly Meeting House	1814	298 Market Street	Contributing
2. Flanner House	1831	284 Market Street	Contributing
2a. Garage		284 Market (rear)	Non-Contributing
3. Residential	1875	277 Market	Non-Contributing
4. Residential		Market	Non-Contributing
4a. Outbuilding		Market (rear)	Non-Contributing
5. Residential		Market	Non-Contributing
6. Benjamin Lundy House/Free Labor Store	1813	506 Union Street	Contributing
7. Enoch Harris Store	1804	168 Market Street	Contributing
8. G. W. Smith House	1856	489 Union Street	Contributing
9. Ad Humphreville House	1848	479 Union Street	Contributing
10. Residential	c.1840	475 Union Street	Contributing
11. B. Bone House	1885	Union Street	Non-Contributing
12. Residential	1886	455 Union Street	Non-Contributing
13. Pinkney Lewis House	1840	453 Union Street	Contributing
14. Jane Lewis House	1840	443 Union Street	Contributing
15. Benjamin Stanton House	1840	437 Union Street	Contributing
15a. Garage		437 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
16. Samuel Gill House	1846	486 Union Street	Contributing
16a. Outbuilding	c. 1850	486 Union (rear)	Contributing
17. Friend's Church	1886	478 Union Street	Non-Contributing
18. John Gill House	1835	438 Union Street	Contributing
19. Commercial		421 Union Street	Non-Contributing
20. & 21. Samuel Jones Row House/Bracken Store	1830-40	397 Union Street	Contributing
22. J. M. Mercer House	c.1850, 1884	391 Union Street	Contributing
23. J. H. Gill House	1871	379 Union Street	Non-Contributing
23a. Garage		379 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
24. Maxwell House	1870	365 Union Street	Non-Contributing
25. William Reid House	1840	355 Union Street	Contributing
25a. Garage		355 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
26. Dr. J. T. Updegraff House	1846	400 Union Street	Contributing
27. David Updegraff House	1858	388 Union Street	Contributing
27a. Garage		388 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
28. Dr. Ernest Finley House	1889	376 Union Street	Non-Contributing
28a. Garage		376 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
29. Dutton House	1871	356 Union Street	Non-Contributing
30. A. H. Hope House	1856	350 Union Street	Contributing
31. Historical Center	1856	346 Union Street	Contributing
31a. Garage		346 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
32. Former Peoples National Bank	1850	337 Union Street	Contributing

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32a. Garage		337 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
33. Mitchell House	1870	333 Union Street	Non-Contributing
34. & 35. Skeel's Drug Store (Lone Tree Restaurant)	c. 1850	327 Union Street	Contributing
34a. Garage		327 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
36. Burriss Store	1895	311 Union Street	Non-Contributing
37. Burriss/R. W. Chambers House	1874	303 Union Street	Non-Contributing
37a. Garage		303 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
38. Hogg Mansion	c.1813	287 Union Street	Contributing
38a. Garage		287 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
39. Amos Jones House	1813	279 Union Street	Contributing
40. Residential		Union Street	Non-Contributing
40a. Garage		Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
41. Pettit-Starr House	1814-20	269 Union Street	Contributing
42. Former 1 <sup>st</sup> National Bank	1816	265 Union Street	Contributing
42a. Garage		265 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
43. Gazebo	1999	Union & Concord Street	Non-Contributing
44. Commercial		298 Union Street	Non-Contributing
45. Residential		146 Concord	Non-Contributing
46. Woodsmansee House	1819	288 Union Street	Contributing
46a. Garage		288 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
47. Tin Shop	1840	276 Union Street	Contributing
48. Former Free Labor Store (new building)	1900	270 Union Street	Non-Contributing
49. Post Office	1964	243 Union Street	Non-Contributing
50. McMasters House	1871	235 Union Street	Non-Contributing
50a. Garage		235 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
51. Merrick Starr House	1871	223 Union Street	Non-Contributing
51a. Garage		223 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
52. Sidebottom House	1871	211 Union Street	Non-Contributing
53. Eli Kirk House	1815	205 Union Street	Contributing
54, 55, & 56. Kirk/Dilworth Row Houses	1815	191 & 199 Union	Contributing
55a. Garage		191 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
57. Doctor A. J. Alexander House	1849	246 Union Street	Contributing
58. S. J. Miller House	1837	218 Union Street	Contributing
58a. Outbuilding		218 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
59. G. Brown House	1871	208 Union Street	Non-Contributing
60. D. Milner Harness Shop	1850-60	198 Union Street	Contributing
61. Sarah Hope House	c.1850, 1884	177 Union Street	Non-Contributing
62.& 63. Samuel Israel/Alexander/Mitchell House	1814-1816	171 Union Street	Contributing
64. S. King House	1875	157 Union Street	Non-Contributing
64a. Garage		157 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
65. A. E. Withrow House	1850-70	151 Union Street	Contributing
65a. Garage		151 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
66. Presbyterian Church	1937	123 Union Street	Non-Contributing
67. A. G. Kinsey House	1904	172 Union Street	Non-Contributing
69. G. Kinsey House	1866	154 Union Street	Non-Contributing
69a. Trailer		154 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing

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70. Enoch House	1856	146 Union Street	Contributing
71. Carothers House	1850	134 Union Street	Contributing
72. Thomas Smith House	1889	136 Union Street	Non-Contributing
73. T. Evans House	1908	138 Union Street	Non-Contributing
74. Methodist Church	1868, 1906	228 High Street	Non-Contributing
75. Methodist Church Cemetery	1815	High Street	Contributing
76. Lindsey House	1871	Union Street	Non-Contributing
77. M. Alexander House	1893	81 Union Street	Non-Contributing
78. Ethel Bean House	ca. 1875	71 Union Street	Non-Contributing
79. W. Wilson House	1856	65 Union Street	Contributing
80. Trailer Rear of Lot		88 Union Street	Non-Contributing
81. Residential	1918-30	84 Union Street	Non-Contributing
81a. Garage		84 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
82. E. Rice House	1869	78 Union Street	Non-Contributing
82a. Garage		78 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
83. Dilworth House	1924	66 Union Street	Non-Contributing
84. Residential	1975	48 Union Street	Non-Contributing
85. Seceeder Cemetery	c.1810-1830	Cemetery Road	Contributing
86. Terrell House (Sunnyside)	1859	24 Union Street	Contributing
86a. Shed		24 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
87. Jonathan Binns House	1856	20 Union Street	Contributing
87a. Outbuilding	c. 1860	20 Union (rear)	Contributing
87b. Garage		20 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing
87c. Outbuilding		20 Union (rear)	Non-Contributing





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**State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.**

The Mount Pleasant Historic District, Mt. Pleasant, Ohio is nationally significant for its early and active association with the anti-slavery and abolitionist movements. Founded by Quakers fleeing the slave laws of North Carolina, this village erected the building now owned by the Ohio Historical Society which served the Friends Ohio Yearly Meeting during the period of significance. This building hosted the second convention of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society in 1837. After transportation networks bypassed Mt. Pleasant and the Friends Seminary burned in 1875, the community lost its statewide leadership role for the Quaker community. The period of significance ends with the end of the Civil War in 1865. With the end of slavery, the Underground Railroad and abolitionist efforts were no longer a viable force.

The district is nationally significant for its collective support of such anti-slavery activities as the Underground Railroad, free schools for Negroes and Mulattos, and the Free Produce Movement. The village's strategic location less than twenty miles across the Ohio River from the Wheeling slave market and a population at mid-century that included twelve percent free African-Americans dispersed among white anti-slavery activists, made virtually the entire community a safe haven for fugitive slaves.<sup>33</sup>

The district is also nationally significant for its association with early abolitionists Charles Osborn and Benjamin Lundy. Itinerant Quaker minister Charles Osborn moved his family from Tennessee to Mt. Pleasant in 1816, and began publication of the *Philanthropist* here on August 29, 1817.<sup>34</sup> Benjamin Lundy wrote a number of articles for the *Philanthropist* before moving to Mt. Pleasant early in 1821 after Osborn had sold the newspaper and moved to Indiana. Here Lundy published the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* from July 1821 until February 1822 before moving it to Tennessee and then to Baltimore, Maryland. He traveled extensively on behalf of the abolitionist cause and in 1829 attracted William Lloyd Garrison as his publishing partner.<sup>35</sup>

The Mt. Pleasant Free Produce Company was organized in 1848, operated a store in Mt. Pleasant until 1857, and through the Ohio Yearly Meeting published a series of tracts on abstaining from the use of products created by slave labor.<sup>36</sup>

**ANTI-SLAVERY**

Conflicting sentiments regarding the institution of slavery had become widespread by the time the American colonies gained their independence from England in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was the defining issue of the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century in America, the precipitating cause of the Civil War that nearly destroyed the national union, and the social institution that created injustices for African Americans that American society is still attempting to correct. The legal compromises that were made on this issue in establishing the United States bore directly upon Ohio's role as a free state and its position in the anti-slavery movement.

The Ordinance of 1787 which opened the territory northwest of the Ohio River for settlement decreed that

<sup>33</sup> Joseph B. Doyle, *20<sup>th</sup> Century of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio* (Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Co., 1910), 485-90; U.S. Population Census, Jefferson County, Ohio, Mt. Pleasant Township, 1850.

<sup>34</sup> Ruth Anna Ketring, "Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement" (master's thesis, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1937), 11-22, 34-40.

<sup>35</sup> *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* 1, Nos. 1-8.

<sup>36</sup> Ruth Ketring Nueremberger, *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest Against Slavery* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942), 121.

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“There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory” or the states created from it, but went on to proclaim “That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service.”<sup>37</sup>

This prohibition against slavery and involuntary servitude was specifically re-stated in the state’s constitution when Ohio entered the union in 1803. But the rights of slave owners to reclaim fugitives who had fled to free territory were reinforced by the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 which allowed slave owners to make an oral claim of ownership before a magistrate and gave the accused no right to an attorney or a jury trial.<sup>38</sup> This was reinforced by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, legislation designed to reassure southerners of federal authority, but a law that abolitionists saw as challenging the people of the United States to pledge themselves to uphold a system which they abhorred.<sup>39</sup> This act endangered all blacks in the north — free or fugitive — because they had no right to testify against a white person’s claim that they were a fugitive.

As the first state to be established from the Northwest Territory, Ohio was in a unique position to attract migrants from southern states who desired to free their slaves, but could not legally do so in the south. Nearly four hundred miles of border on which the Ohio River provided the only barrier between Ohio’s free soil and the slave-holding states of Virginia (now West Virginia) and Kentucky, created an extraordinary geographic situation for attracting fugitive slaves on their way north to freedom. Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, a community barely ten miles west of that river border, was settled by a significant number of Quakers, many of them southerners who owned but wished to free their slaves. They developed a town that provided both leadership and widespread support for various activities of the local, state, and national anti-slavery movement. Mt. Pleasant had a free black population and an active Quaker fellowship, who together shared a widespread sense of injustice regarding slavery — the elements Peter Ripley describes as essential for creating a few singular communities in which anti-slavery activity became their defining characteristic.<sup>40</sup> Mt. Pleasant can justly claim its rank with Oberlin as Ohio communities that were nationally recognized for their anti-slavery commitments. In comparison to Oberlin, Mt. Pleasant has very high integrity and maintains its setting, feel and sense of community from the period of significance.

## **QUAKERS**

From their origins with George Fox in Leicestershire, England in 1644 to their arrival and dispersion throughout the American colonies, the people called Quakers were oppressed for their beliefs. One of these beliefs was the doctrine of silence which through meditation informed one’s inner conscience of the concepts that formed the basis of daily life. Pacifism was an important component of these concepts and many Quakers who initially settled in Pennsylvania fled to the south during the Seven Years War between England and France, when both sides fueled the hatred of Native Americans against encroaching settlement<sup>41</sup>

While living in the Southern United States, many Quakers had acquired Negroes to work on their farms and in their households. Even though their religion created a moral obligation for them to pay wages for hired help,

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<sup>37</sup> Article VI, *Ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio*, The Continental Congress, July 13, 1787.

<sup>38</sup> C. Peter Ripley, “The Underground Railroad,” in *Underground Railroad* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, 1998), 51.

<sup>39</sup> Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (1961; repr.; Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 128-29.

<sup>40</sup> Ripley, “Underground Railroad,” 59.

<sup>41</sup> Harvey E. Smith, *The Quakers: Their Migration to the Upper Ohio, Their Customs and Discipline* (Marietta, OH, 1928), pg. #.

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the laws of colonies like Virginia and North Carolina required Negroes to be held as property. By the Revolutionary War, Quaker Meetings required their members to divest themselves from owning slaves, but a 1777 North Carolina law re-enslaved any black persons who were set free in that state so that they would not become an example to slaves owned by their neighbors.<sup>42</sup> Some Quakers sent freed slaves north to cities like Philadelphia, some petitioned Congress protesting freed slaves that were re-enslaved, and some freed their slaves to the custody of the yearly meeting and provided financial support until they could be resettled. When the Northwest Ordinance specified that no slavery would be allowed in the territory northwest of the Ohio River, many southern Quakers decided to migrate. From 1800 to 1826, historians estimate that six to eight thousand North Carolina Quakers moved to the Northwest Territory or the slavery-free states created from it.<sup>43</sup>

Many of these Southern Quakers settled in Jefferson, Columbiana, Harrison and Belmont Counties directly across the Ohio River from the Virginia panhandle. The Short Creek Meeting, just west of Mt. Pleasant, was organized in 1801 by the Quakers who became the leaders in attracting the Ohio Yearly Meeting to the community. Quaker governance was organized around local monthly meetings, regional quarterly meetings and a larger yearly meeting, for which the first meeting house in Ohio was erected in 1814-15 at Mt. Pleasant. One of the nine points discussed by the Quakers at the 1815 Ohio Yearly Meeting was their resolution that "Friends appear careful to hear testimony against slavery and to provide for such people of color as have had their freedom secured and to instruct them in school learning."<sup>44</sup> By 1826, this Ohio Yearly Meeting had a membership of 8,873 persons in fifty-three congregations.<sup>45</sup>

This was just before the Hicksite controversy divided Quaker congregations nationally. It began with Philadelphia Quaker Elias Hicks preaching against the sanctity of Christ's blood, but soon evolved into a number of issues on a conservative versus liberal continuum. Conflicting beliefs between his followers and Orthodox Quakers resulted in a riot that divided the Ohio Yearly Meeting at Mt. Pleasant on September 6, 1828. It was typical of the theological disagreements rocking many denominations by pitting orthodox believers against revivalists, but it bore a certain irony among the pacifist Quakers.<sup>46</sup> After a controversial court dispute a compromise was reached in which Hicksite and Orthodox Quakers held separate yearly meetings in successive weeks in the same meetinghouse at Mt. Pleasant.<sup>47</sup>

An even more significant schism occurred among the Orthodox Quakers in 1854 when the Wilbur versus Gurney dispute divided conservative and evangelistic Quakers. Revivals were sweeping the western country with rousing hymns and promises of God's forgiveness through Jesus' atoning death. Mourner's benches invited pledges from those seeking salvation through baptism. There were parallels in the New and Old School dispute among Presbyterians, but at Mt. Pleasant the Wilbur-Gurney dispute left two different Quaker groups contending for ownership and use of the Friends Seminary that had been in operation since 1837. Before the issue was resolved, the building burned in 1875 and was never rebuilt — a deathblow to Mt. Pleasant's role in Quaker leadership.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Harlow Lindley, "The Quakers of the Old Northwest," *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society* 5 (1912): pg #.

<sup>43</sup> Smith, *The Quakers*, pp??; Seth B. and Mary E. Hinshaw, *Carolina Quakers* (Greensboro, NC: 1972), 28.

<sup>44</sup> *Ohio Yearly Meeting Report*, August 22-26, 1814, 16.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, *The Quakers*, 34-35.

<sup>46</sup> Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 8; Burke and Bensch, "Mt. Pleasant and the Early Quakers of Ohio," 220-54; Joseph B. Doyle, *20<sup>th</sup> Century History of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio* (Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Co., 1910), 485-90.

<sup>47</sup> Jefferson Co. Deed Record N:165-67.

<sup>48</sup> Barbour & Frost, *Quakers*, 188-89; Burke and Bensch, "Mt. Pleasant and the Early Quakers," pg #.

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Historians consider it probable that many more Negroes attended Friends' meetings than actually became members — citing references to special sections reserved for them near the wall or in the gallery.<sup>49</sup> This was probably true at Mt. Pleasant. In May 1819 when Englishman Richard Smith applied for membership at Mt. Pleasant, he inquired during his interview whether "Black people" were admitted, and was told that some members of the meeting were opposed — apparently on the grounds that most Negroes had insufficient knowledge of Friends' principles.<sup>50</sup>

**EARLY ABOLITIONIST LEADERS**

Benjamin Lundy has been described by historian Louis Filler as a "giant among anti-slavery precursors," and by Horace Greeley as "the first of our countrymen who devoted his life and all his powers to the cause of the slaves."<sup>51</sup> Mt. Pleasant played a larger role in shaping his anti-slavery philosophy than is commonly recognized by his biographers. Born in 1789 in New Jersey and raised by devout Quaker parents, Lundy headed west at the age of nineteen, like so many young men in the early nineteenth century, apprenticing himself to a saddler in Wheeling to learn this trade. His shock at seeing Negro men, women and children chained together for sale in the Wheeling slave market, walking barefoot in mud and snow under the force of men with bullwhips, has often been described.<sup>52</sup> It was a vivid exposure to the harsh realities of slavery which few pious northerners ever experienced.

In Wheeling he shared lodgings with Benjamin Stanton, a medical student from an equally devout Quaker family at Mt. Pleasant, and in 1811 Lundy moved to Mt. Pleasant to work as a journeyman with Benjamin's brother-in-law, Jesse Thomas, a saddler on the northwestern edge of the village.<sup>53</sup> Here among the North Carolina Quakers who had established the Short Creek Friends Meeting, Lundy's anti-slavery philosophy matured and on February 13, 1815 he married Esther Lewis, a Mt. Pleasant Quaker related to the Stantons by marriage. He also witnessed the penalty for civil disobedience when some of the local Quakers had property confiscated for refusing to serve in the militia during the War of 1812.

By the time Lundy established his own saddler's business ten miles south in St. Clairsville, he was committed to anti-slavery action. There, in 1815, he organized the Union Humane Society which quickly grew from a few friends and neighbors, into eight local groups with nearly 500 members. By then, the Ohio Yearly Meeting had been formed and built its meeting house on the southwestern side of Mt. Pleasant. The main speaker at the August 21, 1815 annual meeting was a reform-minded Quaker minister from Tennessee named Charles Osborn.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Henry J. Cadbury, "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," *Journal of Negro History* 21 (1936): 151-213.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 183. This source does not indicate whether the reference is to the Orthodox Short Creek meeting or the nearby Hicksite meeting.

<sup>51</sup> Louis Filler, *The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 25; Greeley is quoted in Annetta C. Walsh, "Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers Published in Ohio Prior to 1823," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications* 31 (1922): 193.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Earle, ed. *The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 15; Merton L. Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), 1-9.

<sup>53</sup> Nathan Thomas's autobiography has great credibility on this point recalling Lundy's arrival on the day of the eclipse of the sun.

<sup>54</sup> Ruth Anna Ketring, "Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement," (master's thesis, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1937), 11-22, 34-40; Charles Osborn, *Journal of that Faithful Servant of Christ* (Cincinnati: Achilles Pugh, 1854), 122-23.

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Osborn's philosophy was congenial with the local Quaker leadership, and in 1816 he moved his family to Mt. Pleasant to teach the winter 1816-17 term in the subscription school near the meeting house.<sup>55</sup> The next summer the one-room 1809 brick school was converted to a printing shop, and in September 1817, Osborn began publication of a weekly paper called the *Philanthropist*, recognized by many historians as one of the first abolitionist newspapers in the nation. Ruth Anna Ketring, however argues persuasively that Osborn was a broad-based reformer concerned with the rights of women and the economically disadvantaged as well as slaves. This is supported in the first issue, promising a paper "free from the rancor of party spirit, containing such religious, moral, agricultural, and manufacturing information as may tend to the great aim of giving 'order to existence and confidence to truth.'"<sup>56</sup>

Unlike most newspapers of the period it was a small weekly organ, four 9 ½-by-12 inch pages, suitable for binding into book format. Although it focused on Osborn's concerns for peace and temperance, it was a strong anti-slavery paper that considered slavery a sin that required repentance through immediate emancipation. Historian Wilbur Siebert characterized Osborn as one of those who bridged the gap between the early anti-slavery movement in the south and the later one in the north.<sup>57</sup> It is certainly true that Mt. Pleasant Quakers were committed to their anti-slavery philosophy based upon intimate acquaintance with people of color and their activities were not only earlier than many northern liberals, but focused on practical issues such as education, employment and housing for free Blacks. Osborn's *Philanthropist* carried announcements of anti-slavery meetings, poems and stories, and several anti-slavery essays written by Lundy — usually under the nom-de-plume "Philo justita," a common practice at the time.<sup>58</sup>

Lundy was devoting much time to Union Humane Society groups, increasingly becoming the spokesman for local anti-slavery meetings. In 1816 he purchased two lots in a village platted by Joseph Tilton directly east of Mt. Pleasant on the western bank of the Ohio River, perhaps planning to move his business and anti-slavery activities to this key location. But Osborn invited Lundy to join him at Mt. Pleasant in editing and publishing the *Philanthropist* — a logical move since both were traveling and speaking extensively on anti-slavery issues. In preparation, Lundy traveled to St. Louis to sell his business inventory, but was caught in the banking crisis that ruined the western economy and became embroiled in the 1820 Missouri Compromise issue — remaining for eighteen months and losing most of his assets while campaigning for the new state to be admitted free of slavery.

In the meantime, Osborn decided to move his growing family to Indiana and continue the itinerant reform ministry that was beginning to earn him national recognition. He printed his last issue in October 1818 and sold the *Philanthropist* to Elisha Bates, a local Quaker who continued its publication as a "journal containing essays on moral and religious subjects, domestic economy, agriculture and mechanical arts, together with a brief notice of the events of the times."<sup>59</sup> Bates reduced the journal to 5 ½-by-7 ¾ inches but increased it to sixteen pages and offered an indexed bound volume for each twenty-six issues. Its morality essays opposed war, dueling, capital punishment, slavery, and mistreatment of the American Indians, a broad reform agenda that some

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<sup>55</sup> Nathan Thomas, *Account of His Life* 23. Thomas attended Osborn's school that term.

<sup>56</sup> *Philanthropist (OH)*, Aug. 29, 1817.

<sup>57</sup> Wilbur Siebert, book review of Ketring's thesis on Osborn in *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 46 (1937): 300.

<sup>58</sup> *Philanthropist (OH)*, Oct. 10, 1817.

<sup>59</sup> Jefferson Co. Deed Record G., 41-43. Although Osborn purchased the school property for \$100 Oct. 6, 1816, and sold it to Bates for \$700, with the additional value no doubt representing his press, Oct. 3, 1818, both deeds were recorded together, suggesting that he had simply been given use of the building for his printing operation, and ownership was not legally defined until the sale to Bates. The first issue of Bates' *Philanthropist* appeared December 11, 1818.

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subscribers found too diverse.<sup>60</sup>

By the time Lundy returned to Ohio early in 1821, he had become an avid abolitionist and a more narrowly focused reformer than Bates. He sold his Tiltonville lots and rented lodging for his family at Mt. Pleasant, but he found that Bates' paper "did not come to my standard of anti-slavery."<sup>61</sup> In July 1821 he launched his own monthly paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* whose title proclaimed its fervent abolitionist mission. Lundy's essay on the front page of the first issue maintained "that this abomination. . . must be abolished is as clear as the shining of the sun at noon-day."<sup>62</sup> Lundy's paper was similar to a modern journal with twenty 9-by-6 inch folded octavo pages on high quality paper suitable for binding. The first issue quoted the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal with certain unalienable rights, and Lundy published an 1820 census summary showing the number of slaves by states. The paper soon attracted subscribers from across the country and for eight months, through February 1822, Lundy carried his copy to Steubenville for printing. But this was not truly satisfactory and at the invitation of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, he moved his operation to Embree's facility at Jonesboro and then in 1824 to Baltimore, while at the same time embarking on trips to Haiti, Canada, Mexico and numerous western territories to explore opportunities for colonization of emancipated slaves.

The American Colonization Society had been organized in 1816 in Washington D.C. to create an African colony where manumitted slaves might be returned, a concept that seemed benevolent to many early anti-slavery advocates including Lundy, but geographic practicalities forced Lundy to seek closer alternatives for settling manumitted slaves.<sup>63</sup>

In Baltimore in 1829 William Lloyd Garrison became Lundy's partner in publishing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* — a prelude to Garrison launching his own more famous *Liberator* two years later. Lundy's death before the abolitionist movement reached its zenith, prevented him from earning the place in history achieved by others, but with Osborn and Lundy the Mt. Pleasant community had nourished two of the most important leaders of the early anti-slavery movement while serving as the birthplace for their abolitionist newspapers.

## OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Several anti-slavery societies under various names, like Lundy's Union Humane Society, were organized in Ohio during the teens and twenties, and most initially supported the colonization movement.<sup>64</sup> Charles Osborn and Elisha Bates, however, wrote essays in the *Philanthropist* opposing this as impractical and inhumane even as they reported its activities. When the Ohio Colonization Society was organized in 1826, its membership included many of the state's most influential politicians and ministers, with ex-Governor Jeremiah Morrow, an elder in the Associate-Reformed Church, elected president, and President Bishop of Miami University and

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<sup>60</sup> Walsh, "Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers," 180-193. The *Philanthropist* became a financial burden and Bates published his last issue in April 1822, but continued with a variety of religious and medical tracts, including the *Medical and Botanical Repository* on which William C. Howells worked as a printer in 1831.

<sup>61</sup> Benjamin Lundy, *The Life, Travels & Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* (Philadelphia: W. D. Parish, 1847), 156, quoted in William Henry Hunter, "The Pathfinders of Jefferson County," *Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications* 6 (1898).

<sup>62</sup> *Genius of Universal Emancipation* I (July 1821), 1.

<sup>63</sup> The American Colonization Society had been organized in Washington D.C. in the winter of 1816-17 and Lundy subscribed to their philosophy as one method of achieving emancipation. See P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 19-22.

<sup>64</sup> O'Dell, *Early Anti-Slavery Movement*, 290-322; Henry N. Sherwood, "Movement in Ohio to Deport the Negro," *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 7 (1912): 53-78.

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President Wilson of Ohio University, both ordained Presbyterian ministers, among the vice-presidents.<sup>65</sup> Students at Miami University and at Kenyon College organized student chapters, and ministers throughout the state delivered sermons supporting it. But during the first decade only about 1500 free blacks nationwide were transported to Africa and the newly created country of Liberia, with 200 dying enroute or shortly after their arrival. Anti-slavery advocates began looking for alternative sites where manumitted slaves could more easily be settled. Mt. Pleasant Quakers were actively involved in providing relief for a large group of former slaves settled near Georgetown, Ohio, and for the slaves freed by Nathaniel Benford's will who settled nearby in Smithfield Township.<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately, some slave owners saw colonization as an opportunity to rid themselves of troublemakers. In a number of Ohio counties "overseers of the poor" began strictly enforcing Ohio's Black Laws and requiring any Negroes unable to comply with the required bond to leave the community. A mob of citizens in Cincinnati forced more than a thousand African-Americans to flee to Canada, and again the Ohio Yearly Meeting attempted to send relief.<sup>67</sup> Nat Turner's slave revolt in Southampton County, Virginia, in August 1831 which killed fifty-seven whites, marked a turning point in the anti-slavery movement nationwide.<sup>68</sup> Fear ran rampant among southern slave owners and abolitionists became more assertive in assisting fugitives, but many Ohioans feared an influx of black migration. The 1830 Ohio census recorded 9,568 free "colored" residents, only 1.02% of the state's population, but sufficient to raise controversial sentiments in cities such as Cincinnati whose border status created a higher concentration.<sup>69</sup> When the British parliament emancipated slaves in the West Indies in 1833 it became the impetus for bringing together the reformers, Quakers and free blacks who met in Philadelphia in December 1833 to organize the American Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>70</sup>

Theodore Weld began a speaking tour in Ohio on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the autumn of 1834, culminating with an invitation for delegates "favorable to the immediate abolition of Slavery in the United States, without expatriation" to meet at Zanesville on April 22, 1835, to organize an Ohio society. But Zanesville churches refused Weld a place to speak and more than 100 delegates convened across the river at Putnam, where despite confrontation with a mob of Zanesville citizens they organized the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society and adopted resolutions declaring slavery a "SIN."<sup>71</sup> Although the delegates from forty-two counties included no representatives from Mt. Pleasant, it had an organized group prior to the society's first annual convention in Granville the following year.

Despite the liberal reputation of the New Englanders who settled Granville and the dominance of its Congregational Church, 169 citizens, including all of the village officers, signed a petition denying the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society the use of any room in Granville for their convention. Ashley Bancroft welcomed the group of 192 delegates to meet in his barn a half mile north of town. Committees presented resolutions regarding the repeal of Ohio's "black laws," establishing "free labor produce" associations, and the role of churches regarding slavery, a paper that was reproduced and sent to every minister in the state. Several women

<sup>65</sup> *Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette*, 7 Dec. 1826.

<sup>66</sup> *The Philanthropist* 3 (Mar. 11, 1820): 311-12; *Pathfinders of Jefferson County*, 275-76.

<sup>67</sup> *The Miscellaneous Repository* 3 (Feb. 6, 1830): pg #. This was the Quaker paper Elisha Bates was then publishing at Mt. Pleasant.

<sup>68</sup> Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 52.

<sup>69</sup> Alice Dana Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831* (Williamston, MA: Radcliffe College Monograph #14, Corner House Publishers, 1973).

<sup>70</sup> John R. McKivigan, *The War Against Pro-Slavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 37.

<sup>71</sup> Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933), 79-84; *Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention held at Putnam, 22-24, April 1835* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society).

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delegates were in attendance and James Thorne of Oberlin addressed the convention on the role of women, urging them to reject the roles of “a painted puppet on a gilded butterfly” and take their places beside men in fighting for the rights of the oppressed. It was a dangerous challenge, for as the delegates adjourned they were mobbed by angry local citizens hurling eggs.<sup>72</sup> It was estimated that there were now as many as 120 local societies with up to 10,000 members across the state, and many Ohioans found this threatening. James Birney, who had just launched a new *Philanthropist* newspaper at Cincinnati, stoically rode through the egg barrage, little dreaming that within two months a larger Cincinnati mob would dump his printing press in the Ohio River and ransack Negro homes throughout that city.

There were no delegates from the Mt. Pleasant Society present at the Granville convention, but the list of forty-two county managers included Mt. Pleasant Quaker William Flanner, and in 1837 the local Mt. Pleasant society hosted the second state convention. The availability of the Ohio Friends Yearly Meeting House capable of seating more than two thousand persons was certainly a critical factor. But equally significant may have been the village’s serene rural setting and the nearly universal anti-slavery sentiment of its population. The famous “Matilda” case defended by Salmon P. Chase in Cincinnati had raised tensions statewide, but everyone wanted to avoid the mob scenes of the past two years.<sup>73</sup> Women were well represented both in the association’s membership and as delegates to this convention. Delegates from the Mt. Pleasant society included nine women and thirteen men, a majority, like William and Jane Robinson, Jesse and Avis Thomas, William and Peninah Flanner, David and Rebecca Updegraff, were couples affiliated with the Quaker meeting who were accustomed to accepting a woman’s testimony as equal to a man’s.<sup>74</sup> But there were also single women like Quaker Eliza Ann Griffith who was teaching in a local school for Negro and mulatto children. In addition, there were non-Quakers such as Methodist Pickney Lewis, who would be elected to the Ohio Senate in 1848 and play a role in passing the legislation that finally repealed the repressive “Black Laws.”<sup>75</sup>

A significant component of this convention was a committee report harshly evaluating the official positions of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist denominations regarding slavery. The executive committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society reported “The fact ought not to be concealed, that the majority of the churches are indifferent to the evils of slavery, as well as hostile to abolitionism. The discussion of the subject is to most of them a source of dread.” This is consistent with most historians’ interpretation that the majority of the northern population “loathed slavery but feared emancipation.”<sup>76</sup> Although all of the mentioned denominations contained individuals who held strong anti-slavery sentiments, the refusal of state and national congregations to declare slave ownership a sin that barred one from church membership explains why members of the Anti-Slavery society felt a need for a separate organization. It also demonstrates the conflict that abolitionists raised in their religious organizations by insisting on total and immediate emancipation. Only the Quakers, Free Baptists, and a few Scottish Presbyterian congregations had done so. High liturgical churches such as the Catholics, Episcopalians and Lutherans considered slave ownership a secular rather than an ecclesiastical issue. Moderate denominations like the Methodists had majorities who opposed slavery but favored gradual

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<sup>72</sup> Robert Price, “The Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention of 1836,” *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 45 (1936): 173-188; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati: C. J. Krehbiel & Co., 1902), 2:80-81.

<sup>73</sup> Alilunus, “Fugitive Slave Cases in Ohio,” 174.

<sup>74</sup> *Minutes of the Second Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, Apr. 27-28, Mt. Pleasant* (Cincinnati: Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, 1837).

<sup>75</sup> W. A. Taylor, *Ohio Statesman and Hundred Year Book, 1788-1892* (Columbus: The Westbote Co., 1892), 355-58; Eugene H. Roseboom, and Francis P. Weisenburger, *A History of Ohio* (Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1986), 165-66.

<sup>76</sup> Laura Mitchell, “Matters of Justice Between Man and Man: Northern Divines, the Bible, and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850,” in John R. McKivigan and Mitchell Snay, eds., *Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 135.



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emancipation and believed that abolitionists were harmful with their impassioned rhetoric and active assistance to fugitives.<sup>77</sup>

By this time Mt. Pleasant had active Presbyterian, Methodist and African Methodist Episcopal (AME) congregations in addition to the Quakers. All opposed slavery in principle, but it is most likely that actions devolved to individual members. A local paper reported on the convention that “Perhaps every religious society in the country was represented and the most astonishing harmony prevailed” with \$6660 being raised in about fifteen minutes to support anti-slavery activities.<sup>78</sup> Rev. Benjamin Mitchell, minister of the Presbyterian Church from 1829 until 1877, was the son of Covenanters, a faction that barred slaveholding members in 1800, the year of his birth. A memoir of his tenure in Mt. Pleasant emphasizes his role as a peacemaker and temperance advocate, but makes no mention of his position on slavery, strongly suggesting that he opposed it philosophically but not overtly.<sup>79</sup> All available evidence suggests that the majority membership in the four Mt. Pleasant churches strongly opposed slavery and acted as conscientious objectors in regard to Ohio’s “Black Laws” and the national fugitive slave law.

It has not been determined whether the 1837 Ohio Anti-Slavery convention at Mt. Pleasant included any persons of color as delegates, but it did adopt a resolution that indicated awareness and respect for the role blacks could play in their struggle for equal rights under the law. “Resolved: That this society approve the exertions of the colored people in their own behalf, and cordially recommend to the friends of equal rights, throughout the state, to encourage them in their endeavors to elevate themselves.” Two years earlier Weld had been impressed by the large number of free Negroes in Cincinnati who had purchased their own freedom, and the many who were working to buy relatives out of slavery.<sup>80</sup> But it is difficult to assess what role free blacks and mulattos were playing in Ohio in assisting fugitive slaves, educating black children, or working politically for legal rights as free citizens.

## UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

Although the concept of a “railroad” was unknown when the first fugitive slaves began making their way, on their own or with assistance — to Mt. Pleasant, the term “underground railroad” is now universally accepted to describe the concept of assisting persons to escape the bondage of slavery.<sup>81</sup> Recent historical research has done much to correct the mythology of an elaborate network of tunnels and hideaways supervised by abolitionist “conductors” which arose in the post Civil-War era. Historian Larry Gara has played a leading role in focusing attention on the remarkable reality and complexity of the escape routes and methods fugitives, and those who assisted them employed, while archaeological studies such as the work of Fruehling and Smith in Ohio have effectively disproved most legends of subterranean hiding places.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 192-97; John McKivigan, “The Sectional Division of the Methodist and Baptist Denominations as Measures of Northern Antislavery Sentiment,” in McKivigan and Snay, *Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery*, 343-63.

<sup>78</sup> *Belmont Chronicle (OH)*, 2 May 1837.

<sup>79</sup> T. M. McConahey and L. C. Reid, *Memoir of Rev. Benjamin Mitchell, D. D.* (Philadelphia: Jas. B. Rodgers Printing Co. for the Mt. Pleasant Presbyterian Church, 1888), 38.

<sup>80</sup> *1835 Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention Proceedings*, 19-36.

<sup>81</sup> Marie Tyler-McGraw and Kira R. Badamo, *Underground Railroad Resources in the United States: Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Historic Landmarks Survey, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000), 1; The term evolved after the Civil War as both white and black abolitionists felt free to talk and write about - and sometimes exaggerate - their actions in assisting fugitive slaves.

<sup>82</sup> Larry Gara, “Myth and Reality,” *Underground Railroad* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, 1998), 7-12; Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (1961; repr., Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), pg #; Byron D. Fruehling and Robert H. Smith, “Subterranean Hideaways of the Underground Railroad in

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What is notable about the Mt. Pleasant community is the early date of its recognition as a sanctuary for fugitive slaves, well before the 1830-1860 period normally cited as the height of the abolitionist movement, and the widespread recognition of the entire community as a safe haven rather than any single home, church or farm. Its proximity to the Ohio River and its population of free blacks and sympathetic Quakers were probably known in Wheeling soon after the War of 1812. A few slaves reportedly managed to escape and swim the river or crossed under cover of darkness in a canoe found near the riverbank. Sometimes sympathetic whites attending market in Wheeling were rumored to have concealed escaping slaves in their wagons under sacks of grain or other merchandise and brought them safely across at Martins Ferry.<sup>83</sup>

Benjamin Lundy died in 1839 and never wrote of any clandestine activities to assist fugitive slaves during his residence in Mt. Pleasant, but it may have occurred, for his friends David and Benjamin Stanton are included in such oral traditions. Fugitives were relatively few in this early period, but Nathan Thomas, who left Mt. Pleasant for Michigan in the 1820s, recalled "many a panting fugitive from slavery" who reached the village and remembered no successful attempt to recapture anyone who had arrived there. This may be the exaggerated rhetoric of an elderly anti-slavery advocate talking with his parents who continued to live in the village, but he specifically described one "man-hunter" who captured a "colored man" who was "excavating a cellar" while the Quakers were attending the Short Creek Meeting west of the village. The captive was taken to Warrenton, Ohio, to await transport south, handcuffed and chained to a wall for the night, but rescued by "Old Will," a former slave residing at Mt. Pleasant whom Thomas described as "a man of great determination of character and of sufficient physical force to be effective." Old Will and the fugitive managed to return to Mt. Pleasant by dawn where a blacksmith cut the handcuffs and the former slave immediately headed north. Nathan Thomas also described the instance of a Negro man and wife who had lived in Mt. Pleasant for three years and were "established reputable characters." He was employed at the hotel when he heard that his former master was on his track and had reached the hotel without warning. He managed to escape quickly and was concealed in the village until he and his wife could be secretly conveyed north the next night, reaching a place of safety in northern Ohio "where they remained for many years."<sup>84</sup>

Such widespread knowledge of fugitives and willingness to accommodate them in the village would certainly have been lauded by abolitionists such as Marius Robinson, who congratulated those who stood fast to prevent fugitives from being recaptured and shamed those who "with all a smuggler's fear and watchfulness, thrust the human commodity upon our British neighbors."<sup>85</sup> Although Mt. Pleasant had a free black community in which a fugitive could blend in, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 increased the danger of any free black in northern states, such as Ohio, being kidnapped and sent south where many felt safer going on to Canada where British law prevented their being extradited. Thomas Wentworth Higginson maintained that "The Underground Railroad makes cowards of us all. It makes us think and hesitate and look over our shoulders, and listen, and wonder, and not dare to tell the truth to the man who stands by our side. It may be a necessary evil, but an evil it is."<sup>86</sup> That probably comes close to reflecting the sentiments of many Mt. Pleasant residents. The majority were non-violent protesters who preferred to help free blacks find a place to live, work, and obtain an education, but if blacks were endangered there were many who would contribute a little money and a bundle of food, or drive a wagon to the next safe house. The fugitive slave law that irate Kentuckians succeeded in

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Ohio: An Architectural, Archaeological, and Historical Critique of Local Traditions," *Ohio History* 102 (Summer-Autumn, 1993): 98-117.

<sup>83</sup> Rev. Lloyd Smith, "The Underground Railroad . . . through Mt. Pleasant, Ohio," Mt. Pleasant Historical Society. Smith specifically mentions the Stanton brothers attending Wheeling market.

<sup>84</sup> Thomas, *Account of His Life*, 18.

<sup>85</sup> Quoted in Gara, *Liberty Line*, 76.

<sup>86</sup> *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, June 20, 1857, quoted in Gara, *Liberty Line*, 77.

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getting passed by the Ohio legislature in 1839, raised the possible fine for anyone obstructing the capture of a fugitive slave to \$500 with the possibility of a six-month jail sentence.<sup>87</sup> Sentiments changed sufficiently during the next decade for the Ohio legislature to repeal the state's infamous "Black Laws" in February 1849. The publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 popularized the image of terrified fugitives and aroused a great deal of sentiment for their cause, even though it was not profitable for southern slave owners to pursue escaped slaves in the north and very few cases were ever prosecuted under the federal Fugitive Slave Act.<sup>88</sup>

The disproportionately high number of free blacks and black landowners enumerated in Mt. Pleasant Township in 1850 suggests blacks had a formidable presence in the area, and probably felt secure not only in their own numbers but in their proximity to such a large and tolerant Quaker community. In 1850 over 12 percent of the township's total population was black, which compared to 1.6 percent for the rest of Jefferson County and 1.3 percent for the State of Ohio.

There was a significant black community in Mt. Pleasant Township and it seems likely many of them had moved to Ohio from Virginia. The total number of blacks listed in the Mt. Pleasant Township in 1850 nearly corresponds to the exact number of Virginians listed. One account indicates a colony of manumitted slaves from Virginia settled along McIntyre Creek in 1829 and became known as Hayti. Richard Ricks, a 62 year resident of Mt. Pleasant and native of Virginia, noted local blacks came primarily from Virginia, Carolina and Maryland.<sup>89</sup>

Documented roles of blacks aiding runaway slaves is largely absent from the written record. Still, letters written in response to Wilbur Siebert's survey in the early 1890s indicate blacks did play a role in the Underground Railroad. Carver Tomlinson of Mt. Palatine, Illinois recalled Samaria J. Clark, mulatto daughter of William Robinson, used her home in nearby Emerson [later Trenton] to assist runaway slaves, about the same time Reverend W. W. Walker, a black preacher in Emerson, helped escaped slaves.<sup>90</sup>

Reminiscing about her experiences in Mt. Pleasant, Mrs. Sarah Jenkins wrote in 1892:

*"David Updegraff lived on the top of the hill on the east side of town [Mt. P] and assisted fugitives. George, a colored man came here in the time of Giddings and Gerritt Smith. He once got as far as Baltimore dressed as a nurse...He was very bright and talented and could imitate Giddings and Smith and others...Most of the fugitives went through Emerson by the home of William and Samaria Clark, and from there were taken on to Hopedale. Joe Bone, a colored man on a little farm a mile to the east of here [Mt. Pleasant], used to help them on."<sup>91</sup>*

Although evidence suggest most blacks lived in the western edge of Mt. Pleasant immediately outside the district or in the small village of Emerson two miles to the west, many blacks worked in the village of Mt. Pleasant and most likely were accepted as part of the community. Somewhat of an island culturally, Mt. Pleasant was widely recognized for its racial tolerance and opposition to slavery. In 1855 the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends was held in Mt. Pleasant, and among the important matters of business was a signed memorial sent to members of the U. S. Congress. In urging the repeal of slavery, the Friends called on Congress to abolish the Fugitive Slave Law and restore dignity and humanity to the nation.<sup>92</sup> About the same

<sup>87</sup> C. B. Galbreath, "Ohio's Fugitive Slave Law," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications* 34 (1925): 216-240.

<sup>88</sup> Gara, *Liberty Line*, 103, 114-19, 130-33.

<sup>89</sup> Joseph Sarrat, Steubenville, OH, to Wilbur Siebert, 17 August 1892; Richard Ricks to Siebert, 18 August 1892.

<sup>90</sup> C. Tomlinson to Siebert, 3 June 1892; J. Sarrat to Siebert, 17 August 1892.

<sup>91</sup> *Sarah Jenkins to Siebert, 17 August 1892.*

<sup>92</sup> *Minutes Ohio Yearly Meeting.*

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time the Free Labor Association of Mt. Pleasant “rejoiced in the resuscitation of the Non-Slaveholder, a paper that enjoyed “a very respectable list of subscribers...”<sup>93</sup>.

The details of Dr. Thomas’ accounts provide great credibility, and they reveal some interesting insights about anti-slavery sympathies and actions in Mt. Pleasant. The community was clearly one in which blacks were welcome to *live and work* rather than one simply committed to passing fugitives north as quickly as possible. Negroes who worked in the community obviously relied upon employers who ignored requirements for legal papers, and they knew where to find immediate help in an emergency. Contrary to the myths of tunnels and trap doors, Mt. Pleasant seems to have assisted fugitives as openly as Levi Coffin in Cincinnati or the residents of Oberlin, Ohio.<sup>94</sup> Nathan Thomas’ awareness of a fugitive couple’s location for many years indicates not only willingness to conceal fugitives, but a relationship with local residents that allowed them to keep in touch. The story of “Old Will” executing the rescue of a handcuffed and chained fugitive dramatically reveals the vastly, under told role (with a few notable exceptions like Harriet Tubman) that blacks played in rescuing other blacks even at great personal risk. Filler has noted that in the 1850 census one of eight Negroes in this country were free, but anti-slavery forces failed to utilize their potential.<sup>95</sup> It will never be known, how many like Mt. Pleasant’s “Old Will” performed heroic deeds anonymously.

### **ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS; THE FREE BLACK COMMUNITY IN MT. PLEASANT**

Black and white citizens did not begin to approach equal rights in early nineteenth-century Ohio although strong Quaker voices like Nathan Updegraff, a Virginia migrant who settled on Short Creek a little north of Mt. Pleasant, defended their rights as citizens in the constitutional convention of 1802. Free black males were prohibited the right to vote only by the tie-breaking vote of convention chairman Edward Tiffin, but the first session of the Ohio legislature required Negroes to provide proof of freedom to reside in Ohio and imposed a \$50 fine for anyone harboring a fugitive slave.<sup>96</sup> This was quickly followed by Ohio’s infamous “Black Laws” prohibiting blacks from militia or jury service, or sending their children to white schools.<sup>97</sup> As more blacks sought freedom within the state, Ohio legislators made it increasingly difficult by requiring bond to enter the state and carrying a certificate of freedom in order to be employed. Such laws were widely ignored by sympathetic whites, but many Ohioans were unfavorable toward Negroes because they feared the state would become a “dumping ground” for emancipated Negroes.<sup>98</sup> Even in supportive villages like Mt. Pleasant where blacks were free to live and work, the attitude of most white citizens could best be described as paternalistic benevolence.

Former slaves were almost universally illiterate because they had legally been prevented an education. Early

<sup>93</sup> *Free labor Association, Papers, 1856-1858.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-99, quotes Coffin’s *Reminiscences*, 228-30 and James Fairchild, *The Underground Railroad* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract 87, 1895) about Oberlin staff and students making no attempt to hide fugitives but frequently inviting them to speak.

<sup>95</sup> Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 15.

<sup>96</sup> Leo Alilunus, “Fugitive Slave Cases in Ohio Prior to 1850,” *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 49 (1940): 164-67.

<sup>97</sup> Daniel J. Ryan, “From Charter to Constitution,” *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications* 5 (1900): 113-25; *Laws of Ohio*, Ohio Historical Society, Microfilm 249, Jan. 5, 1804 & Jan. 25, 1807; Frank U. Quillin, *The Color Line in Ohio* (1913; repr. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 21-24; Charles J. Wilson, “The Negro in Early Ohio,” *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications* 39 (1930): 717-68.

<sup>98</sup> Richard F. O’Dell, “The Early Anti-Slavery Movement in Ohio” (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1948), 282; C.A. Powell, “Transporting Free Negroes to Ohio,” *Journal of Negro History* 1 (1916): 304-06.

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census records for Mt. Pleasant Township show blacks living both in independent family groups and individually in the homes of white citizens where they were probably employed as domestic help or laborers, perhaps even as indentured servants. Only .025% of the population was classified as Negro or Mulatto in 1820, but this had increased to 12.4% by 1850 and 14.8% on the eve of the Civil War — a higher percentage than Ohio recorded statewide either in 1860 or in the present day.<sup>99</sup> In 1860, women headed eleven of the forty-three African-American households, and the majority of the males identified themselves as day laborers. Four listed themselves as farmers, one as a barber, one as a gardener, and one as a Methodist minister, while six female heads of household identified themselves as “washerwomen,” one as a seamstress, and one as “head cook.” Sixteen of these families, more than one-third, owned real estate valued from \$200 to \$1600, and eighty-two children from these families were recorded as attending school during the past year. More than half of the “colored” heads of household were born in Virginia; most, undoubtedly, in slavery. It is significant to note the increase in the black population was created primarily by migration, free or fugitive, from nearby Virginia, and to note the degree to which they were acquiring education for their children and enough income to buy the property where they lived.

Former slaves probably had skills such as brick making, carpentry, painting and whitewashing, blacksmithing, and tending livestock for livery stables. Women usually sought domestic employment as cooks, laundresses, and seamstresses. The three-story brick seminary that the Society of Friends opened in 1837 as a boarding school, initially with about eighty-five students, later as many as 120 — very likely employed a number of blacks during its construction and later as workers. The county history credits Betsey Bundy, a “colored woman,” for doing the washing, which must have been laborious in a building without plumbing.<sup>100</sup>

Nathan Thomas recalls his father’s home and the subscription school on the west end of the village as the first brick structures in the village when they were built in 1809, but this soon became the preferred material for residences and commercial properties, providing employment for laborers in the brickyards, stone and brick masons, carpenters and plasterers. Other significant employers in the Mt. Pleasant area were Hogg & Gill’s Pork Packing Plant that slaughtered hogs from local farms and shipped barrels of pork to eastern markets and J.P. Hussey’s tannery. There were four sawmills and four gristmills in the township in the 1830s.<sup>101</sup> One of Mt. Pleasant’s most unusual industries that briefly flourished in the 1840s was John Gill’s silk factory, employing three or four weavers and about twenty laborers, many of them no doubt black, who picked leaves from the twenty-five acre mulberry orchard and fed the worms laid on cotton covered frames to spin their cocoons. A growing pioneer community offered multiple opportunities for unskilled labor but few substantiating records.<sup>102</sup> Nathan Thomas’s memoir mentions a “colored man” excavating a cellar and another employed at the hotel, apparently confirming their accepted presence as laborers throughout the village.<sup>103</sup>

The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society and numerous local societies were actively involved in raising funds to support schools for free Negro youth. It was not until 1848 that the Ohio legislature created a state department of education for black and mulatto children and permitted any town or township with twenty “colored” children to create a public, but separate, school district for them.<sup>104</sup> In a number of communities earlier schools for blacks were taught by local reformers supported financially by churches or local anti-slavery societies. Cincinnati had by far the largest number of African American children attending school, but by 1837 such efforts were

<sup>99</sup> U.S. population census, Jefferson Co., Ohio, Mt. Pleasant Twp., 1820, 1850, 1860.

<sup>100</sup> Caldwell, *History of Belmont & Jefferson Counties*, 534.

<sup>101</sup> Jefferson Co. Auditor, 1836 Tax Records, Mt. Pleasant Twp.

<sup>102</sup> Doyle, *History of Jefferson County*, 485-90.

<sup>103</sup> Thomas, *Account of his Life*, 18.

<sup>104</sup> Edward A. Miller, “The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850,” *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications* 27 (1919): 57-58.

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widespread.

Eliza Ann Griffith, who was teaching such a school at Mt. Pleasant, reported a week after the anti-slavery convention that in addition to the official delegates, “there were a hundred young women there who have been teaching coloured schools in different parts of the state.”<sup>105</sup> She visited with several from Cincinnati, Dayton, Putnam, Chillicothe, Logan County, and one in Brown County who said, “there was not a white family within six miles of her she could have any intercourse with.” These young women were in many respects missionaries, often leaving their homes and undergoing the trials of insufficient pay for food and lodging and the hostility of local whites. Eliza reported “there are but a few of them that could get boarding in white families some have boarded with coloured people but the most of them have rented rooms and boarded themselves it is almost impossible for some to get rooms .” It is notable that this educational mission was in most instances conducted by female teachers and it was perhaps the most successful antebellum effort to assimilate free blacks into Ohio communities.

No records survive at Mt. Pleasant that reveal what, if any, education black children received in the village’s early subscription schools. It is likely that these were in log structures, and black children may have been taught in Quaker homes. Nathan Thomas indicates that the brick school building at the western edge of the village that later became Osborn’s printing shop, was erected in 1809 which deed records show that Robert Caruthers conveyed a small (30’ by 50’) parcel at the east end of South Street to Thomas Rodgers and James Ludkins for a school in September 1807.<sup>106</sup> It is not known whether the village already had a population to support two schools or whether one was integrated and the other entirely white.

## FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT

Although the issue was first raised at a 1796 meeting in Philadelphia, Benjamin Lundy was one of the first to write and speak widely about the hypocrisy of advocating emancipation while continuing to purchase and use products such as cotton, rice and sugar that were produced by slave labor. Between 1822 and 1825 he published three articles on the subject of an economic boycott in *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The Pennsylvania and Delaware Quaker meetings were the first to accept the challenge to find alternate sources for such commodities produced by free labor and it became largely a Quaker movement. By the 1830s it was spreading to a number of states, and the Free Produce and Anti-Slavery Society of Monroe County, Ohio, organized October 26, 1833, was the first in the state.<sup>107</sup>

Several other stores were established before the Free Produce Association of the Friends Ohio Yearly Meeting was organized on June 6, 1848, at Mt. Pleasant authorizing 250 shares at \$10 each. (Figure 5). Schoolteacher George K. Jenkins — who had taught at Franklin College near Athens before moving to Mt. Pleasant and marrying a daughter of David Updegraff, was elected president of the company board of managers. Rooms were initially rented from Joseph Williams for a store that regularly stocked items such as coffee, sugar, and rice and cotton fabrics such as gingham, drilling, and shirting. Receipts from George W. Taylor, who operated the Free Labor Association warehouse in Philadelphia, suggest that this was Mt. Pleasant’s primary source of supplies although a few attempts were being made to grow cotton in southern Ohio.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Eliza Ann Griffith, Mt. Pleasant to Jane and Rebecca Woolman, Damascus, Ohio, 6 May 1837, quoted in Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 70, from manuscript at Western Reserve Historical Society.

<sup>106</sup> Jefferson County Deed Record B:485.

<sup>107</sup> Ruth Ketring Nueremberger, *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest Against Slavery* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942), pg #.

<sup>108</sup> Free Labor Association receipts 1856-1858, VFM 365, Ohio Historical Society; Nueremberger, *Free Produce Movement*, 107; Burke & Bensch, “Mt. Pleasant Quakers,” 247-48.

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Although the store was initially reasonably successful, it was increasingly difficult to secure freely produced products. When Philadelphia managers traveled to Puerto Rico to investigate their source of sugar, they found that in fact the workers were more slave than free. After operating under three managers and store locations, the Mt. Pleasant shareholders became discouraged and voted in 1857 to dissolve the company, selling the remaining merchandise at auction and dividing the proceeds among the stockholders. It was a well intentioned, but economically and politically unsuccessful anti-slavery protest.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.

Previously Listed in the National Register.

Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.

Designated a National Historic Landmark. (Benjamin Lundy House, 1974)

Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #

Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State Agency

Federal Agency

Local Government

University

Other (Specify Repository): Historical Society of Mt. Pleasant, Box 35, Mt. Pleasant, OH, 43939

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**10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA**

Acreage of Property: approximately 54 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	17	516670	4447100
B	17	517570	4447250
C	17	517610	4446920
D	17	516720	4446780

Verbal Boundary Description:

See 1" – 200' map (attached).

Boundary Justification:

The boundaries of the Mt. Pleasant Historic District were delineated to include those portions of the village core that best reflect the continuity and character of the village during its period of significance from 1804-1875. Properties immediately outside the proposed boundaries either contain no historic resources or have buildings post-dating the period of significance. Since the village experienced little growth after 1875, most of the lots outside of the boundaries have never been developed or contain few pre-1875 resources. Those lots with resources at the northwestern and southern edges of the village are generally 20<sup>th</sup> century resources or resources that have been substantially modified over the years. (Boundaries for the NHL district were determined after several site visits to Mt. Pleasant by Barbara Powers and Steve Gordon of the Ohio Historic Preservation Office.)<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Two homes outside the boundaries of the district built during the 1840s deserve mention for their historic as well as their architectural features. The Jenkins House, built on a six-acre tract at the south end of Uniting St. was a typical five-bay brick that reflected the modest plainness of successful but devout Quakers, George K. (1810-1879) and Sarah (Updegraff) Jenkins. Both were born at Mt. Pleasant and George graduated from Franklin College at New Athens and taught there briefly before returning to Mt. Pleasant in 1841 to establish a classical school adjacent to this home. George and Sarah Jenkins were active abolitionists and very likely assisted fugitive slaves here. He served as president of the Free Labor Association and conducted most of the business with their wholesale supplier in Philadelphia. After the Civil War he represented the Ohio Yearly Meeting in seeking political action on behalf of Native Americans.<sup>109</sup> These important antebellum resources are not included in the proposed district because of the vacant lots and non-contributing resources located between them and the southern boundary of the district.

**MT. PLEASANT HISTORIC DISTRICT**

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

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National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

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DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK  
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