WILLIAM WHIPPER

WILLIAM WHIPPER: MORAL REFORMER

BY RICHARD P. MCCORMICK

"Who, indeed, amongst those familiar with the history of public matters connected with the colored people of this country, has not heard of William Whipper?"1 That question, posed rhetorically by William Still a century ago, evokes but a faint echo today. For William Whipper, regarded by his contemporaries with a respect that merged with awe, is now a relatively obscure figure.2 Yet he was deeply involved for one-half century with many aspects of the movement to improve the condition of his people. As the only delegate in attendance at all six of the early national Negro conventions, as the leading spokesman of the American Moral Reform Society and editor of its journal, the National Reformer, as a "conductor" on the underground railroad and supporter of Canadian emigration, and because of his extremely successful business career, he ranks with the leaders of his era. He was, moreover, the most vigorous and eloquent black advocate of the cause of moral reform and was at the center of a major controversy over the propriety of self-segregated institutions.3

Information on Whipper's early years is lamentably sparse. Available evidence suggests that he was born in Little Britain Township, Lancaster County, on February 22, 1804.4 Other known

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3 Especially relevant general studies are Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago, 1961); Carleton Mabee, Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 Through the Civil War (New York, 1970); and Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York, 1969).
4 His birthplace is given as Little Britain in an obituary in the Philadelphia Inquirer, March 11, 1876. The date of his birth is from the inscription on his tombstone, although his self-reported age in the censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870 would place his birth in 1806. He may have been the son of Benjamin Whipper, who acquired three acres of land in the township in 1810 and died intestate in 1822. Lancaster County Deeds, vol. 4, book 7, 418; Lancaster County Bond Book A, vol. 1, letter of administration, August 12, 1822. In the 1790 census there were no individuals with the surname Whipper in the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, or South Carolina. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States . . . 1790 (4 vols., Washington, D.C., 1908).
members of his family were a sister, Mary Ann, and two brothers, Alfred and Benjamin. By 1828 he was residing in Philadelphia, evidencing a superior education, and taking an active part in the intellectual life of the black community. In 1830 he lived at 32 North Sixth Street and was employed in the humble occupation of steam scourer, which involved cleaning clothing by the use of steam.

Philadelphia in this era had the largest free black community of any northern city. Boasting exceptional educational opportunities; numerous churches, charitable and benevolent societies; and a degree of economic well-being not exceeded elsewhere, the community was remarkable for the number of its members who manifested their respectability by patronizing literary societies and adhering to a strict code of social behavior. “Should a stranger desire to see the elite of our people,” read a prideful report in the Colored American, “he must visit Philadelphia, which contains a larger number of them than any other city.”

Led by such figures as Bishop Richard Allen, founder of the A.M.E. Church, the wealthy sailmaker, James Forten, and his magnetic son-in-law, Robert Purvis, the Philadelphia black elite exhibited considerable coherence, frequently in a provincial rivalry with New York.

The relative security and affluence of this community, which had been fostered by benevolent Quakers, was shaken—if not destroyed—in the 1830s. The most shocking incident was the brutal race riot in August, 1834, which brought death and destruction to

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5 Mary Ann Whipper married James B. Hollensworth and died in Dresden, Ontario, prior to 1876 leaving several children. See will of William Whipper, Philadelphia Wills, 1876, #229. Alfred Whipper operated a clothing store in Philadelphia prior to his removal to Canada around 1853. M’Elroy’s Philadelphia Directory, 1847-1852. Alfred conveyed his Philadelphia property to William in 1853. Philadelphia Deeds, TH105, 199. In 1844 Benjamin Whipper of Chester County, Pa., married Sophia Patterson of Columbia, Pa., widow of Robert Patterson. Benjamin entered into an agreement, to which William was a party, to ensure that Sophia’s property in Columbia would not become part of his estate. Lancaster Deeds, Z, 6, 98. Benjamin and his wife disposed of their property in Columbia in 1854, when they may have emigrated to Canada. Lancaster Deeds, T, 9, 490; Carl D. Oblinger to author, February 13, 1972. Presumably there was another sister who was the mother of Whipper’s nephew, James W. Purnell, and his niece, Amelia W. Purnell.

6 U.S., Census, 1830, Philadelphia City, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), [microfilm]; Desilver’s Philadelphia Directory, 1830-1833. William Whipper was the only person bearing this rare surname in Carter G. Woodson, ed., Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830 (Washington, D.C., 1925), 146, 291. He was listed in the 1830 census as a member of a household consisting of two free colored males, ages 10-24. For references to steam scouring, see Freedom’s Journal, April 20, May 11, 1827, where the process is described.

black-populated districts. Other riots followed, along with mounting discrimination and, in 1838, the loss of voting rights. So severe were the assaults that in the decade after 1840 there was an actual decrease in the black population of the city.8

It was in this milieu that William Whipper rose to prominence. In March, 1828, he was secretary of a meeting at which a committee was appointed to draft a constitution for a "Reading Room Society for the Men of Colour, who are citizens of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia" and authored the address that proclaimed the objectives of the group. A few months later he was a member of a committee that issued a rejoinder to a newspaper account that had praised the American Colonization Society.9 In March, 1831, he was prominent at a public meeting held for the purpose of securing support for the Liberator and, together with Robert Purvis and Junius C. Morel, prepared resolutions applauding William Lloyd Garrison and his mission.10 A year later he assisted Forten and Purvis in drafting a memorial urging the rejection of measures then before the Pennsylvania legislature to curb the freedom of free men of color.11 In 1833 he was among the nine founders of the Philadelphia Library of Colored Persons, soon the most prestigious of the Negro literary societies.12

It was for his literary talents, especially in preparing resolutions and addresses, that Whipper was most esteemed, and although he was not gifted as an orator, he was frequently called upon for discourses on special occasions. His earliest known effort was a somewhat ponderous address delivered before the Colored Reading Society on June 12, 1828. Opening with some highly conventional statements about the importance of education and the baneful effects of intemperance, he soon shifted abruptly to a severe condemnation of slavery, noting at the same time that there existed too much indifference among his people "relative to emancipating our brethren from universal thralldom." He then turned to ambition, which he lauded as a proper spur to honor and virtue. In conclusion, he referred to the motives that inspired the formation of the reading

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10 Liberator, March 12, 1831.
11 Ibid., April 14, 1832. The legislature was considering bills to restrict the entry of free blacks into the state and to weaken the legal position of those who were sought as fugitive slaves.
12 [Willson], Higher Classes, 96-100.
society. "It is a humble hope of contributing something to the advancement of science generally amongst our brethren, as well as elevating its character in this City, that has called us to the enterprise."\footnote{13}

Whipper's eminence as the foremost intellectual figure in the Philadelphia black community was established when he was the unanimous choice of a committee to deliver a public eulogy on William Wilberforce. This impressive event took place at the Second African Presbyterian Church on December 6, 1833.\footnote{14} Whipper's address, cast in the ornate rhetoric of the era, reflected his considerable learning and his reformist zeal. He reviewed in detail Wilberforce's heroic struggle to abolish the slave trade, culminating in the parliamentary act of 1807. Whipper exalted Wilberforce, too, for his castigation of the American Colonization Society, "that arch enemy of liberty," an act which alone would have entitled him to the gratitude of Africa and her descendants.

Turning to the American scene, Whipper was 'ardent in his expression of national patriotism. Here, he declaimed, was a nation favored by Providence, "a country where the oppressed of all nations and castes seek shelter from oppression, and become incorporated into the spirit of her laws, and rally round her standard of liberty, EXCEPT THOSE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN." Citing the efforts of early American abolitionists, such as Benjamin Franklin and John Jay, and paying special tribute to the Society of Friends, he saw hope for the future. "Let us march forward with a firm, unvarying step, not only occupying every inch of ground acquired by those philanthropists who are labouring in our behalf, but let the strength of our characters, by the influence of their examples, acquire for us new territory . . . ."

Equally revealing, though less pretentious, was his address to the Colored Temperance Society of Philadelphia on January 8, 1834. Expressing his sense of honor at being asked to preside over the institution, he proceeded to denounce intemperance as even a worse scourge than slavery. In what was for him a characteristic vein, he exhorted his fellow blacks to be exemplary in the practice of virtue in order that they might enhance their image and thus secure better treatment from whites. "I do not wish to be understood to insinuate

\footnote{13 The address is reprinted in the admirable collection by Dorothy Porter, \textit{Early Negro Writing, 1760-1837} (Boston, 1971), 105-119. An extract was published in \textit{Freedom's Journal}, December 26, 1828.}
\footnote{14 \textit{Eulogy on William Wilberforce, Esq.} . . ., reprinted in Rhistoric Publication no. 243, with an introduction by Maxwell Whiteman (Philadelphia, n.d.).}
that we are more intemperate than the whites, for I do not believe it," he explained, "but that we must be more pure than they, before we can be duly respected becomes self evident from the situation we at present occupy in our country." This theme of elevation through moral improvement always bulked large in Whipper's philosophy.

While he was gaining recognition as an intellectual spokesman, Whipper was also playing an increasingly prominent role in what has become known as the national Negro convention movement. This movement had its immediate origins in the persecutions suffered by the Cincinnati Negro community in 1829, which caused many of the victims to seek asylum in what became the Wilberforce Colony, near London, Ontario. Elsewhere in the North there were equally ominous signs that the already precarious position of free Negroes was worsening, and Canada was looked to as a possible refuge. A New York committee formed to aid the Wilberforce Colony sought to enlist support in other areas, and their efforts coincided with a proposal by Hezekiah Grice of Baltimore that a national convention should be held. Bishop Richard Allen of Philadelphia then took the initiative and hastily convened a meeting in Bethel Church on September 20, 1830, that was attended by twenty-six delegates and fourteen honorary members from seven states. This historic session was followed by a series of annual conventions extending through 1835, at all of which Whipper was present.

There were, broadly speaking, four main issues that dominated discussions at these conventions. The matter of aiding emigration to Canada bulked large in the early meetings, but after intense controversy in 1832 the convention resolved in 1833 "that there is not now, and probably never will be actual necessity for a large emigration of the present race of free colored people. . . ." It was

15 Liberator, June 21, 1834.
18 Bell, Proceedings, 1830. This meeting resulted in the formation of the American Society of Free Persons of Color, in which Whipper held the office of corresponding secretary. Bell reprints the official publication of each national convention, and each document retains its original pagination. In order to simplify my citations, I shall merely give the year of the convention, together with page references where appropriate.
recommended that the brethren devote their thoughts and energies to their improvement in their native land, "rejecting all plans of colonizations anywhere." Whipper and his Philadelphia associates had taken a leading part in opposing emigrationist sentiment, holding to the view that blacks should insist on their full rights as Americans.\(^{19}\)

In a related vein, the conventions repeatedly condemned the American Colonization Society because of its strategy of removing free blacks from the United States and sending them to Liberia.\(^{20}\) A third topic of interest was a proposal, strongly advanced by the Reverend S. S. Jocelyn of New Haven, William Lloyd Garrison, and Arthur Tappan, to establish a manual training college for colored youths. But this project faltered, in part because the necessary funds could not be raised. No more was heard of the plan after 1833, and, quite significantly, Garrison and his Liberan virtually ignored the conventions that were held after that date.\(^{21}\)

The fourth major concern of the conventions was directed toward securing the elevation of the free colored population through moral reform. It was this concern that most fully engaged William Whipper, and he was undoubtedly the leader of those who ultimately made this cause the central one of the later phase of the convention movement. The topic received passing attention at the 1831 convention, when a Committee on the Condition of the Free People of Color noted with regret the "dissolute, intemperate, and ignorant condition of a large portion of the colored population of the United States." In the judgment of the committee, education, temperance, and economy were best calculated to elevate their unfortunate brethren, who were earnestly requested to practice those virtues.\(^{22}\) Still, major attention centered on the emigration program and the plan for the manual training school.

Whipper's preoccupation with moral reform became more evident at the 1832 convention, in which he played a large role. He secured the unanimous adoption of a resolution: "That the Convention recommend to the people of color throughout the United States, the discontinuance of public processions on any day. We considering them as highly prejudicial to our interests as a people." His reso-

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 1832, 15-20, 33-34, 1833, 22-23.
\(^{20}\) Ibid., 1831, 15; 1832, 33; 1833, 34-35; 1834, 30-31; 1835, 117.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., 1831, 5-7; 1832, 22-25; Walter M. Merrill, ed., The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, 1822-1835 (Cambridge, 1971), I, 119-121, 149, 155; Liberan, July 9, 1831. Garrison's Liberan gave no reports on the 1834 and 1835 conventions.
\(^{22}\) Bell, Proceedings, 1831, 4-5.
lution that the convention recommend “the formation of Societies for the promotion of Temperance, on the plan of total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits” was also adopted. Whipper’s influence was evident, too, in the eloquent address issued by the convention which held forth the prospect “of an oppressed people, deprived of the rights of citizenship, in the midst of an enlightened nation, devising plans and measures, for their personal and mental elevation, by moral suasion alone.”

Greater triumphs for the advocates of the cause of elevation through moral reform lay ahead. At the 1833 convention Whipper served as chairman of the business committee, which recommended “an address to the people of colour on the subject of Temperance.” This convention also approved the formation of “The Coloured American Conventional Temperance Society,” and William Whipper was named chairman of a committee to draft a constitution for the organization. Whipper also chaired the committee that drafted an address, which gave expression to his favorite ideas. “A host of benevolent individuals are at present actively engaged in the praiseworthy and noble undertaking of raising us from the degradation we are now in, to the exalted situation of American freemen,” this document proclaimed, with obvious reference to Garrison, Tappan, and their cohorts. “With a strong desire for our improvement in morality, religion, and learning, they have advised us strictly to practice the virtues of temperance and economy and by all means early to instruct our children in the elements of education.”

Whipper’s influence was even greater at the 1834 convention, held in New York City. As chairman of a special committee appointed to prepare a declaration of sentiments, he elaborated his views on elevation through moral reform. Observing how the “descendants of an ancestry once enrolled in the history of fame” had been reduced to degradation by slavery and prejudice, he looked to “the agency of divine truth and the spirit of American liberty” for the ultimate redemption of his people. “We therefore declare to the world,” he continued, “that our object is to extend the principles of universal peace and good will to all mankind, by promoting sound morality, by the influence of education, temperance, economy, and all those virtues that alone can render

23 Ibid., 1832, 27, 28.
24 Ibid., 1832, 35-36.
25 Ibid., 1833, 7, 8, 15-19.
26 Ibid., 1833, 10, 31-36.
man acceptable in the eyes of God or the civilized world." This eloquent statement, redolent of Garrisonian doctrine, was accepted by the convention. After an elaborate constitution for "The National Convention of the people of colour" had been adopted, the delegates resolved to "recommend the establishment of Societies on the principle of Moral Reform, as set forth in the declaration of sentiment."27

When the 1835 convention met, Whipper and his allies assumed complete control. After some heated debate, it was resolved to form a "National Moral Reform Society," and Whipper was named chairman of the committee to prepare a constitution. This brief document, creating The American Moral Reform Society, was readily accepted a day later. The society was to be open to any person who pledged to sustain the general principles of moral reform, especially those of education, temperance, economy, and universal liberty. The society was to meet annually on the second Monday in June in Philadelphia, and the board of managers and principal officers of the society were all from Pennsylvania, with the exception of two of the four vice presidents. In related actions the convention unanimously recommended the formation of auxiliary societies which were to send delegates to the annual meeting of the parent institution and contribute at least $5 yearly to promote the objects of the society. It requested the board of managers of the parent society to establish a press through which the principles of the society would be promulgated.28

Evidently it was not definitely contemplated that the American Moral Reform Society would replace the National Convention of the People of Colour, for in accordance with the constitution that had been adopted a year earlier, Whipper, himself, moved that the conventional board be named for the ensuing year. He chaired the committee that proposed a slate of officers—all but one of whom was from New York—that was adopted by the convention. Indeed, the convention voted to meet next in New York City on the first Monday in June, 1836. But for reasons that remain obscure, there

27 Ibid., 1834, 23, 27-31, 35. The adoption of a declaration of sentiments by the organizing meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in December, 1833, may well have been the model for this action by the convention.
28 Ibid., 1835, 4-5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 31-32. For a contemporary analysis of the internal politics of the convention, see "The Free Colored Population of these United States," National Reformer, September, 1839.
were to be no more meetings of the national convention for several years.  

Other actions of this final convention reflected the triumph of the moral reformers. Resolutions were adopted urging temperance, calling on the colored churches to support the cause of moral reform, praising the Christian forebearance of blacks who had been subjected to mob violence in 1834, and advocating avoidance of the use of the products of slave labor. Even more remarkable was the unanimous adoption, after animated discussion, of Whipper's resolution: "That we recommend as far as possible to our people to abandon the use of the word 'colored' when either speaking or writing concerning themselves; and especially the title of African from their institutions, the marbles of churches etc."

Finally, the convention authorized the reprinting of the declaration of sentiments approved a year before, together with an address to the American people that set forth in stirring prose the program and goals of the American Moral Reform Society. This passionate statement articulated Whipper's philosophy. All men were equal under God, but black men in America had been reduced to degradation by slavery and prejudice. Fidelity to natural laws and human rights, and to the law of universal love, would bring about the end of all complexional distinctions. The rallying points for such a general effort at moral reform would be education, temperance, economy, and universal liberty. By practicing these virtues, the free colored population would be elevated and objections to immediate emancipation would be nullified. Meanwhile, the oppressed must bear their burdens with Christian fortitude. "If we but fully rest ourselves on the dignity of human nature, and maintain a bold enduring front against all opposition, the monster, prejudice, will fall humbly at our feet."

It is easy to discern in these sentiments the strong influence of Garrisonian principles. Whipper acknowledged the relationship. "That heaven-born sentiment, 'My country is the world—my countrymen are all mankind,'" he later remarked with reference to the motto of the Liberator, was the key that opened the moral

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29 Bell, Proceedings, 1835, 12, 15; Gross, Clarion Call, 32. It can be surmised that the Philadelphia contingent was disposed to turnover full control of the national convention to the New Yorkers while they gave their attention to their favorite project, the American Moral Reform Society. Throughout the conventions there was obvious rivalry and disagreement between the New York and Philadelphia contingents. Bell, Negro Convention Movement, 35; Mabee, Black Freedom, 58-59.

30 Bell, Proceedings, 1835, 14-15.

world to my view; and, as it were, with an intuitive glance, my moral vision awoke, and I could plainly discern in all people, kingdoms, and nations of the earth, a common brotherhood. . . . My complexional prejudices vanished." Although Whipper was distinguished for the ardor of his commitment to Garrison's school of reform, his views were shared at this time by many leaders of the black community. Indeed, it was black patronage that sustained Garrison's *Liberator*, which exerted tremendous influence in the years between the demise of *Freedom's Journal* and the appearance of the *Colored American*.

The American Moral Reform Society, with Whipper as its theoretician and chief spokesman, had an inglorious career and was a source of discord, rather than of harmony, among the leaders of the free black population. The society got off to an unpromising start with an ill-attended special meeting in August, 1836, which produced little more than a sweeping attack on the Christian churches, colored and white, for their failure to take firm stands against slavery and prejudice. When the society next met in August, 1837, in what was styled its "First Annual Meeting," only a handful of delegates came from beyond the borders of Pennsylvania, although it was reported that fourteen auxiliary societies existed in four states and the District of Columbia. Much of the time of the five-day session was taken up with the adoption of a score of far-ranging resolutions and lengthy addresses by William Whipper on "Peace," James Forten, Jr., on "Education," and John F. Cook on "Temperance."

The prospects of the society were critically damaged when a major
controversy erupted over the usage of the term colored. The agenda committee had reported a series of seven resolutions, the first of which recommended that the “free people of colour” form societies to provide educational opportunities for their people. For three days debate raged over this resolution, with Whipper and his allies contending that it represented degradation and discrimination and, further, that the society should consider the needs of the white as well as the colored community. The resolution was staunchly defended by Frederick A. Hinton, who argued that colored men should first take care of their own needs through their own agencies. According to Hinton, the resolution was passed in its original form. But after many of the sensible men had departed, he said, the issue was again brought up and the reference to “people of colour” was eliminated by the casting vote of the presiding officer.36

Many of those who had been dubious about the American Moral Reform Society, and particularly about Whipper’s extreme views, now launched a wholesale attack. Hinton, a prominent figure in the earlier conventions, was appalled by Whipper’s “dangerous nonsense” with respect to eliminating references to color. “No reformers, preceding these,” he complained, “have ever refused identity with all the peculiarities of their peoples.” 37 The Reverend Samuel E. Cornish, editor of the Colored American, was scathing in his criticism. He described Whipper and his allies as “vague, wild, indefinite, and confused in their views” and the society as “but an existence of weakness, scattering its feeble efforts to the winds.”38

For the next several months the columns of the Colored American bristled with exchanges between Whipper and his critics. Cornish repeatedly argued that: “He that would better the condition and elevation of the character of colored men, in this country, must consider the peculiarity of their position, and adopt his measures accordingly.”39 Whipper refused to meet Cornish on this ground. “To

36 Ibid., passim; Colored American, September 2, 1837; Philadelphia National Enquirer, September 14, 1837.
37 Colored American, September 2, 1837.
38 Ibid., August 26, 1837. Cornish attended the meeting and was initially favorable to moral reform. Ibid., July 29, August 19, 1837. Whipper, in turn, was an original subscriber to the Colored American and its agent in Columbia, Pa. New York Weekly Advocate, January 7, 1837. The paper’s name was changed to Colored American, March 4, 1837. For an excellent study of Cornish, see Jane H. and William H. Pease, Bound with Them in Chains (Westport, Conn., 1972), 140-161.
39 Colored American, September 10, 1837; February 3, 10, 1838. Cornish reported in September that he had received fourteen communications on the American Moral Reform Society, none of which he would publish, “Let there be no strife among us.” Colored American, September 9, 1837.
confine our Society now, within the precincts of complexional domains, would be to render it ridiculous, by destroying its moral bearing on universal principles, and its nationality in measures." In Whipper's view, all moral principles were universal in their application and embraced all men without distinction of color, and he charged Cornish with falsely drawing "a line of distinction between the moral duties of a citizen of the United States and a colored man." Junius C. Morel, another early associate of Whipper's, joined in denouncing the society, arguing that moral reformation was more properly the function of the church, a point that Cornish seconded. But Whipper was quick to respond that the church in the United States had "not only opposed the progress of moral principles but . . . [had] protected the basest sins of modern times."

A somewhat gentler critique of Whipper's position was supplied by Lewis Woodson of Pittsburgh. Writing under the pseudonym, "Augustine," in a series of seven letters to the Colored American, he mentioned neither Whipper nor the American Moral Reform Society. He was concerned to refute the contention "that it is impolitic and improper for us to acknowledge and speak of ourselves as a distinct class." Woodson agreed that a majority of American blacks were in a degraded condition and required general elevation. He argued that "our moral elevation is a work of our own" and looked to the colored churches, staffed by a competent clergy, to assume the main burden of moral reform. His major proposal was for a revived and strengthened national convention. However, in an oblique reference to the American Moral Reform Society he conceded that "if a society can be so modified as to meet our wants, I shall be perfectly willing to acquiesce."

Despite his attacks on the society, Editor Cornish retained his high regard for Whipper's intellectual abilities. Even though he disagreed with it in principle, he reprinted in full Whipper's speech on peace. In this impressive essay, Whipper took the position that

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40 Ibid., February 10, 1838.
41 Ibid., September 16, 1837; March 29, 1838.
42 Philadelphia National Enquirer, November 2, 1837; Colored American, November 11, 1837.
43 Colored American, March 28, 1838.
44 These letters may be found conveniently reprinted in Sterling Stuckey, The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism (Boston, 1972), 118-146. See also Floyd Miller, "The Father of Black Nationalism: Another Contender," Civil War History, (1971), 310-319. The Augustine letters appeared in the Colored American between December 2, 1837, and February 1, 1838.
45 Colored American, August 26, September 9, 16, 23, 30, 1837. In explaining why peace was not included along with education, temperance, economy, and universal
divine law, as set forth in the Christian scriptures, was right and in accordance with reason and that "resistance to physical aggression is wholly unnecessary." Citing the experience of the Quakers, whose practice of pacifism had not brought them injury but rather shielded them from insult and abuse, he recommended a similar course to the colored population of the country. "We must," he pleaded, "learn on all occasions to rebuke the spirit of violence, both in sentiment and in practice." He lauded the modern abolitionists, who sought the overthrow of slavery not by force of arms but by appeals to reason and who were prepared to accept persecution without resorting to violence in their own defense. Deploiring the failure of the Christian churches to practice the doctrines of the Messiah, he nevertheless looked hopefully to the moral reformation that was sweeping the world and awakening regard for the principles of peace and universal liberty. Acts of passion should be regarded with pity, and the man of violence should be advised "to improve his understanding by cultivating his intellectual powers, and thus exhibit his close alliance with God." This lucid, fervent, and deeply religious exposition of the doctrine of passive resistance owed much to the doctrines of the Quakers and the Garrisonians, and it reflected as well Whipper's commitment to perfectionism and his optimistic appraisal of the spirit of the era.

Despite the assaults to which it had been subjected, the American Moral Reform Society persisted, although with weakened authority within the black community and a clientele that was largely restricted to Philadelphia and its environs. Somewhat inconsistently, the notice of the society's second annual meeting restated the organization's opposition to complexional distinctions but solicited statistical accounts of the constituencies represented by the delegates, "particularly the colored portion of them, as they have by an ignominious prejudice been deprived of equal advantages and privileges in attaining moral and mental culture."\(^46\) The assembled delegates, some of whom opposed the "fanatical schemes" that were put forth by Whipper, took only two positive actions. A general agent was appointed to organize auxiliary societies and raise funds. More liberty as the objectives of the society, Whipper reported that the matter had been discussed in 1837 but the society could not agree on the principles and doctrines involved. His address was directed to a resolution "That non-resistance to physical aggression is consistent with reason."\(^35\) National Reformer, March, 1839. The best study of nonviolent abolitionism is Mabee, \textit{Black Freedom}. Whipper may have strained his principles of nonviolence during the Civil War, when he contributed $1,000 annually to put down the rebellion." Still, \textit{Underground Railroad}, 740.

important, it was resolved to launch a publication, and the National Reformer, with William Whipper as editor, made its first appearance in September, 1838.47

Taking as its motto "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth" (Acts xvii, 26), and proclaiming that its objective was to "disseminate the principles and measures of the American Moral Reform Society," this periodical was Whipper's vehicle.48 Through it, he voiced his hopes for a new age of mankind. "We are now," he prophesied, "in the incipient stage of a great moral revolution, that is undermining creeds, annihilating customs, dethroning empires and governments that have been reared in inequity, and establishing others in their stead, on the broad elementary principles of righteousness, justice, and humanity."49

In the twelve issues that appeared between September, 1838, and December, 1839, the editor reported on the affairs of the society, published essays on moral topics, wrote vigorous condemnations of the American Colonization Society and other emigrationist schemes, praised the declaration of sentiments of the New England Non-Resistance Society, and expressed his disagreement with the prevalent view that men of color should not engage in public controversy with one another. He admitted to the columns of the National Reformer a sober but highly critical letter from William Watkins, who frequently used the pseudonym "The Colored Baltimorean."50 Watkins opposed Whipper's resistance to the use of the term colored, expressed the view that it was immodest of the society to attempt to reform the whole country, and urged that it devote its resources to uplifting the colored population. Whipper responded at length, denying that he was completely opposed to the use of colored; it should be avoided only "as far as possible." But he argued that he looked on "the overthrow of slavery by the power of truth and love as morally certain" and, with an eye to the future, saw that caste as well as slavery must be abolished. Hence his desire to seek the end of all complexional distinctions.51

47 Colored American, August 25, 1838; National Reformer, September, 1838.
48 The National Reformer appeared in twelve numbers, all constituting one volume of 192 pages, between September, 1838, and December, 1839. A complete file is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It has been referred to as the first American periodical edited by a Negro, but David Ruggles's Mirror of Liberty appeared about two months earlier in New York. Colored American, July 21, September 22, 1838.
49 National Reformer, September, 1838.
50 For the charge that the society sought to suppress Watkins's letter, see Colored American, August 25, September 15, 1838.
51 National Reformer, October, November, 1838.
In the final number of the journal, Whipper announced a significant change in his thinking. "We have been advocates of the doctrine that we must be 'elevated' before we could expect to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship," he confessed. "We now utterly discard it, and ask pardon for our former errors." The Declaration of Independence and the laws of God made all men equal. It was, he observed, not lack of elevation, but complexion that deprived the man of color of equal treatment. Sadly, but with obvious courage, he concluded that religious, moral, and intellectual elevation would not secure full political privileges for his people—"because we are black." Regarding whites, "all we ask of them is that they take their 'feet from off our necks,' that we may stand free and erect like themselves."

Whipper later amplified his new outlook. "If we admit the fatalism that we need to be elevated before we are fitted to possess the rights and privileges of white men, we consequently acknowledge our inferiority in the scale of creation." Although this altered position weakened a major contention of the moral reformers, that elevation would facilitate freedom, it did not, in Whipper's view, lessen the desirability of moral reform, nor did it imply any repudiation of his stand in opposition to self-segregated colored organizations.

Whipper's cause was not prospering. His National Reformer made its last appearance in December, 1839; it had never acquired wide circulation or influence. The American Moral Reform Society languished. At the 1839 meeting the Reverend Daniel A. Payne of Troy was the only non-Pennsylvanian in attendance. But with reformist zeal undiminished, it was resolved "That what is morally right for man to do, is morally right for woman," and, accordingly, the constitution of the society was amended to admit persons without regard to sex. The 1840 meeting reportedly attracted only five delegates from Philadelphia, despite an invitation to all friends of universal reform without regard to complexion. The society quietly expired

52 "Our Elevation," National Reformer, December, 1839. A somewhat different view was expressed by Lewis Woodson. He noted that where Negroes were moral and respectable in their deportment, they were subject to little prejudice. "The observation of this fact, for the last fifteen years, has entirely satisfied my mind that CONDITION and not color, is the chief cause of the prejudice under which we suffer." In his view, elegant language and polished manners would ease the way of blacks into society. Colored American, February 16, 1839.
53 National Reformer, September, 1839. Among the numerous women present as delegates was Whipper's sister, Mary Ann.
54 Colored American, July 11, September 5, 1840.
after its sixth annual meeting in August, 1841, but not without reaffirming once again its distinctive principles. It failed because it could not gain the support of the overwhelming majority of black leaders, who remained convinced that black people must form their own organizations to serve their own immediate needs. "The great reason of its present unpopularity with the colored people," Whipper conceded with evident bitterness, "is that it refuses to receive a national baptism, in the mood of 'American prejudice.'"

Although the tide of opinion was so obviously against him, Whipper adhered to his principles. When the New York State Convention of Colored Citizens, held at Albany in August, 1840, adopted a resolution opposing all laws and institutions founded "in the spirit of complexional cast," Whipper zestfully took up his pen. In a series of letters to the Colored American he first commended this resolution and then proceeded to express the hope that it would lead to the elimination of the word "Colored" from the title of the paper and, further, that it would underscore the inconsistency of black people meeting in their own, exclusive conventions. To the contention that colored organizations were made necessary by existing conditions, he responded that necessity was the basis of the argument that justified slavery. Neither would he tolerate the contention that a racially-based organization was justified by "the virtue of our complexion," for that would be to concede that the existing separation of the races was grounded on principle.

Whipper was answered by the anonymous "Sidney," who not only defended colored organizations but saw positive virtues in them. "We sustain relations to our own people, so peculiar that white men cannot assume them," he explained, "and according to those relations are our attending duties." "Surely," he insinuated, "the term colored is not disgusting to Mr. W. and his friends. They cannot be ashamed of their identity with the negro race!" To this vigorous attack, Whipper offered no rejoinder. Thereafter, the lengthy controversy over complexional organizations, in which

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56 Colored American, July 18, 1840. Whipper attempted to answer the charge that the society's meetings had been composed exclusively of blacks by insisting that there had always been some white abolitionists present. But he had previously conceded that, "a stranger coming into view the [1839] meeting would say at once, that it was a colored convention, while our principles forbid us making such distinctions," National Reformer, September, 1839.
57 Colored American, January 30, February 6, 20, 1841.
58 Ibid., February 13, 20, March 6, 13, 1841. On the problem of "Sidney's" identity, see Stuckey, Black Nationalism, 15-17. Stuckey reprints the four "Sidney" letters, 149-164.
WILLIAM WHIPPER

Whipper had been the central figure, subsided, and—in a sense—the black community could turn its full attention to other issues.

With the collapse of the American Moral Reform Society and the attendant rejection of his leadership, Whipper's public career among his people entered a long period of eclipse. During these years he was engaged in building his personal fortune. In 1834 he had briefly operated a "Free Labor and Temperance Grocery" in Philadelphia, but by 1835 he had removed to Columbia, Pennsylvania.\(^\text{59}\) There, on March 10, 1836, he married Harriet L. L. Smith in a wedding that pointedly omitted wine, as well as any products of slave labor.\(^\text{60}\) In Columbia he became associated with Stephen Smith, the remarkably successful lumber and coal merchant. When Smith took up residence in Philadelphia in 1842, Whipper managed his affairs in Columbia.\(^\text{61}\) In 1847 Whipper acquired a substantial house on Front Street in Columbia, and by 1860 he owned five properties within the boro and had other holdings in Lancaster County and Philadelphia as well, valued at $23,800.\(^\text{62}\)

Situated on the Susquehanna River close to the Maryland border, Columbia was an important crossing point for fugitive slaves, and

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\(^\text{59}\) Liberator, April 5, May 10, 1834. Whipper's store was next door to Bethel Church on South Sixth Street. On this movement, see Ruth Nueremberger, The Free Produce Movement (Durham, N.C., 1942); and Mabee, Black Freedom, 185-204.

\(^\text{60}\) Liberator, April 30, 1836. Harriet L. L. Smith's antecedents are obscure. There is no evidence that she was related to Stephen Smith, and she is not mentioned in his will. Her will provided bequests to two half-sisters, Lavinia Clemmens and Margaret Webb, a nephew, Stephen G. Smith, and a niece, Harriet M. Mathies, who was raised by the Whippers. Philadelphia Wills, Book 278, 380-381.


\(^\text{62}\) Although it is certain that Whipper was living in Columbia from 1835, he does not appear in the local tax records until 1850. He is listed, however, in the 1840 census for Columbia as head of a household consisting of one male of 10-24 years, one male of 36-55 years, and two females of 24-36 years. U.S. Census, 1840 Columbia Boro, 176, Lancaster County Historical Society (microfilm). In 1837 he attended a meeting in Columbia, chaired by Stephen Smith, to consider means of checking crime and immorality among the black population there. Philadelphia National Enquirer, November 9, 1837. The first record of Whipper as a property owner in Columbia is in 1847. Lancaster County Deeds, F, 7, 109. In the 1860 Columbia tax records, deposited in the Lancaster County Historical Society, he is assessed for five properties valued at $6,124. The 1860 census credits him with real estate worth $23,800 and a personal estate of $8,000. Members of his household at that time were his wife Harriet, 41; James Purnell, 26; Harriet Smith, 12; and Sarah Jackson, 19, a servant. U.S. Census, 1860, Columbia Boro, Lancaster County Historical Society (microfilm).
Whipper was extremely active in the operations of the underground railroad there. By his own account, he "passed hundreds to the land of freedom" and contributed, directly and indirectly, $1000 annually from 1847 to 1860 in this cause. On two occasions Southern sympathizers attempted to burn his lumberyard. "Much as I loved anti-slavery meetings," Whipper recalled in writing of these episodes, "I did not feel that I could afford to attend them, as my immediate duty was to the flying fugitive." 

Many of those whom he aided proceeded to Canada, and after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Whipper became increasingly interested in Ontario as a haven. In the summer of 1853 he visited there and was so impressed by the prospects that he purchased land on the Sydenham River in Dresden, Ontario, the site of Josiah Henson's strife-ridden Dawn Colony. A year later he had completed construction of a substantial warehouse and other buildings in the village of Dresden. For the next few years he made annual visits to his northern property, on at least one occasion in the company of his associate, Stephen Smith. His ties to the area were strengthened when several of his relatives immigrated. His beloved sister, Mary Ann, had married James B. Hollensworth, who conducted a lumber business in Dresden. His brother, Alfred P. Whipper, served for a time as a traveling agent for the Provincial Freeman, later taught a school for colored youths in Chatham, and was involved both with the emigrationist schemes of Martin R. Delany and the ominous plans of John Brown. A nephew, James Whipper Purnell, who had been raised by Whipper, became a lumber merchant in Chatham and served as secretary to Delany.

63 Worner, "Columbia Race Riots," passim.
64 William Still, Underground Railroad, 735-740; Report of the Vigilant [sic] Committee, 1839-1844, June 7, 1939, HSP; Whipper to Jacob C. White, April 26, 1839, Leon Gardiner Collection, Box 12, f. 9, HSP.
67 Provincial Freeman, January 19, 1857.
while he was planning his expedition to the Niger River. A strong opponent of emigration earlier in his career, Whipper had decided to remove to Canada in 1861, but the outbreak of the Civil War—with its promise of freedom—caused him to abandon this plan. Nevertheless, he retained his Canadian lands until his death.

Deeply committed though he was to his affairs in Columbia, Philadelphia, and Canada, Whipper did not remain entirely aloof from the movement for black elevation. In 1848 he played a prominent role in the State Convention of Colored Citizens of Pennsylvania, held for the purpose of seeking a restoration of the franchise. Filling his customary station as chairman of the committee that prepared public statements expressive of the convention’s views, Whipper repeated almost verbatim the forceful declaration he had made in December, 1839, denying that elevation must precede equal treatment. Negroes, he argued, were entitled to the vote simply on the basis of republican principles. His active participation in this convention is significant, for it represented a departure from his earlier stand against complexional organizations, as well as a non-Garrisonian concern with political action.

At the Colored National Convention of 1853 in Rochester, the best attended of the entire era, Whipper was a member of the committee that reported an elaborate and ambitious plan for a “National Council of Colored People.” As a member of the committee on social relations, he gave his sanction to a report that called for special schools, managed and staffed by blacks, “to meet entirely our special exigencies.” Two years later, when the Colored National Convention met in Philadelphia, he was present as a corresponding member and was presumably in agreement with the call of the

69 Delany, Official Report, 12, 13. Delany paid glowing tribute to Purnell, who served as his secretary for eight months in New York City, and to Whipper. “To this great and good uncle (William Whipper) under whom he was brought up, much of his character is to be credited.” It is, perhaps, a singular coincidence that Delany’s first biographer, Frances Rollin, became the wife of William J. Whipper of South Carolina. Victor Ullman, Martin R. Delany: The Beginnings of Black Nationalism (Boston, 1971), 219, 410-411. Purnell, along with Alfred Whipper, was a member of the “Chatham Convention,” May 8, 10, 1858. The Anglo-African, 1 (1859), 335.

70 Still, Underground Railroad, 739.


72 Bell, Proceedings, 1853, 19, 20-25. Pennsylvanians had been conspicuously absent from the earlier conventions at Buffalo (1843), Troy (1847), and Cleveland (1848), but several of them, including the influential Robert Purvis, joined in signing the call for the 1853 convention. Whipper had opposed Frederick Douglass’s plan for a national convention in 1849, arguing that there was no prospect of black unity until the pseudo-humility preached from black pulpits was ended and blacks gained self-respect. Bell, Convention Movement, 163.
convention, which stated that the free people of color “must take upon themselves the responsibility of doing and acting for themselves—of laying out and directing work of their own elevation.”

Whipper, as evidenced by his Canadian venture, was now even prepared to endorse emigration. When in 1856 the noted New York reformer Gerrit Smith denounced the emigration of blacks from the United States, Whipper defended their flight to Canada. There, he contended, blacks could “obtain and enjoy an equality of rights and privileges under a government whose principles, policies, and practical justice is more pure than our own.” Similarly, he challenged Julia Griffiths, the English anti-slavery stalwart, when she urged American blacks to “leave to others the great work of civilization and evangelization of distant Africa” and remain in the United States. Whipper expressed approval of the plan of the African Civilization Society to aid American blacks in raising cotton in Africa as a means of undermining slavery in the South. “So far from feeling humiliated at the mere mention of Africa, or anything African,” he wrote, “I wo’d summon her to meet me on the ramparts of nations, and inaugurate a new destiny.” He would like to see Africa flourish and attract the admiration of the world. He was opposed to mass emigration and to forced emigration, yet he would “deny the moral right of any man, or body of men, to dictate to me, and say in what place I shall reside or what country shall be my home. ‘My country is the world, and my countrymen are all mankind.’” Here, again, is evidence that Whipper had broken with the views of those white abolitionists who insistently opposed any emigration by blacks, essentially on the grounds that this would constitute desertion of those still in slavery.

During the Civil War years Whipper became increasingly involved with his affairs in Philadelphia, where he had begun to acquire property a decade earlier. By 1865, in partnership with his nephew, James W. Purnell, he was operating a lumberyard at Broad and Noble streets. He became a member of the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia and was active in the affairs of the Institute for Colored Youth. In 1867 he

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73 Bell, Proceedings, 1855, 2-5,9.
took-up residence at 919 Lombard Street, next door to Stephen Smith, in a substantial three-story brick house that had been purchased by his wife. A year later the Whippers sold their home in Columbia and bought a house in New Brunswick, New Jersey, which was their legal residence for the next four years. There he was recorded in the 1870 census as having a total estate valued at $108,000. In 1872 the Whippers returned to their Lombard Street home.

Whipper by now was a venerated elder statesman of the movement in which he had figured so prominently in the 1830s. In February, 1866, he has a member of the small delegation—headed by Frederick Douglass—that remonstrated unsuccessfully with President Andrew Johnson on civil rights. When on May 26, 1870, the Negro citizens of New Brunswick staged a festive celebration of the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, Whipper was chosen to preside over the occasion. He presented a rousing set of resolutions praising the men, white and black, who had brought about the overthrow of slavery and concluded with a glowing tribute to the Republican party.

That he had not lost his old zeal and independence of viewpoint was evident when he became involved in a controversy in 1872 over the contention that the colored citizens of the nation should be represented in the cabinet by one of their own race. Ability, as demonstrated by education and experience, should be the only qualification of a statesman, Whipper argued, maintaining that blacks could not immediately expect public preferment because they had been denied opportunities to prepare themselves for such services. "If we could justly claim equality with the white race in..."
education and culture after ages of oppression and barbarism,” he held, “then slavery has not been the crime for which we have arraigned it before the bar of the world.” Consistent with his earlier views, he insisted, too, that any legislation based on color was wrong; instead, he favored “class legislation in favor of liberty, justice, and equality as a remedy for the evils of the past.” “We have been oppressed as a class, and we must rise as such,” he averred. “Class interests have always been recognized in one form or another in our Government, and will continue to be. . . . Let us not forget that we were black men before we were American citizens.”

It was no doubt in recognition of Whipper’s fine public reputation, as well as his business acumen, that he was appointed to head the Philadelphia branch of the Freedman’s Bank when it was established in January, 1870. This ill-fated institution, so treacherously mismanaged by its prestigious white directors, collapsed in 1873. Subsequent investigations revealed no irregularities in Whipper’s management of the Philadelphia bank. It is possible, however, that Whipper’s own financial fortunes were adversely affected by his connection with this enterprise.

After a remarkably full and varied life, Whipper died at his Lombard Street residence after a lingering illness on March 9, 1876, and was interred in Olive Cemetery. Whipper had no children, and none of his brothers or sisters survived him.

80 New National Era, November 28, December 12, 19, 1872.
81 U.S., House Report, no. 502, 44th Cong., 1st ses., 1876, 51; Senate Report, no. 440, 46th Cong., 2nd ses., 1880, Appendix, 41, 32; William Still to Whipper, October 17, 1875, Still Letter Books, 1873-1874, HSP. Whipper was cashier of the branch and two of his nephews, James W. Purnell and E. W. Hollensworth, were bookkeepers. The branch had deposits of $73,605.32 in 1872, which placed it fourteenth among the thirty-four branches. Walter L. Fleming, The Freedmen’s Savings Bank (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1927), passim. The supposition that Whipper may have suffered financially at this time is deduced from the fact that he mortgaged his property in New Brunswick and subsequently lost it through foreclosure. Middlesex Co. Mortgage Book, vol. 51, 612-16; N.J. Chancery Court, Docket 8, 629. In connection with the foreclosure proceedings, on April 18, 1878, Harriet Whipper deposed that William Whipper, deceased, left no children, grandchildren, brothers, or sisters.
82 Philadelphia Inquirer, March 11, 1876; will of William Whipper, Philadelphia Wills, 1876, no. 229. He bequeathed substantial amounts to the children of his deceased sister, Mary A. Hollensworth; to his niece Amelia W. (Purnell) Adams; to Harriet M. Smith, his wife’s niece; and to James W. Purnell, his nephew. The residue of his estate was devised to Purnell’s infant son, William Whipper Purnell, with the wish that he change his name to William Whipper, “and thus adopting my name, he shall ever keep me in kindly remembrance.” James W. Purnell died in Camden, New Jersey, where he had extensive real estate holdings, in 1880. Camden County Wills, Book G, 265. Amelia W. Adams was the wife of the Rev. Ennals J. Adams, a Presbyterian minister whose first pastorate was at the Lombard Street Central Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in 1855 and who served subsequently in Hartford, Connecticut; Buffalo, New York; and Newark, New Jersey. He served the Mendi Mission in Africa under the auspices of the American Missionary Association in 1863-1864. He
the Lombard Street house and died September 23, 1906, at the home of her niece in Camden, New Jersey.\(^8\)

Whipper was described by a contemporary as "one of the deepest thinkers of which the black man can boast in our broad land." He was "a mulatto of fine personal appearance, above the middle size, stoops a little,—that bend of the shoulders that marks the student." He was not gifted as a public speaker, but he was "social and genial, and very interesting and entertaining in conversation."\(^8^4\) Although he founded much of his philosophy on his understanding of Christian principles, he does not appear to have been associated with any denomination.

Whipper was a conspicuous representative of that first identifiable generation of zealous black abolitionists, many of whom drew heavily on the deeds and writings of such white opponents of slavery as Clarkson and Wilberforce, Franklin and Jay, Lundy and Garrison. They were his readily accessible guides and mentors, and they profoundly influenced his thinking.\(^8^5\) It was this circumstance that differentiated him from a later generation, which could look to a Douglass, a Garnet, or a Delany for leadership, inspiration, and ideas. With youthful ardor he embraced the doctrines of perfectionism that were so confidently proclaimed in the 1830s. He founded his theoretical position on his belief in the brotherhood and equality of all men, and he never yielded in his conviction that distinctions based on color or race were wrong.

Yet his entire career was rooted within the black community, and his basic sympathies were expressed through his generous efforts in

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\(^8\) Will of Harriet L. Whipper, Philadelphia Wills, 1906, no. 1867.

\(^8^4\) Brown, *Rising Sun*, 494-495. There is an engraved portrait of Whipper in Still, *Underground Railroad*, 718. A handsome oil portrait, identified as that of Whipper, is in the collection of the New York Historical Association, Coopertown, New York.

\(^8^5\) It is quite significant that the national Negro conventions held between 1830 and 1835 featured addresses by numerous white abolitionists, including William Lloyd Garrison, Arthur Tappan, Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, Arnold Buffum, Thomas Shipley, Elizur Wright, Evan Lewis, William Wharton, Dr. Abraham L. Cox, and Eli Hambleton. Several were accorded honorary membership. The later conventions in the 1850s did not repeat this pattern.
behalf of fugitive slaves, his defense of voluntary emigration, his participation for over two decades in state and national Negro conventions, and his recognition that his fellow blacks constituted an oppressed class within a white-dominated nation. The fervent optimism of his early years dimmed with the passage of time as did his confidence in white allies. But his basic conviction—"My country is the world—my countrymen are all mankind"—was never shaken. Generally stereotyped as a "Garrisonian reformer," Whipper was, in fact, deeply sympathetic to most Garrisonian principles. But his total career is indicative of a strength of mind and of a black awareness that renders such simple categorization deceptive and obscures the true quality of the man. There was diversity of opinion among the black leadership in the ante-bellum decades, and Whipper stands forth as an effective champion of a position that was an element in that diversity.

Despite his opposition to self-segregated black organizations and his efforts to make the American Moral Reform Society inter-racial, Whipper does not seem to have been active in any white organizations, as was his associate, Robert Purvis. He was among the signers of the call for a convention to organize the Pennsylvania State Abolition Society, but he did not attend. Philadelphia National Enquirer, January 14, 1837. He was not present at a state temperance convention in 1835 because of his assumption that blacks would not be welcomed. Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 26, 97.