FATHER and DAUGHTER

A Collection of Cogswell
Family Letters and Diaries

(1772-1830)

EDITED BY
GRACE COGSWELL ROOT

Printed at
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF
WEST HARTFORD, CONN.

and prevented me from doing almost anything else. The night after Mrs. Watson, who has a fine son and Mrs. Bennett, who has a fine daughter prevented me from sleeping. And last night I was almost exhausted. I slept well last night and am fresh again this morning.

Sally White is now the only remaining obstacle to my setting out. The poor woman heard I was going away and came down to Fanny, in trepidation to hear the worst of it. I called to see her yesterday and promised not to leave her. She cannot hold out long. She has already some intimations. Should she dismiss me I shall set out on Tuesday next, attend the convention at New Haven on Wednesday and Thursday, and be at Stamford on Friday. I shall let you know every mail.

Mr. and Mrs. Radcliff arrived at Mr. Hudson's on Friday last and left us on Monday. Henry and Nelson came here on Saturday, and set out yesterday morning. Mr. and Mrs. Silliman arrived last evening and go to-morrow.

Now then for ourselves. We are all well except Mr. Mercury; he has a blood spitting but is better. The blood specimens are elegantly preserved.

Old Mose, Lydia's (1) mother, has just sent five dozen and a half of very fine peppers. All domestic matters seem to be going on very well without you. Lydia says I must tell you to say you are getting well, and that you must not send for me to make you worse. Nanny and Ruthy manage charmingly and the children are all properly taken care of.

Alice has not refused to go to school once since you left us, and Mason trots about quite independently. He scolds a little now and then but on the whole is a nice boy.

I shall write again. My love to all who love me, and believe me most affectionately,

Your husband,
Mason F. Cogswell

In 1807 James Cogswell had died in the home of his son M. F. C. His last years at New Scotland Parish had not been happy ones. In 1795, his second wife, Martha Devotion, had died of paralysis. Once again he married, this time a Mrs. Hibbard. Dr. Cogswell was settled in his pastorate for life and that seemed to make his parishioners a trifle uneasy. He got so he could not preach to the acceptance of the congregation. The people refused to pay for what they did not like and the pastor declined to renounce his legal dues. Doubtless, there was obstinacy and ill temper on both sides. The people were very willing to release their poor old pastor from his official duties, but declined to make provision for his support in that case, or to procure an assistant. So with failing voice and faculties the Rev. James continued to preach to a remnant of the congregation till

(1) Lydia, sometimes called "Lyd" or "Old Purchase" was the daughter of a reigning negro chieftain in Africa. She had been stolen from her home when she was young and made a slave in America. Apparently her mother had been brought, too. Upon being given her freedom, Lydia worked at Capt. Chenevard's boarding-house where M. F. C. first lived upon coming to Hartford. He cured her of lockjaw after several doctors had given her up. So when M. F. C. was married she offered her services and lived in his family for 30 years. At her death, she left to M. F. C.'s children the money which she had accumulated, as well as her heavy silver watch-chain.

us. I assure you, it is far pleasanter than I expected. I love Miss Cowgill so dearly.

We expect a mantua-maker next week. Now you I guess think of my pelisse, which will be altered and I hope it will be a good one.

Tell Cate she must remember to write me an enormous letter by Mr. Chew as she promised and he told her, he had an plan of coming here. Is Cate as fat as she was? Is Mason a good student at the office? I wish he could first write me. I have not yet finished the ruff, for I have been much prevented, but I hope it will be done next week. Mary wishes us all to hasten to make shirts for Lewis.

May God bless you.

Your affectionate daughter,

Alice Cogswell"

* * *

"Hartford, April 14th, 1830

Mary and Alice
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Children:—

Mr. Norton from Albany, Mr. Gallaudet and Mr. Woodbridge, have have been drinking tea with us and have just gone and although it is near ten having so good an opportunity of writing by Mr. Huntington who starts for Philadelphia in the morning boat I cannot refrain from indulging for a few moments conversation with you on the interesting occasion which has just passed away. And although I cannot do justice to its merits by any description I can give you some general account which I know will at least amuse you. My daughters have already informed you of a Fair that was gotten up to raise funds for our Benevolent Society established in this place for the relief of poor female children. For a month past nothing has been heard or seen but preparations among our ladies and young gentlemen for this novel and animating event, which has been consummated during the last few days in the spacious and elegant room over our new market. The doors were opened the day before yesterday at eleven o'clock. On entering each one paid 12½c as an introductory trifle. On the east side of the room four tables were spread twelve feet in length and four in breadth with everything that genius could invent or taste could adorn from the mouse to the lion in the natural world and by way of refreshment from trifles onwards to custards, ice creams, jellies and sweet meats. with a quantity sufficient of pickled oysters, ham, tongue, etc., with almost every kind of fruit and topped off with fine lemonade and coffee. Four other tables on the west side of the room were decorated in the same manner. At the head of each table sat or stood a matronly lady as Mrs. Wadsworth, Mrs. Terry, Mrs. Philipps or some other equally respectable, aided in assistance by half a dozen young ladies at each table such as Elizabeth, Catherine, etc. playing the merchant and recommending their goods in the most inviting and persuasive manner until all were obliged to buy whether they intended to or not. Across the end of the room on raised benches was a large and beautiful collection of plants and flowers from Mr. Tudor's greenhouse, most of them in full blossom and almost all for sale and these were surmounted by a picture of General Washington copied from Stuart's for the

singular history of which I must refer you to Mr. H. as I have not time myself to give it. In half an hour after the room was opened, it was filled and for a short time was inconveniently full, but in an hour or so there was just enough to make it pleasant. The whole area, between the tables being full but not crowded and when everyone you met whether friend or foe was clothed with smiles you could hardly see too many. But the evening was the time! How happy, my dear Children, should I have been could I only have seen your two countenances in the midst of us illumined as ours were. The room was beautifully lighted with lustre lamps, both above and on the tables. This gave a softened light on everything around and aided by the warmth of the room and by all the Benevolent Associations, inspired by the occasion, every female countenance shone with unusual brilliancy. The ordinary face became comely and the beautiful, beautiful indeed.

The sun has just risen upon us clear and bright for the first time for three weeks and had I time I would finish my letter as it should be but I must conclude by telling you that everything at the Fair went off grandly with a collection of about six hundred dollars. Love to those who love me.

Affectionately,
Your parent,
Mason F. Cogswell"

* * *

With this letter our story ends. For on the tenth of December, 1830, M. F. C. died. It is said that "during his last short illness the whole city of Hartford was so moved by the fate of its "Beloved Physician" that late at evening groups of citizens lingered on the sidewalks to inquire in whispers of the physicians as they departed from the familiar house on Prospect Street:—"How is he?" And at his death, countless tributes were made to him by his family and friends and neighbors, for all sorrowed over the loss of such a genial, courteous helper of mankind."

But for Alice it was as if she had been deprived of the very water of life. Her ears could not hear the funeral bell but her too-sensitive nerves felt the jarring of the air. She shuddered and the poor dumb lips which he had laboured to unloose spoke their last words of love:—"My heart is so grown to my father that I cannot live without him." Thirteen days later she was dead.

On Tombstone in the old North Cemetery, at Hartford, Conn.

United in death here rest the remains of
Mason F. Cogswell, M. D. who died December
17, 1830, aged 69 years, and of Alice Cogswell
who died December 30, 1830, aged 25 years. The
father distinguished for his private virtues,
and public spirit, and his professional worth
and the daughter though deprived of hearing
and speech for her intellectual attainments
and loveliness of character. The American
Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb which under
Providence owes its origin to the father's
tenderness toward his child and his sympathy
for her fellow sufferers will stand an enduring
monument to their memory.

From: Gary Walt
To: Karin Peterson
Date: 11/12/10 10:20 AM
Subject: Re: questions about students

Hi, Karin:

Yes, here they are with their student #, home, and their time at ASD, through 1871:

191. Charles Hiller. Nantucket. 1825-1829.

285. Reuben Jones. Portland, Me. 1828-1833.

331. Horace Way. Stockbridge, Mass. 1830-1834.

659. Cyrus Randall. N. Stonington, Ct. 1840-1844.

797. Henry Simons. Southbury, Ct. 1844-1849

829. Delia D. Boardwin. Boston. 1845-1851.

830. Susan F. Boardwin. Boston. 1845-1851.

831. George Boardwin. Boston. 1845-1851.

1078. Adam Hill Metrash. Norwalk, Ct. 1851-1857.

1444. Sarah Taylor. Cambridge, Mass. 1860-1865.

1482. Susan J. Cisco. New Haven, Ct. 1861-1866.

1673. Samuel Graham. Newark, N.J. 1866-1871

These are all Afro-American or mixed-race. There may be others, but these are all I have been able to identify from admissions registers, and alumni records. Black and mixed race students are nowhere identified in printed lists of our students in annual reports or elsewhere.

Hope this helps.

Gary E. Wait,
Archivist

>>> "Peterson, Karin" <Karin.Peterson@ct.gov> 11/08/10 9:45 AM >>>
Gary -

Sat at ASCH I heard Rebecca Edwards' presentation and I was astounded to hear that that the American School was integrated beginning with Charles Hiller in 1825. She said that you have put together a list of the students and their race. Obviously I am very interested because of the Prudence Crandall story and the Black Law. Could you please provide me with a list of those early black students up to the Civil War?

Thanks.

Karin E. Peterson
Museum Director
Connecticut Commission on Culture & Tourism
860-256-2760
860-256-2811 (fax)
www.cultureandtourism.org<http://www.cultureandtourism.org>

	Admissio.	Remarks.
	1825	
", Me -	Oc. 26 - 4 yrs	born d & d - Cordelia, Mary d & d, Rebecca, Benj^a. Sally d & d - lost 2 d & d children - cousins of Billingham & Newcomb. Married Wm Blaisdell a pauper
Me -	Oc. 26 - 4 yrs	born d & d, cousin of Rebecca Allen, Jno Chas. Gorham (Eastwick, d & d) He died march 8. 1869. Lafira, Sally, Stephen. - (married to a hearing woman) Has 3 children
, Me.	Oc. 26 - 5 yrs	born d & d - Wm Sally, Saml. Lydia, Caroline, Jacob. Com. (C. G. Left Octr 1830).
- N. H.	Oc. 26 - 4 yrs	Lost his hearing at 2 yrs, by measles - Dav^d P. - Lavina, Henry, Theodore, Adeline An infant. - Married Elvira Derby in the spring of 1840 & has a child born Estimated by 1844 - Left the Asylum in 1834
. Me -	Oc. 27 - 4 yrs	Lost his hearing by sickness at 23 m^s. - Fortue Ellis (married) Laura Paine,
ier a hearing woman		Betsey Farnum, both married, Nathl R - Catherine, Ithiel, Paschal, Julia Ann, an adopted child. - When he goes home to be sent to Meadon - (I. S. left Sept. 1829)
-	Oct. 27 - 5 1/2	com. with Mayor, or Overseers of house of industry. - "She was brought to Dr. Walker, chairman of the Overseers &c. as a destitute orphan. He was informed that her mother went from Boston to New York, in search of her husband & there died - Leaving the child in the family of a Dr. Parson who being sick & poor was obliged to put her on the public charge." - Extract from Josiah Quincy, Mayor's Letter of 15th March 1826 to T. H. G.
Ms -	Oc. 27 - 5	Elizabeth Davenport grandmother - born deaf Stillman - Henry H. - Elizabeth D. - Elephalet Clarissa D. - Samuel V. (E. D. S. left 26 April 1831) afterwards married Eli Ives a pupil (M. A. 4. Left Oct. 1830)
. Ms -	Oc. 27 - 5	
2 Ms. - d Wash	Oc. 27 left Dec. 1826	Lost his hearing in infancy - E. D. B - Alfred, Harriet N, (E. D. B. left 4 Dec. 1826 Texas)
m, N. H.	Oc. 30 returned May 15th 1827 left March 29th 1828	Lost his hearing by spotted fever at 6 yrs of age - Aaron married in Boston Mr. de Isaiah, Helen, Hiram deformed. Seven hearing children only one ear lost by spotted fever. - B. C. married Caroline Bowers, a pupil.

Remarks.

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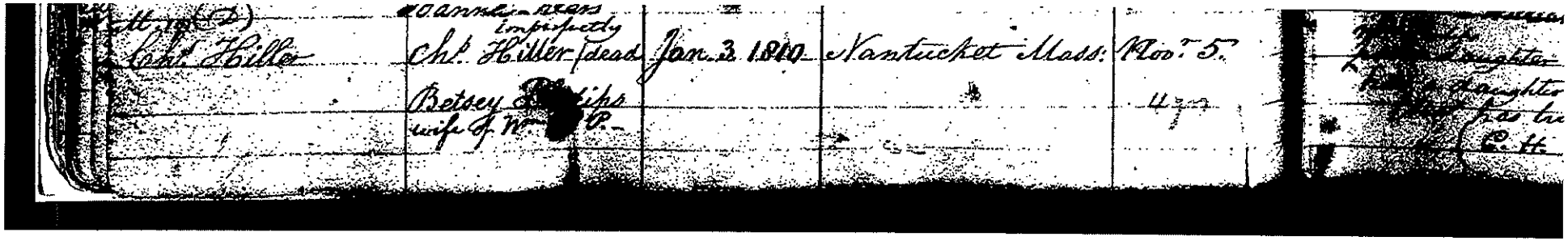
born d & d, Eunice married, Sally, Jabez C. Edwin, Charlotte –
(Died in 1853.)

born d & d, Paschal, Danl. Nancy, Benjn. – Wm d & d, Nathan, John, took the name of Alfred – Williamson.
took the name of Alfred – has 2 d & d children
1 d & d child
had 3 d & d chi
Mrs Philip has a daughter in Boston, Elvira Ann Gardner, in 1815 his mother married Wm Swasey, has a daughter 6 yrs old, Mary Ann Swasey – in 1824 his mother married ... Chas. has lived in poor house – corr. with select men.
(C. H. left Sep 30 1829) He had a mixture of African blood

N. H. 182 95 $ (D) Dav.d Porter Clark	Lydia died 15 y ago Dav.d C. Rhoda C.	Feb. 19. 1814	Ringe, ~~Ms~~ N. H.	Oc. 26 5 yrs 4 yrs
M. 183 (D) Ithiel Parkhurst Jr.	Ithiel P. Catharine P.	May 23d. 1804	Milford, Ms.	Oc. 27 4 yrs
M. 184 (D) Evelina Hayden	(E. H. left Apr 26. 1831.) foundling	12 yrs old	Boston	Oc.r 27 5½ yrs
[illegible]	[illegible]		Medford Ms	[illegible]
M. 185 (D) Elizabeth D. Stone	Samuel S. Hannah S.	Sept. 9. 1811	Dorchester Ms.	Oc. 27 5½ yrs
M. 186 (D) Mary Ann Newhall	John (dead mother dead)	July 27, 1807	Medford, Ms.	Oc. 27 5 yrs
M. 187 (D) Isbon Demas Boyden	Moses B. Harriet B.	July 15. 1810	Hardwick Ms. now at Ware	Oc. 27 left Dec.r 4. 1826. 1 yr
N. H. 188 100 (D) Benj.n Clough	Abel C, dead Naomi, now the wife of Tho.s Adam	Dec.r 2. 1808	Gilmanton, N. H.	Oc. 30 returned May 15th 1828 left March 29th 1835 4 yrs
189 (D) Edwin Prichard	Leverett P. Charlotte P.	Mar 19. 1812	Derby (Humphreys-ville) Conn.	Oc. 30 1 yr 7 m
Me. 190 (D) Dan.l Jack	Jon.a J. 1st wife dead Joanna hears	Feb. 14. 1803	Jackson Me.	Oc. 31 4 yrs
M. 191 (D) Ch.s Hiller	Ch.s Hiller imperfectly dead Betsey [illegible] wife of W.m P.	Jan. 3 1810	Nantucket Mass.	Nov.r 5. 4 yrs



[illegible]	[illegible]				[illegible]
Chas. Hiller	Chas. Hiller (dead) imperfectly	Jan. 3. 1810	Nantucket Mass:	Floor 5.	[illegible] daughter [illegible] daughter [illegible] has [illegible] C. H.
	Betsey [illegible] wife of Wm. [illegible] P.			4 yrs	

Mrs Philips has a daughter in Boston, Eliza Ann Gardner, in 1815 his mother married Mr. Swasey, has a daughter 6 yrs old, Mary Ann Swasey — in 1824 his mother married [illegible] Chas. has lived in poor house — corr. with select men.

(C. H. left Sep 30. 1829) He had a mixture of African blood

JOURNAL

OF

A RESIDENCE AND TOUR

IN

THE UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

FROM APRIL, 1833, TO OCTOBER, 1834.

BY E. S. ABDY,

FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

"As far as experience may shew errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and, if any practices exist contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them."—D. WEBSTER, *Discourse at Plymouth on the second centenary of the settlement of New England.*

"The distinction of color is unknown in Europe."—*Speech of Chancellor* KENT *in the New York State Convention.*

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXXV.

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CHAPTER VII.

Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Hartford.—Girl, deaf, dumb, and blind.—Impressment of British Sailors.—Deed of Sale.—Universalists.—Female Seminary.—Lunatic Asylum.

THE day after my return to Hartford, I went to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum with Mr. Wells, the treasurer. I had had a cursory view of the establishment on my former visit. On entering the house, we found several visitors there, and were ushered into a room, where some of the pupils were taking their morning's lessons from a deaf and dumb teacher, who received us with great politeness; and invited us, by signs, to be seated. The class had been two years in the establishment, and were receiving instruction in grammar. The manner in which they wrote on boards affixed to the wall their answers to his questions on the meaning of words, and explained the distinctions between the relative pronouns, shewed that they had made great progress during that time. Their hand-writing was good, and generally correct in point of spelling. Among them was a black boy, or rather a mulatto, who had been sent by the State of Massachusetts to the Asylum. As it

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Return to T. H. Gallaudet
Rev. R. S. Storrs
Braintree
Mass.

No. LI.

THE

African Repository,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. V. MAY, 1829. No. 3.

CONTENTS.

The Booroom Slave,	65	Interesting Intelligence,	94
Captain Thompson's Letter,	85	Abduhl Rahhaman,	*ib.*
Fourth of July,	87	Transportation Subscriptions,	95
Monument to Mr. Ashmun,	91	Contributions to the A. Colonization Society,	96
Auxiliary Societies,	93		
Connecticut Colonization Society,	*ib.*		

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is very unusual to see the different colors thus harmoniously mixed in a place of this sort, I felt anxious to know whether any proof of the supposed difference of intellect between the two races was to be found here. There had been two or three instances of a similar kind in the house before. It was probably through the influence of the superintendant, who is a very liberal man, and at the suggestion of his brother, whose mind has long been thoroughly cleared of the "perilous stuff" of prejudice, that such a departure from a general rule was permitted. I wrote down on a piece of paper the following question, and put it into the teacher's hands: "Is the black as intelligent as the white?" He directly wrote with his pencil, "No, Sir! he has a pretty good mind." I wrote again:—"Is it so with all the blacks?" The answer was, "No, Sir!" Thinking he might suppose I asked if they all had pretty good minds,—I added: "I mean, is the black race inferior to the white?" "No," was his reply. On asking an elderly woman who appeared to be the matron, whether any repugnance or feeling of displeasure had been shewn, on his arrival, towards the colored boy by his companions, "not the least," she replied, "on the contrary, they all crowded about him when first he came, and seemed highly delighted with him. He is a great favorite with all of them, and more beloved than any of the others."

Had the Judsonian law for the suppression of

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posed, as an ultimate resort, if all others should prove insufficient, that the liberated slaves should be bound to pay for their passage, and even for their freedom, if necessary, after their arrival in Africa.

Interesting Intelligence.

We have been informed by a highly esteemed friend, that such is the disposition to emancipate slaves for the purpose of colonization, in some parts of North Carolina, that the society of Friends in that state, would immediately have placed under their care, about 2000, were they in possession of funds for their transportation to the Colony of Liberia.

Abduhl Rahhaman,

THE MOORISH PRINCE.

"After an absence of forty years from his native country, during which long period he has been a slave in this land, Prince has a desire to see once more the land of his fathers, and to lay his bones among those of his kindred." He embarked in the Harriet for Africa.

[Mr. Gallaudet's address on behalf of Abduhl Rahhaman.

"Speed, speed, beneath the fresh'ning gale,
Fast towards my father-land,
Thou gallant ship, whose snowy sail
Has waved near every strand.
Fast as the coursers of the wind,
Fast as the dawning light,
Speed, like the thoughts which leave behind,
Far, far, thy tempest flight.
My limbs upon thy deck indeed,
May listlessly remain,
Yet now, as oft', by Fancy freed,
My soul darts home again;
And ship and sail, and rope and spar,
Fast vanish from my view,
And feelings, slavery could not mar,
The shadowy past renew.

Father and Brothers, kindred all,
Come wrapt in awful gloom;
And slow obey my memory's call,
In cerements of the tomb.
I see the crowd, whose spirit fled
In life's protracted day;
I see the throng, who joined the dead
In childhood's hour of play.

I see the arm of manhood's might
Shrunk to the fleshless bone;
And all that hurries past my sight,
Tells me I stand ALONE.

But what! although my father's halls,
Unrecognised, I tread,—
Although my foot, unconscious, falls
Above my kindred dead;
Do not the bright and glorious sun,
The wide extended plain,
The river, which since time has run,
Unchanging still remain?
And they, though sounds no human voice,
Speak me a welcome true,
That bids my inmost heart rejoice,
As each arrests my view.
For, what though friends and kindred all
No more around me stand,—
Am I not near my father's hall,
FREE in my native land?"

Transportation Subscriptions.

In our number for February last, we mentioned a plan which had been suggested by the Rev. Geo. W. Campbell, recently employed as an Agent for the Society in the state of New York, for obtaining subscriptions of $30 each, the estimated price of passage for an adult emigrant to Liberia. The following subscriptions have been obtained by the Rev. Mr. Campbell.

Rev. Daniel A. Clark, Bennington, Vt.; Rev. Geo. W. Campbell, South Berwick, Maine; James Ballard, (two) Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Bennington, Vt.; Rev. Gorden Hayes, Aaron Crosby, White Creek, N. York; Mrs. Jane Van Suyle, James Richardson, Hon. G. Wendell, Cambridge, New York; Rev. John Whiton, Nathan Parker, Rev. F. Shepherd, Granville, Vt.; Rev. A. Savage, Jr. Henry Burkley, Wm. Marsh, Hon. Zebulon R. Shepherd, E. Fitch, Granville, New York; Rev. John Blatchford, Stillwater, N. York; Charles Hastings, G. Tracy, A Female Friend to the Amer. Col. Society, by Mr. Seward, Parmele & Brayton, N. G. Winslow, Thomas P. Field, Gen. J. H. Ostrom, Amzi Hotchkiss, L. Knowlton, Rev. Henry Hotchkiss, Thomas Hastings, Charles C. Broadhead, Samuel Stocking, Rev. S. C. Aikin, William A. Bull, Charles Bartlett, William J. Bacon, Jacob Snyder, R. B. Miller, Thomas R. Walker, Utica, N. York; Eliphalet Nott, D. D. Prest. Schenectady College, New York.

Many of these subscriptions are payable by annual instalments in ten years, and some few payments have been already made.

In addition to the above, Mr. C. obtained the following subscriptions:

Hon. Reuben Skinner, Granville, N. Y. $50; Mr. Bebee & family, $1.51; John Stevenson, Cambridge, N. Y. $2; E. S. Ely $3, A. Seymour $5, Jas. Dana $3, J. W. Dolittle $5, A. B. Johnson $2, Gen. Joseph Kirkland $5, A. Hitchkock $5, Isaac Clough $1, Otis Manchester $1, E. W. Blake $2, Utica, New York.

U:S.A. $25.00
Canada $38.00



Henry Inman, Abduhl Rahhahman, *1828.* (By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.)

not so undeniable."[5] The incidents may be incredible, but the evidence is not altogether undeniable. Abd al-Rahman's life is fairly difficult to reconstruct, partly because his story was put to such propagandistic uses and partly because of the quality of the evidence itself.

Pieced together by Terry Alford in his 1977 biography, *Prince among Slaves,* the best-corroborated version of the story goes like this: Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima was born around 1762 in Timbo, Futa Jallon, in what is now Guinea. He was the son of Ibrahima Yoro Pate Sori, a powerful Fulbe chief, who, beginning in the 1720s, led a violent jihad against lax Muslims. Young Abd al-Rahman was educated at the centers of Islamic learning in Sori's empire, in Timbo, and in Timbuktu. He studied the Koran and learned to speak Bambanakan, Mandika, and Jallonke fluently (all are from the Mandakan language family) and to read and write Arabic. After completing his education, he married and took command of an army of his father's forces ("at twenty-four they made me Colonel," he is said to have recalled). In 1788 (the year Noah Webster marched in New York's Federal Procession), Abd al-Rahman was returning from a victorious military expedition, when he and fifty of his men were captured by a group of non-Muslim enemies and taken to the Gambia River. Through a series of middlemen, he was eventually sold to a British slaving ship. After a year of miserable, sickening travel, with stops at the West Indian island of Dominica and the port of New Orleans, he arrived in Natchez,

T. H. Gallaudet (Thomas Hopkins), 1787-1851

A Statement with Regard to the Moorish Prince, Abduhl Rahhahman
New York: D. Fanshaw, 1828.

Summary

Abduhl Rahhahman, as Thomas H. Gallaudet spelled it, is also commonly referred to as Abdul Rahman or Abd al-Rahman. His full name, according to twentieth-century biographer Terry Alford, was Abdul Rahman Ibrahima. Many of his contemporaries (including Gallaudet, the author of this *Statement*) referred to him merely as "Prince," since his father and grandfather both ruled African kingdoms. However, this entry will refer to him as "Ibrahima," the "patronymic portion" that Alford argued was his "true" name (pp. 196, xvi). Ibrahima was born around 1762 in the African kingdom of Timbuktu, located in what is now Mali. He grew up in the town of Timbo, in the neighboring kingdom of Futa Jallon, near the modern-day border between Guinea and Sierra Leone. At age 26, Ibrahima was captured in a military ambush, enslaved, and eventually transported to Natchez, Mississippi, where he became a field hand on a cotton plantation. In an attempt to facilitate Ibrahima's return to Africa, one local benefactor (Andrew Marschalk, a native of New York) encouraged him to write a letter in Arabic to his people and proceeded to send it to what he mistakenly believed was Ibrahima's "own country" of Morocco (p. 89). For reasons not explained in the text, Ibrahima merely inscribed Koranic verses from memory and did not correct Marschalk's mistake. However, on viewing his manuscript, the Muslim sultan of Morocco (who was also named Abd al-Rahman) promptly offered the American consul funds to finance Ibrahima's return. In light of this potentially embarrassing diplomatic situation, Secretary of State Henry Clay recommended to President John Quincy Adams in 1827 that the U.S. government obtain Ibrahima's freedom and return him to Africa. With the support of the Adams administration, Marschalk procured the manumission of Ibrahima and his wife Isabella prior to the publication of Gallaudet's 1828 *Statement with Regard to the Moorish Prince, Abduhl Rahhahman*, which noted that his "little flock" (as many as ten children and thirteen grandchildren at the time) remained in bondage (p. 4). The title page of this *Statement* identifies the author, Reverend Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, as the Principal of the "American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb," better known as the American School for the Deaf, which he founded in 1817. Gallaudet was also a member of the American Colonization Society, which published and sold the pamphlet as an attempt to fund the manumission of Ibrahima's family and their subsequent return to Africa. According to Gallaudet's *Statement*, during Ibrahima's childhood in Africa, his father is sent to conquer the "Soosoos" (also spelled Susu or Soso) and founds a new capital of Futa Jallon at Timbo (p. 3). Ibrahima therefore moves from Timbuktu to Timbo at age five, returning to Timbuktu to attend school at age twelve. When Ibrahima is nineteen years old, an Irish surgeon named Dr. John Coates Cox becomes lost in the woods and is injured during an inland excursion and hunting trip from Sierra Leone (p. 3). The doctor is brought to Ibrahima's father, who "entertain[s]" him, "restore[s him] to perfect health," and sends him back to find his ship with "gold, ivory, clothes, and an escort of armed men to protect him" (p. 3). However, Cox's and Ibrahima's paths would cross again. Seven years later (in approximately 1788), Ibrahima is taken captive after a raid against a rival tribe, the "Hebohs" (p. 4). Ibrahima's captors sell him into slavery, and after surviving the Middle Passage, he is auctioned to Colonel Thomas Foster in Natchez, Mississippi. Years later, (in approximately 1805), Ibrahima re-encounters Dr. Cox, who had recently moved to Mississippi from North Carolina, where he had initially settled after emigrating from Ireland. (His son William attended the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.) Cox makes repeated offers to procure Ibrahima's freedom, but at the time, Foster is not willing to sell or free his slave. However, Gallaudet notes that "some gentlemen in Natchez" (led by Marschalk) become interested in Ibrahima and make "a representation" on his behalf to "the Government of the

United States, which, after having obtained the most satisfactory evidence of the truth of Prince's history, directed its agent at Natchez to procure his freedom" (p. 4).
The rest of the short *Statement* is devoted to a plea on Ibrahima's behalf. "*He appeals to our humanity*," writes Gallaudet, and "*[h]e appeals to our gratitude as American citizens*" (p. 5, author's italics). The document concludes with a number of vouchers that assert the truth of Ibrahima's account and the virtue of his character. Gallaudet summarizes several witnesses as collectively demonstrating that Ibrahima "has borne his state of servitude with a fortitude and patience more becoming a Christian than a Pagan" (p. 8).
Gallaudet's pamphlet, published in 1828, does not complete the story of Abdul Rahman Ibrahima, but Alford's biography explains that the pamphlet did not raise sufficient funds to free his family, and he was forced to depart for the American colony in Liberia without them. Ibrahima and Isabella sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, aboard the *Harriet* on February 7, 1829, arriving at Monrovia, Liberia, on March 18, 1829, but they never made it to Timbuktu or Timbo. After arriving at Monrovia, Ibrahima fell sick with the "coast fever" that killed thirty of his fellow shipmates during the summer of 1829 (p. 179). Alarmed at the mortality rate of the repatriated "colonists," Ibrahima dictated a letter to several friends back in New York, warning one in particular that "if he do come here, he will certainly be a dead man" (p. 179). Abdul Rahman Ibrahima died on July 6, 1829, having spent forty years in bondage and having finally returned to Africa a free man. Isabella remained in Liberia and was later joined by two of her sons; at least three sons and four daughters remained enslaved in Mississippi.

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Patrick E. Horn

THE

LITERARY

AND

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sented before him, who shows himself susceptible, while unrenewed, of *true love to God*? Whatever susceptibility the unrenewed sinner may have, there is not the least evidence that he has this. If any one says, he is *conscious* of having this susceptibility while in his natural state; *let him test the truth of his consciousness by a fair and thorough experiment.* Surely if he has the susceptibility, he can *prove* that he has it. The proof is what I ask. Our being *un*susceptible of holy emotions is, in my view, one of the forms of our depravity. It is hardness of heart. To remove this, is the object of that new-creating influence of the Spirit, which is one of the grand provisions of redeeming grace. The "heart of flesh" which the Spirit gives, is a *feeling heart.* It is an *aptitude* to pious emotions. And according to the common apprehension and the common phraseology of Christians, a man's having or not having this susceptibility, determines, not whether he is or is not a moral agent, but whether he is, or is not, renewed by the Holy Spirit.

ART. II. LANGUAGE OF SIGNS AUXILIARY TO THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY.

By Rev. T. H. GALLAUDET, late Principal of the American Asylum for the education of the Deaf and Dumb.

SOME years since, I was led to reflect upon the possibility of employing the language of signs, made use of in the instruction of the deaf and dumb, as an auxiliary in the intercourse between Christian Missionaries and those heathen nations which have no written or printed language; and I then published some thoughts on this subject in the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER of London. Subsequent reflection and observation have led me to regard the principles which I then adopted, as strictly correct.

I communicated my views on this subject to the Rev. Mr. Bingham, who went as Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, and afterwards received a letter from him, confirming my previous convictions. I have also stated these views to two other distinguished Missionaries, one of whom has laboured in Hindostan, and the other among the native Indians of this country; and from both of these individuals, after they had enjoyed the best advantages from their own

personal experience, for judging on such a subject, I received the fullest confirmation of the theory I had adopted, and of the useful practical results to which it might lead.

In this day of extending Missionary enterprise, in which our own country is bearing so conspicuous a part, I have thought the discussion of this subject might not be without interest to the readers of the Literary and Theological Review.

In the summer of 1818, a Chinese young man passed through Hartford, Connecticut. He was so ignorant of the English language, that he could not express in it his most common wants. As the principal of the deaf and dumb Asylum in that place, I invited the stranger to spend an evening within its walls, and introduced him to Mr. Laurent Clerc, the celebrated deaf and dumb pupil of the Abbe Sicard, and at that time an assistant teacher in the Asylum. The object of this introduction was, to ascertain to what extent Mr. Clerc, who was entirely ignorant of the Chinese language, could conduct an intelligent conversation with the foreigner, by signs and gestures merely. The result of the experiment surprised all who were present. Mr. Clerc learned from the Chinese many interesting facts respecting the place of his nativity, his parents and their family, his former pursuits in his own country, his residence in the United States, and his notions concerning God and a future state. By the aid of appropriate signs, also, Mr. Clerc ascertained the meaning of about twenty Chinese words. When the conversation began, the stranger appeared to be bewildered with amazement at the novel kind of language which was addressed to him. Soon, however, he became deeply interested in the very expressive and significant manner which Mr. Clerc used to make himself understood; and, before one hour had expired, a very quick and lively interchange of thought took place between these so lately entire strangers to each other. The Chinese himself began to catch the spirit of his new deaf and dumb acquaintance, and to employ the language of the countenance and gestures with considerable effect to make himself understood.

About a year afterwards, the principal of the Asylum visited Cornwall, in Connecticut, where upwards of twenty heathen youths were at that time receiving education under the patronage of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. With the consent of the principal of that

institution, I one evening gathered round me several of these interesting strangers, from the islands of the South Sea, and from different tribes of the North American Indians. The object of the interview was, to ascertain how far a conversation could be conducted with them merely by signs and gestures. The result was similar to that in the case of Mr. Clerc's intercourse with the Chinese. Questions were proposed to them on a variety of topics relating to their own individual history and that of their families, to the state of manners and morals in their respective countries, and to their early religious knowledge.

For example, Thomas Hoopoo, a native of Owhyhee, was asked if his parents were living; how many brothers and sisters he had; when he left his native shores; whether his countrymen worshipped idols, and sacrificed human victims; how the women were treated by the men; what was the climate of his country; what its productions; with many inquiries of a similar nature, all of which he well comprehended, and to many of which he replied by signs. The meaning, too, of a number of Owhyhean words was ascertained by signs merely, and found to correspond with the import which had been previously assigned to them in a dictionary which had been for some time preparing in the school; and indeed, in a variety of instances, the most correct meaning of such words was established, by the medium of signs, in a more satisfactory way than had been previously attempted. Throughout this conversation, the heathen youths appeared to take a deep interest, and to have a peculiar aptitude, both in comprehending the signs which were proposed to them, and in inventing such as were necessary for a reply.

On the testimony of several of the South Sea islanders, it appeared, that not a few of the signs employed in the instruction of the deaf and dumb, are precisely the same which their countrymen use to supply the deficiency of, or to give emphasis to, their own comparatively barren language;—a fact which had indeed been anticipated, from the singular circumstance so often observed by the teachers of the deaf and dumb among their pupils, that mutes who meet for the first time are able to understand each other fully on many common topics; the Author of nature having laid the foundation in the very constitution of our species, and in the structure and processes of the visible creation, for a universal expression of the same ideas, on a vast variety of subjects, by similar signs.

Not long after this interview, Thomas Hoopoo visited the Asylum for the deaf and dumb in Hartford. At my request he attempted, by the natural language of signs, such as his own feelings and conceptions at the time dictated, to give to a circle of pupils around him a sketch of his history. In doing this he occupied a half an hour or more, and secured the fixed attention and interest of the pupils. It was surprising to see the ingenuity and readiness with which he employed this language of signs and gestures, and not less so, to ascertain, as I did afterwards, that a very considerable part of what he said, certainly more than half of it, was fully understood by those to whom it was addressed.

Opportunities have occurred of intercourse by signs between the native Indians of our country, who have visited the institutions for the deaf and dumb, and the instructors, the results of which, in a greater or less degree, have corresponded with those mentioned above.

Now, I would ask, cannot the Christian philosopher make some important practical use of these singular and interesting phenomena? In this age of wonderful experiment, may they not furnish data from which successful principles may be derived and applied with reference to the instruction of those heathen nations who have no written or printed language? May not this curious language of signs and gestures be made subservient to the speedy acquisition of the oral language of such a people by the Christian missionary, or to the communication to them of his own language, or to their mutual intercourse with each other, not only on ordinary, but on the most momentous topics, even while they are entirely ignorant of each other's spoken language?—Who that is acquainted with the propensity of all rude nations to use signs and hieroglyphic symbols in their intercourse with each other, and in the preservation of their simple historical annals; or who that has read the narratives of voyagers who have discovered unknown islands or countries, and the great difficulties they have to encounter in their intercourse with the natives, and the continual necessity which they mutually feel of resorting to signs and gestures, when every other expedient has failed, can deem it an expectation too sanguine to be indulged, that a knowledge of that matured and systematized language of signs and gestures which is

From the Emancipator.

Interesting

SCENE IN PRISON.

HARTFORD, Sept 22, 1839.

Mr Editor—

This morning a religious service was held in the prison in this city, where the African prisoners are confined, and I have thought an account of it might be interesting to your readers. All the county prisoners, (being twelve or fifteen in number, and mostly whites,) were assembled in the Hall or enclosed Piazza that surrounds the cells, and which is appropriated to the use of the Africans. Each sat on the bench he brought into the hall with him and the Africans were seated on benches along the wall and in front of the platform on which stood the preachers, the interpreters, and a few male and female Christian visitors Jingua seated himself in a chair in front of his comrades. Rev. Mr. Gallaudet went through the usual services. The subject of his discourse was laying up treasure in heaven. All the prisoners listened to the preacher with fixed and respectful attention. It was interesting, and painful too, to see these pagans, from a far distant land, gazing at the speaker, and listening to this discourse which was in a language wholly unknown to them O, thought I, for the gift of tongues to communicate to them the unsearchable riches of Christ!

After the services were ended, and the county prisoners had withdrawn, Mr. Gallaudet was requested to try to explain to the African prisoners, through the interpreter, some of the great truths of revealed religion. Accordingly, they all stood in front of the platform, with the exception of Jingua, who sat in a chair in front of the group, while Mr. G. with Mr. Ferry, the African interpreter, and one of the prisoners named Grah-bah-wah, who is from Gallinas, stood on his right and left to communicate his thoughts to his attentive audience. This man speaks the Kissi dialect better even than Bowle or rather Bahoo. Mr. G. expressed his thoughts to Mr Ferry, he translated them into the Kissi dialect to the man above named, who made them known in the Mandingo tongue, in a very animated manner, to his comrades. Most of them listened with eager attention, and I indulge the hope that many new and invaluable ideas were communicated to them. May the Holy Spirit imprint them indelibly on the hearts and consciences of these benighted men! The substance of what Mr. G. said is as follows, each sentence having been fully explained by itself.

"I am your friend, and wish to say a few words to you about God.

"I know about God, for I have this book, (showing a Bible,) that tells about him.

"God told good men many years ago to write this book.

"God tells us, in this book, that we have something within us—the thinking part—that will never die.

"When our bodies die, this thinking part will go up to meet God.

"If we do what God tells us to do, in this book we shall, when we die, be happy.

"If we are wicked, he will not let us go to the good place, but to the bad place.

"This book tells me that God has a Son—his name is Jesus Christ—that he sen

him into the world. He died here—and if we are sorry for what we have done that is wicked, he will forgive us.

"If you pray to God, and ask him to put good thoughts into your hearts—and if you love JesusChrist when you pray—God will hear you, although you know but little about him.

"We are your friends because God tells us in this book that we ought to be so."

While Mr. Gallaudet was speaking, two or three left the group, went to the farther end of the hall, lighted their pipes, and began to smoke. Jingua soon perceived it, rose from his seat, went to them, and struck their pipes out of their hands, and directed them to attend to the speaker. He then returned and resumed his seat. What an instinctive lesson is this to careless and ill-bred attendants in Christian assemblies!

The Christian friends present then sung the missionary hymn, "From Greenland's icy mountains," &c., the whole audience standing. The Africans listened to the singing with engagedness. It was truly an interesting scene, and one long to be remembered by those who were present. One of the African interpreters says that in his country the people did not work one day every week. Mr. Gallaudet has conversed with the prisoners in the *language of signs*, and believes that several of them, if not all, have some intelligent ideas of a Supreme Being, and the penal consequences of transgression. The Court were so fully persuaded of this that they received the affidavit of one of them. This man was asked in prison if he knew what God would do with him if he told lies. He replied, in his own language, pointing to a biscuit in his hand, "God did not give me this to tell lies" What a rebuke is this to ungrateful, disobedient and wicked men, who lie, steal and defraud in a Christian land!

Respectfully yours,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

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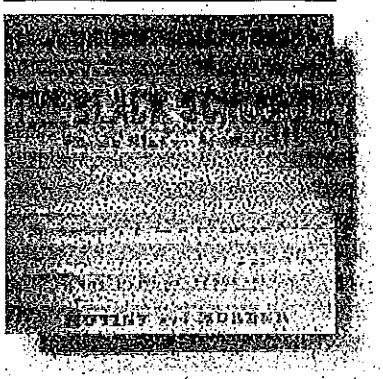

Bibliography and Image

"The Captive Africans," *Emancipator*, 17 Oct. 1839.

From The New Haven Record.

The Captive Africans.

Burna, the elder, one of the captured Africans, has remained in New Haven, being too unwell to accompany the others to Hartford. Within a few days past we have had the pleasure of an interview with him, in company with a friend, in which we made an attempt to obtain some information from him through the medium of signs. Both of us had once been accustomed to this mode of communication, by being employed in teaching deaf mutes. He seemed at first to have but little notion of this way of talking. He appeared not to have as much vivacity or quickness of perception as some of the others, though he showed a great deal of intelligence. He was very much interested in pictures of lions, tigers, elephants and other animals, which by putting his finger to his eye he indicated that he had seen, and by other significant gestures and imitation of sounds, he plainly showed he was familiar with. He described the manner of climbing the palm tree and throwing down the cocoa nuts and eating them.

He says he is *Banda*, which he describes as a country of extent. By laying coppers upon the table or floor, he described to us the relative position of *Banda, Timmani, Bullom and Manding*. Bullom, he says, is by the sea. At the other places he says there is no sea. Timmani, or Tim, as he calls it, he says is about three day's journey, north or north-east of Bullom; Banda, some 10 or 12 farther in the same direction, and Manding, he says, is a great way off, to indicate a great distance he has a a peculiar way of rapidly snapping his thumb and finger with his arm extended, accompanied with a significant inarticulate sound, and a corresponding expression of countenance. He also says that Cong is still farther off than Manding. Konoma and Sa, he says are Cong. As was stated in our last paper, they call themselves Cong or Congo.--There is a Kong laid down on all the maps in the interior. The other names except Banda, are also found on the maps, in situations corresponding to his account.

He made with a pencil eighteen marks for those who died on the passage from Africa to Havana--signifying by gestures that they were thrown into the sea--ten marks for those that died on the passage from Havana to this country, and four for those that have died since. He made also five marks and named them as the countries of the eighteen, as follows:--*Manding, Boopoo, Quanoo,* or *Kanoo*, which is also called *Houssa*, (Kanoo is in fact the chief city of Houssa,)*Quango or Congo and Kishee.* When asked how many days they were on the passage from Africa to Havana, he hesitated, a little perplexed, and finally said, two *moons.*

The Banda and Timmani, he says, are one or closely connected, and speak the same or nearly the same language. He also understands the Bullom and Manding, and repeats the numerals and the names of objects in these languages. Several of his companions, he says, are Banda. The above are about all the important facts obtained from him. He did not seem to enter at once into the idea of conducting a narration by signs, and a single interview was not sufficient to obtain many particulars of his history.

Bibliography and Image

Writ of Habeas Corpus Sept term 1839

...ther re-

...Leone.

...ght up at

On request of the committee at New York, ...e Rev. Leonard Bacon and Henry G. Ludlow, ...d Mr. Amos Townsend, Jr., of New Haven, ...nsented to act as a committee to take mea...res for giving intellectual and religious in...uction to these benighted pagans, during ...ch time as they might remain accessible to ...e efforts of Christian benevolence. This ...mmittee were fortunate in engaging the ser...ces of Mr. George E. Day, a gentleman of ...eral education, who has been a professor in ...e New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and is familiar with the language of signs, and the other peculiar methods of conveying instruction employed in these institutions. An excellent matron is also engaged to teach the four little children.

The first attention of all parties, on finding complete access to the captives, through their countrymen, was of course directed to the obtaining of a full and separate statement of the facts connected with their present situation, and putting them into a form to be available for any legal purposes that might be required.* These affidavits satisfied the learned counsel employed, that great abuses had been endured by the Africans, at the hands of Messrs. Ruiz and Montez. The following condensed statement of some of them was prepared by Mr.

...a native African, ...ble to converse ...and imperfectly

...trial came on at ...esults of which ...After the trial, ...o New Haven, ...who had taken ...and who was ...ursuits, came to ...rmed brig Buz...g in our waters ...ssels seized by ...ng engaged in ...f the numerals ...ded in finding

...soners, ... is felt by all who ... tiæ of the examination ... whelming evidence of ... Your's, re...

This afternoon, alm... the two interpreters, ... been engaged with sp... to take place in Nov... named Grabaung wa... tive of himself since ... tion in the papers. ... considerably exhaus... which have already ... substance of what he... tails, and it was not ... the matter. Grabau... the passage from A... the vessel there was ... the women and chi... merous. They wer... by the wrists and le... day and night. H... the Africans name... floor to show the p... were obliged to sle... The space betwee... ing to their accoun... they were obliged, ... keep a crouching ... aft, were crowded ... (Gra...

[Here the affidavit of the ors was introduced.]

AFFIDAVIT OF BAHOO.

I, Bahoo, of Bandaboo, in Africa, being duly cautioned, depose and say, that I knew Marngroo and Kenyee, two little girls, now in prison at Hartford; they were born at Bandaboo, in Mandingo, and came over in the same vessel that I did to Havana, as did Penna and the little boy Carre; that they were about two moons in coming from Africa to Havana, where they staid less than one moon. Good many in the vessel, and many died—were tight together, two and two chained together by hands and feet, night and day, until near Havana, when the chains were taken off—were landed on the coast at a little place, near sun set—stayed until night, and walked into the city, put them in an old building, and fastened them in—after some time the people now in jail

Africans, which provides
aken on board of American ves-
ed in the slave trade, may be
o their native land by the direc-
President.

PLES said, the Counsel for the
ould require some time to con-
bject, in order to answer the
eturn, which request was
e Court.

Morning, September 20.

SEDGWICK, Jr. Esq. said, the
girls, brought up on the
s corpus, answer and reply
al's return, by their proper
nted by the Court, That
w and never were slaves, or
Don Pedro Montez, but
born at some place in the
ambia, in Africa; that, on
last past, they were seized
n Pedro Montez, or his
other person or persons,
on board a Portuguese or
nd carried to the Island
minions of the Queen of
the laws of nations

that they had seen and conversed with the
African girls imprisoned in the jail in
Hartford; and that they were native
Africans, the eldest about nine years old
and the youngest about seven; and that
they can speak neither the Spanish nor
Portuguese languages.

Mr. Staples said the Marshal had in
custody an African, who came in the same
vessel with the girls, about 25 years of
age; and that Rev. Mr. Gallaudet had been
conversing with him, by signs, and was of the
opinion that he understood sufficiently the
nature of an oath to justify its being ad-
ministered; and the Court ordered his
deposition to be taken.

RALPH I. INGERSOLL, Esq. If the Court
please, I would make the suggestion
whether your honors will go into this in-
quiry, on the writ of *habeas corpus*, while
the merits of the case are pending before
another tribunal, the District Court. It
appears, by the answer put in yesterday,
that these persons are libelled in the Dis-
trict Court as the property of Spanish
subjects. They are also libelled on the

ing the
individuals, wh
justice might
in this summ
possible to g
this summary
B. S.
please the
gone forward
question, up
able Court
The ground
are, that the
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in the taking of which, Perry acted as interpreter. Mr. Ingersoll wished to examine Perry; which was acceeded to. On this examination, Perry said it was about seventeen years since he left Africa—his age at that time was guessed to be 11 or 12—supposed himself to be about 30 now—was not a native of Gallina—staid there a good while—should think better than a year—learned the language during that time—came from Gallina to the West Indies—had an opportunity of speaking the Gallinas language once or twice a week, when he could get a chance of visiting a plantation, where there were natives Gallinas. Understood Bahoo to say he nderstood what he said—is sure he under. ood him well. Bahoo is Mandingo, but peaks Gallinas.—Explained to him the uestions—told him what the justice told m to say—inquired whether he under. od about God—made him understand sworn to tell the whole truth—told should be punished if he did not—

were put on board the same vessel they came here in, in the night, and nobody knew about the time the gun fired. I know that these children are the same that came over from Africa, and that Marugteo and Kenyee were born in the same place I was, which was Bandaboo, and further saith not.

BANOO, his + mark.

State of Connecticut, Hartford, September the 20th, 1839.

Mr. STAPLES.—This is a very able discussion, showing what are offences against the law of nations, and against any particular sovereignty. None, however, pretended that the Executive had any right to deliver up, except by the 27th article of the treaty with Great Britain.

JUDGE THOMPSON.—Has it never been held to be in the discretion of the Court to deliver up?

Mr. STAPLES.—Never. Chancellor Kent decided that, by comity of nations, he could deliver up; but Justice Tilghman decided the other way. He says those that have contended for the right, have maintained

To the Editors of the Journal of Commerce:

New Haven, Oct. 8, 1839.

Gentlemen.—The following short and plain narrative of one or two of the African captives, in whose history and prospects such anxious interest is felt, has been taken at the earliest opportunity possible, consistently with more important examinations. It may be stated in general terms, as the result of the investigations thus far made, that the Africans all testify that they left Africa about six months since; were landed under cover of the night at a small village or hamlet near Havana, and after 10 or 12 days were taken through Havana by night by the man who had bought them named Pipi, who has since been satisfactorily proved to be Ruiz; were cruelly treated on the passage, being beaten and flogged, and in some instances having vinegar and gunpowder rubbed into their wounds; and that they suffered intensely from hunger and thirst. The perfect coincidence in the testimony of the prisoners, examined as they have been separately, is felt by all who are acquainted with the minutiae of the examination, to carry with it overwhelming evidence of the truth of their story. Yours respect'ly,

GEORGE E. DAY.

Monday, Oct. 7.

This afternoon, almost the first time in which the two interpreters Covey and Pratt have not been engaged with special reference to the trial to take place in November, one of the captives named Grabaung was requested to give a narrative of himself since leaving Africa, for publication in the papers. The interpreters, who are considerably exhausted by the examinations which have already taken place, only gave the substance of what he said, without going into details, and it was not thought advisable to press the matter. Grabaung first gave an account of the passage from Africa to Havana. On board the vessel there was a large number of men, but the women and children were far the most numerous. They were fastened together in couples by the wrists and legs, and kept in that situation day and night. Here Grabaung and another of the Africans named Kimbo, lay down upon the floor to show the painful position in which they were obliged to sleep. By day it was no better. The space between decks was so small,—according to their account not exceeding four feet,—that they were obliged, if they attempted to stand, to keep a crouching posture. The decks, fore and aft, were crowded to overflowing. They suffered (Grabaung said) terribly. They had rice enough to eat, but had very little to drink. If they left any of the rice that was given to them uneaten, either from sickness or any other cause, they were whipped. It was a common thing for them to be forced to eat so much as to vomit. Many of the men, women, and children, died on the passage.

They were landed by night at a small village near Havana. Soon several white men came to buy them, and among them was the one claiming to be their master, whom they call Pip, said to be a Spanish nick name [sic] for Jose. Pip, or Ruiz, selected such as he liked, and made them stand in a row. He then felt each of them in every part of the body; made

them open their mouths to see if their teeth were sound, and carried the examination to a degree of minuteness of which only a slave dealer would be guilty.

When they were separated from their companions who had come with them from Africa, there was weeping among the women and children, but Grabaung did not weep, "because he is a man." Kimbo, who sat by, said that he also shed no tears—but he thought of his home in Africa, and of friends left there whom he should never see again.

The men bought by Ruiz were taken on foot through Havana in the night, and put on board a vessel. During the night they were kept in irons, placed about the hands, feet, and neck. They were treated during the day in a somewhat milder manner, though all the irons were never taken off at once. Their allowance of food was very scant, and of water still more so. They were very hungry, and suffered much in the hot days and nights from thirst. In addition to this there was much whipping, and the cook told them that when they reached land they would all be eaten. This "made their hearts burn." To avoid being eaten, and to escape the bad treatment they experienced, they rose upon the crew with the design of returning to Africa.

Such is the substance of Grabaung's story, confirmed by Kimbo, who was present most of the time. He says he likes the people of this country, because, to use his own expression, "they are good people—they believe in God, and there is no slavery here."

The story of Grabaung was then read and and interpreted to Cinquez, while a number of the other Africans were standing about, and confirmed by all of them in every particular. When the part relating to the crowded state of the vessel from Africa to Havana was read, Cinquez added that there was scarcely room enough to sit or lie down. another showed the marks of the irons on his wrists, which must at the time have been terribly lacerated. On their separation at Havana, Cinquez remarked that almost all of them were in tears, and himself among the rest, "because they had come from the same country, and were now to be parted forever." To the question, how it was possible for the Africans, when chained in the manner he described, to rise upon the crew, he replied that the chain which connected the iron collars about their necks, was fastened at the end by a padlock, and that this was first broken and afterwards the other irons. Their object he said in the affray was to make themselves free. He then requested it to be added to the above, that "if he tells a lie, God sees him by day and by night."

Related title(s)

A History of the Amistad Captives: Being a Circumstantial Account of the Capture of the Spanish Schooner Amistad, by the Africans on Board; Their Voyage, and Capture Near Long Island, New York; with Biographical Sketches of Each of the Surviving Africans; Also, an Account of the Trials had on Their case, Before the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, for the District of Connecticut by John Warner Barber, 1798-1885
Return to North American Slave Narratives Home Page

Return to Documenting the American South Home Page

A. M. A. ARCHIVES
NO. FI-464
FISK UNIV.

October 19, 1839

New Haven, Oct. 19. 1839.

Mr. Lewis Tappan

Dear Sir —

At the suggestion of Mr. Townsend, I take the liberty of requesting your assistance in procuring School apparatus for the Africans. In accordance with the advice of Mr. Gallaudet, we have procured pictures of single objects & commenced by teaching them the names of these objects, so that they shall be able to pronounce the name ~~both~~ upon seeing either the picture or the printed word. Yesterday 20 or 30 small pictures were stuck about the room, in which the Africans ~~usually do~~ often most of their time, & it was found at the close of the day, that many of them, by the aid of visitors

had ~~learned~~ committed all the words. Our small stock of pictures of single objects is now about exhausted, & ~~no more~~ we are unable to find any more in New Haven. Will you have the kindness, Sir, to send us up as great a variety of pictures suited to our object as you can find. It would be well to send duplicates or better triplicates of each, so that we may have enough to suspend about the sitting room; ~~as well~~ one copy of each we shall need for the school room. As we are in pressing want of them we would thank you to send up as many as can be obtained before that time by Tuesday's boat, directed to the care of "B. & W. Noyes" booksellers. More would doubtless be found afterwards, — especially if Mr. Bartlett or Mr. Cary, instructors in the Deaf & Dumb institution, whose employment has led them to a considerable acquaintance with ~~the~~ elementary cards & picture books were to undertake to search for them. Either of these gentlemen would willingly engage in the business, I have no doubt, should you ~~commission~~ request them to do so. As cards can be found only to a limited extent we must rely principally upon pictures in books — cut out & pasted upon cards, they answer every purpose —

With respect to the Africans, it may be said with confidence, they manifest ~~fully~~ as much intelligence, as any promiscuous collection of white men, I have ever seen. One here are great difficulties in the way of their learning our language under their present circumstances — you will find them stated briefly in the last N. Haven Record — yet their progress on the whole, their interest, docility & patience much surpass our expectations. Messrs Leavitt & Griswold, the gentlemen who have assumed the burden

of their instruction have entered upon their ~~business~~ labors with great spirit. ~~and if~~ they are just the men in every respect to be engaged in this peculiarly difficult course of instruction.

The haste in which I have written must be my apology for requesting you not to let ~~the~~

A. M. A. ARCHIVES
NO:
FISK UNIV.

Prof Day.
Get cards &c and send Sunday morning

Mr. Lewis Tappan
122 Pearl St
New York

No Inman can use any of the facts without mentioning names. Return letter to L.T.

Prof Day - Other - Those cards by Dr Cherry why on publicly desired us to send are wholly lost. I will search further & forward how if we find them. We send a few fresh cards (Wales) - a copy of Cherry's work - Parley's Present & Lith Chiefly Work - Wesson's Hand Book & Synthetical Primer & Sam's Primer were paid at

note be made public. Should you deem it desirable to ~~communicate~~ send to the paper, any of the facts I have mentioned, I should not object to it. - In that case however, they would be stated in your own language, or at least in the 3d person - In haste

Yours Respectfully
George E. Day

Geo. E. Day.
New Haven Oct 19/39

M. A. S. Vines
1842

A VISIT

TO

THE UNITED STATES

IN

1841;

BY

JOSEPH STURGE.

" 'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil; hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eyesight of discovery; and begets,
In those that suffer it, a sordid mind.
* * * * * * * Unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form."

COWPER.

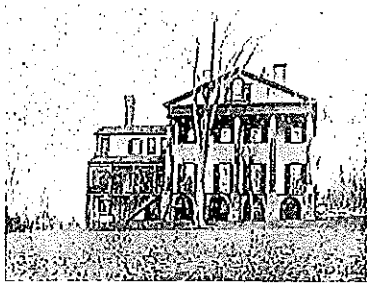
LONDON:
HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.
BIRMINGHAM: B. HUDSON, BULL STREET.

1842.

Digitized by Google

Farmington, Connecticut,

The Village of Beautiful Homes.



THE JAMES LEWIS COWLES PLACE

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTIONS, ILLUSTRATING EVERY HOME IN THE TOWN.

PROMINENT PEOPLE PAST AND PRESENT,
ALL OF THE SCHOOL CHILDREN,
LOCAL ANTIQUES, ETC.

FARMINGTON, CONNECTICUT,
1906.

sky and she was sure they would be destroyed, but was reassured when I told her that at certain seasons we often had those lights.

I felt sorry to part with Tamie, for she was very interesting and I wonder shall we meet again.—J. M. BROWN.

*Cinques, The Black Prince.

SIXTY years ago a band of African savages led by their warrior chieftains and in defiance of opposition on the part of many townspeople, invaded our peaceful village and in a way took possession of the place. To very many of the present generation the foregoing statment may seem altogether incredible, but it is nothing more than history slightly "embroidered" for dramatic effect.

In 1841 the case of the "Amistad Captives" was of international importance, and never has Farmington been so truly the center of public attention, as when these distinguished foreigners were among her summer visitors.

Their story is quite as romantic as those that are served up in the modern novel, and I am permitted briefly to recount it here for I can clearly remember, as clearly that is as achild may who was barely three years old at the time—how this same Black Prince used to toss me up and seat me upon his broad shoulder while he executed a barbaric dance on the lawn for my entertainment. There are those, however, living in Farmington, whose personal recollections of Cinquez* and his following are clearer than mine, so I hasten to cite the story from authorities.

In the year 1839 saiding masters on the high seas were still on the lookout for suspicious craft, and deemed it prudent to give a wide berth to "long, low, black schooners with raking masts," beloved in the story books of venturesome boys and very justly the terror of honest merchantmen. When, therefore, such a schooner was sighted on an August morning of the year in question, boxing about off Montauk Point, all well disposed coasters and fisher folk fled to the nearest ports for safety, and the government was notified by mail, the telephone being out of order, that a sure enough pirate was ravaging the eastern end of Long Island.

Steam was unknown to the revenue service of that period, and several days passed before the swift sailing cutter "Washington," Lieutenant Gedney, overhauled the supposed marauder and with her crew at quarters sent an armed boat to take possession. During these few days before the revenue cutter put in an appearance, the supposed pirate had sent very formidable looking and nearly naked black men ashore to purchase supplies for which they paid in Spanish doubloons, and certain venturesome sailor men with confidence in the speed of their boats had drawn near enough to the suspected schooner to see that she was manned entirely by blacks, and apparently only wanted to be let alone. Her name was found to be the "Amistad."

No serious resistance was offered to the revenue men, but one splendid specimen of an African plunged overboard, struck out for the open sea, and was only rescued from death by drowning through the efforts of an entire boat's crew, who lassooed him and hauled him aboard after he was quite exhausted by his exertions. This was Cinquez, the Black Prince, and he afterward admitted that it was his intention never to be taken alive.

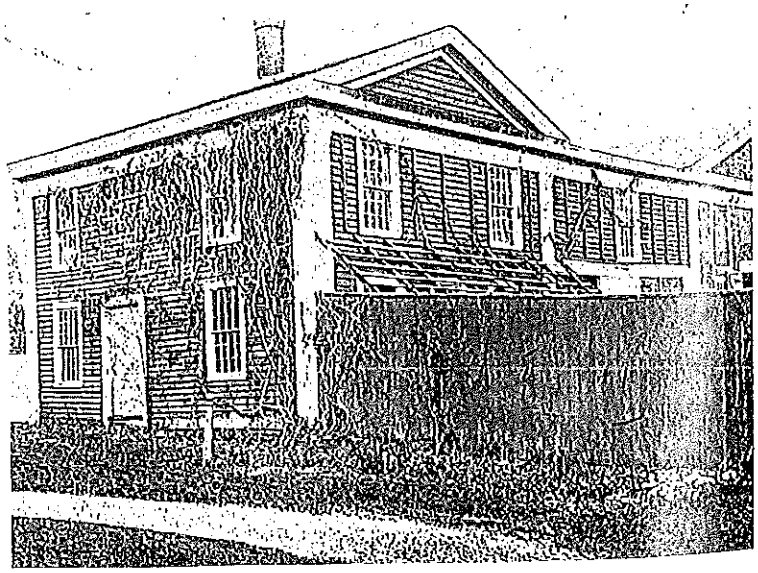
Below decks were found two white men, Spaniards, Montez and Ruis by name, and Antonio, a cabin boy. All hands were taken to New London and held for government action. Then it came out that the "Amistad" was a slaver, and that the thirty-four black men and three women found on board were the survivors of a "cargo" run off from the west coast after the usual methods of traders. They must have been treated with somewhat more humanity than usual for less than a score of them died and were thrown overboard during the passage to Cuba, where Montez and Ruis bought the whole outfit and sailed at once for their plantations at Puerto Principe.

But they had reckoned without consulting the Black Prince. His must indeed have been a high order of native intelligence, for although born, so to say, in an African jungle and having lived his thirty years or so in all essentials as a barbarian, he was observant enough during the voyage to notice that the sun always rose astern and set ahead. Therefore, said this Prince to himself, as he lay chained and gasping for air between decks, "when I sail towards home I will steer toward the rising sun."

The capture of the schooner before she reached her destination was more in the line of Cinquez's experience. None of the crew were ever heard from again, but Ruis and Montez had merely bought the black men as chattels in open market so these two were saved alive with the cabin-boy aforesaid, who was neither old enough nor big enough to have made enemies among the negroes. Cinquez notified his prisoners in unmistakable terms that the ship's course was east, but naturally enough while the unlettered African could lay a course by the sun the mystery of the mariner's compass, with its strange hieroglyphics, was too much for him, so the white men managed to keep her headed to the north and west between sunset and sunrise, and eventually she brought up as has been related, off Montauk Point, and straightway the slavery and anti-slavery factions were set by the ears.

The slave holders and their northern sympathizers supported the claim of the Spanish minister that the Africans were lawful property, while the anti-slavery faction held that since the trade in human creatures was illegitimate alike under Spanish and American law, the cap-

*Also spelled "Cinque." It was popularly pronounced "Sinqué" in New England. The Spanish terminal z is here adopted as most likely to be correct.



BUILDING USED AS "QUARTERS" BY THE "MENDI NEGROES."

tives were well within their rights when they demonstrated their title to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" on the high seas. This last mentioned view of the case was taken by the lower court sustained by the district judges, and thence carried up to the United States Supreme Court, where it was argued by the venerable John Quincy Adams of Boston and the Hon. Simeon



THE HON. SAMUEL DEMING—A STAUNCH ABOLITIONIST.

E. Baldwin of New Haven. Mr. Adams devoutly wrote in his diary on the day when he decided to act as counsel in the case: "I implore the mercy of Almighty God to so control my temper, to enlighten my soul, and to give me utterance, that I may prove myself in every way equal to the task." Whether in answer to this petition or not, his speech occupied more than two days, and on March 9th, 1841, Justice Story delivered the opinion of the Court, affirming at last the freedom of the captives.

During all the weary months since their capture the Africans had been kept in confinement at New Haven, where they were provided with more creature comforts than they had ever known before. Mr. Lewis Tappan, of New York, a noted philanthropist, and one of the founders of the American Missionary Association, was a leader in all steps taken for their benefit. He was well known to many of the older generation in Farmington, and if I mistake not, often visited the town. During this stay in New Haven some of the students in the Yale Divinity School devoted much time to the instruction of the captives in the primary branches of an English education, so that when the edict of emancipation went forth, the brightest among them were able to read and write a bit, and all had been lifted a little toward the light of civilized Christianity.

When it was decided to quarter them in Farmington, pending arrangements for their return to Africa, there was consternation among the timid souls in the quiet village. Stories of hereditary cannabalism were plentifully circulated, and there were not wanting formal protests against forcing such a burden upon the community. But Mr. Tappan and his friends prevailed at last, and with but little delay the whole band of thirty-seven embarked on a canal boat,* and, singing the Christian hymns that they had learned, voyaged up the placid water way that then led from New Haven to Northampton.

Barracks had been erected on land at the rear of the old Wadsworth House, now occupied by Mr. Dunning, and adjoining the cemetery, and here the late captives speedily made themselves at home. These barracks were still standing when I last visited the place, though I am under the impression that they have been moved somewhat from their original position.

Cinquez was a born ruler, and, ably seconded by his lieutenant Grabbo, he maintained a very creditable degree of discipline among his half savage followers. They were for the most part free to roam about except for regular school hours, and the townsfolk soon ceased to fear them. Anxious mammas at the first trembled and kept their tempting morsels of children behind bolted doors, but before long the belief in tales of canniablism died out, and it was no uncommon sight in those days to see the big grown-up black children playing with little white tots in village door yards.

The African visitors, or some of them at least, were often welcomed by my father, the late John T. Norton, at his home, now the property of Mr. Newton Barney, and as I have already said I retain dim, childish memories of the strange, kindly black men. A broad flight of steps then led down from the southern piazza of my father's house, and I distinctly remember seeing the athletic Cinquez turn a somersault from these steps and then go on down the sloping lawn in a succession of hand springs heels over head, to the wonderment and admiration of my big brothers and myself. Again I recall a visit to the barracks, where I beheld the whole black company clad, as it seems to me, in dark brown or gray jeans. In my childish eyes they seemed a mighty host, and as such they will always remain in my memory, for probably I had never before seen so many men together at any one time.

I was a favorite, too, with Grabbo, the second in command, who was allowed sometimes to take me out for excursions in the neighborhood. I can even remember that my mother was very anxious at first about these expeditions, but eventually acquired entire confidence in these big sable playmates of her little boy.

The ex-captives were expert swimmers, and very fond of bathing in the canal basins or in the mill pond until, unfortunately, poor Grabbo,* on a certain day, was taken with a cramp, and drowned, in spite of the efforts of his companions to rescue him. A messenger came at once for my father. We were sitting on the piazza in the cool of the evening; it was early dusk when we saw a dark figure striding up the path; taking no notice of the rest of us, he went straight to my father, and said in broken accents, "We—want—you—Grabbo he daid," and with that he



"KITCHEN DETAIL"—AT THE "MENDI" QUARTERS—FOR A PART OF OCTOBER, 1841.
(Fac Simile)

For: Kim Silva

LIST OF PUPILS

IN THE SCHOOL WITHIN THE YEAR ENDING ON THE 14th OF MAY, 1842; THE TIME OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASYLUM.

Age in 1841

	Names.	Admission.	Residence.	Supported by
16	Allard, Jonathan	May 1841	Newark, Vt.	Vermont.
12	Allen, Delia A.	June 1839	Westfield, Mass.	Mass.
15	Allen, James M.	May 1840	East Windsor, Conn.	Conn.
12	Allen, Mary M.	" 1840	" " "	Friends.
	Arnold, William F.	Nov. 1841	Somers, Conn.	Conn.
20	Averill, William H.	May 1837	Branford, Conn.	Conn.
14	Badger, Mary E.	" 1837	Charlestown, Mass.	Mass.
18	Barnes, Mary	Ap'l 1838	Mendon, Mass.	Mass.
20	Bartlett, Sarah E.	May 1840	Lyndeborough, N. H.	N. H.
15	Bassett, Amanda P	May 1841	Derby, Conn.	Conn.
15	Beall, Louisa	July 1837	Newton Co., Ga.	Georgia.
26	Berton, Emma Ann	June, 1839	Fredericton, N. B.	Friends.
15	Blizzard, Halsted	July, 1837	Baldwin Co., Ga.	Georgia.
14	Blizzard, Sarah	July 1837	" "	Georgia.
26 ~~30~~	Bogan, Rosanna	May 1839	Jasper Co., "	Friends.
18	Boyce, Aldis	May 1841	Richmond, N. H.	N. H.
27	Brackett, Joshua	May 1840	Hermon, Me.	Maine.
12	Briggs, Sarah J.	" 1839	Brandon, Vt.	Vermont.
13	Brightman, Job A.	" 1840	South Westport, Mass.	Mass.
11	Buzzell, Sarah	June 1841	Barrington, N. H.	N. H.
21	Campbell, Seth	May 1841	Bedford, N. H.	N. H.
16	Chandler, George H.	" 1838	Montague, Mass.	Mass.
23	Cleaves, Daniel	" 1838	Saco, Me.	Maine.
20	Clement, Emily Ann	" 1838	Chelsea, Vt.	Vermont.
14	Closson, Harriet T.	" 1839	Lyme, Conn.	Conn.
24	Closson, Jeremiah	Oct. 1840	" "	Conn.
14	Coe, Sherman D.	May 1841	Middletown, Conn.	Conn.
14	Coffin, Sally C.	" 1839	Wolfborough, N. H.	N. H.
15	Cotton, John R.	July 1837	Salina, N. Y.	Friends.
26	Darling, Ann J.	May 1840	Woodstock, Vt.	Vermont.
14	Davis, George W.	" 1840	Milton, Mass.	Mass.
18	Davis, Hiram	" 1839	Bennington, Vt.	Vermont.
18	Deberry, Edmund jr.	" 1838	Montgomery Co., N. C.	Friends.
20	Denison, Alpa M. (f.)	" 1838	Washington, Vt.	Vermont.
18	Denison, Gratia	" 1838	" "	Vermont.
15	Doring, Edward	" 1836	Boston, Mass.	Asylum.
18	Edson, Prudence A. J.	" 1838	Hartford, Vt.	Vermont.
12	Edson, Rhoda A. M.	" 1838	" "	Vermont.
14	Esty, Caroline E. A. F.	" 1839	Boxford, Mass.	Mass.
22	Everton, Amos H.	" 1840	Mendon, "	Mass.
12	Fitch, Francis G.	" 1841	Lancaster, Mass.	Mass.
18	Foster, Sarah W.	" 1838	Seekonk, "	Mass. } Twins
18	Foster, Sophia A.	" 1838	" "	Mass. }
18	Fraser, William	Ap'l 1836	Charleston, S. C.	S. C.

Names.	Admission.	Residence.	Supported by
18 Scovel, Olive	Aug. 1838	Cornwall, Conn.	Conn.
28 Scovel, Stephen	July 1838	" "	Conn. - left June 1841
12 Skinner, John	May 1841	Pomfret, Conn.	Conn.
15 Smart, Samuel	" 1841	Compton, N. H.	N. H.
9 Smith, Amos Jr.	" 1841	Cambridgeport, Mass.	Mass.
19 Smith, Artemas	" 1840	Wilmington, Vt.	Vermont.
20 Smith, Thomas	" 1837	New Boston, N. H.	N. H.
15 Stearns, Chester	" 1840	Bradford, Me.	Maine.
16 Stearns, Ruth J.	" 1840	" "	Maine.
22 Stone, Ann R.	" 1838	Oakham, Mass.	Mass.
15 Sullivan, Margaret	" 1839	Charleston, S. C.	S. C.
17 Swett, William B.	" 1839	Henniker, N. H.	N. H.
29 Taylor, Linda	" 1837	Andover, Vt.	Vermont.
16 Thresher, Julius	June 1841	Lowell, Mass.	Mass.
19 Tilden, Edward	May 1838	Fairlee, Vt.	Vermont.
17 Tilton, Franklin	" 1841	Chilmark, Mass.	Mass.
19 Tilton, Zeno	" 1841	" "	Mass.
17 Titcomb, Augustus	" 1840	Cumberland, Me.	Maine.
18 Tucker, Harriet N.	" 1836	Milton, Mass.	Mass.
24 Turner, Sarah A.	" 1841	Clinton, Conn.	Conn.
15 Tyler, Mariette	" 1840	Westford, Vt.	Vermont.
21 Tyler, Royal G. N.	" 1839	Killingworth, Conn.	Conn.
16 Watson, Sarah Q.	" 1838	Warner, N. H.	N. H.
19 Watson, Uriah	" 1840	Lowell, Mass.	Mass.
11 Wentworth, Beulah C.	" 1841	Montpelier, Vt.	Vermont.
16 White, Sarah	" 1837	Leicester, Mass.	Mass.
17 Whittlesey, James H.	" 1840	Canaan, N. H.	N. H.
26 Williams, Samuel	June 1841	Falmouth, Me.	Friends.
13 Winchester, Ezra	May 1840	Norwich city, Conn.	Conn.
15 Wood, Gilbert	" 1837	Benson, Vt.	Vermont.

Supported	by their Friends,	19
"	by Maine,	19
"	by New Hampshire,	13
"	by Vermont,	22
"	by Massachusetts,	31
"	by Connecticut,	22
"	by South Carolina,	2
"	by Georgia,	4
"	by the Asylum,	1
"	by himself,	1
	Total,	134

	Names.	Admission.	Residence.	Supported by
17	Fuller, Rodney	May 1839	Putney, Vt.	Vermont.
13	Gerrard, George A.	June 1839	Wilmington, N. C.	Friends.
27	Goodwin, Asa	May 1841	Middleton, N. H.	N. H.
21	Gordon, Mary H.	" 1840	Hollis, Me.	Maine.
19	Grant, Hiram jr.	June 1838	East Windsor, Conn.	Conn.
22	Grant, Wentworth	May 1841	Wentworth, N. H.	N. H.
19	Greenwood, Sarah J.	" 1837	Farmington, Me.	Maine.
17	Hastings, Daniel	Ap'l 1839	Greenfield, Mass.	Mass.
24	Hawes, Elizabeth	Sep. 1840	Lincoln, Co., Ga.	Georgia.
15	Hooper, Jane	Ap'l 1840	Guysborough, N. S.	Friends.
17	Houghton, Alexander	June 1836	Millbury, Mass.	Mass.
16	Jenckes, Ruth A. M.	May 1837	Sturbridge, Mass.	Mass.
19	Jocelyn, Jonathan jr.	" 1837	Ware, Mass.	Mass.
13	Johnson, Emily	" 1841	Lima, N. Y.	Friends.
11	Johnson, Gertrude	" 1841	" "	Friends.
14	Jones, Robert P.	" 1840	Falmouth, Me.	Maine.
19	Joy, Nancy E.	" 1838	Lubec, Me.	Maine.
29	Kendall, Polly	" 1840	Greenbush, Vt.	Vermont.
32	Kendall, Sarah	" 1840	" "	Vermont.
31	Kendall, Sophia	" 1840	" "	Vermont.
19	Kenny, Henry	" 1840	Greenfield, Mass.	Mass.
17	Ladd, Celia M.	" 1839	Ellington, Conn.	Conn.
23	Lanphier, Fanny	" 1841	Hopkinton, R. I.	Friends.
28	Lanphier, Maria	" 1841	" "	Friends.
17	Lord, Mary J.	" 1840	Sidney, Me.	Maine.
21	Lovejoy, Orrin	" 1840	" "	Maine.
16	Mc'Cluer, Rebecca	" 1839	Merrimac, N. H.	N. H.
14	Macomber, Olive	" 1840	Westport, Mass.	Mass.
14	Mann, Mary A.	" 1838	Randolph, Mass.	Mass.
16	Martin, Ellen G.	Oct. 1840	New Orleans.	Friends.
14	Meacham, James S.	May 1840	Guildhall, Vt.	Friends.
16	Meeker, Julia	June 1837	Durham, Conn.	Conn.
13	Messer, James	May 1840	Boston, Mass.	Mass.
31	Morgan, Diodate (mj)	" 1840	Longmeadow, Mass.	Himself.
16	Oaks, Catherine	Feb. 1833	Richmond, Mass.	Mass.
14	O'Brien, Nancy	May 1838	Boston, Mass.	Mass.
26	Ogburn, Mary A. L.	Sep. 1838	Brunswick Co., Va.	Friends.
17	Page, John W.	May 1838	Hollis, Me.	Maine.
12	Page, Nelson S.	" 1839	Sherman, Conn.	Conn.
14	Parker, Charles	" 1841	West Rupert, Vt.	Vermont.
10	Pease, Amelia A.	" 1841	Hartford, Conn.	Friends.
13	Pease, Bathsheba H.	" 1838	Somers, "	Conn.
12	Pease, Martha A.	" 1837	Hartford, "	Conn.
	Peck, Eunice	July 1841	Monroe, Conn.	Conn. Left Aug. 4, 1841
22	Perkins, Phebe	May 1837	Sanford, Me.	Maine.
16	Perkins, Sally	" 1837	" "	Maine.
15	Poland, Ira	" 1839	Essex, Mass.	Mass.
11	Phelps, Daniel W.	Dec. 1839	Middlebury, Vt.	Friends.
19	Pike, Eliza	May 1840	Buxton, Me.	Maine.
16	Pool, George W.	" 1837	Weymouth, Mass.	Mass.
17	Randall, Cyrus	June 1840	North Stonington, Conn.	Conn.
15	Read, Adin T.	May 1840	Dummerston, Vt.	Vermont.
13	Read, Lucy M.	" 1840	" "	Vermont.
22	Record, Olivia J.	" 1838	Buckfield, Me.	Maine.
10	Reynolds, Sarah J.	" 1841	Winchester, Conn.	Friends.
21	Rines, Stephen	Ap'l 1837	Augusta, Me.	Maine.
12	Roberts, Miranda D.	May 1841	Hartford, Conn.	Conn.
19	Rogers, Ellen P.	" 1837	Freeport, Me.	Maine.
19	Rowe, Benjamin	" 1841	New Gloucester, Me.	Maine.
17	Sanford, William S.	" 1841	King's Co. N. S.	Friends.

Agricultural Association

turned about and sped away, the big tears chasing one another down his dark cheeks.

Such are some of the dim memories that linger with me concerning this singular episode of sixty years ago. It is with some diffidence that I venture into print with them, for after so long a time I may easily be at fault in details, and as I have already hinted, there are some, older even than I, whose recollections of the Black Prince and his people must be far more worthy of record .

Eventually, through the efforts of charitable folk and the Missionary Society, the thirty-six survivors were sent back to their native Africa with a generous equipment of funds and teachers, and in January, 1842, were established in a colony known as the Mendi Mission, near Sierra Leone.—CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON, in *Farmington Magazine*, February, 1901.

*It has since been learned that the Africans probably came up from New Haven in wagons that were sent for them.

*Called Fooni in records.

Japanese Students.

ONE-QUARTER of a century ago a goodly number of youths from Japan came to our village and found a good home, also careful instruction at Mr. Edward L. Hart's. Some were sent by the Japanese government, others paid part themselves and a few had abundant means. Among the number, three stand out in our memory more prominently than the others. Shmadz, who was of royal birth, distinguished himself by appearing several times daily in different suits, of various shades and cuts, all American tailor-made; with beautiful jewels wherever a man could wear them; neck and footwear the most choice; and crowning all, a very conscious air. He was a genuine dude!

Mogami, his opposite in every way, was poor, of humble birth, modest, and had a most lovely nature which endeared him to all his American associates. If I am not mistaken all his education was received here whereas the others, after leaving here, graduated from the Hartford High School and Yale College. Mogami had with him a friend who sickened and died. He cared for his friend most tenderly and to show his appreciation to the ladies here, who sent delicacies and did for him in other ways, had some copies of our hymnal, the "Plymouth Collection," very richly bound and presented them, writing in each, both in English and Japanese, words of gratitude. Mitsukuri, an unusually bright youth, made friends here, and at home a name for himself which gave him the title of professor and brought him to this country a few years ago on some business of scientific importance. He remembered his friends, even those in little Farmington, calling upon them all.

Many evenings were devoted to these young men while they were here at their studies. They were most eager to learn our games and were quick to acquire them where we were slow and clumsy to learn theirs, owing to the exceedingly quick and deft finger motions required. They were too polite to laugh at us but we did that part for them very well and gave up trying to manipulate our fingers as it was quite out of the question to do anything in that line as skilfully as they without practice from infancy. At one gathering, when refreshments were passed, Mogami was asked to "take a kiss." He arose somewhat embarrassed but evidently determined to do his full duty. When it seemed necessary to explain that the kiss he was to take was of sugar and on the plate, he also explained that "kiss is of the lips," and it took him some time to get the idea straightened out, retaining an expression of wonder for a half hour or more, and I must add, he was very good natured about the merriment it created. The double meaning of words perplexed them greatly.

Mitsukuri afterwards often wrote his friends here of his efforts to secure for the women of his country more liberty and pleasure. After many, many months came a joyful letter saying his sisters were allowed to join himself and a few friends occasionally of an evening for games but it was a much longer time before they were permitted any instruction. Some years ago at the World's Fair, the head of the Japanese department was pleased when these countrymen of his were enquired after and said, among other things, "Shmadz is a great man in our country, very high in rank, and Mitzukuri is very learned; he has a great mind."—S. L. GRUMAN in *Farmington Magazine*, Oct., 1901.



RESIDENCE OF HENRY M. WARREN.

Color, No Index of Worth
by *Lydia Huntley Sigourney*

God gave to Afric's sons
A brow of sable dye,
And spread the country of their birth,
Beneath a burning sky.

To me he gave a form
Of fairer, whiter clay; —
But am I, therefore, in his sight,
Respected more than they?

The hue of deeds and thoughts,
He traces in his book;
'Tis the complexion of the heart ,
On which he deigns to look.

Not by the tinted cheek,
That fades away so fast,
But by the color of the soul ,
We shall be judg'd at last.

The judge will look at me,
With anger in his eyes;
If I my brother's darker brow,
Should ever dare despise.