

THE NEGRO IN A MIDWEST FRONTIER CITY,

MILWAUKEE: 1835-1870

by

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PREFACE

This study was undertaken to accomplish two purposes. First, it was meant to fill a large void in the story of Milwaukee's early development and, secondly, to make Milwaukeeans, black and white, aware of the role of the early Negro community in the growth of our city. The term "Negro community" when used in this paper does not refer to any specific governmental organization of Negroes or to any particular area inhabited by Negroes, but rather is used in an ecological sense as a synonym for the total Negro population of Milwaukee. In the past, all of the histories of Milwaukee have paid scant, if any, attention to the Negro race in the frontier development of the city. Any references that were made to Negroes generally dealt with highly dramatic, but extremely isolated, instances of rescues of Fugitive Slaves who simply happened to be passing through Milwaukee, while the story of the permanent, everyday Negro resident was completely overlooked. For this reason, few Milwaukeeans today realize that there was a substantial, vibrant, permanent Negro community in Milwaukee from its earliest days and that these people played a significant part in the development of Milwaukee.

This paper shall attempt to present the story of Milwaukee's Negro community during the years 1835 to 1870. This particular time period was chosen for a number of reasons. First, it encompasses the years in which Milwaukee was growing from a frontier fur trading post of a few shacks to a metropolis of major proportions. By the year 1870, Milwaukee had accomplished most of the physical transition to a metropolitan

center and was in the midst of a change in local attitudes towards what Bayard Still refers to as "... the lure of the city; ... the drift to the metropolis...."¹ Secondly, the thirty-five years of this period span an entire generation of the Negro community. By 1870, one finds the children of the early colored families arriving at adulthood and bringing forth the third generation of Negro residents. Thirdly, 1870 also highlights a major shift in the composition of the Negro community which caused an entirely new and different community to replace the old pioneer Negroes. Most important, however, is the fact that these years cover the period during which, until the present day, the Negro made his greatest gains in Milwaukee. The victory of Ezekiel Gillespie in the voting case of 1866 and the dedication of the African Methodist-Episcopal Church in 1869 mark the highpoints of Negro achievement in Milwaukee during the 19th Century.

One of the most difficult problems faced in this study was to identify who the members of the permanent Negro community were. This problem was further compounded by the fact that none of the early colored settlers left any papers, diaries, or reminiscences. Therefore, extensive use had to be made of official records, newspapers, and of the reminiscences of early white settlers. To determine who the Negro residents were, the early census reports, both State and Territory of Wisconsin and Federal, were used. The findings from these were

¹Bayard Still, Milwaukee: The History of a City (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), p. 253.

then checked against other sources, particularly the early city directories, to augment the information and to check for any other Negroes who might not be listed in the census reports. Because some of these sources, most noticeably the city directories and the State and Territorial census reports, are not entirely accurate or comprehensive in their listings, there is some slight possibility that not every Negro who was in the city has been located. However, because of the exacting thoroughness of the research done in the available sources, it is fairly safe to assert that every Negro who established a residence in Milwaukee for any appreciable period of time is accounted for.

The author is indebted to the staff of the Milwaukee County Historical Society for their assistance in various research projects and for the constructive and valuable criticism they provided on the narrative of this paper. Acknowledgement must also be given to Dr. Frank L. Klement, the Thesis Director, for the unusual amount of latitude he granted the writer in conducting this project and for making the writer aware of a number of very useful sources. Finally, a special acknowledgement must be made to Mr. Harry H. Anderson, Executive Director of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, without whose original suggestion this project would have never been undertaken and whose valuable assistance, apt criticism, and usually unflagging patience made its completion possible.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY YEARS, 1835-1848

THE EARLY YEARS, 1835-1848

Milwaukee of the 1830's was far from the great metropolis that it is today. In the early 1830's there were no breweries, no mammoth industries, no daily passage of international commerce. Not one piece of cream brick could be found in the entire community. In fact, Milwaukee then had changed little from the day in 1818 when Solomon Juneau first opened his store and secured the right to trade with the Indians from his father-in-law, Jacques Vieau. The landscape was still wild, the Indians numerous, and the white man scarce. Dr. Enoch Chase, who arrived in Milwaukee to join his brother, Horace, in 1835, described the scene that greeted him.

The place was very new and certainly was anything but attractive. Juneau's trading and dwelling house, Walker's and White and Evan's cabins and Clybourn and Chase's post and boxed shanty--that is all there was of Milwaukee.... Nothing in the form of food was raised about Milwaukee in 1835. The Indians were numerous and some were ugly. There was neither law nor law officers....¹

But the pioneers who settled this land, built their rough shelters, and withstood the trials of the frontier looked to the future with hope. These were men of diverse origins and cultures. They included such personalities as Solomon Juneau, a French-Canadian trader from Montreal; Colonel George Walker, a Southern aristocrat from Virginia; Byron Kilbourn, a land speculator from the Ohio country; and the Chase brothers, rock-hard New Englanders from Vermont. But there was one

¹ Enoch Chase, The Narrative of Enoch Chase. Manuscript copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

thing they all had in common. They saw in their shabby little village the nucleus of a great city, one that could rival Chicago or Fort Howard as the center of trade and commerce on the Great Lakes.² So they stayed, speculated on the land, and talked up the virtues of Milwaukee.

Their faith and effort was rewarded when, in 1835, the first major influx of immigration arrived in Milwaukee. Settlers began to flood the sleepy trading village, looking for a fresh start on the frontier. They bought land, built homes, and opened businesses. Soon ships plying the Great Lakes made the town a regular stop. Milwaukee boomed and grew almost overnight.³ One among those who came in that bustling year was Joe Oliver. He found employment as a cook for Solomon Juneau's family and decided to stay in the area for a time. Thus Joe Oliver, commonly referred to as "Nigger Joe", became the first Negro resident of Milwaukee and with him begins the chronicle of Milwaukee's Negro community.⁴

Besides being the first colored person to reside in the city, Joe Oliver also had the distinction of casting the first Negro vote in a Milwaukee election. The Territory of Michigan, which had jurisdiction over Milwaukee at that time, passed an act in 1835 which created Milwaukee county as a governmental

²James S. Buck, Pioneer History of Milwaukee (4 vols; Milwaukee: Symes, Swain, and Company, 1884), I, 145-46.

³Ibid, I, 62.

⁴Ibid., I, 69-73; William T. Green, Negroes in Milwaukee, An undated, unidentified newspaper clipping from the Ethnic File in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

unit and authorized it to hold elections for county officials.⁵ The local populace, desiring to make a grand showing in its first election, solicited every resident's vote. Among those who assembled at the designated polling place, Solomon Juneau's cabin, was Talbot C. Dousman, the younger brother of George D. Dousman. After all the others had cast their ballots, they asked Talbot to vote. He refused, arguing that because he was only nineteen he was ineligible. However, he said he would be willing to vote if they also allowed "Nigger Joe" to cast a ballot. The election being a rather loosely conducted affair, no one raised any objection and on September 17, 1835, Joe Oliver cast the first colored vote in Milwaukee.⁶ Thirty-one years were to pass before a similar occurrence happened again.

There is very little information about the lives of the earliest Negro settlers in the city and only a few of them are known by name. What information is available is based primarily upon census reports and some casual references in memoirs and recollections. Prior to 1846, the census reports themselves were spotty and vague. The Territorial Census of 1836 does not even bother to list the colored residents of the territory, restricting itself to white inhabitants only.⁷

⁵An Act to Organize the Counties of Allegan and Milwaukee, August 25, 1835.

⁶Buck, Pioneer History, I, 73; Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

⁷Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1836, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Joe Oliver, the earliest Negro resident, remained in the employ of Solomon Juneau until 1837, when he became the ship's cook on the schooner Cincinnati, and later on the C. C. Trowbridge. Oliver continued to ply the Great Lakes, often visiting Milwaukee, until he died of the small pox in 1842.⁸ There is also reference in the early histories to a servant of George D. Dousman's named John Noel, alias Christmas, who came to Milwaukee with Dousman in 1835 and who remained in his employ until his accidental death in 1854.⁹ There is, however, no information as to whether this servant was a Negro or not; nor does his name appear in any of the census reports. Therefore, it is impossible to determine if he should be included with the early Negro settlers or not.¹⁰ A third mention of an early Negro concerns Mr. George O. Tiffany. The account tells of Mr. Tiffany having a free Negro servant with him when

⁸Buck, Pioneer History, I, 73-74.

⁹Ibid., I, 70; IV, 32-33.

¹⁰Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1838, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census, 1840, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1842, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

he came to Milwaukee in 1836, and of her dying while still in his employ in 1855.¹¹ Oddly enough, this servant does not appear in the 1838 census, though she is listed in the 1840 Federal Census.¹²

The first reliable listing of the Negro community is given in the 1838 Territorial Census. According to this report, 3,131 people lived in the county, of whom fifteen, eight males and seven females, were Negroes.¹³ Most of the Negroes are listed as living in the homes of whites and, therefore, do not have their names recorded in the census. However, there were two Negro "households" in a total community of 644 households.¹⁴ The first household, that of James Foster, consisted of one male Negro and one female Negro.¹⁵ Nothing else is known about Foster or his family, and there is no information concerning his occupation, when he first came to Milwaukee, or when he left the city, except that he had departed by 1846, if not sooner.¹⁶

The second family, that of William Green, consisted of three male Negroes and two female Negroes.¹⁷ Green was the

¹¹Buck, Pioneer History, IV, 113.

¹²Wisconsin, Census Report, 1838; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census, 1840.

¹³Wisconsin, Census Report, 1838.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶U.S., Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census, 1840; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846.

¹⁷Wisconsin, Census Report, 1838.

first colored barber in Milwaukee. His shop, the "Emporium of Fashion", was located on the "... south side of Wisconsin Street about midway between the alley and East Water Street" --about the middle of the present day Marine Bank Plaza.¹⁸ Green evidently did well in his business for he had such high caliber clients as Colonel George H. Walker, the founder of Walker's Point and later mayor of Milwaukee.¹⁹

By 1840, the Negro community had increased to twenty-three people, nine males and fourteen females.²⁰ As in the 1838 Territorial Census, the Census of 1840, conducted by the Federal authorities, listed most of the Negroes as living in white households and, therefore, their names are not known. One interesting fact, however, can be ascertained from the census. Nine of the colored residents lived at and were employed by three of the city's hotels. The Cottage Inn (East Water and Clybourn Street) which was run by Levi Vail employed the largest number of Negroes, five. The Milwaukee House, located on the corner of Wisconsin Street and Main (present day Broadway Street) under the proprietorship of George E. Graves had one Negro working as its barber. In the West Ward, the Fountain House (Second and West Water Street, present day Plankinton Avenue) operated by Nelson P. Hawks used the

¹⁸Buck, Pioneer History, II, 93.

¹⁹Ibid., III, 218.

²⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census, 1840.

services of three colored people.²¹ Of these nine persons, only the barber at the Milwaukee House can be identified by name. He was Robert Titball, a thirty year old illiterate former slave who arrived in Milwaukee in early 1840 and who was destined to play a leading role in the story of Milwaukee's Negro community.²²

Again, as in the 1838 census, the 1840 census listed two Negro families. One was that of William Green who has already been mentioned (Supra p. 5); the other that of William Johnson. Green's family is listed as being made up of one colored male, two colored females and one white female between the ages of ten and fifteen.²³ The Johnson family consisted of two Negro males and two Negro females, and, other than this, nothing is known about them.²⁴

The year 1841 saw the establishment of the oldest, continuous Negro family in Milwaukee. During that year, Isaac P. Walker, later to be Wisconsin's first United States Senator, arrived in the city along with a Negro barber named William H. Anderson.²⁵ William Anderson, probably better than any other person, typifies the early Negro settlers of Milwaukee.

²¹Ibid.; Buck, Pioneer History, II, 100; History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Chicago: The Western Historical Company, 1881), pp. 1420-21. Hereafter cited as 1881 History.

²²1881 History, p. 228; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census, 1840; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 148.

²³U.S., Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census, 1840.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

Because he could both read and write and possessed a good trade, Anderson managed to make a success of his business. He became the operator of the United States Hotel barbershop and owned considerable property at the time of his death in 1854.²⁶ He was a religious individual, believed in the cause of abolition, and earned the respect and trust of both the white and colored communities.²⁷ While he had some domestic problems, he was considered to be a good family man and a good provider.²⁸ He had a strong respect for the law and on one occasion played an important part in solving a baffling theft and helped the victim recover his lost money.²⁹ If one person were to be singled out as typical of the early Negro in Milwaukee it would be William H. Anderson.

The year 1842 saw still another increase in the size of the Negro population. The Territorial Census for that year listed twenty-five Negroes, fourteen males and eleven females, living in the city of Milwaukee. It also showed two male

²⁶Peter Van Vechten, Jr., Old Times in Milwaukee, an Unpublished Manuscript in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; The Milwaukee City Directory for 1851-52 (Milwaukee: Parsons and Van Slyck, 1851), p. 3; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (3 vols.), Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, II, 47; Milwaukee County Probate Court, Document No. 710, Will and Estate of William H. Anderson, deceased, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

²⁷Van Vechten, Old Times in Milwaukee; The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, January 15, 1847; October 11, 1850.

²⁸Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 24, 1851.

²⁹Van Vechten, Old Times in Milwaukee.

Negroes living in Wauwatosa and five males and three females of color residing in Prairieville (Waukesha). This gave Milwaukee County a total population of thirty-five free colored out of 285 free Negroes in the entire territory.³⁰ The idea of having colored employees in the hotels seemed to become very popular. One old settler tells of fashionable parties held at the Milwaukee House, "... the music being furnished by a negro band composed of the cook and barber [Titball] with their assistants."³¹ The year 1842 also marked the first marriage of Negroes in Milwaukee when Robert Titball married Miss Sarah Abel Brown of Philadelphia on October 5th.³²

Robert Titball's name became connected with yet another major event in 1842. In that year, the first fugitive slave to follow the underground railroad through Wisconsin came to the city. Milwaukee had for some time been known as a center of abolitionist thought and feeling, some of the early settlers being ardent anti-slavery agitators. By 1842, a weekly abolitionist newspaper, the American Freeman, edited by Christopher C. Sholes, was in full operation in the city.³³ This strong abolitionist reputation is credited with being a major reason why many of the first Negro settlers chose to come

³⁰Wisconsin, Census Report, 1842.

³¹A.C. Wheeler, The Chronicles of Milwaukee (Milwaukee: Jermain and Brightman, 1861), p. 107.

³²Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 5, 1842.

³³1881 History, pp. 224-25; Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

to Milwaukee during the early 1840's.³⁴ Therefore, it seemed only natural that Milwaukee should become one of the major stops on the underground railroad in Wisconsin.³⁵

The first "passenger" to travel through Milwaukee on the underground railroad was Caroline Quarles, a sixteen-year-old octoroon who had escaped from her master in St. Louis. Because the girl so closely resembled a Caucasian and because she had \$100, Caroline openly traveled by riverboat to Alton, Illinois, mixing freely with a group of girls going to an academy in Alton. As she got off the boat, however, a Negro dock worker suspected her of being an escaped slave, and he advised her to leave the city at once, suggesting that she contact some agents of the underground railroad whom he knew of. Just how Caroline managed to get from Alton to Milwaukee is not known, but with the aid of the friendly dock worker and the local abolitionists she was able to leave Alton and come to Wisconsin.³⁶

In those days the stagecoach lines stopped on Main Street (Broadway) in front of the Milwaukee House and it was here

³⁴Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

³⁵For a study of the abolition movement in southeastern Wisconsin see William J. Maher. The Anti-slavery Movement in Milwaukee and Vicinity, 1842-1860. Unpublished Master's Thesis Marquette University. This work, while rather brief, does present a fairly accurate picture of abolitionist activities in and about Milwaukee.

³⁶1881 History, pp. 227-28; See also Charles M. Scanlan, The Lady Elgin Disaster, September 8, 1860 (Milwaukee: By the Author, 1928), p. 17. The references from the 1881 History to the Quarles affair are based upon the recollections of Lyman Goodnow who was the "conductor" for Caroline on most of her journey and who was intimately connected with her rescue.

that the young fugitive found herself a few days later. As fortune would have it, she saw a colored man, Robert Titball, working in the hotel barbershop. The girl confided her story to Titball and he in turn took her into his home. It cannot be positively determined whether the barber intentionally betrayed the young fugitive or if he just happened to be the victim of unfortunate circumstances; but before the Quarles affair ended Titball would be cast in the role of villain.³⁷

About a week after Caroline arrived in Milwaukee, her master, Charles B. Hall, and a St. Louis lawyer named Spencer came to the city in search of her.³⁸ They confronted Titball and inquired of him if he knew anything of a young fugitive slave girl. The barber, either through collusion, or thinking that they already knew about his hiding Caroline, told them he had her at his house. While the slave hunters went to secure help, Titball sent a boy to take Caroline to a particular hiding place. However, for what reason it is not known, the boy took her to a different place.

Spencer and Hall meanwhile had solicited the aid of Horatio N. Wells, a local attorney. He, however, refused to assist them and immediately informed Asahel Finch and William

³⁷The 1881 History presents Titball as a total villain who premeditatedly betrayed Caroline to the slave hunters; while Scanlan believes that he was just the unfortunate victim of circumstances. From the information available concerning Titball and his character, it would appear that the first estimate of his complicity in the plot is the more accurate. However, there is no way one can accurately determine from the available sources Titball's full participation in the efforts to recapture Caroline Quarles.

³⁸1881 History, p. 231; See also Scanlan, Lady Elgin Disaster, p. 18.

Pitt Lynde, two ardent abolitionist lawyers, of the affair. Finch somehow managed to learn of the girl's hiding place, whereupon he took her to a house just west of the river on Spring Street (present day Wisconsin Avenue west of the river) where she was hidden under a "sugar hogshead or crockery cask which stood between the road and sidewalk."³⁹ There she remained for the rest of the day, being fed by the colored family who lived in the house.

While all this took place, Spencer and Hall, after securing the assistance of Jonathan E. Arnold, returned to Titball and asked for the girl. The barber told them that she was no longer at his home but that he knew where she could be found. The slave hunters, fearing that they might lose the girl, offered Titball a \$100 reward to produce her. With this inducement, the barber led them to the place he had ordered Caroline taken, but to his surprise found nothing. The lawyers, thinking they had been made fools of by the "darky", threatened to beat the truth out of the bewildered barber. The Negro pleaded that he did not know what had happened to the girl and that he had been sincere when he promised to turn her over to them. Titball's pleading finally convinced the slave hunters and they left him, confused and less the \$100 reward, to try and pick up the girl's trail.⁴⁰

Later that night, Finch took Caroline from under the cask to Deacon Samuel Brown's farm, about two miles northwest of

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰1881 History, pp. 231-40; See also Scanlan, Lady Elgin Disaster, p. 18.

the city limits (at the present day intersection of Fond du Lac Avenue, 16th Street and Brown Street). Here she spent the next day in hiding. The following night, when it was safe, Deacon Brown took her to the home of Samuel Dougherty near Pewaukee. The slave hunters, in a futile effort, searched the entire southeastern portion of the territory and even offered a \$300 reward for Caroline's capture. Meanwhile, the young fugitive remained in hiding until she could be taken by Lyman Goodnow to Canada. There she found safety from pursuit and spent the rest of her life.⁴¹

The part he played in the Quarles affair did not seem to affect Titball's position in the community to any great extent. He continued to operate the Milwaukee House barbershop until 1845 when he opened his own shop and bathhouse at 16 Wisconsin Street.⁴² He ran this establishment until the early 1850's when he suddenly departed the city to avoid an increasingly insistent number of creditors.⁴³ His shop was sold to another Negro, Sarah Carroll, who opened a millinery store in the building.⁴⁴ The Titball family continued to live in the city

⁴¹1881 History, pp. 235-39. See Appendix Six for copies of the correspondence between Lyman Goodnow and Caroline Quarles which tells of what happened to her after she reached Canada.

⁴²Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, January 4, 1854; Julius MacCabe, Directory of the City of Milwaukee for the Years 1847-48 (Milwaukee: Wilson and King, 1847), p. 121.

⁴³See Milwaukee Court records of 1847-1850 for examples of suits brought against Titball by his various creditors.

⁴⁴City Directory for 1851-52, p. 154; Jesse M. Van Slyck, Col. Van Slyck's Milwaukee City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1854-55 (Milwaukee: Starr's Book and Job Office, 1854), p. 59.

for some time. Alfred, the oldest son, constantly appeared in the pages of the local newspapers, mostly for his frequent run-ins with the law and for his propensity to start fires.⁴⁵ Eventually, Mrs. Titball filed suit for divorce, claiming non-support. Thus the Titballs were not only the first Negroes married in Milwaukee, but also the first to be divorced here.⁴⁶

The attempt to pirate Caroline Quarles back into slavery, while a celebrated case and the cause of much commotion, was not an isolated occurrence. To be exact, such incidents were rather frequent happenings. The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette of April 12, 1843, reported a meeting being held to discuss what action could be taken concerning the kidnapping of fugitive slaves in the Milwaukee area.⁴⁷ Most of the colored residents of Milwaukee lived under assumed names and were in daily danger of being returned to slavery.⁴⁸ This situation grew even worse with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

Despite an occasional visit by a slave hunter, the Negro community continued to grow and to prosper. The Territorial Census of 1846 listed the Negro population of the city as

⁴⁵Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, September 30, 1854; March 26, 1859; Buck, Pioneer History, IV, 141.

⁴⁶Milwaukee County Circuit Court, Document No. 34, Equity, May Term, 1851, Sarah A. Titball vs. Robert Titball, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁴⁷Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, April 12, 1843.

⁴⁸Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

being twenty-one men and twenty-three women for a total of forty-four colored.⁴⁹ That census, also, for the first time listed the names of a majority of the Negro population. Besides the familiar listings of William Anderson and Robert Titball, the report shows the names of Milton Barret, Lyman Benjamin, Thomas Brown, Henry Caldron, Joseph DeLong, William Mitchell, William Morgan, Henry Phillips, and George Paddock as residents of the community. Negroes were also listed as living in the houses of Don A. J. Upham, Nicholas Cleary, and William Wells.⁵⁰

Anderson's family was enlarged in 1846 by the arrival of his wife, Ann, and his daughter, Emily, from their previous home in Ohio. Titball's family increased with the birth of two sons, Alfred, in 1843, and Walter, in 1845.⁵¹ Of the new arrivals, nothing is known about Henry Caldron. Henry Phillips came to Milwaukee in 1845 aboard the steamer Northwestern where he had been working as a ship's cook. He found employment in the city as a ship's carpenter and established his residence

⁴⁹Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846.

⁵⁰Ibid. This listing does not include Levi Tate who, according to Green's article, came to Milwaukee from Buffalo, New York, in 1844. However, he does not appear in any of the early Census reports (which could be because he was living in a white household) or any of the city directories until 1869. Further, when he enlisted in the Union army, he gave his home as Columbus, Wisconsin. For these reasons, I have not included him as a member of the early Negro community.

⁵¹Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 148.

on Hanover Street near Virginia Street in Walker's Point.⁵²

William Morgan, Joseph DeLong, and Thomas Brown were all barbers and, while it cannot be accurately determined, they all seem to have arrived in town during 1844 or early 1845.⁵³ Robert Johnson, who came to Milwaukee with his wife Hannah, worked as a joiner and lived on Jackson Street about Division Street (Juneau Avenue).⁵⁴ It is not known just when Milton Barrett first set foot in Milwaukee, but it seems his stay was of short duration. By 1847 he had moved to Watertown where he established a barbershop.⁵⁵ His removal from the city seems to have been no great loss to the community as his character was not of the best mold. In 1853, records show him being sent to the state penitentiary at Waupan for assaulting an immigrant girl in Rock county.⁵⁶ The final addition to the Negro community in 1846 was George Paddock, a farmer who moved to the city that year with his family of six.⁵⁷

The Territorial Census of 1847 showed still another increase in the colored population of the city. The report for

⁵²Green, Negroes in Milwaukee; MacCabe, City Directory for 1847-48, p. 113.

⁵³Ibid., p. 109; Directory of the City of Milwaukee for the Years 1848-49 (Milwaukee: Rufus King, 1848), p. 82; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 188.

⁵⁴U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 448; MacCabe, City Directory for 1847-48, p. 448.

⁵⁵Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, April 21, 1853.

⁵⁶Ibid., April 21, 1853; September 23, 1853.

⁵⁷Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; MacCabe, City Directory, for 1847-48, p. 112.

that year listed twenty-eight males of color and thirty females of color, for a total of fifty-eight citizens of Negro descent.⁵⁸ There were only two new families identified by the census, John Gardiner and George H. Clark, both barbers.⁵⁹ The city now had no less than eight Negro barbers and they just about monopolized that trade in Milwaukee.⁶⁰

The steady growth in the size of the colored community was not the only encouraging aspect in the lives of Milwaukee's Negroes during 1847. The state constitutional convention, then in session at Madison, had on its agenda the question of granting the right of suffrage to Negroes. The colored population read the newspapers daily for the account of the convention's sessions. Their hopes were high and they anxiously looked forward to the possibility of casting their votes in the next election.

The question of granting the right of voting to Negroes in Wisconsin had been raised before. At the first constitutional convention in 1846, when a resolution to delete the word "white" from the voting requirements was introduced, four of the delegates from Milwaukee voted in support of it.⁶¹ However, the opposition to this resolution, led by the eloquent Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point, proved too powerful to

⁵⁸Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847.

⁵⁹Ibid.; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 456.

⁶⁰Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847; Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

⁶¹Milo M. Quaife (Ed.), The Movement for Statehood, 1845-1846 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1918), p. 227.

overcome and the convention finally accepted a compromise resolution introduced by Mr. James M. Moore of Brookfield. The compromise called for submitting the question of colored suffrage "... to the people in a distinct proposition to be voted on at the next general election...."⁶²

The results of the election held in March of 1847 were overwhelming in their rejection of both the constitution and the question of Negro suffrage. The constitution was defeated by a vote of 20,233 to 14,119; while the idea of permitting colored people to vote lost by a majority of 14,615 to 7,664.⁶³ The advocates of Negro suffrage were able to carry only Dodge, Fond du Lac, Jefferson, Marquette, Racine, Walworth, Waukesha, and Winnebago counties and of these only Racine, Walworth, and Waukesha were won by large majorities.⁶⁴ Brown, Columbia, Crawford, Dane, Grant, Green, Lafayette, Manitowoc, Portage, Richland, Rock, Sauk, Sheboygan, St. Croix, and Washington counties all voted against the question, many by greatly lopsided majorities.⁶⁵ Even Milwaukee County with its vocal pro-suffrage element went against Negro suffrage by nearly three to one.⁶⁶

⁶²Ibid., pp. 94-95; Milo M. Quaife(Ed.), The Convention of 1846 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1919), pp. 212, 214-18, 793-94.

⁶³Milo M. Quaife(Ed.), The Struggle Over Ratification, 1846-47 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1920), p. 697; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, May 8, 1847.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 698.

⁶⁵Ibid. Some of the counties where the vote went heaviest against the measure were: Grant 2215 to 93, Lafayette and Richland 2504 to 69, Washington 1328 to 84, and St. Croix 126 to 1.

⁶⁶Ibid. The vote in Milwaukee County was 616 in favor of the resolution to 1,832 against it.

Despite this crushing defeat, the advocates of black-men's rights continued to campaign for suffrage. When the next constitutional convention met in December of 1847, the pro-suffrage delegates again raised the issues of Negroes having the right to vote. Rufus King of Milwaukee and Warren Chase of Ripon spearheaded the drive. Debate over the issue became extremely heated. But again the anti-suffrage faction from the northern and western counties proved too strong for the efforts of the suffrage men.

In order to avoid a deadlock, a compromise resolution was offered by Mr. George Gale of Elkhorn.⁶⁷ Mr. Gale's resolution stated that:

The legislature at its annual session in 1850 and its annual session in every fourth year thereafter shall have power to provide by law for the submission to the people of the question of equal suffrage to colored persons; and if a majority of the votes given by the electors at either of such elections shall be in favor of extending the right of suffrage to colored persons, then all male citizens of African blood possessing the qualifications required by the first section of the article on suffrage shall have the right to vote for all offices and be eligible to all offices that now or thereafter may be elective by the people after the adoption of the constitution.⁶⁸
[Italics my own]

After the resolution had been read, Byron Kilbourn, of Milwaukee, proposed to amend it so that it would read "... at any time..." instead of "... at its annual session in 1850 and its annual session every fourth year thereafter..." which

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 383-400.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 397.

was agreed to by Mr. Gale and a majority of the other delegates.⁶⁹ After some more debate and clarification, the convention voted on the resolution and adopted it by a forty-four to twenty-one majority.⁷⁰ The Milwaukee delegation split upon the question with John L. Doran, Garrett M. Fitzgerald, Byron Kilbourn, and Rufus King voting in the affirmative, while Albert Fowler, Charles Larkin, and Moritz Schoeffler opposed the measure.⁷¹

By the time of the next general election, which was held on November 7, 1849, the pro-suffrage people were confident that they could carry the question. When the balloting was finished, there were 5,265 votes in favor of Negro suffrage and 4,075 against it. However, this represented less than 10,000 votes cast on the issue of free suffrage out of a total of over 30,000 cast in the race for the office of governor.⁷² The election officials took this to mean that there was not a majority of the votes cast at the election for suffrage, despite the fact that there were more votes in favour of it than there were opposed to it. On this basis the election was declared a defeat for the resolution granting colored persons the right of franchise.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 398.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 400.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 886, 913-16.

⁷²Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, December 19, 1849; John G. Gregory, Negro Suffrage in Wisconsin, a Paper Read Before the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters at the Summer Meeting, Milwaukee, June, 1895.

This strange interpretation of the election results was even accepted by General Rufus King, an ardent pro-suffrage man and one of the Milwaukee delegates to the constitutional convention. In the November 8th issue of the Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, General King wrote:

If the true construction be, as we presume it is, that a majority of all persons voting at the election must vote for free suffrage, in order to its adoption, the affect is to count every blank vote on the question as a negative one. Thus, in this city, though there is a majority of the votes cast on the question in favor of free suffrage, there is not a 'majority of all the votes cast at the election.' And so, we think, it will be found throughout the state.⁷³

General King's prediction proved to be only too accurate. Thus, because of this unique and narrow interpretation of the law, equal rights for colored persons in the state of Wisconsin were to be denied for yet another seventeen years.

⁷³Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 8, 1849.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT, 1849-1859

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The Negroes of Milwaukee, though greatly disappointed by the failure of their white brethren to grant them their equal rights, had little time for self-pity. The press of everyday life in Milwaukee did not allow them much opportunity to lick their wounds or bemoan their misfortune. If they did not have their equal rights, at least they were free and relatively safe from the horrors of slavery.

Life in the colored community went on much as before. The Milwaukee Negro population continued to increase. The year 1849 saw the appearance of several new families in the city. Miss Minerva Farr opened a millinery and dress shop at 190 East Water Street.¹ John Smith, a skilled machinist, and his wife, Martha, arrived in Milwaukee and took up residence on Third Street.² During December of 1848, Joseph Wells, who lived with his wife Sarah at 162 East Water Street, and George Symes, whose home was on Main Street (present day Broadway) near Oneida (Wells Street), went into partnership in Robert Titball's old barbershop opposite the Post Office on East Water Street.³ Another new arrival was Samuel Potts with his wife Louisa and their son Charles. Potts, by trade a

¹Directory of the City of Milwaukee for the Years 1848-49 (Milwaukee: Rufus King, 1848), p. 86.

²Ibid., p. 124.

³Ibid., p. 131; The Milwaukee City Directory for 1851-52 (Milwaukee: Parsons and Van Slyck, 1851), p. 151; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, December 8, 1848.

whitewasher, found a home in Walker's Point on Mineral Street near Jones.⁴

In 1850, the Federal government conducted the Seventh Census of the United States and for the first time since Wisconsin became a state an accurate listing of Milwaukee's Negro population became available. According to the Territorial Census of 1847, there were fifty-eight Negroes within the city. The 1850 Census listed the colored population as being 101.⁵ Many new names appeared on the rolls and for the first time servants and those living in the homes of others all appeared by name.⁶ Among the more prominent additions to the community were Jesse Epps, a grocer and auctioneer, Jared Gray and his family of nine, Henry B. Platt, who worked as a clerk in Silas Chapmans' store, Charles Price, a laborer, William

⁴City Directory for 1848-49, p. 115; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, p. 17 et seq.

⁵U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17 et seq. This figure is based upon a computation of the Negro and Mulatto entries in the manuscript copy of the 1850 Census for Milwaukee County.

⁶Ibid. The sudden rise in the Negro population from fifty-eight in 1847 to one hundred one in 1850 is accounted for by the fact that the 1850 census takers were extremely meticulous in their poll, listing all persons residing in Milwaukee County at the time of the census. This included many who were merely transients, those in the county jail, and others who might not otherwise have been listed in the earlier Territorial Census or in the 1848 or 1849 City Directories. Many of the names which appear on the 1850 rolls, such as John Lox, David Hopkins, Samuel Harris, Orange Jackson, Charles Ware, Daniel Jackson, William Wintrey, and others, are not found in any of the prior or subsequent source references and were probably only residents of short duration (less than one year) or transients. See Appendix Two for the entries of the 1850 Census.

Harling, a cook, Alexander Wilson and his family of six, Jonathan J. Myers, another grocer, Lewis Johnson and his Caucasian wife Catherine, Sully Watson's family of six, and John Offer, whose arrival in the city brought to fourteen the number of colored barbers.⁷

While the Negro community still made up only a very small percentage of the total population of Milwaukee (101 out of 20,061), it had grown by leaps and bounds from the early 1840 community of hotel servants and barbers.⁸ In size it had increased by four times its original number, but even more interesting was the manner in which it had changed. The Negroes of 1850 still totally dominated the local barbering trade, there being only four white barbers in the entire city.⁹ However, besides the large number of colored barbers, there were seven cooks, six waiters, two clothes cleaners, three masons, six whitewashers, two joiners, four laborers, two domestics, two grocers, a machinist, a milliner, a sailor, and a farmer.¹⁰ Of the entire Negro adult population, only three were not gainfully employed and two of these were in the county jail.¹¹

⁷Ibid., pp. 161-62, 193, 202, 203, 369, 411, 441, 456, 460, 149.

⁸Ibid., p. 17 et seq.

⁹City Directory for 1848-49. This statement is based upon a careful examination of the entries in the 1848-49 City Directory of Milwaukee. William A. Gates (p. 89), Herman Grebel (p. 90), Henry Grundman (p. 90), and N. Paul (p. 113) are the only persons listed as barbers who are not members of the Negro community.

¹⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17 et seq.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 253, 312.

Many of the Negroes living in Milwaukee in 1850 owned moderate amounts of property. The holdings of Joseph Wells were estimated at \$1,000 in the census as were those of Henry B. Platt.¹² Samuel Potts' land had a market price of \$400, while William Harling's amounted to nearly \$600.¹³ Three hundred dollars was the value the census taker placed upon Jonathan J. Myers' store and home, while Lyman Benjamin's properties on Second Street and in the Ninth Ward were worth over \$1,000.¹⁴ The colored citizens of Milwaukee in 1850 established much deeper roots in the community than had their earlier brethren.

The Negro community in 1850 seemed to have little, if any problem gaining property in Milwaukee. While a large number of them resided in the First Ward, they were by no means restricted to that area.¹⁵ In fact, a closer look will show that in 1852, out of forty listed residences of Negroes, twenty-five or 62.5% were on the east side of the Milwaukee River scattered throughout the First, Third, and Seventh Wards. Ten families, or 25% of the Negro community, resided on the west side of the river in the Second and Fourth Wards, while the remaining five families, which was 13.5% of the total colored population, lived on the South Side in the Fifth and

¹²Ibid., pp. 197, 202.

¹³Ibid., pp. 17, 460.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 203, 476; William T. Green, Negroes in Milwaukee, An undated, unidentified newspaper clipping from the Ethnic File in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

¹⁵U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17 et seq.

Eighth Wards (see Map A).¹⁶ These homes were located on some of the best land in the city and alongside of some of Milwaukee's most prominent citizens.

As regards their origins, a majority (forty-two persons or 57%) of the adult Negroes were born in Southern states, but only seven of these came from the Deep South slave states.¹⁷ Of the remaining thirty-two adults, most listed Eastern states as their birthplace with Pennsylvania and New York being the most common.¹⁸ All but two of the twenty-four children were born in Northern states, with seven having been born in Wisconsin.¹⁹ The colored population seemed to place a high value on education. A majority of them, fifty-two persons or 70.3%, could read and write and, of the thirteen school-aged children, nine were enrolled in the public schools.²⁰

Another interesting aspect concerning the Negro community of 1850 was the number of inter-racial marriages that existed. The 1850 census showed five bi-racial families living in

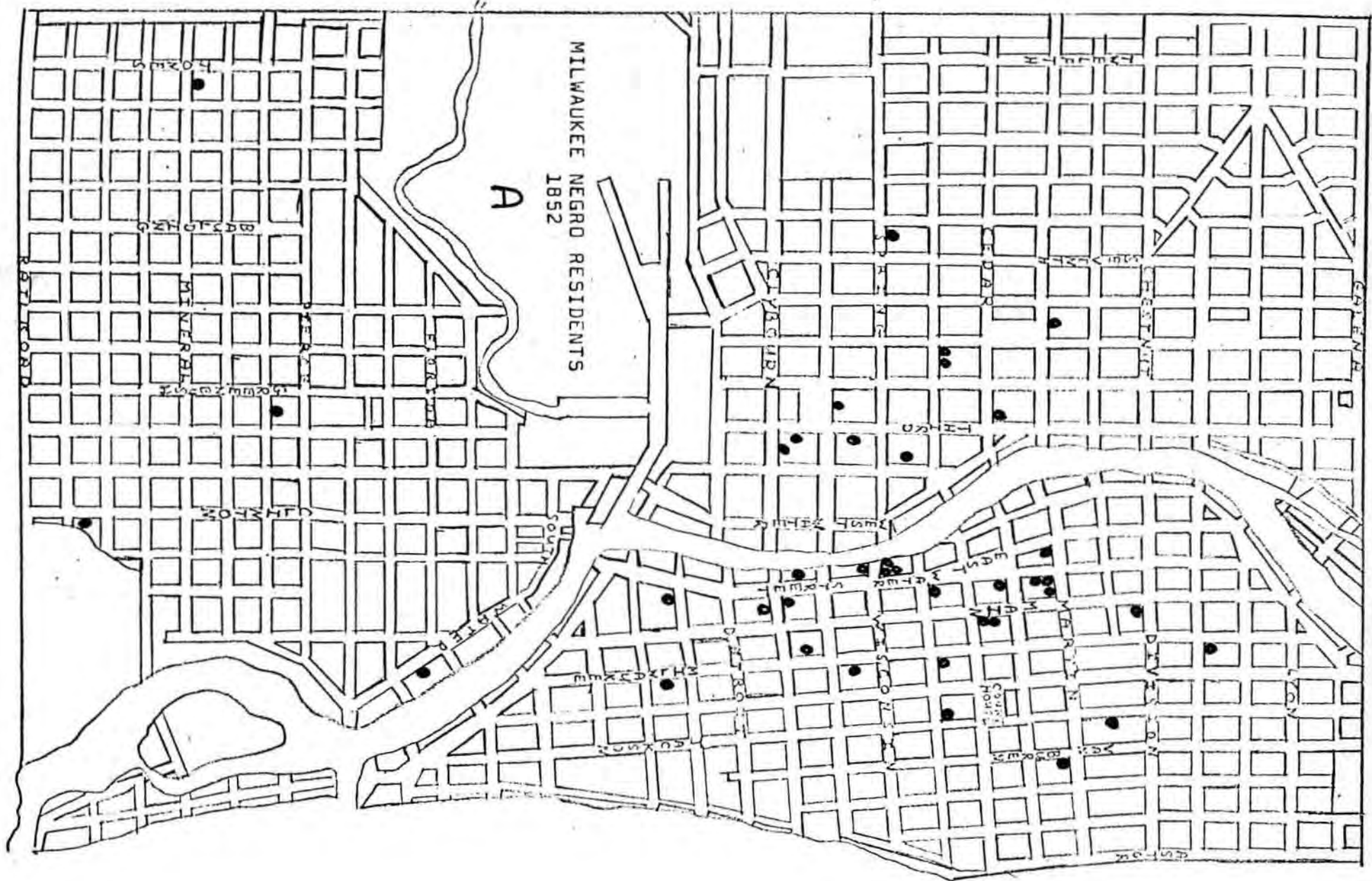
¹⁶City Directory for 1851-52. These figures are based upon a careful examination of the City Directory of Milwaukee for 1851-52 which lists the addresses of the various Negroes. It was from this information that Map A was plotted and the percentages determined.

¹⁷U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17 et seq. A breakdown of the birthplaces by states shows nineteen from Virginia, six from Maryland, three each from Missouri and Tennessee, two from Louisiana, one each from Alabama, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia.

¹⁸Ibid. By states they were Pennsylvania eleven, New York nine, Ohio and Canada four each, Connecticut two, and Massachusetts and Indiana one each.

¹⁹Ibid. Nine of the children were born in New York, three in Ohio, two in Michigan, two in South Carolina, and one in Canada.

²⁰Ibid.



Milwaukee. In all five of these cases Negro men were married to white women and in four of the five cases the women were of immigrant stock. While a ratio of five inter-racial families out of twenty-five seems disproportionately high, it does not appear to have had any significant effect on the community.²¹

Relations between whites and Negroes in Milwaukee at the turn of the decade were exceptionally good. The abolitionist movement was gaining strength, with many of the city's leading citizens supporting it. Negro children attended the public schools with white children. The local papers were generally friendly towards the colored population and two of them openly supported the abolitionist cause. There was adequate employment for all Negroes and few official restrictions placed upon their lives.²² The Negro community had definitely become a permanent part of the life fabric of Milwaukee. While a large part of the colored population was made

²¹Ibid., pp. 17, 369, 456. The five inter-racial couples were William and Ann Brown, George and Mary Clark, Samuel and Louisa Potts, Lewis and Catherine Johnson, and Jesse Epps and his wife whose name is not known.

²²The official restrictions placed upon Negroes were the lack of the right to vote and exclusion from the militia. This is not to say that these were the only restrictions that the Negroes of Milwaukee encountered. Undoubtedly there were certain businesses, places of entertainment, and individuals who discriminated against Negroes, but on the whole, the colored residents of Milwaukee enjoyed a greater deal of freedom than did Negroes in other areas of the Midwest. Among other things, they could own property, engage in business, travel freely, send their children to the public schools, seek redress of their grievances in the courts, testify against white men, serve on juries, and hold public assemblies.

up of fugitive slaves, they felt relatively safe in their adopted community and sought to lead normal, happy, prosperous lives. Then in August of 1850, their new found life was suddenly and seriously threatened.

That month the United States Congress, as part of the Compromise of 1850, passed a new Fugitive Slave Law which gave slave hunters far more power than they had previously possessed. While Milwaukee's Negroes always had to contend with fugitive slave laws and slave hunters, the previous bills had been rendered virtually inoperative over the years. Under the old laws slave hunters had to seek redress for their lost property from the state courts and officers who generally were sympathetic towards the Negro. With the new law, however, Federal commissioners would determine if the Negro were a fugitive or not and the Negro would be allowed to say nothing in his own defense.

It did not take the slave hunters long to invade Wisconsin in search of lost property. Early in October two "sportsmen from the South" came to Brookfield seeking a fugitive slave who resided there. Fortunately, sympathetic neighbors hid the man and sent the slave hunters on a false trail.²³ The Negro community realized that it was in grave danger, that there was little local officials could do to protect them, and that they would have to rely on themselves and friendly whites to prevent their being returned to slavery. Their answer to the

²³Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 10, 1850.

problem was to call a mass meeting of all Milwaukee Negroes, the first time in their history that such a gathering had occurred.²⁴

On Monday, October 7th, the meeting came to order. Lewis Johnson was elected chairman and Joseph Barquet, a whitewasher who lived in the house of William Harling, secretary. Johnson began the meeting with an address of "impassioned oratory" denouncing the new Fugitive Slave Law. He warned that the local Negro population must either acquiesce to the evil of returning to slavery or unite and, with the help of friendly whites, prevent the enforcement of the law. He reminded them that this would be the first meeting of colored people in the state of Wisconsin in which they would be able to voice their own opinions and he hoped that they would agree to resist the law.²⁵

After Johnson finished speaking, a motion was made that a committee be appointed to draft a preamble and a set of resolutions to stress the determination of the colored people to oppose the Fugitive Slave Law. Johnson appointed a committee consisting of George H. Clark, William Harling, Alexander Wilson, John Gardner, and William Miner to write the resolutions. When the committee left, William Thomas Watson, the eldest son of Sully Watson, spoke to the meeting. He presented in detail how the new law endangered every Negro, free or fugitive, who lived in Milwaukee and implored everyone

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

present to resist the law to the utmost of his or her ability.²⁶ The next speaker, Joseph Barquet, gave the most impassioned address of the evening. He called upon all Negroes to oppose the law even at the cost of their own lives. He further reprimanded the United States government for refusing to accord free Negroes their just rights and for sustaining the institution of slavery.²⁷

By the time Barquet finished speaking, the committee had returned with its resolutions. Mr. Clark presented the following draft to the meeting:

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States guarantees its protection to those who will peacefully meet for all purposes or to speak of their grievances and laying their inquiries before the people--and, whereas, a law has been passed by the American Congress, just adjourned, entitled a bill for the re-capture of Fugitive Slaves which law we hold to be repugnant to all republican principles of government, trampling underfoot every vestige of justice, setting aside the Habeus Corpus and trial by jury which have come down to us from the time of the great Magna Carta, whereas, the said law gives no protection to bond or free, depriving us of our oaths, leaving no protection, and being thus situated by the passage of this law, we have no other alternative left but to choose between Liberty or Death;

Therefore, we, the people of the City and County of Milwaukee in the state of Wisconsin do Resolve:

1. That the passage of Mason's fugitive bill is an outrage upon all forms of republicanism leaving us to choose Liberty or Death, and that of the alternatives we choose death to chains.

2. That we pledge ourselves to come forward at any alarm given and rescue our fugitive brethren even unto death, furthermore, that we stain every inch of earth with our blood for their deliverance, leaving the issue with Isreal's God.

3. That as peaceful citizens we respect the laws, but we cannot heed any law that contradicts the higher

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

law of self-protection--that Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness are the constitutional doctrines we hold paramount in this case, believing Mason's bloody bill to be antagonistic to those provisions.

4. That our thanks are due to our immediate Senators and Representatives for their votes against this bloody bill, and also to those noble Senators and Representatives from others states who voted in like manner against it.

5. That the noble Turk who refused to yield up the leaders of Hungarian liberty as sacrifice to Russia has set a noble example worthy of imitation by every lover of Justice and Liberty in this Christian land.

6. That we feel proud of our adopted state and record with pleasure the fact that her hands are clean of the fugitive's blood.

7. That our thanks are due to those journals of this City which have opposed the Fugitive Law and remembrance of their aid we will always hold dear.²⁸

Martin Smith, a whitewasher who had recently arrived in Milwaukee and who later would be intimately involved with the Fugitive Slave Law, seconded the resolutions. A vote was taken and the resolutions were adopted unanimously. Just before the meeting adjourned, Mr. Johnson read a letter signed by a "C. D. W." who suggested that the Negroes organize their own protective societies. The meeting was then adjourned.²⁹

For the first time in their history, Milwaukee's Negroes had acted as a cohesive group when faced by a major problem. They had organized themselves and made their voices heard in the white community. On October 11th, the Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette ran an editorial under the title "Voice of our Colored Citizens" which congratulated the Negroes for their action and supported it.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

We invite attention to the proceedings of a public meeting of the colored citizens of Milwaukee, held on Monday evening last, to express their views touching the infamous fugitive slave law. Surely no American who believes in the Declaration of Independence, or has ever looked upon Bunker Hill can find fault with their determination. 'Liberty or Death!' The law is one which ought never to have been passed, which cannot be enforced, and which will not stand.³⁰

Indeed, the Negro community had taken a major step forward.

But the holding of meetings and the passing of resolutions, while praiseworthy in themselves, did little to solve the problem created by the Fugitive Slave Law. Slave hunters continued to prowl the neighborhood. Generally, local officials and citizens were opposed to the law and they did all they could to hinder its enforcement. This led the slave hunters to sometimes prefer to recover their property without the aid of the law. Early in 1851, a great deal of excitement was caused by the kidnapping of a Negro boy named George Wells. It seems that some slave hunters spirited him out of town on board the ship Artic and took him to New Buffalo, after which he was never heard from again.³¹

After the first burst of excitement died down, the Fugitive Slave Law did not have as disastrous an effect on the Negro community as most people thought it would. Very few

³⁰Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 11, 1850.

³¹James S. Buck, Pioneer History of Milwaukee (4 vols; Milwaukee: Symes, Swain, and Company, 1884), III, 357. This individual might have been the son or younger brother of Joseph Wells. In the 1848-49 City Directory there is a listing for John G. (George?) Wells living at the same address as the senior Wells and employed as a barber in the J. W. Wells and Company barbershop. However, the 1850 census does not list any children for Joseph Wells.

Negro families moved out of the city and those that did were compensated for by new arrivals.³² On the whole, life among the colored citizens of Milwaukee continued as usual. There was a great deal of talk among the Negroes about the newest celebrity in their midst. In 1851, Lyman Benjamin, who worked as a cook at the American House, decided that the artistic efforts of the local colored population deserved to be exhibited alongside those of the white community at the forthcoming Crystal Palace Exposition in London. On May 11th, Benjamin boarded a steamer and set sail for England. He took with him various items of handiwork which he felt would best show the world "... what the colored people of Wisconsin can do."³³ A growing sense of pride in their accomplishments was beginning to make itself manifest within the colored community.

The early 1850's saw the arrival of several new families of Negroes. Ambrose Dudley, who worked as a cook at the Home Saloon and lived at 5 Spring Street (present day west Wisconsin Avenue), settled here in early 1852.³⁴ That same year, David Booker and his wife, Cinthill, came to the city and moved into the house on the corner of Third and Cedar Streets (present day Kilbourn).³⁵ However, the real increase in the size of the colored population occurred in 1854. That year five

³²City Directory for 1851-52, p. 3 et seq; Jesse M. Van Slyck, Col. Van Slyck's Milwaukee City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1854-55 (Milwaukee: Starrs' Book and Job Office, 1854), p. 13 et seq.

³³Daily Free Democrat, May 9, 1851.

³⁴City Directory for 1851-52, p. 41.

³⁵Ibid., p. 13.

new listings for Negroes were placed in the city directory. William Henderson, with his wife and daughter, resided on Third Street between Spring and Wells, where Henderson, a shoemaker, set up his shop.³⁶ By an odd coincidence, a second Negro shoemaker, Henry Thompson, and his family arrived in Milwaukee that same year. The Thompson family lived on Michigan Street between Jefferson and Jackson.³⁷

Another addition to the Negro community during 1854 was Abraham Torrey who, with his Caucasian wife, Caineconda, resided on Fourth Street between Tamarack and Prairie (present State and McKinley Streets).³⁸ When Robert Titball decided it would be an opportune time for him to depart the city, there was a ready occupant for his old barbershop at 16 Wisconsin Street in Mrs. Sarah Carroll. Mrs. Carroll remodeled the store and opened a millinery and dressmaking shop which soon became one of the more popular women's apparel houses in Milwaukee.³⁹ The final addition to the colored population in 1854 was Ezekiel Gillespie and his family of three who moved here from Indiana. Gillespie, who lived at 12 Wisconsin Street, found employment selling vegetables for a local merchant.⁴⁰

³⁶Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854, p. 127.

³⁷Ibid., p. 264.

³⁸Ibid., p. 266; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (3 vols), Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, II, 381.

³⁹Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854, p. 127.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 107; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 381.

One of the more interesting members of the Negro community during this time was Jesse Epps. Epps, commonly referred to by the locals as "Professor," came to Milwaukee in 1850 and engaged in the grocery trade with his shop being located on Clinton (present day South First Street) near Madison in Walker's Point.⁴¹ After he established himself, the Professor sent for his wife, a white French woman, and their child.⁴² However, his business venture did not prosper and he soon found himself in difficulties. By 1852, Epps' fortunes reached a low ebb and he was forced to move his business and family into what was known as the "Rough and Ready Shanty" on East Water Street.⁴³ This shanty, which had been built as a meeting hall for the presidential campaign of Zachary Taylor in 1848, was abandoned and Jesse simply took it over on "squatter's rights."⁴⁴ One old settler vividly described the building as "... a lean-to against the end of a large store on a vacant lot. It could not have stood three minutes on its own foundation. It was

⁴¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 369; City Directory for 1851-52, p. 45.

⁴²State of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Buck, Pioneer History, IV, 99.

⁴³Robert Sutherland, "Reminiscences of a Twenty Month's Residence in Milwaukee in 1851-2-3," Evening Wisconsin, July 16, 1904, a newsclipping in Scrapbook No. 13, Milwaukee City and Vicinity, pp. 67-69 in the Old Settlers' Club Collection of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁴⁴Ibid.; Peter Van Vechten, "Sutherland's Reminiscences Pleased Old Settlers," Evening Wisconsin, July 23, 1904, a newsclipping in Scrapbook No. 13, Milwaukee City and Vicinity, p. 69 in the Old Settlers' Club Collection of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

built of waifs, and strays of board and slabs which looked as if they had been leisurely collected in different parts of the world. Some of the boards could reasonably be credited with having served as berths in the Mayflower.⁴⁵

From this new, "low overhead" base, Professor Epps continued to operate his grocery while at the same time working as an auctioneer's caller, striding up and down the streets of the city, ringing his bell, and announcing in a loud, deep voice when and where the day's auction was to be held.⁴⁶ As a further means of livelihood, Professor and Mrs. Epps doubled as fortune tellers and palmists.⁴⁷ Nor were Mr. Epps' colorful exploits limited to business enterprises alone. The local tabloids of the time bear frequent reference to his activities, generally in connection with some humorous event or rowdy tumult, but always, it appears, with tongue-in-cheek.⁴⁸

The highpoint of Epps' career came during the summer of 1855. It seems that one day the city was hit by a sudden severe storm which caught everyone off guard. The Professor was spending the day at his renowned store with all his wares openly displayed for the public. The story goes on to show how only the quick thinking and action of Mrs. Epps prevented

⁴⁵Sutherland, Scrapbook No. 13, Milwaukee City and Vicinity, pp. 67-69.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸For references to Jesse Epps see Milwaukee Daily News, February 7, 1854; Buck, Pioneer History, III, 391; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, May 28, 1855, September 3, 1855, October 23, 1855, December 11, 1855, April 14, 1856, and May 17, 1856.

a major calamity.

J. Epps, Esq., wholesale and retail dealer in pies, cakes, maple sugar, fruit, cider vinegar mulled, etc., corner of Michigan and East Water Streets, met with a heavy loss, but through the almost superhuman efforts of his large corps of clerks most of his goods were removed, although in damaged condition. Too much praise cannot be awarded to Mrs. Epps, the respected consort of Jesse. During the height of the shower she stood braving the element like a rock sheltering a large cake of maple sugar (which otherwise would have been destroyed) from the pelting storm, with the skirts of her dress. We have not heard whether there was any insurance on the property.

P.S.--We learn since writing the above, that Jesse Epps was somewhat fractured upon the spot 'where the wool ought to grow' by the dangerous bursting of a bottle of 'pop'.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, the Epps' colorful days in the "Rough and Ready Shanty" were numbered. James Ludington, the owner of the property, desired to make more profitable use of it. However, the Professor and his consort were determined not to be deprived of their home, no matter how humble it be. Finally, in desperation, Ludington hired some workmen to demolish the shack during the night. Despite the fact that the Professor and his wife were still inside, the men went to their task with gusto and before long the humble abode was scattered hither and yon about the lot.⁵⁰ When asked the next day about the incident, Professor Epps made it known that he was quite "put out" and indignantly announced "I leab heah. I doan lib whar an honest man am not perspected."⁵¹

⁴⁹Buck, Pioneer History III, 99.

⁵⁰Van Vechten, Scrapbook No. 13, Milwaukee City and Vicinity, p. 69; Sutherland, Scrapbook No. 13, Milwaukee City and Vicinity, pp. 67-69.

⁵¹Sutherland, Scrapbook No. 13, Milwaukee City and Vicinity, pp. 67-69.

However, in a more serene period of afterthought, the Professor must have changed his mind. The records show that he was still in town the next year, running a "saloon" on East Water Street between Johnson and Division Streets (present day East Highland and Juneau Avenues).⁵² But this business venture appears to have been as ill-fated as Epps' earlier endeavors and by 1857 the Professor and his family had left the city presumably in search of a place where an honest man could be "perspected."⁵³

The general tranquility and good life enjoyed by the Milwaukee Negro community during the early 1850's was abruptly shattered in March of 1854. At two o'clock in the afternoon of March 11th, the incessant clanging of the Court House bell warned the city that something important was occurring. As the crowds began to stream down the streets toward the Court House Square, they saw Sherman Booth, mounted on a horse, racing up and down the roadways shouting "Freemen, to the Rescue."⁵⁴ Not until they reached the square, however, did they discover the cause of all this commotion. Slave hunters had invaded the region, kidnapped a fugitive slave who lived in Racine, and locked him in the county jail.

⁵²Jesse M. Van Slyck, Col. Van Slyck's Milwaukee City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1856-57 (Milwaukee: Daily Wisconsin Print, 1856), p. 153.

⁵³Erving, Burdick, and Companies, Milwaukee City Directory for 1857 and 1858 (Milwaukee: Steam Press of King, Jermain and Company, 1857), p. 8 et seq.

⁵⁴Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 13, 1854, March 22, 1854; Daily Wisconsin, March 13, 1854; Daily Free Democrat, March 11, 1854.

The man who was the center of all this excitement was Joshua Glover, a Negro slave who, in 1852, had escaped from his master, Ammi C. Garland of St. Louis, and made his way via the underground railroad to Racine, Wisconsin. Here he found employment in the Sinclair & Rice flourmill, four miles north of Racine. Somehow, after two years of freedom, Glover's former master learned of his whereabouts and set out to regain his lost property.⁵⁵ Thus, on the night of March 10, 1854, as Glover and two Negro friends named Turner and Ellis were playing cards, there was a rap on the door. Despite admonitions not to, Turner quickly arose and released the bolt holding the door. In rushed Deputy United States Marshal Charles C. Cotten, two assistants, and Mr. Garland. A schuffle followed during which Glover was knocked senseless, handcuffed, and thrown into the bed of a waiting wagon. Because they feared the abolitionists in Racine, the slave hunters determined to take the Negro to Milwaukee, where he was placed in the county jail under a special deputy assigned by the United States Marshal, A. V. R. Abelman.⁵⁶

The following morning, after they learned what had happened, the Racine abolitionists lost no time in reacting. They wired Sherman Booth the basic information about the incident and set out for Milwaukee by boat, one hundred strong.

⁵⁵Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 13, 1854; Daily Wisconsin, March 13, 1854. See also Buck, Pioneer History, IV, 22-24.

⁵⁶Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 13, 1854. See also History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Chicago: The Western Historical Company, 1881), p. 241; Buck, Pioneer History, IV, 23.

In the meanwhile, Booth made inquiries concerning the kidnapping and, receiving no satisfactory answers, began to spread the warning about slave hunters in the city. A large crowd soon gathered at the Court House, including some of Milwaukee's leading citizens and a number of the Negro residents. After James H. Paine had gained some semblance of order, Doctor E. B. Walcott was made chairman, A. Henry Bielfeld secretary, and a special vigilance committee of twenty-five was appointed to watch the jail and make sure the Negro was not spirited out of town.⁵⁷

A writ of habeas corpus was obtained and served upon Marshal Cotten who told the committee that he did not have the authority to release Grover and that he would not do so unless ordered to. The leaders then decided that a special Committee, headed by C. K. Watkins, who was acting as Glover's attorney, should wait upon Andrew G. Miller, the Federal Judge, to determine if the writ would be obeyed. In the meantime, a series of addresses were given to the crowd who received them warmly. At five o'clock in the evening, the delegation from Racine arrived and all the gory details of the kidnapping were circulated among the crowd. By the time Watkins returned to tell the assembly that the writ of habeas corpus would not be honored, the gathering had become a mob. They ignored the advice of the leaders not to take the law into their own hands. A sturdy beam being used on the construction of St. John's

⁵⁷Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 13, 1854, March 22, 1854, March 23, 1854. See also 1881 History, pp. 241-42; Buck, Pioneer History, IV, 23-24.

Cathedral across the street was brought over and the jail door battered down. Glover was brought out, placed in the wagon of John A. Messinger, and spirited out of Milwaukee to Waukesha.⁵⁸

The rest of the affair is well known. A few days later, Glover returned to Racine where he was disguised and placed upon a ship which took him to Canada and safety.⁵⁹ As for Booth, the Federal authorities arrested him for his part in the rescue and prosecuted him in a long and intricate series of trials and appeals. It is not the intention of this paper to treat this aspect of the Glover rescue as it did not have any great effect on the Negro community.⁶⁰ What did affect the community, however, was the trial by the state authorities of four other participants in the rescue.

On May 11, 1854, the Grand Jury of Milwaukee County returned a "true bill" of indictment for inciting to riot during the Glover rescue against George Bingham, a carpenter, Thomas Mason, of the Shadbolt & Mason Building Company, John Rycraft,

⁵⁸Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 22, 1854. See also 1881 History, p. 242.

⁵⁹"Mr. Booth's Address," Evening Wisconsin, 1897, a news-clipping in Scrapbook No. 11, Prominent Men and Women, pp. 79-81 in the Old Settlers' Club Collection of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; 1881 History, pp. 242-43; Buck, Pioneer History, IV, 24.

⁶⁰For a short summary of the Booth case see 1881 History, pp. 243-52; "Mr. Booth's Address," Scrapbook No. 11, Prominent Men and Women, pp. 79-81. For a more detailed study of the litigation see Abelman v. Booth, 59 U.S. 470, 15 L. Ed. 465; U.S. v. Booth, 59 U.S. 476, 15 L. Ed. 464; In Re Sherman M. Booth, 3 Wis. 1; Ex Parte Sherman M. Booth, 3 Wis. 145; In Re Booth and Rycraft, 3 Wis. 157; Bagnall v. Booth, 4 Wis. 163; Arnold v. Booth, 14 Wis. 280; Booth v. Abelman, 16 Wis. 460; Booth v. Abelman, 18 Wis. 495; Booth v. Abelman, 20 Wis. 23; Booth v. Abelman, 20 Wis. 602, (June, 1866).

a mason, and Martin Smith, a Negro whitewasher.⁶¹ This was the same Martin Smith who had so enthusiastically seconded the resolutions of 1850 opposing the Fugitive Slave Law (Supra p. 29) and who put those resolves into action on March 11th when he came to the aid of a less fortunate fellow blackman.⁶² The day after the indictment, Bingham and Rycraft posted \$500 bonds and on May 15th, Smith and Mason were taken into custody by the sheriff. Mason immediately posted a \$500 bond, but Smith had to remain in jail until the 17th of May when a \$250 bond was posted for his release with James H. Paine and Peter Yates acting as his sureties.⁶³

The court set June 3rd as the trial date, however, none of the defendants appeared when the court was called to order. The court then held their bonds to be forfeit and, on October 6, 1854, by an unanimous decision the grand jury continued the case to the next term of the court.⁶⁴ A second trial was set for March 9, 1855, and this time the defendants decided that they had best attend. James H. Paine, George W. Larkin, and Mitchell Steever acted as counsels for all four of the defendants.⁶⁵ After a request for a change of venue was heard and denied, the difficult task of selecting the jury began.

⁶¹Milwaukee County Circuit Court, Circuit Court Criminal Docket, B, 295; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854, p. 248; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 122.

⁶²Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 10, 1850, May 16, 1854.

⁶³Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, B, 295.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

The defense polled the jury pool most meticulously, examining each prospective juror carefully on his attitudes towards slavery, Negroes, and the Fugitive Slave Law. After exhausting the entire pool, and most of the morning, only eight jurors had been impaneled. Those selected were John Ogden, James S. Buck, Owen Aldrich, John Bowen, John Evans, L. L. Grilby, James Marner, and T. W. Mayhew.⁶⁶ At the order of the court, the Sheriff brought in a second pool and from this group four more jurors were finally selected to fill out the panel. These last four were Jesse M. Van Slyck, L. L. Powers, Victor Schulte, and George Paddock, who was himself a free Negro farmer employed by James Kneeland.⁶⁷

The trial itself was a long, involved affair, lasting five days. Much of the same material that had been brought out in the Booth case constituted the bulk of the evidence. Many of the witnesses had testified in the earlier trial. Finally, on March 13th, the jury went into deliberation. The city anxiously awaited the decision. Many felt that the earlier conviction by the Federal authorities of Booth, and with him of John Rycraft one of the defendants in this case, might affect the decision of the jury. There was much speculation as to whether the state courts would follow the lead of the Federal government in enforcing the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. The jury, which Paine had taken great

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.; Erving, et al., City Directory for 1857-58, p. 201.

care in selecting, however, did not follow the earlier precedent and returned a verdict of "Not Guilty." Thereupon, all four defendants were immediately released from custody.⁶⁸

While the white community looked upon the Glover Rescue as a great victory over slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, the Negro community did not see it as such. True, Glover had been rescued and taken to safety, but this had to be done by force and without recourse to the protection of the law. True, the local courts had supported the rescue when they released the four "rioters", including a member of the black community, but the Federal Courts, where fugitives would be tried, still enforced the Fugitive Slave Law. The blackman realized that he was constantly subject to raids by slave hunters, that he could find no protection under the law as it now stood, and that, should he be captured, he probably would not be as fortunate as Glover and have a mob come to his rescue. Many Milwaukee Negroes panicked under this realization and fled to Canada or other areas where they thought they would be safe.⁶⁹ Among those who left the city in the wake of the Glover affair were Jared Gray, John Offer, Minerva Farr, Joseph DeLong, Richard Richardson, Henry Thompson, William Henderson, and Samuel Potts.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, B, 302.

⁶⁹Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

⁷⁰Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856-57. The names of these people appear in the 1854-55 City Directory but are absent in the next edition (1856-57) which was the first one published after the Glover rescue. It would appear fairly safe, in light of William

But if the Negro community was shaken by the Glover affair, it did not die or fall apart. Most of the older, more established residents had too much invested in Milwaukee to abandon it all. A core of families--the Andersons, Watsons, Myers, Clarks, Johnsons, Smiths, Lymans, and Platts--stayed and kept the Negro community alive and active. In fact, the community made good most of its losses from those who fled. In 1855, four new families, totaling fourteen persons, moved into the city. They included James A. Goines, David Baker, George R. Lyrus, and Louis Hurley.⁷¹ The year 1856 saw the arrival of four more families and the year after that, eight families.⁷² Part of this continued increase in the size of the Negro community can be accounted for by the expulsion of free Negroes from the state of Virginia in the late 1850's. Because these people did not have to fear the Fugitive Slave Law, they could settle in areas where fugitives would be in great danger. Add to this the tolerant attitude of Wisconsin's officials toward the Negro (see Chapter Two, Footnote 22) and it is not difficult to understand why many of these people migrated to and settled in Milwaukee.⁷³

Green's statement concerning the flight of Milwaukee's fugitive slave population to Canada (Footnote 69), to assume that these individuals left the city because they feared they might be captured and returned to slavery under the Fugitive Slave Law. Two of these families, Samuel Potts and William Henderson, later returned to Milwaukee and re-established their homes.

⁷¹State of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 10, 1855.

⁷²Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856-57; Erving, et al., City Directory for 1857-58. This information was gained by making a careful examination of the listings for the two years and comparing it with the names on the 1860 Federal census.

⁷³Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

Nor had the Glover incident driven Milwaukee's colored citizens from seeking their full political rights. On November 16, 1855, the Negro community held another mass meeting to discuss the question of their suffrage. Henry A. B. Platt was elected the chairman and James A. Goines, a recent arrival in the city, secretary.⁷⁴ After a discussion of the problem, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, the right of suffrage is now extended to all persons, irrespective of birth, creed, or clime, except to the colored man, and believing that this Right is unjustly withheld from us as men;

Therefore, Resolved--first we circulate throughout the state petitions for signatures asking the Legislature in its next session to adopt such measures as will secure to us this God given right.

Resolved--that Charles J. Russell be appointed as a suitable person to present said petition to the people of the State for their signature.

Resolved--that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Free Democrat.⁷⁵

Goines then appointed a committee to ensure that the resolutions would be carried out and the process of securing signatures on the petition begun. This proved to be a slow and tedious task. Finally, however, the petition was completed and presented to the legislature for consideration. While the Senate acted favorably upon the measure, the Assembly failed to pass it and, therefore, no action was taken, with the petition simply being shelved.⁷⁶

Despite its failure, this effort by the Milwaukee Negro

⁷⁴Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 10, 1855.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶State of Wisconsin, Journal of the Senate of Wisconsin, Annual Session, A.D. 1856, (Madison: Atwood and Rublie, 1856), pp. 483, 624, 641, 664.

community proved that it was becoming, ever so steadily, more and more politically sophisticated. By their shrewd use of the local media and their adoption of an appropriate method of "legislative redress," the local Negro leaders made it apparent that eventually they would have to be heard from. And heard from they were. On February 16, 1857, Mr. N. W. Dean introduced into the Assembly on behalf of Milwaukee's Negroes another petition, this one containing over three hundred signatures from the Milwaukee area.⁷⁷ Nor was this the only petition to be presented to the legislature. Mr. H. A. Tenney introduced a similar petition into the Assembly and a third list of signatures, comprised mostly of the residents of Winnebago County, was introduced into the Senate.⁷⁸ With this show of force, the Senate quickly passed an act, Senate Bill No. 31, placing the question of Negro suffrage on the ballot at the next general election and sent it to the Assembly for concurrence.

The Assembly received the bill most favorably. Many of its members spoke of it in glowing terms. One legislator went so far as to argue that it was the Christian duty of the Assembly to rid the state of the "... barbarous and unmanly dogma that human rights are qualities of color, to be analyzed and determined by the prism of prejudice and hereditary

⁷⁷State of Wisconsin, Journal of the Assembly of Wisconsin, Annual Session, A.D. 1857 (3 vols.; Madison: Calkins and Proudfit, 1857), I, 386.

⁷⁸Ibid., I, 301; State of Wisconsin, Journal of the Senate of Wisconsin, Annual Session, A.D. 1857, with an appendix (Madison: Atwood and Rublie, 1857), p. 165.

hatred."⁷⁹ After the usual round of parliamentary procedures, the bill was passed by a vote of forty-three to thirty and returned to the Senate which immediately forwarded it to the Governor for his approval.⁸⁰ Following the example set by the legislature, the governor lost no time in signing the bill into law on March 6, 1857.⁸¹

By the time of the election in November of 1857, no one was sure just how the vote would go. The state itself had become about equally divided between Democrats and Republicans which gave the supporters of colored suffrage the hope that this time the issue would finally be carried. However, when the election was over, it became crystal clear that Wisconsinites were still unwilling to accept the Negro as their political equal. Over 89,000 ballots had been cast in the race for governor, but only 60,000 voters expressed their opinion on Negro suffrage, and of these 36,000, or a majority of 12,000, opposed it.⁸² The Negroes of Wisconsin and Milwaukee remained politically impotent.

If the white citizens of the state were not particularly interested in granting the Negro his right to vote and determine

⁷⁹Report of the Majority of the Judiciary Committee made to the Assembly, March 2, 1857 in the Journal of the Assembly, III, 3.

⁸⁰Wisconsin, Journal of the Assembly, I, 591, 711-14, 750-51; Wisconsin, Journal of the Senate, p. 429.

⁸¹Wisconsin, Journal of the Senate, p. 529.

⁸²John G. Gregory, Negro Suffrage in Wisconsin, A Paper Read Before the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters at the Summer Meeting, Milwaukee, June, 1895, p. 98; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 5, 1857.

his own life, then something would have to be done to change this situation. One Milwaukee Negro offered a proposal to this end. The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette of November 18, 1857, reported a plan on the part of George H. Clark, one of the older leaders of the colored community, and two other Negroes to hold anti-slavery conventions in various towns throughout the state. By this means, he hoped to both show the disgust of Wisconsinites for the institution of slavery and to educate the electorate concerning the problem of Negro suffrage.⁸³ Unfortunately, he could not muster enough support for his project and it never got started.

For the Milwaukee Negro, the period of the late 1850's was one of faith and frustration, hope and humiliation. He had failed in a third try to gain his right to vote and it appeared to him that he could make no political progress whatsoever. Yet even as the state of Wisconsin denied him one right, it acted to ensure him another. On February 17, 1857, the state Senate passed a bill, Senate Bill No. 118, which commonly became known as the Personal Liberty Law. This bill was intended to ensure the writ of habeas corpus to any person claimed as a fugitive slave, to grant the right to trial by jury, and to prevent the kidnapping of Negroes in the state.⁸⁴ Two days later, February 19th, the Assembly by a vote of fifty-four to twenty-four concurred in the bill and on March 2, 1857,

⁸³Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 18, 1857.

⁸⁴Wisconsin, Journal of the Assembly, I, 456-62.

the governor signed it into law.⁸⁵ This unexpected source of protection greatly comforted Milwaukee's Negro population, which had daily lived in apprehension of slave hunters since the Glover incident in 1854. They were even more pleased when the Senate and Assembly, in a joint resolution, expressed their opposition to the admission of any more slave states into the Union.⁸⁶

But then came the fall election of 1857. Most of the optimism that pervaded the Negro community suddenly disappeared. Nor did the coming of spring bring any relief to the colored population. In May of 1858, the Legislature took under consideration a bill to prohibit any further immigration of free Negroes into the state.⁸⁷ The colored people of Milwaukee looked upon this act, coming right after their recent defeat at the polls, as an out-and-out slap in the face. The white man preached freedom and equality, but he seemed to practice a most cynical form of prejudice. One minute he passed a law to ensure the blackman's personal liberty; then, in the next, he proposed a bill that would prevent other oppressed blacks from finding rest and comfort in Wisconsin. The entire colored community was thrown into a state of alarm and bitterness. Fortunately, the measure failed through the efforts of the anti-slavery faction. Still, it made the Negro acutely aware that, though he was free, he had little or nothing to say about

⁸⁵Ibid., I, 486-87; Wisconsin, Journal of the Senate, p. 437.

⁸⁶Wisconsin, Journal of the Senate, pp. 814-15.

⁸⁷Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, May 14, 1858.

his own political destiny.⁸⁸

By the end of the 1850's, affairs on the national level had come to dominate everyone's outlook. War seemed more and more likely every day. This situation was also felt in Milwaukee. The Abolitionists daily grew more concerned with the broader struggle between North and South than with the problems of the local Negro population.⁸⁹ The colored citizen became more and more dependent upon himself for what he was going to get or not get. Also the fact that Milwaukee was then a city largely made up of immigrant groups, chiefly Irish and Germans, and not an Anglo-Saxon, Yankee dominated town as it used to be, had its effect on the Negro community. The Negro was brought into closer competition in the lesser skilled and unskilled jobs with the immigrant element.⁹⁰ The lower class Irishman and German saw the Negro as an unwanted, disgusting group who were filling jobs that they needed, and no love was lost by the "foreigners" on the "poor down trodden" blackman.⁹¹

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹A survey of the Daily Free Democrat for the years 1858-1860 will illustrate the growing tendency of the abolitionist movement in the Milwaukee area to be more concerned with the national struggle against slavery in the Southern states than in the plight of the local Negro population.

⁹⁰Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

⁹¹Ibid.; For examples of the animosity toward Negroes by immigrant and lower class elements of Milwaukee's population see Daily Wisconsin News, October 30, 1862; Madison Patriot, April 11, 1864; West Bend Post, November 1, 1862; Edward G. Ryan et al, Address to the People by the Democracy of Wisconsin Adopted in State Convention at Milwaukee, September 3, 1862 (n.p., n.d.), p. 3. See also Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of

The immediate reaction of the local Negroes to this show of animosity was to withdraw from it, to isolate themselves from the source of danger. This new isolationism of the Negro in Milwaukee is borne out by his tendency to live in compact groupings. In the early 1850's, most Negroes lived on the East side in a rather scattered pattern (See Map A). By early 1860, his residence pattern had changed greatly. He was now about equally divided between the East and West sides, with only a small percentage living on the South side (See Map B).⁹² However, it should be noted that Negro residences are far more closely compacted (with the exception of the upper East side) than they were in 1850. Two distinct areas are perceptible, one on the lower East side at the foot of East Water Street, the other on the West side between Second and Sixth Streets and Sycamore and Cedar Streets. This grouping together or polarization of the Negroes was probably brought about to a great degree by the colored man's sense of a lack of physical security caused by his almost complete political impotency, an attitude of open hostility on the part of the immigrant population, and a feeling of desertion by the local abolitionists

Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 159-67, 228-29; E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), pp. 71-72; V. Jacques Voegeli, Free But Not Equal: The Midwest and the Negro During the Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 1-5, 106.

⁹²Starr and Son, 1860-61 Directory of the City of Milwaukee, Being a Complete General and Business Directory (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, Publisher, 1860), p. 20 et seq; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq, II, 28 et seq.



in favor of the more popular, less immediate national movement to free the slaves in the Southern states.⁹³

⁹³It should be pointed out that this lack of security was not the only cause for the grouping together of the local Negro households. Such factors as economic capabilities, availability of real estate, family relationships (such as in the case of the Anderson and Watson families which were related by marriage and, therefore, acquired property in the same block), dependence of the newly arrived Negro upon the already existing and financially solvent colored community, and the natural desire to associate with those of ones own ethnic background all undoubtedly influenced the residence pattern of Milwaukee's Negro population. However, as strong or as weak as these influences may have been, they were greatly reinforced by the lack of physical security that had come to pervade the daily life of the Negro in Milwaukee and which would reach its tragic climax in the Marshall Clark incident one year later.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TIME OF TRIAL AND TRIUMPH, 1860-1870

THE TIME OF TRIAL AND TRIUMPH, 1860-1870

In 1860, the Federal Government conducted its Eighth Census of the United States. The statistics from this survey showed that the Milwaukee Negro community had undergone some significant changes. In size there had been a moderate increase in the community, 122 Negroes in 1860 as compared to 101 in 1850.¹ There had also been changes in the composition and character of the colored population. Many of the older families had disappeared. Prominent among the names of those who no longer lived in Milwaukee were Jared Gray, Samuel Potts, Robert Johnson, and George Paddock.²

Also missing from the lists were the names of the two oldest Negro settlers, Robert Titball and William Anderson. Titball, in the early 1850's, left town one step ahead of his creditors and sought refuge in Washington County, although his family continued to reside in the city for some time thereafter.³ William Anderson, who had come to Milwaukee in 1841,

¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, p. 17 et seq; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (3 vols.), Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, I, 17 et seq, II, 28 et seq. See Appendix Three.

²U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq; II, 28 et seq.

³Milwaukee County Circuit Court, Document No. 34, Equity, May Term, 1851, Sarah A. Titball vs. Robert Titball, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, September 30, 1854, March 26, 1859. See Circuit Court Index for the years 1848-1850 under Robert Titball in Defendant Volume.

the year after Titball's arrival, died in August of 1854. However, his business ventures had been sufficiently successful so that he left his family financially "well-off", and they continued to live at the Anderson homestead on the corner of Third and Sycamore Streets.⁴ Nor was Anderson the only member of the colored community to die during the 1850's. In 1853 Joseph Wells passed away, in 1856 George R. Symes died, and in 1858 the community lost William Harling.⁵ Of these families, only the Harlings continued to live in Milwaukee.⁶

But if many of the early settlers were gone, there were still many familiar names on the census rolls in 1860. James A. Goines, George H. Clark, J. J. Myers, Ezekiel Gillespie, Martin Smith, Sully Watson and his son William, Charles Price, Henry Platt, David Booker, Sarah Carroll, and Abraham Torrey all remained as the core of the Milwaukee Negro community.⁷

⁴Milwaukee County Probate Court, Document No. 710, Will and Estate of William H. Anderson, deceased, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Jesse M. Van Slyck, Col. Van Slyck's Milwaukee City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1856-57 (Milwaukee: Daily Wisconsin Print, 1856), p. 31; Erving, Burdick and Companies, Milwaukee City Directory for 1857 and 1858 (Milwaukee: Steam Press of King, Jermain and Co., 1857), p. 5; Smith, DuMoulin, and Co., Milwaukee City Directory, Being a Complete General and Business Directory for the Entire City (Milwaukee: Jermain and Brightman, 1858, p. 20; Franklin E. Town, Milwaukee City Directory for 1859-60 (Milwaukee: Jermain and Brightman, 1859), p. 12.

⁵Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, April 26, 1853; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856, p. 399; Milwaukee County Circuit Court, Document No. 577, Equity, In the matter of the petition of William and Benjamin Harling for sale of real estate, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁶U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq; II, 28 et seq.

⁷Ibid., I, 19, 57-8, 64, 240; II, 32, 52, 122, 381.

Added to this core of residents were the many newcomers who continued to arrive in the city from all over the country.

Among the new families was that of George W. Day, a barber, who arrived in late 1858 and took up temporary residence in the Anderson household.⁸ That same year Robert Ellis, another barber and hairdresser, also came to Milwaukee with his family. He opened a shop at 213 East Water Street and took up residence on the corner of Fourth and Wells Streets in the Fourth Ward.⁹ An arrival in 1859 was Elijah Richardson, his wife Eliza, and their sons John and Edward.¹⁰ Richardson, a whitewasher by trade, rented a home on Vliet Street between 12th and 13th Streets.¹¹

The 1860 Census had upon its rolls the first listing of a Negro professional in Milwaukee, a dentist by the name of Nelson Badger.¹² Badger, with his wife and twin daughters, resided on Fifth Street near Cedar (present day Kilbourn).¹³ The Clark family was increased by the arrival of George Marshall Clark, generally referred to as Marshall Clark, the oldest son

⁸Ibid., I, 145; Town, City Directory for 1859, p. 62.

⁹Smith, et al., City Directory for 1858, p. 73.

¹⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (4 vols.), Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, II, 225.

¹¹Town, City Directory for 1859, p. 194.

¹²U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 326.

¹³Starr and Son, 1860-61 Directory of the City of Milwaukee, Being a Complete General and Business Directory (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, Publishers, 1860), p. 31.

of George H. Clark, one of Milwaukee's leading Negro settlers.¹⁴ The year 1860 also marked the first appearance of James Shelton in Milwaukee.¹⁵ These two new residents were soon to become the central figures in one of the city's most tragic events. Other arrivals in 1860 included the Charles Stewart family, John Vance, a Negro grocer, and Margaret Baker, whose Caucasian husband, Frederick, ran a local saloon.¹⁶

Of more significance than the names of the new residents was their background and what effect they had upon the makeup of the Negro community. Of the seventy-seven adults who comprised the colored population in 1860, thirty-nine, or 50.65%, were born in non-slave states, again, as was the case in 1850, with New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio being the most commonly listed birthplaces.¹⁷ Among the remaining thirty-eight adults who did come from Southern States, only nine were from the Deep South, the remainder being from the border states, with the largest number from Virginia.¹⁸

An interesting development pointed out by the 1860 Census was the large increase in the juvenile population of the Negro

¹⁴U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 32; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860-61, pp. 44-45.

¹⁵U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 318.

¹⁶Ibid., I, 146, 530; II, 37.

¹⁷Ibid., I, 19 et seq; II, 28 et seq. A breakdown by states shows New York with ten, Pennsylvania and Ohio with seven each, three from Germany, two each from Illinois, Canada, and Michigan, and one each from Wisconsin, Indiana, Minnesota, England, Maine and Massachusetts.

¹⁸Ibid. By states they were Virginia seventeen, Kentucky four, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, and Tennessee three each, and Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia one each.

community. In 1850, there were twenty-four children or about 24% of the total colored population.¹⁹ In 1860, however, there were forty-four children or over 36% of the entire colored population.²⁰ Of these forty-four children, twenty-nine were born in Wisconsin while only four came from Southern states.²¹ Thirteen of the eighteen school-aged children were enrolled in the public schools.²² Nor was this favourable showing in the area of education limited to the younger members of the black community. The number of illiterates among the Negroes had decreased in the past ten years until there were only twelve persons who could not read or write. This gave the colored population a literacy rate of 84.4% as compared with only 70.3% in 1850.²³

The Negro's economic status also showed a definite improvement during the decade. In 1850, there were only nine people who owned real estate of a total value of \$5,100.²⁴ By 1860, there were nineteen who owned real estate valued at nearly

¹⁹These figures are based upon a compilation of the information found in the listings of the 1850 census report.

²⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq; II, 28 et seq.

²¹Ibid. The birthplaces of the children, by states, were Wisconsin twenty-nine, Indiana three, Ohio three, Georgia two, Virginia two, and one each from Canada, Illinois, Michigan, and New York. To this should be added one more child for whom no place of birth was recorded in the census.

²²Ibid.

²³These figures are based upon information compiled from the 1850 and 1860 census reports respectively.

²⁴U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17 et seq.

\$30,000 and twenty-nine persons with varying amounts of personal property totaling over \$6,200.²⁵ J. J. Myers, the grocer, had real estate worth \$5,000, as did Sully Watson.²⁶ The Anderson family property was valued at \$3,000 and their personal property at \$400, while George W. Day's new barbershop and home were assessed at \$3,500.²⁷ Ezekiel Gillespie, who had come to Milwaukee with practically nothing, was now valued at \$2,000.²⁸ Others who possessed property were Charles Stewart, \$2,200, Henry A. B. Platt, \$2,000, John Brown, \$1,500, H. F. Trimbball, \$2,000, and William Watson, \$1,000.²⁹ On the whole, the Milwaukee Negro community was prospering economically.

Nor was the property owned by the Negroes limited to any particular area of the city (see Map B). Of the forty-eight Negroes listed in the City Directory for 1860, twenty-two, or 46%, of them resided on the East side and an exactly equal amount lived on the West side.³⁰ The remaining 8% of the colored population had homes on the South side.³¹ One thing that is apparent from the map is the tendency of the Negro to live in more compacted groupings or to polarize (Supra p. 52).

²⁵U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19, 28, 57-8, 64, 145, 146, 240, 318, 326, 327, 409, 515, II, 32, 33, 37, 40, 43, 52, 92, 122, 254, 381, 485.

²⁶Ibid., I, 240; II, 52.

²⁷Ibid., I, 145; II, 47.

²⁸Ibid., I, 57-58.

²⁹Ibid., I, 19, 146, 515; II, 43, 52.

³⁰Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860-61, p. 20 et seq.

³¹Ibid.

This development first began in the late 1850's and by 1860 two distinct groupings of Negroes were apparent, one at the foot of East Water Street and the other on the West side between Second and Sixth Streets, Sycamore (Michigan) and Cedar (Kilbourn) Streets.³²

Professionally, the community had broadened out in the previous ten years. Barbers still predominated the occupations, but there were not nearly as many as there had been in 1850 and they no longer had a colored monopoly on the trade.³³ Besides the nine barbers in the Negro community, there were also nine whitewashers, five seamstresses, four washerwomen, four domestics, two cooks, two waiters, two porters, two masons, two saloonkeepers, two grocers, two sailors, and one farmer, musician, teamster, cooper, and dentist.³⁴ Except for the two Negroes in the county jail and the widow of William Harling, the entire colored population of Milwaukee was gainfully employed in 1860.

The Federal Census of 1860 recorded two further items of significance concerning the Milwaukee Negro community. According to the listings, there were twenty-four married couples in the community and of them eight, or over 33%, were

³²Ibid. This information is based upon a survey of the City Directory for 1860 which lists the addresses of various Negro households. It was from this survey that Map B was plotted and the different percentages determined.

³³Ibid., p. 275; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census 1860, I, 19 et seq; II, 28 et seq.

³⁴U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq; II, 28 et seq.

bi-racial.³⁵ This shows a marked increase in interracial marriages over 1850 both in number of couples (eight as compared to five in 1850) and in percentage (33.3% compared to 20%). Unlike 1850, however, half of the women engaged in these interracial marriages were of native stock.³⁶ Also, for the first time, there was a white male married to a Negro female, Frederick C. Baker and his wife Margaret.³⁷

The other significant fact brought out by the 1860 census is the appearance in the colored community of a new phenomena--the matriarchal family. The listings show that there were six such families without an adult male in the household living in the community.³⁸ Three of them, the Andersons, Harlings, and Prices, were the result of the death of the husband since the last census. However, the other three were cases where there was no known male head of the family residing in the vicinity.³⁹

If the makeup and character of the Negro community had changed extensively, its problems had not. The Negro was still politically alienated from the rest of Milwaukee. Despite

³⁵Ibid. The interracial couples were Charles and Eva Price, Richard and Louisa Duncan, John and Sarah Brown, Martin and Agnes Smith, Frederick and Margaret Baker, Abraham and Caineconda Torrey, Robert and Sarah Ellis, and George and Mary (Antoinette) Clark. Antoinette M. Clark is listed in the 1860 Census as a Mulatto, however, in the 1850 Census she is listed as Caucasian (See Appendix Two and Three).

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., II, 37.

³⁸Ibid., I, 17 et seq; II, 28 et seq.

³⁹Ibid.

the freer mode of life he enjoyed over his fellow coloreds in the other Midwestern states, the Negro continued to lack full citizenship in Wisconsin.⁴⁰ Besides these problems in the political realm, there was the evergrowing feeling of both open and latent hostility towards the Negro in Milwaukee by certain other ethnic factions, particularly the Irish.⁴¹

An example of the problems encountered by local Negroes when they left the relatively sheltered atmosphere of Milwaukee was given by Jonathan J. Myers. Mr. Myers was one of the colored community's most prosperous members. He came to Milwaukee in 1849 and opened a grocery store with the modest capital of \$300.⁴² Through diligent effort he had managed by 1860 to increase his worth to over \$5,500.⁴³ In 1859, Myers decided that he should do something to help his less fortunate black brothers. He joined with a group of other men interested in helping Negroes and was selected to go to Africa where he

⁴⁰For a brief description of the condition of the Negro in the other Midwestern states just prior to the Civil War see V. Jacque Voegeli. Free But Not Equal: The Midwest and the Negro During the Civil War. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, particularly pages 1-5, and Leon L. Litwack. North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, pages 159-67, 228-29.

⁴¹William T. Green, Negroes in Milwaukee, An undated, unidentified newspaper clipping from the Ethnic File in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁴²Directory of the City of Milwaukee for the Years 1848-49 (Milwaukee: Rufus King, 1848), p. 109; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 203.

⁴³U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 240. Green in his article refers to J. J. Myers being worth "over \$30,000". However, nowhere in any of the records is there any indication that Myers was worth more than \$5,500.

would "... labor in the cause of African nationality and improvement...."⁴⁴

However, as he prepared to depart, Myers encountered difficulty in acquiring official recognition from the Federal authorities. Because he was a Negro, the government would not issue him a passport nor guarantee his protection. Just prior to his departure, the grocer-missionary wrote to General Rufus King, editor of the Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, and expressed his feelings.

Quebec, July 28th, 1859

General Rufus King

Dear Sir--I write you on leaving my native shore to labor in the cause of African nationality and improvement, to express my heartfelt thanks to those kind friends who had aided and encouraged me in this enterprise. Although I leave my home, the self-styled "Land of the Free and Home of the Brave," which has refused in this case, protection and passport to her Free Colored Citizens, still I shall go alone and trust to the Divine Will for my protection, feeling that the hand of an Overruling Power, will aid in the accomplishment of our design, the elevation of the African people to that position which God intended them to occupy.

I leave with as good feelings as the case will admit, but trust the time will soon come when American rulers will find that the African nation will yet flourish with the other nations of the earth, although now downtrodden and oppressed. 'Tis true I go protected by heaven alone, across the wide ocean, to the aid of this glorious cause of God and Humanity. But there are four million tongues which, could they speak, would re-echo their prayers from hill to vale for my safety and success. But relying on my own resources to seek for truth and untarnished liberty, even at the hazard of my life. I shall feel well repaid for all labor and anxiety in the firm belief that this great cause will yet become universal and that men who now despise and ridicule it will be the foremost hereafter in its support.

⁴⁴Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, August 2, 1859.

From this place we shall sail by the steamship India, on Saturday June 29th, 1859 [sic] for Liverpool and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope and shall visit the eastern and western coasts and shall remain at Port Natal for some six months to become accustomed to the climate and the language. We have received encouraging news from Campbell and Delany who now are on their way from Logosse to Abdacota. My son will accompany me throughout the expedition, and I will write you as often as convenient, of our progress.
J. J. Myers⁴⁵

Myers spent several months in Africa, returning to Milwaukee during the spring of 1860.⁴⁶ While he was in Africa, the grocer collected a large amount of "curiosities and samples of the produce of the county." Upon his return, he opened a "museum" of African culture "... opposite the Post Office on Wisconsin Street" (south side of Wisconsin between Milwaukee and present day Broadway Streets).⁴⁷ The Sentinel pronounced the museum as "worth seeing" and Myers as an "... intelligent man, with a good fond of information concerning Africa."⁴⁸ By this means, Myers was able to help enlighten the local population about Africa and at the same time make a good profit at ten cents a head.

Later on, Myers closed his museum and returned full time to his grocery business. In 1861, he moved his store back to its original location on Mason and East Water Streets opposite the Walker House.⁴⁹ Here Myers continued with his grocery business until after the Marshall Clark affair when he and his

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, June 11, 1860.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., July 25, 1861.

family sold their property and moved out of the city.⁵⁰

If J. J. Myers' troubles with the Federal government were vexing to the local Negroes, the strained relations with the Irish segment of Milwaukee's population was harrowing to say the least. Tension continued to grow and the coming of the Civil War in the Spring of 1861 did not help ease the situation in the least. To add to the tension, on June 24, 1861, the city was swept by a riot against the local banks which necessitated the calling out of the militia and two companies of Federal troops to restore order.⁵¹ By the end of the summer, it appeared that all that was needed was some event, some spark to ignite the powder keg that Milwaukee had become. That spark came on Friday evening, September 6, 1861.

That evening two young Negroes, Marshall Clark and James B. Shelton, were walking up Milwaukee Street escorting two white women when they encountered two Irishmen, Dabney Carney and John Brady. Carney, who ran the Emmett House, patronized mostly by Irishmen, on the corner of Milwaukee and Huron (present day East Clybourn Street), was renowned in the city as a fighter and there were few men who dared to take him on.⁵² As they passed, the Irishmen made a derogatory remark about white women with "d--- niggers" to which Shelton took offense.

⁵⁰Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860, p. 170; A. Bailey, A. Bailey's Milwaukee Almanac and Business Directory for the Year 1862 (Milwaukee: A. Bailey, 1862), p. 42; A. Bailey, Milwaukee City Directory for 1862 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, Publisher, 1862), p. 19 et seq.

⁵¹Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, June 25, 1861.

⁵²Peter Van Vechten, Jr., "Hung to a Pile Driver," Milwaukee Sentinel, April 2, 1893, a newsclipping in Scrapbook No. 4, Grants Obsequies, p. 62 in the Old Settlers Club Collection of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

He faced Carney and exclaimed, "We know you Dabney Carney; we are as good men as you or any other d--- Irishman or Yankee, either."⁵³ Suddenly, all four were in a rough and tumble fight with the Negroes getting the worse of it until Shelton drew a knife, stabbed Carney in the abdomen, wounding him mortally, and slashed Brady. Clark and Shelton fled, but were later apprehended and placed in the county jail. That Saturday night shortly after he identified Shelton as the Negro who knifed him, Carney died.⁵⁴

There had been quite a lot of talk by the Irish of the Third Ward, among whom Carney had been a popular figure, as to what was going to happen should he die. Chief Beck caught wind of these rumors and had a special check of the ward made, but the inspecting officers could find nothing amiss.⁵⁵ Such, however, was not the case. Shortly after Carney's demise, a fire alarm was sounded which served as a signal. Within an hour the mob had gathered and was on its way toward the jail.⁵⁶ Here they were met by Police Chief William Beck and two of his patrolmen who had managed to arrive just before the crowd. Beck attempted to disperse the mob, saying they could not enter the jail. His admonition was greeted with a blow upon the head from a slung shot which knocked the Chief senseless. The two

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 16, 1861; History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1881), p. 299.

⁵⁵Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 16, 1861, November 18, 1861, November 19, 1861.

patrolmen were quickly disposed of and the jail entered.⁵⁷

Here the crowd was momentarily stopped. William Kendrick, the jailor, seeing the fate of Chief Beck and his men, retired behind the wicket and locked it. Despite threats on his life by the mob, he pluckily refused to open the iron door. The crowd then seized a heavy timber and proceeded to batter the door down. After eighteen well delivered blows, the lock gave way. The rioters rushed into the wicket and quickly overpowered the jailor and his assistants. Unfortunately, one of the jailors happened to have his keys with him and the crowd quickly seized them. After locking up the jailors, the mob began the search for its victims.⁵⁸

Clark and Shelton when arrested had been lodged in a back room of the jail. It so happened that two other cells adjoined this particular room and, when he heard the mob coming down the corridor, Shelton quickly got into one of these cells and closed the door behind him. Suddenly, Clark found himself alone, with a mob storming down the hallway screaming for his blood. The poor Negro was dragged from the cell, pummelled and pounded unmercifully by the mob, and sent stumbling through a gantlet of unrestrained hatred and fury.⁵⁹

On leaving the jail, the mob proceeded down Jackson Street with their victim to Huron Street (present day East Clybourn Street) whence they turned west to Milwaukee Street. Here

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

they stopped under a gas light in order to make sure they had the "right man" as Clark insisted that his name was George Marshall and that he was in jail for stealing and had nothing to do with the death of Dabney Carney. The mob, however, would not buy this story and were convinced beyond any doubt that they had Carney's murderer. Having reassured themselves of his identity, the mob proceeded with Clark down Milwaukee to Detroit Street (present day East St. Paul Avenue) where they again turned west to Engine Company No. 6's firehouse near the Milwaukee river.⁶⁰

At the firehouse they conducted a "fair and lawful trial". About this time, Sheriff Charles H. Larkin appeared at the Engine House and tried to persuade the crowd to release their prisoner to him for a proper trial by the legal authorities. His efforts proved totally fruitless and shortly thereafter, the "court" emerged from the building dragging Clark behind them. Around his neck and passing through his mouth was a rope, leaving no doubt as to what the verdict had been.⁶¹

The mob proceeded down East Water Street to Buffalo Street. Here they found a piledriver which they decided would serve their gruesome purpose. Clark was shoved against one of the timbers of the piledriver. He raised his hands in a futile plea for mercy but was only answered by being struck in the face and knocked down between the timbers of the machine.⁶²

⁶⁰Ibid., November 19, 1861.

⁶¹Ibid., November 18, 1861.

⁶²Ibid., November 16, 1861.

The end of the rope was taken up the ladder and secured to a round. Then Clark was shoved off of the ladder and left to swing in the air. After their evil deed was completed, the mob slowly dispersed and left the body to hang. Finally, two police officers came along, cut Clark down, and took the body to the Station House.⁶³

While the mob had been busy with Clark, Shelton had managed to effect his escape from the jail. However, he was re-arrested the following Tuesday near Waukesha and returned to Milwaukee for trial. In order to prevent a recurrence of the Clark affair Sheriff Larkin asked for and received a detachment of troops from the nearby training camp to protect his prisoner.⁶⁴ Shelton's trial began on September 30th, with Jonathan Van Vechten Platto defending the accused Negro.⁶⁵ After nine days of testimony, the case went to the jury, which returned a verdict of "not-guilty" claiming that Shelton had acted in self-defense.⁶⁶ Immediately after the trial, Shelton was spirited out of town by Sheriff Larkin and Mr. Platto, as some of Carney's friends were extremely dissatisfied with the verdict and wanted to see Shelton join Clark. Shelton went to Watertown where he took a train to Chicago and there established

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴1881 History, p. 304.

⁶⁵It is rather ironic that the Court indicted not only Shelton, but also Clark which could have led to a very embarrassing situation if anyone had raised the question why the second defendant did not appear to stand trial.

⁶⁶Milwaukee County Circuit Court, Circuit Court Criminal Docket, C, 505-06.

his residence.⁶⁷

Less than a week after Shelton was acquitted of the murder of Dabney Carney, the State of Wisconsin commenced its case against the lynchers of Marshall Clark. Six men were charged with the crime, John McCormick, Patt McLaughlin, a laborer who lived at the corner of Detroit and Jefferson Street, Dennis Delury, another laborer who resided on Clinton near Lake Street (present day South First and West Pittsburgh Streets), John Devine, no occupation and living on Jefferson Street between Huron and Detroit Streets, James O'Brien, and a man named Nichols.⁶⁸ By the time Judge Arthur MacArthur opened the case at 9:00 A.M. on November 14, 1861, Nichols had fled the city but the other five defendants were in the courtroom.⁶⁹

Joshua Stark prosecuted the case for the State, while the defendants were ably represented by Jonathan E. Arnold. After the jury had been finally selected from three different pools, the testimony began.⁷⁰ A long series of witnesses, mostly Irishmen or public officials, were called and slowly a pattern of testimony began to develop. Of course there had been a mob, but nobody could tell who the leaders had been. Yes, he had seen the jail doors battered down, but he couldn't identify any of those who had swung the timber. Certainly he had seen

⁶⁷1881 History, p. 304.

⁶⁸Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, C, 510; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 16, 1861; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860-61, pp. 153, 68, 67.

⁶⁹Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, C, 510.

⁷⁰Ibid., C, 510-11.

Clark being beaten, but he couldn't recognize any of those who were doing it. Yes, he saw the actual lynching, but he wasn't close enough to identify those who did it.⁷¹

So it went. The major amount of the testimony followed this same line. Even the local law enforcement officers like Chief Beck and Sheriff Larkin were unable to positively identify the defendants as leaders of the mob. Only one witness, George J. Haywood, made a positive identification of one of the defendants, McLaughlin, as being at the actual scene of the lynching. But through some very clever courtroom dramatics, Arnold was able to demonstrate that the witness' eyesight was poor and that, in a situation similar to the conditions that prevailed at the time of the hanging, he could not distinguish between the defendant and his brother.⁷²

After three days of solid testimony, which was given a front page play by the Sentinel, District Attorney Starke gave his summary which lasted for seven full hours. This was followed the next day by Arnold's six hour summary, after which Starke delivered a three hour rejoinder.⁷³ At 11:00 A.M. on November 21st, Judge MacArthur turned the case over to the jury for deliberation and a verdict. By 10:00 P.M. that night, the jury still had not reached a verdict. They spent the entire next day and part of the following morning

⁷¹Ibid.; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 16, 1861, November 18, 1861, November 19, 1861.

⁷²Ibid., November 18, 1861.

⁷³Ibid., November 20, 1861, November 21, 1861.

in debate before finally informing the court that they were unable to reach a final verdict.⁷⁴ Judge MacArthur then dismissed the jury. Thus, the trial for the only lynching in Milwaukee's entire history ironically ended in a "hung jury".

The effect of the Marshall Clark lynching on the Negro community was profound. What had previously only been unfriendly attitudes toward the colored population had suddenly and violently taken the form of open and hostile action. Threats of similar occurrences were heard.⁷⁵ No Negro's life was safe. Many of the colored residents, frightened by these threats of extermination, moved away.⁷⁶ Among those whose names disappeared from the city directory after 1861 were John Boland, who had lived in the community for over a decade, J. J. Myers, the grocer who had been the economic leader of the community, William Jefferson, H. F. Trimball, Nelson Badger, John Vance, and Richard Duncan.⁷⁷ But again, as in the Glover rescue and

⁷⁴Ibid., November 22, 1861, November 25, 1861; Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, C, 516-17.

⁷⁵Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, September 11, 1861.

⁷⁶Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

⁷⁷Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861, p. 20 et seq; Bailey, City Directory for 1862, p. 18 et seq. After a careful survey of both city directories, it was determined that these were the individuals who left the city shortly after the Marshall Clark lynching. While there is no direct link between the lynching and the departure of these people from the city, it is fairly safe to assume, when William Green's reference to the effect of the Clark affair is taken into consideration, that some of these persons were motivated to move by the lynching and the threats toward the Milwaukee Negro population that followed it.

It is also of some interest that up until 1860, there had always been a number of Negro residents in the Third Ward, though that number had been steadily decreasing (fourteen in

its aftermath, a solid core of Negro residents resisted the scare and continued to make Milwaukee their home. Fortunately, the dramatic events of the Civil War helped to occupy the attention of the populace and, thereby, lessened the impact of the lynching.

But, in its own unique way, the War Between the States proved to be yet another frustrating experience for the local Negro population. When the war began, a number of local colored people sought to offer their services to the Union. However, due to a clause in the state constitution that prohibited Negroes from being members of the militia, they were not allowed to enlist in the volunteer regiments that were being raised in Wisconsin.⁷⁸ Some area Negroes felt so strongly in the cause of the Union that they were willing to accompany the troops in the demeaning role of officer's men.⁷⁹ But, by and large, most Milwaukee Negroes found themselves barred from fighting in the conflict that was being waged to liberate their race.

1850, eleven in 1855, and ten in 1860). According to the 1860 census, 60% of the families in the Third Ward were of Irish stock, the largest concentration of Irish in any ward of the city. By 1865, there was not a single Negro resident left in the entire ward and even as late as 1870, there were only two colored households in the census report of the ward.

⁷⁸State of Wisconsin, The Revised Statutes of the State of Wisconsin: Passed at the Annual Session of the Legislature Commencing January 13, 1858 and Approved May 17, 1858 (Chicago: W. B. Keen, 1858), Title IX, Chapter XXXI of the Militia and the Formation of Uniform Companies, Section 5, p. 340. For information on state Negroes in the Civil War see Edward Noyes, "The Negro in Wisconsin's Civil War Effort," The Lincoln Herald, LXIX, 2 (Summer, 1967), 70-82.

⁷⁹Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

This paradoxical situation continued until 1863 when the Federal government authorized the raising of entire regiments of colored troops to be inducted into the regular army. However, during the remainder of 1863, only two colored men were credited to Milwaukee County as recruits. Neither of these, it would appear, were actual residents of the city, but rather they were contraband who enlisted at Quincy, Illinois, and were then credited to Milwaukee.⁸⁰ By April of 1864, seven more Negroes had been enrolled in the Colored Troops and

⁸⁰Adjutant General's Office, Records of Volunteer Regiments, U.S. Colored Troops, Co. F, 29th and Unassigned Colored Troops, Muster Rolls, Series 37/4/1, Boxes 168 and 169, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Adjutant General's Office, Regimental Descriptive Rolls, 1861-1865, Unassigned and Miscellaneous, Series 37/1/29, Sections 4 and 5, Box No. 59, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Adjutant General's Office, Roster of Wisconsin Volunteers, War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865 (2 vols.; Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Company, 1886), II, 953-60; Roster of Civil War Volunteers Credited to Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. From the information contained in these sources, it has been determined that 115 Negro troops were credited to the County of Milwaukee or listed Milwaukee as their place of residence during the war. In addition to this, another forty Negroes were listed as having enlisted in Milwaukee but were credited to other cities and towns. However, based upon the returns of the 1860 Federal Census, there were in Milwaukee at the outbreak of the Civil War only 122 Negroes in all of which thirty-six were of or near military age. These thirty-six males include many who it is positively known no longer resided in the city, such as Marshall Clark, Charles Stewart, and James B. Shelton. Of the Negroes listed in the sources, only four can be positively identified as Milwaukee residents and three of these are not listed in the city directories until after the war. It is obvious that nearly all of the Negroes credited to Milwaukee were not residents but rather substitutes brought up from the South, contrabands attracted to the city by the prospects of large bounties, or simply drifters who decided to enlist and thereby make some money. See Appendix Five for a complete list of Negroes credited to Milwaukee.

credited to Milwaukee, but again none appear to have been residents of the city.⁸¹ Finally, in April, 1864, the Federal authorities permitted John Bross of Chicago to recruit Negroes in Wisconsin for a company of the 29th United States Colored Troops.⁸² Bross, who was the Lieutenant-Colonel elect of the regiment, set about his task with energy. He appointed Lewis Isbell, a colored barber from Chicago, as his recruiting agent in Wisconsin.⁸³ Exactly where the recruits Bross and Isbell enrolled came from is impossible to tell, but when Company F, 29th United States Colored Troops was mustered into the Federal service on July 8, 1864, there were seventy-four Negroes in its ranks credited to the city of Milwaukee, though only one was listed as actually having been enlisted at Milwaukee.⁸⁴

Two weeks after Company F left for training, the War Department again altered its recruitment policy so that Negroes could be used as substitutes for whites in the draft.⁸⁵ Four days later, a meeting was held by the residents of the First and Seventh Wards to discuss the problem of filling their draft quotas. After discussing various methods of solving their problem, the meeting finally adopted the following

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, April 11, 1864.

⁸³Adjutant General, Records of Volunteer Regiments, Series 37/4/1, Box 168, Special Order 13, U.S. Colored Troops, April 7, 1864.

⁸⁴Adjutant General, Records of Volunteer Regiments, Series 37/4/1, Boxes 168 and 169; Adjutant General, Regimental Descriptive Rolls, Series 37/1/29, Sections 4 and 5, Box No. 59.

⁸⁵Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, July 21, 1864.

resolution:

Resolved: That in the opinion of this meeting, the plan of recruiting Negroes in accordance with the act of Congress and the order of the War Department, is the best one that can be had for filling the quotas of the First and Seventh Wards, and that the committee be requested to report the best method of carrying this project into operation.⁸⁶

The proposal to fill Milwaukee's draft quota with Negro substitutes met with only limited amounts of success. For a number of reasons, it soon became apparent that actively recruiting Negroes in the Southern states was impractical. Therefore, it became necessary to rely primarily on local Negroes and contrabands who were drawn to the area by the high bounties, ranging from \$500 to \$1,000, that were being offered. Between July 29, 1864 and February 24, 1865, when the last Negro, a substitute named Van Spence, enlisted, thirty-eight colored men were inducted into the Union army as substitutes, mostly in the First and Seventh Wards. Only two of these, Martin Smith and Horace Dangerfield, the latter of which was drafted into the service, can be positively identified as Milwaukee residents.⁸⁸

While some Wisconsin Negroes were struggling to get into the war effort, others were struggling even harder to get the colored suffrage question passed again. After the disastrous defeat they suffered in the 1857 general election, the advocate

⁸⁶Ibid., July 25, 1864.

⁸⁷Ibid., August 23, 1864, August 24, 1864.

⁸⁸Adjutant General, Records of Volunteer Regiments, Series 37/4/1, Boxes 168 and 169; Adjutant General, Regimental Descriptive Rolls, Series 37/1/29, Section 4 and 5, Box No. 59.

of Negro suffrage slackened in their drive to establish equal rights for colored people in Wisconsin. However, with the great war of emancipation just finished, the pro-suffrage people felt they could reap the benefits of the now victorious national crusade and they once more undertook what had become a noble crusade.

Meetings were held, support mustered, and petitions submitted to the state legislature. After a limited amount of debate and discussion, the legislature passed an act which again placed the question of granting the right of suffrage to persons of colored descent on the ballot for the forthcoming general election. But if the pro-suffrage faction was expecting to find a strong undercurrent of support due to the war, they were sadly mistaken. In fact, they found just the opposite. Despite the fact that the Republican nominee for governor, General Lucius Fairchild, won by nearly 9,100 votes, the question of Negro suffrage was defeated by a vote of 54,307 to 46,248, a majority of over 8,000.⁸⁹ The next day, in its editorial, the Milwaukee Wisconsin set forth the cause of this disheartening defeat.

Yesterday the right of suffrage to colored men was undoubtedly defeated. We had hoped this question might be settled at this election; but both Union men and Copperheads determined that equal rights should not prevail in Wisconsin.⁹⁰

It would appear that while men were willing to wage a war to free men of another race from physical bondage, they were not

⁸⁹Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 8, 1865, December 4, 1865.

⁹⁰Milwaukee Wisconsin, November 8, 1865.

willing to allow their own neighbors of that race to compete with them on an equal footing.

Yet even as the ballots were adding up against Negro suffrage, a far greater event was taking place. On October 31st, a Mulatto resident of the Seventh Ward accompanied by Mr. Sherman M. Booth, the noted abolitionist and hero of the Glover rescue, attempted to register his name as an elector in the forthcoming general election. The board refused to accept his name, stating that he was a Negro and, therefore, not eligible to vote under Wisconsin law.⁹¹ Nonetheless, on election day the Negro, again accompanied by Booth, appeared at the polls to cast his ballot. He came properly prepared with an affidavit from the board of registers stating why his name did not appear on the poll list and two affidavits proving him to be a bonafide resident of the Seventh Ward.⁹² This Negro who so brazenly defied the election laws of Wisconsin and the previous mandates of the people supporting those laws, was Ezekiel Gillespie.

Ezekiel Gillespie was an emancipated slave who had purchased his own freedom from his white father for \$800 and then left the South to seek a new, free life.⁹³ He first came to Milwaukee in 1854 with his wife Sophia and their children,

⁹¹"Mr. Booth's Address," The Evening Wisconsin, 1897, a newsclipping in Scrapbook No. 11, Prominent Men and Women, pp. 79-81 in the Old Settlers' Club Collection of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Evening Wisconsin, March 31, 1892.

Samantha, Mary, and Emma.⁹⁴ When he arrived in the city, Gillespie could only find employment as a fruit seller.⁹⁵ Later on he went into business for himself, selling vegetables and other foodstuffs. In 1860, he was hired as a messenger in Alexander Mitchell's bank. When Mitchell became president of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, Gillespie accompanied him and before long the Negro became one of the railroad's most trusted and respected employees.⁹⁶ Originally, Gillespie and his family had lived on Wells Street in the Second Ward, but after he was employed by Mr. Mitchell he moved his family to a better home in the Seventh Ward.⁹⁷ On the day he presented himself to the board of election inspectors to cast his ballot, he listed his address as 418 Milwaukee Street.⁹⁸

Faced by this unprecedented action, the board of election inspectors for the Seventh Ward (Henry L. Palmer, Andrew H. McCormick, and William H. Williams) refused to allow Gillespie to cast a ballot. Thereupon, the Negro sued the board for his

⁹⁴Jessie M. Van Slyck, Col. Van Slyck's Milwaukee City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1854-55 (Milwaukee: Starr's Book and Job Office, 1854), p. 107; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 57-58.

⁹⁵Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854-55, p. 107.

⁹⁶Evening Wisconsin, March 31, 1892.

⁹⁷Erving, et al., City Directory for 1857-58, p. 185; Smith, et al., City Directory for 1858, p. 91; Town, City Directory for 1859-60, p. 87; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860, p. 91.

⁹⁸A. Bailey, Milwaukee City Directory for 1863 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, Publisher, 1863), p. 87; Edwards, Greenough, and Deved, Edwards' Annual Directory of the Inhabitants, Institutions, Incorporated Companies, Manufacturing Establishments, Business Firms, etc., in the City of Milwaukee for 1866 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, 1866), p. 145.

right to vote.⁹⁹ Sherman Booth, who expected the board to take just such an attitude, had pre-arranged with Byron Paine to represent Gillespie's case for a nominal fee of \$100.¹⁰⁰ The case was first brought to trial in the Milwaukee County Court where, upon a demurrer by the attorney for the election inspectors, a judgment pro forma against the plaintiff was made. Paine immediately appealed the ruling to the State Supreme Court.¹⁰¹ In March of 1866, the Supreme Court, which at that time consisted of Chief Justice Orasmus Cole, Justice Jason Downer, and Justice Luther S. Dixon, handed down its decision.¹⁰²

The basic issue to be decided was the plaintiff's contention that the 1849 vote on Negro suffrage had been incorrectly interpreted by the board of election commissioners and that, in fact, Negro suffrage had been approved in that election. Thus, Paine argued, Negroes had had the right to vote in Wisconsin since 1849 and that no election held since that time could disenfranchise them.¹⁰³ The pivotal element in the Court's decision had been what interpretation should have been given to the ambiguous phrase in the 1849 suffrage question, "Approved by a majority of all the votes at such election."

⁹⁹"Mr. Booth's Address," Evening Wisconsin, 1897.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.; Milwaukee County Circuit Court, County Court Document No. 2579 Ezekiel Gillespie vs. Henry L. Palmer et al., in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

¹⁰¹"Mr. Booth's Address," Evening Wisconsin, 1897.

¹⁰²Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 30, 1866.

¹⁰³"Mr. Booth's Address," Evening Wisconsin, 1897.

(Supra p. 20) Justice Downer, who wrote the opinion of the unanimous Court, stated:

Three different constructions of this clause were suggested on the argument: 1st. That it required that the extension of suffrage should be approved by a majority of all the votes, on all subjects and for all officers, cast at such election. 2nd. That it should be approved by a majority of all the voters voting at such election. 3rd. That it should be approved by a majority of all the votes on that subject cast at such election.... If the first construction, requiring a majority of all the votes on all subjects and for all offices, cast at such election, in favor of the extension of suffrage, before it can be adopted, is the true construction, then the same voter might cast one vote in favor of the extension, and in voting for the candidates for the different offices cast ten votes which would be counted against the very measure he voted for. The absurdity in the first construction is conclusive against it. To adopt the second construction would be to say that the word "vote," in the clause in question, meant the same as the words "voters,".... If, however, we should concede that the clause in question should be construed to mean, or was equivalent to "approved by a majority of all the voters voting at such election," it would not follow that it had reference to a majority of voters voting any other measure than the one mentioned in the proviso; or that the number of votes cast at such election for the candidates for any office should determine whether the suffrage was extended or not.... Under the provisions of our constitution, as well as of other constitutions, persons are elected to a particular office who have a majority of the votes cast--not for the candidates for some other office, but for the candidates for that office.... To declare a measure or law adopted or defeated--not by the number of votes cast directly for or against it, but by the number cast for and against some other measure, or for the candidates for some office or offices, not connected with the measure itself, would not only be out of the ordinary course of legislation, but, so far as we know, a thing unknown in constitutional law. According to section 1, article 12 of the constitution, the Legislature may propose amendments to it, and if they are approved 'by a majority of the voters voting thereon' at the time prescribed by the Legislature, the amendments become a part of the constitution. The right of suffrage by such amendment could be given to colored persons. Is it probable

that the framers of our constitution required more votes to extend the right of suffrage in one way than in another? ... We see no reason for such a conclusion.¹⁰⁴

By this landmark decision, the Court reversed the ruling of the Board of Election Commissioners and enfranchised all male Negroes who met the other qualifications of voters as stated in the state constitution. The Court further stated in its ruling that all colored men who had lived one year or more in the state would be eligible to vote in the forthcoming Spring election on April 3rd.¹⁰⁵ Thus, on April 3, 1866, thirty years, six months, and sixteen days after Joe Oliver cast the first Negro vote in Milwaukee, the second Negro vote was duly cast. The long, hard fight for full citizenship and political equality for Milwaukee's Negroes had been successfully completed.

Thus, in 1866 the Negro community had finally reached political maturity. But it was not the same community that had existed in the 1840's and 1850's. There had been a marked change in the structure and composition of the Negro settlement and, unfortunately, it could not be called an improvement. The Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves were beginning to be felt by the city and their effect became most apparent when the United States conducted the Ninth Federal Census in June of 1870.

According to the census rolls, there were 165 Negroes

¹⁰⁴Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 30, 1866.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

residing in Milwaukee under forty-eight separate listings.¹⁰⁶ However, only ten of these families had lived in Milwaukee for a decade or more.¹⁰⁷ These ten families accounted for only twenty-two of the 107 adults in the community.¹⁰⁸ Of the remaining eighty-five adults, which amounted to nearly 80% of the colored population of the city, only five had lived in the community more than half a decade, while the average length of residence for this entire group was just over two years.¹⁰⁹ From this information it would appear obvious that

¹⁰⁶U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (4 vols.), Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, I, 421 et seq, II, 121 et seq, III, 207 et seq. The Plankinton Hotel, starting in 1868, employed Negro help on a major scale and under the heading for the Hotel there are twenty-six separate listings for male Negroes. In the tabulation this unit has been counted as one heading. See Appendix Four.

¹⁰⁷This statement is based upon a careful survey of the Census Reports and the City Directories for the period 1838-1870.

¹⁰⁸These were the families of William Anderson--29 years, Lyman Benjamin--24 years, William Watson--20 years, Henry B. Platt--19 years, David Booker--19 years, Charles Price--19 years, Martin Smith--19 years, Ezekiel Gillespie--16 years, James A. Goines--15 years, and Elijah Richardson--11 years.

¹⁰⁹These figures are based upon statistics taken from the listings in the U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, I, 421 et seq; II, 121 et seq; III, 207 et seq; A. Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Richard Edwards (Ed.), Director to the Inhabitants, Institutions, Incorporated Companies, Manufacturing Establishments, Business Firms, etc. etc. in the City of Milwaukee for 1865 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, 1865); Edwards, et al., City Directory for 1866; Richard Edwards (Ed.) Edwards' Annual Director to the Institutions, Inhabitants, Incorporated Companies, Manufacturing Establishments, Business Firms, etc. etc. in the City of Milwaukee for 1867 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, 1867); John Thickers, Milwaukee City Directory for 1868-69 (Milwaukee: Hawks and Burdick, 1868); John Thickers, Milwaukee City Directory for 1869-70 (Milwaukee: Paul and Cadwallader, 1869), John Thickers, Milwaukee City Directory for 1870-71 (Milwaukee: Paul and Cadwallader, 1870).

an entirely new Negro community had moved into the city since the end of the Civil War.

Most of the old names that had been connected with the great events and moments of Milwaukee's pioneer Negro community were no longer heard in the city. Among those who were gone were Joe Oliver, the first Negro resident and voter in Milwaukee, the Clark family, which had been so intimately involved with the greatest tragedy of the colored community and one of the most shameful events in the history of the city, J. J. Myers, who for so many years set the economic pace of the black community, and Lewis Johnson, who presided over the first political meeting of Negroes in the state of Wisconsin. Also gone were some of the more colorful individuals, such as William Green, the first Negro barber to set up shop in the city, Jesse Epps, whose clanging auctioneer's bell was a familiar sound in Milwaukee's roads and streets, George Paddock, who served on the jury that freed the Glover rescuers, and Robert Titball, whose nefarious exploits gained him an unique, though rather unenviable, position in the story of Milwaukee's Negro community. Other old time Negro settlers whose names were no longer on the rolls included John Boland, William Harling, Robert Ellis, William Henderson, George Symes, Sarah Carroll, Samuel Potts, George W. Day, and Abraham Torrey.

Another indicator of the change that had taken place in the Negro community was the origin of its members. While about half of the colored community had always been from the Southern states, usually only a few had been from the Deep

South slave states (seven persons or 8.75% in 1850 and five persons or 6.5% in 1860).¹¹⁰ In 1870, however, sixty-seven members of the community, or over 61% of the Negro population, came from former slave states and 30% were from the Deep South.¹¹¹ Of the remaining forty-three adults who came from non-slave states, for the first time a large number of them, eleven, listed Wisconsin as their place of birth while Ohio ran a close second with nine.¹¹²

An even more somber picture of the declining condition of the Negro community was mirrored in the statistics concerning education. According to the census, there were twenty-four illiterates in the community, the highest amount since the beginning of the community.¹¹³ The hopeful outlook of the early 1860's when the Negro population had a literacy rate of 84.4% was shattered as this rate slipped back 6% to 78.4%.¹¹⁴ This decline in education was also borne out by the statistics

¹¹⁰These figures are based upon information taken from the listings in the U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17 et seq; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq; II, 28 et seq.

¹¹¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, I, 421 et seq, II, 121 et seq, III, 207 et seq. A breakdown by states shows Virginia with twenty, Kentucky eight, Missouri three, Maryland two, Washington, D.C. one, Mississippi ten, South Carolina two, North Carolina two, Arkansas two, Texas one, Georgia four, Alabama one, Louisiana one, and Tennessee ten.

¹¹²Ibid. By states they were: Wisconsin eleven, Ohio nine, New York and Pennsylvania five each, Delaware and Canada three each, Indiana, Connecticut, and Germany two each, and Massachusetts one.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

on Negro children in school. In 1870, only sixteen of twenty-eight school-aged children, or 57.1%, were enrolled in the public schools.¹¹⁵ This as compared with 69.2% in 1850 and 72.2% in 1860.¹¹⁶

The type of jobs that the new members of the Negro community were able to fill had changed drastically too. No longer was the local colored man mostly self-employed or a semi-skilled worker as he had been in the past. In 1870, there were only two Negro barbers, of whom only one owned his own shop, and only two semi-skilled tradesmen.¹¹⁷ The other members of the colored work force were employed in personal service type work or in menial labor. Among the former, there were fourteen domestics, nineteen waiters, five bell-boys, seven porters, two hostlers, one steward, one clerk, and one railroad conductor.¹¹⁸ A breakdown on the latter category shows one cigarmaker, two sailors, two whitewashers, two cooks, one janitor, eight laborers, one drapemaker, two seamstresses, and two washerwomen.¹¹⁹ This was a far cry from the well balanced occupational pattern of just a decade before (Supra p. 60).

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17 et seq; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq, II, 28 et seq.

¹¹⁷U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 229, 262; Thickens, City Directory for 1870, p. 311.

¹¹⁸U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 145, 209, 217, 248, 256, 263, 268, 274, 235, 284, 292, 295, 343, 384-86, 392, III, 207, 222, 244, 265, 266, 314.

¹¹⁹Ibid., I, 462, 538, II, 121, 142, 226, 248, 268, 274, 225, 235, 244, 307, 341.

The decline of the Negro community was also apparent in its economic situation. When the census was taken, there were only five Negroes who owned real estate having a total value of \$11,300.¹²⁰ A decade before there had been nineteen worth nearly \$30,000 (Supra p. 58). Where in 1860 there had been twenty-nine Negroes with personal property totaling over \$6,200 (Supra p. 59), in 1870 there were only three having a worth of \$3,100.¹²¹ Further, the Negro population in the past ten years since the trouble in 1861 had completed the process of polarization that first began in the late 1850's (Supra p. 51). With the exception of a few families, most of which were on the East side, all of Milwaukee's Negroes were located in one central area. Eighty-four per cent of the colored population resided in the Second and Fourth Wards and most of these were within an area bounded by the Milwaukee River on the east, Sixth Street on the west, the Menominee River on the south, and Cedar Street (present day Kilbourn Avenue) on the north (See Map C).¹²²

Finally, the 1870 Census showed that there had been an extremely sharp decline in the number of interracial marriages. Out of the twenty-five couples, there were only two bi-racial families, or 8%, as compared to eight bi-racial marriages

¹²⁰Ibid., I, 462, II, 229, 256, 392, III, 207.

¹²¹Ibid., II, 142, III, 207, 312.

¹²²Ibid., I, 421 et seq., II, 121 et seq., III, 207 et seq.; Thickens, City Directory for 1870, p. 49 et seq. This information is based upon a survey of these two sources. It was from this survey that Map C was plotted and the percentages determined.



comprising 33% of the community in 1860.¹²³ At the same time, the report showed an increase in the number of matriarchal families within the Negro community. In 1860, there had been six such families, of whom three were caused by the death of the male head of the household (Supra p.61). By 1870, this number had grown to nine families.¹²⁴ Three of these families--the Prices, Goines, and Andersons--were old residents of the city and in each of them the male head of the family had died. The other six families, however, had no known male head of the household. Further, all six of these families had moved into the city within the past three years since the end of the Civil War.¹²⁵

¹²³U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19 et seq, II, 28 et seq; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, I, 421 et seq, II, 121 et seq, III, 207 et seq.

¹²⁴U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, I, 421, et seq, II, 121 et seq, III, 207 et seq.

¹²⁵Thickens, City Directory for 1868, p. 49 et seq; Thickens, City Directory for 1869, p. 48 et seq; Thickens, City Directory for 1870, p. 47 et seq.

CONCLUSION

The year 1870 marks the end of the pioneer phase of Milwaukee's Negro community, just as it also typifies the change of Milwaukee from a frontier city to an emerging metropolis. This early phase of the development of the Negro community covered an entire generation and saw many significant advances made and not a few formidable obstacles overcome. From the day when Joe Oliver began work as Solomon Juneau's cook until the First African Methodist-Episcopal Church, located in the old German Evangelical Lutheran Church on the corner of Fourth and Cedar Streets, held its first service on July 4, 1869, the story of the Milwaukee Negro community was one of slow, uneven, but unrelenting progress.¹

The community grew from a single inhabitant in 1835, to a handful during the 1840's, to over a hundred by the 1850's, to nearly 175 in 1870. During this entire time, there existed a more or less permanent core of families that served as the foundation upon which the community grew.² This period was a time of economic growth for the Negroes, beginning with the

¹Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, June 29, 1869, July 1, 1869.

²These families were: Anderson (1841-1870), Benjamin (1841-1870), Boland (1850-1860), Booker (1852-1870), Sarah Carroll (1854-1867), George Clark (1846-1869), Day (1859-1869), Ellis (1858-1869), Epps (1850-1857), French (1863-1870), Gillespie (1854-1870), Goines (1855-1870), Harling (1850-1863), Henderson (1854-1868), Stephen Jones (1863-1870), Myers (1848-1861), Paddock (1846-1858), Platt (1850-1870), Potts (1848-1859), Price (1851-1870), Elijah Richardson (1859-1870), Martin Smith (1851-1870), Symes (1850-1859), Titball (1840-1857), Torrey (1854-1869), Sully Watson (1850-1870), William Watson (1850-1870).

first shanty barbershops and foodstands and culminating with the purchase of the community's own place of worship. It was a time when most Milwaukee Negroes either owned their own businesses or were semi-skilled tradesmen providing needed services to the ever expanding city. The economic highpoint came in 1860 when 68.9% of the Negro community owned either real estate having a total value of nearly \$30,000 or personal property valued at over \$6,000.³ After 1860, wealth in the Negro community decreased and tended to belong to the older, more established families.⁴

This early phase of the Milwaukee Negro community was marked by other equally encouraging signs of progress. The diversification of occupational skills in the local Negro population during the 1850's and 1860's allowed them to maintain a high employment rate. A strong emphasis on education was borne out by the high literacy level the community maintained until 1870 and by the large number of Negro children who attended the public schools. The surprisingly high number

³U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (3 vols.), Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, I, 17 et seq, II, 28 et seq.

⁴According to the Federal Census for 1870 there were only seven individuals who listed real estate or personal property in the Negro community. The total worth was \$10,400 in real estate and \$3,000 in personal property. Of this, \$9,000 of the real estate was owned by the Anderson, Watson, and Platt families while \$2,000 of the personal property belonged to the Platt and Goines families. However, one must approach this listing of wealth with some caution. It seems strange that some of the other older families, like the Gillespies, Benjamins, or Bookers, who were known to have had wealth in 1860 did not list any property or real estate in the 1870 census.

of interracial marriages in the community during the 50's and 60's was still another encouraging sign. However, the area where Milwaukee Negroes labored the hardest and made the greatest gains was in the political field.

Despite the fact that Wisconsin was by far the most tolerant toward Negroes of any Midwestern state, the local colored population was still denied that which they desired most, political equality and full citizenship which they visualized as being embodied in the right of suffrage. This battle for Negro suffrage, along with the continuing growth of the community, forms the central theme of the pioneer period of Milwaukee's Negro community. During the early stages of the crusade, the fight was carried by white sympathizers and local abolitionists. However, beginning with the first political meeting of Negroes in 1850 to protest the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the local colored population began to take a more active role in its own destiny. The 1856 referendum on colored suffrage was largely brought about because of the petitions which the local Negroes, with the aid of friendly whites, had pressed upon the state legislature. Ultimately, it was a Milwaukee Negro who, aided by two prominent abolitionists, instigated the court case which resulted in the state Supreme Court's ruling that Negroes, by the referendum of 1849, had the right of suffrage in Wisconsin and could in no way be denied or deprived of that right.

Thus, when Ezekiel Gillespie won his case, the major goal of the early Negro settlers was finally obtained. This,

combined with the almost complete transformation that the community had undergone since the Civil War, marked the end of the pioneer Negro community in Milwaukee. In its place came another community, larger, newer, yet made up of many of the leading personalities that had formed the earlier settlement; but, on the whole, not nearly as well educated, as diversified, or as economically sound as the Negro community of the 1850's and 1860's had been. This new community, building on the accomplishments of its predecessor, would, like the pioneer Negro settlement, face two long, bitter struggles. In its case, however, the struggles would not be to gain political equality and to increase the size of the community, rather they would be to overcome overt racial discrimination and to regain that fine balance which had characterized Milwaukee's pioneer Negro community.

APPENDIX ONE

To conduct any meaningful study of the pioneer Negro community of Milwaukee, it is essential that one first determine who the members of that community were. Such was the manner in which this study was conducted. The first item of business was to survey the various census reports, both Federal and Territory and State of Wisconsin, to identify the Negroes of Milwaukee. This was followed by a careful search of numerous other sources which might help identify Negroes who were not listed in the census reports (i.e. city directories, newspapers, tax records, vital statistics, court records, memoirs, reminiscences, histories, etc, etc). Once the individuals members of the colored community were known, the study could then proceed to tell the story of what these people did and how they lived during the frontier period of Milwaukee's history.

Because this basic information is so scattered in numerous sources not always easily accesible to the researcher, and is of such major importance to anyone desiring to do any work concerning the Negro in Milwaukee, it was felt that a seperate Biographical Directory of the Milwaukee Negro community must be an integral part of this paper. Therefore, this appendix was compiled. While this Directory purports to be a complete listing of the permanent Milwaukee Negro community during the years 1835-1870, it is almost certain that not every Negro who passed through or spent time in Milwaukee is included here. However, because of the thoroughness of the study conducted, it is safe to state that this

Directory contains listings for every Negro and Mulatto who actually resided in the City for any appreciable length of time.

The following items of information are contained in each sketch. The name of the head of the household, wife's name, names of children, years of residence in Milwaukee, occupation, ward of residence. After each name appears an "N" if the persons was Negro, an "M" if a Mulatto, or a "C" if a Caucasian. Also, if the person was born or died in the city the appropriate date is given.

- ¹ADAMS, George(M), w. Emily(M), c. Anna(M-b. 1868)
(1863-1870), Clerk, Fourth Ward
Married Emily Anderson, daughter of William Anderson, in 1866.
- ²ANDERSON, David
(1867-1868), Hostler, Fourth Ward
- ³ANDERSON, William(M-d. 1854), w. Ann(M), c. Emily(M)
(1841-1870), Barber, Fourth Ward
One of the earliest Negro settlers. Oldest continuous Negro family in Milwaukee.

¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (4 vols.), Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, II, 256; A. Bailey, Milwaukee City Directory for 1863 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, Publisher, 1863); Richard Edwards(Ed.), Director to the Inhabitants, Institutions, Incorporated Companies, Manufacturing Establishments, Business Firms, etc, etc in the City of Milwaukee for 1865 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, 1865); Edwards, Greenough, and Deved, Edwards's Annual Directory to the Inhabitants, Institutions, Incorporated Companies, Manufacturing Establishments, Business Firms, etc, etc in the City of Milwaukee for 1866 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, 1866); Richard Edwards(Ed.), Edwards's Annual Director to the Inhabitants, Institutions, Incorporated Companies, Manufacturing Establishments, Businesses, Business Firms, etc, etc in the City of Milwaukee for 1867 (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, 1867); John Thickens, Milwaukee City Directory for 1868-69 (Milwaukee: Hawks and Burdick, 1868); John Thickens, Milwaukee City Directory for 1869-70 (Milwaukee: Paul and Cadwallader, 1869); John Thickens, Milwaukee City Directory for 1870-71 (Milwaukee: Paul and Cadwallader, 1870).

²Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868-69.

³Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, p. 441; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County (3 vols. Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, II, 47; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 256; Julius MacCabe, Directory of the City of Milwaukee for the Years 1847-48 (Milwaukee: Wilson and King, 1847); Directory of the City of Mil-

- ⁴BADGER, Nelson(M), w. Elizabeth(M), c. Ella(M), Mary Jane(M), Sarah(M)
(1860-1861), Dentist, Second Ward
Arrested in 1861 for keeping a "disorderly and gaming house."
- ⁵BAILEY, Augustus(N)
(1850), Clothes Cleaner, First Ward
- ⁶BAKER, Margaret(M), h. Frederick(C)
(1859-1862), Saloonkeepers, First Ward
- ⁷BARNES, Farney(N)
(1850), No Occupation, First Ward

waukee for the Years 1848-49 (Milwaukee: Rufus King, 1848); The Milwaukee City Directory for 1851-52 (Milwaukee: Parsons and Van Slyck, 1851); Jesse M. Van Slyck, Milwaukee City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1854-55 (Milwaukee: Starr Book and Job Office, 1854); Jesse M. Van Slyck, Col. Van Slyck's Milwaukee City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1856-57 (Milwaukee: Daily Wisconsin Print, 1856); Erving, Burdick and Companies, Milwaukee City Directory for 1857 and 1858 (Milwaukee: Steam Press of King, Jermain and Co., 1857); Smith, DuMoulin and Co., Milwaukee City Directory, Being a Complete General and Business Directory for the Entire City (Milwaukee: Jermain and Brightman, 1858); Franklin E. Town, Milwaukee City Directory for 1859-60 (Milwaukee: Jermain and Brightman, 1859); Starr and Son, 1860-61 Directory of the City of Milwaukee, Being a Complete and General Business Directory (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, Publisher, 1860); A. Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868-69; Thickens, City Directory for 1869-70; Thickens, City Directory for 1870-71; Milwaukee County Probate Court, Document No. 710, Will and Estate of William H. Anderson, Deceased, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; William H. Green, Negroes in Milwaukee, An undated, unidentified news clipping from the Ethnic File in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Interview with Miss Mabel Raimey, descendent of the Watson and Anderson families, at Milwaukee, January 2, 1968.

⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 326; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860-61; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, May 15, 1861.

⁵U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 202.

⁶U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 37; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860.

⁷U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 162.

- ⁸BARQUET, Joseph(M)
(1850-1852), Mason, Fourth Ward
Chosen Secretary of the first mass meeting held by
Negroes in Milwaukee on October 7, 1850.
- ⁹BARRETT, Milton(N)
(1847), Barber
- ¹⁰BASSIL, James(M), w. Mary(M)
(1870), Cigarmaker, Fourth Ward
- ¹¹BELLOWS, John(N)
(1850), Barber, First Ward
- ¹²BENJAMIN, Lyman(M), w. Mary Ann(M)
(1846-1870), Cook, Fourth Ward
Went to the Crystal Palace Exposition in 1851 to display
the handiwork of Milwaukee's Negro population.
- ¹³BEVERLY, Johnathan(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House
- ¹⁴BLAND, Charles(M)
(1870), Bellboy, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.

⁸Ibid., p. 460; City Directory for 1851-52; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 11, 1850.

⁹Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, April 21, 1853, September 23, 1853.

¹⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 307

¹¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 16

¹²Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 255; State of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855, Milwaukee County, Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 393; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854-55; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870; Daily Free Democrat, May 9, 1851.

¹³U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384

¹⁴Ibid.

- ¹⁵BLAND, George(M), w. Nancy(M), c. Elizabeth(M), Thomas(M),
Lanrenda(M)
(1869-1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
- ¹⁶BLAND, Henry(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- ¹⁷BLANEY, Rebecca(M)
(1870), No Occupation, Fourth Ward
- ¹⁸BODMAN, John(M), w. Leonard(M)
(1870), Railroad Conductor, Fourth Ward
- ¹⁹BOLAND, John(N), w. Elizabeth(N)
(1850-1860), Cook, Third Ward
- ²⁰BOOKER, David(N), w. Cinthill(N), c. Julie(N-b. 1855), Charles
(N-b. 1866), Mary(N-b. 1869)
(1852-1870), Whitewasher, Second Ward
- ²¹BROWN, Caroline(N)
(1860-1863), Domestic, Seventh Ward

¹⁵Ibid., II, 217; Thickers, City Directory for 1869;
Thickers, City Directory for 1870.

¹⁶U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86

¹⁷Ibid., II, 248.

¹⁸Ibid., II, 292.

¹⁹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 113;
Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859.

²⁰Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 409; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, I, 538; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Thickers, City Directory for 1868; Thickers, City Directory for 1870.

²¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 146; Bailey, City Directory for 1863.

- 22 BROWN, John T. (N-d. 1861), w. Sarah (C)
(1857-1863), Whitewasher, Third Ward
- 23 BROWN, Mace (M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankinton House
- 24 BROWN, T.J. (N), w. Margaret (M)
(1846-1850), Barber, First Ward
- 25 BROWN, Thomas (N)
(1860-1863), Cook, Third Ward
- 26 BROWN, William (N), w. Ann (C)
(1849-1852), Cook, First Ward
- 27 BURNS, Joseph (M), w. Sussanna
(1858-1861), Cook, Fourth Ward
Convicted of murder and sent to the State Prison at
Waupun where authorities ruled him to be insane.
- 28 CALDRON, Henry
(1847), No Occupation, Third Ward
- 29 CARROLL, Sarah
(1854-1867), Milliner, Third Ward

22 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 515;
Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Directory for 1863.

23 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86

24 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 188; MacCabe, City Directory for 1848.

25 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 593;
Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Directory for 1863.

26 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 195;
City Directory for 1851-52.

27 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 52;
Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, January 28, 1858, June 24, 1861.

28 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847.

29 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; Van Slyck, City Dir-

- ³⁰CARROLL, Walter(M)
(1869-1870), Clerk, Seventh Ward
- ³¹CARTRIERY, Charles(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House
- ³²CASSINGHAN, Frank(M)
(1870), Bellboy, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House
- ³³CHANDLER, Jordan(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House
- ³⁴CLARK, Archibald(M)
(1870), Bellboy, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House
- ³⁵CLARK, Areha(M)
(1870), Waiter, Seventh Ward
- ³⁶CLARK, George(M-d. 1868), w. Mary Antoinette(C), c. George H.
jr(M), Marshall(M), Eugene(M-b.
1868)
(1846-1869), Barber, Fourth Ward
Drafted the resolutions in opposition to the Fugitive
Slave Law on October 7, 1850.

ectory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1868; Edwards, City Directory for 1867.

³⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, III, 314; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

³¹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., III, 314.

³⁶Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 456; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 32; Van Slyck, City Direc-

- 37 CLARK, Marshall(M)
(1860-1861), Barber, Fourth Ward
Lynched by a mob of Irishmen for the murder of
Dabney Carney in September of 1861.
- 38 COLEMAN, Emily(M), c. Benjamin(M), Emma(M)
(1870), Washerwoman, Fourth Ward
- 39 COLEMAN, Walter
(1866-1867), Carpenter, Fourth Ward
- 40 COLLINS, Thomas
(1866-1869), Laborer, Fourth Ward
- 41 CONRAD, Louisa(N)
(1850), No Occupation Listed, First Ward
- 42 COOK, Henry(N)
(1850), Barber, First Ward
- 43 COWN, William(N)
(1858), Barber, Seventh Ward
- 44 DANDSED, Mary(N), Robert(N), Alfred(N)
(1870), Seamstress, Fourth Ward

tory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 11, 1850.

37 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 32; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; See Footnotes 52 thru 74, Chapter Three of the narrative for other references.

38 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 259; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

39 Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867.

40 Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869.

41 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 188.

42 Ibid., p. 162.

43 Smith et al, City Directory for 1858.

44 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 218.

⁴⁵DANGERFIELD, Horace(M), w. Fonien(M), c. Frances(M-b. 1867),
Horace(M-b. 1870)
(1867-1870), Porter, Fourth Ward
Served in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1864.

⁴⁶DANGERFIELD, Charles
(1869), Waiter, Fourth Ward

⁴⁷DAY, George W.(N-d. 1868), w. Nancy(N), c. Sarah(N),
Benjamin(N)
(1859-1869), Barber, Seventh Ward

⁴⁸DE LONG, Caroline(N)
(1850), Domestic, First Ward

⁴⁹DE LONG, Joseph
(1847-1849), Barber, Fourth Ward
Census Reports list five other members of the family
not known by name.

⁵⁰DE VOE, Lemuel(M)
(1850), Barber
In the County Jail for burglary.

⁵¹DUDLEY, Ambrose
(1847-1858), Cook, Fourth Ward
Served as on Officer's Man with Company A, 24th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1863.

⁴⁵Ibid., II, 235; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870; Adjutant General, Regimental Descriptive Rolls, 1861-1865, Unassigned and Miscellaneous, Series 37/1/29, Section 4 and 5, Box No. 59 Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

⁴⁶Thickens, City Directory for 1869.

⁴⁷U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 145; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, January 27, 1868.

⁴⁸U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 249.

⁴⁹Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847; City Directory for 1849.

⁵⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 253.

⁵¹City Directory for 1851-52; Smith et al, City Directory

- 52 DUNCAN, Richard(M), w. Louisa(C), c. Willie(M-b. 1859)
(1859-1861), Barber, Seventh Ward
- 53 ELLIS, Robert
(1858-1869), Barber, Fourth Ward
- 54 EPPS, Jesse(N)
(1850-1857), Grocer, Second Ward/Third Ward
Census Reports list two other members of the family
but they are not known by name. One of the most colorful
members of the Milwaukee Negro community.
- 55 ESIPEN, Maggie(M)
(1870), Domestic, Fifth Ward
- 56 EVANS, Hester(N)
(1850-1855), No Occupation Listed, Third Ward
- 57 FARLESS, Dolly(N), c. Rochall(N), Mary(N)
(1870), No Occupation Listed, Fourth Ward
- 58 FARR, Minerva(M)
(1849-1852), Milliner, First Ward

for 1858; Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

52 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 120;
Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City
Directory for 1861.

53 Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Dir-
ectory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860;
Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Direc-
tory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et
al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867;
Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory
for 1869; Milwaukee County, Office of the County Treasurer,
Tax Lists for the Year 1865.

54 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 369;
Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; City Directory for 1851-52;
Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory
for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; See Chapter
II for other references concerning Jesse Epps.

55 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, III, 266.

56 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 148;
City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854.

57 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 218.

58 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 204;
City Directory for 1849; City Directory for 1851-52.

- 59 FLETCHER, Thomas(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked at the Plankington House.
- 60 FOSTER, James
(1838- ?)
Census Report lists one other unnamed member in the family.
- 61 FRANKLIN, William(N), w. Henrietta(N)
(1859-1860), Teamster, Second Ward
- 62 FRENCH, Allen(M), w. Lucy(M), c. Cosa(M-b. 1867), Florence
(M-b. 1870)
(1863-1870), Porter, Fourth Ward
- 63 FRIKE, Henry(N)
(1870), Cook, Third Ward
- 64 FULLER, George(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked at the Plankington House.
- 65 GARDNER, John(N), w. Ann(N), c. Mary(N)
(1850-1852), Barber, Third Ward
- 66 GILLESPIE, Ezekiel(M), w. Sophia(M-d. 1864), Catherine(M)
c. Mary(M), Samantha(M), Emma(M), Alice
(M-b. 1855), William(M-b. 1858), Ida
(M-b. 1867), Obey(M-b. 1869)
(1854-1870), Porter, Fourth Ward/Seventh Ward
Instituted lawsuit in 1867 that led to the Supreme Court decision granting Negroes the right of suffrage.
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- 59 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-
- 60 Territory of Wisconsin, Census Report, 1838, Milwaukee County Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 61 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 326.
- 62 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 263; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.
- 63 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 121.
- 64 Ibid., II, 384-86.
- 65 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 130
City Directory for 1851-52.
- 66 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the

- 67 GOINES, James W. (M-d. 1864), w. Mary (M), c. Ida (M), Susan (M),
Veary (M-b. 1861)
(1855-1870), Barber, Fifth Ward/Seventh Ward
Served as Secretary of the 1855 meeting of Negroes
to petition the Legislature for a referendum on Negro
suffrage.
- 68 GRANT, Ellen (M)
(1870), Hainworker, Fifth Ward
- 69 GRAY, Jared (N), w. Elizabeth (N-d. 1852), c. Euritta (N), Jane (N)
Maria (N), Augusta (N), Jared (N), Gordon (N)
(1850-1853), Barber, First Ward
- 70 GREEN, John (N)
(1870), Domestic, Fourth Ward
- 71 GREEN, William (N)
(1838-1841 ?), Barber, Third Ward
Census Report shows three other unnamed members in the
family. First Negro barber in Milwaukee.

Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 57-58; U.S., Bureau of the Cen-
sus, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 235; City Directory for 1851-52;
Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory
for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Town, City
Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860;
Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Direc-
tory for 1863; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards
City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868;
Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory
for 1870; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, February 6, 1864
See Chapter III for others references concerning Gillespie.

67 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 64;
U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, III, 312; Er-
ving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Direc-
tory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son,
City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861
Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for
1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City
Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thicken
City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870;
Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 10, 1855.

68 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, III, 312.

69 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, pp.
161-62; City Directory for 1851-52; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel
and Gazette, April 22, 1852, March 14, 1853.

70 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 284;
Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

71 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1838; U.S., Bureau of the

- 72 HALE, Alice(N), c. Julia(N), Alice(N-b. 1860)
(1860), Seamstress, Third Ward
- 73 HARBST, William(N)
(1860), Whitewasher, Third Ward
- 74 HARDISTER, Benjamin(N)
(1860), Whitewasher, Fourth Ward
- 75 HARLING, William(N-d. 1858), w. Emily(M), c. William, Edward
(M-b. 1859), Benjamin(M-b. 1856
(1850-1863), Whitewasher, Fourth Ward
- 76 HARRIS, Samuel(N)
(1850), Waiter, First Ward
- 77 HENDERSON, William
(1854-1868), Shoemaker, Fourth Ward
Census Report lists two other members in the family
but does not give their names.
- 78 HILL, John(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked at the Plankington House.

Census, Sixth Census, 1840, State of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County
Manuscript Copy in the Collections of the State Historical Soci-
ety of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; James S. Buck, Pioneer Hi-
tory of Milwaukee (4 vols; Milwaukee: Symes, Swain and Company,
1884), II, 93.

72 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 511.

73 Ibid., I, 590.

74 Ibid., II, 40.

75 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 460;
U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 33; Wisconsin,
Census Report, 1855; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck
City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857;
Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Bailey, City Directory fo
1863; Milwaukee County Circuit Court, Document No. 577, Equity,
In the matter of the petition of William and Benjamin Harling fo
sale of real estate, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County
Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

76 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 202

77 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; Van Slyck, City Director
for 1854; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City
Directory for 1860; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards,
City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866
Thickens, City Directory for 1868.

78 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-8

- 79 HOLSTEIN, Joseph(N), w. Henrietta(N), c. Emmeli(N), Richard
(M), Joseph(N-b. 1861)
(1860-1865), Sailor, Ninth Ward
- 80 HOOD, Ann(M)
(1860), Domestic, Seventh Ward
- 81 HOPKINS, David(N)
(1850), Waiter, First Ward
- 82 HUGHES, Lewis(N), w. Matilda(M), c. Lydia(N), Mattie(N),
Charlotte(N)
(1867-1870), Porter, Fourth Ward
Ran the living quarters for the Negroes employed by
the Plankinton House. Wrote an autobiography of his
life in slavery entitled "Thirty Years a Slave".
- 83 HURLEY, Louis
(1855-1858), Whitesmith, Sixth Ward
- 84 JACKSON, Charlotte(N)
(1870), _____, First Ward
Minor in the Protestant Orphans Asylum.
- 85 JACKSON, Daniel(N), w. Rachel(N), c. Mary E.(N), Frances(N),
Alexander(N)
(1850), Whitewasher, First Ward
- 86 JACKSON, Orange(N), w. Mary(M), c. Mary Ann(M)
(1850), Laborer, Second Ward

79 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 485
Edwards, City Directory for 1865.

80 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 41.

81 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 202

82 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 218;
Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory
for 1870; Louis Hughes, Thirty Years a Slave, From Bondage to
Freedom (Milwaukee: South Side Printing Co., 1897).

83 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; Erving et al, City Dir
ectory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858.

84 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, I, 421.

85 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 169

86 Ibid., p. 411.

- 87 JEFFERSON, William(N)
(1855-1860), Whitewasher, Second Ward
- 88 JOHNSON, James(N), w. Mary(N)
(1868-1870), Laborer, Fourth Ward
- 89 JOHNSON, Lewis(N), w. Catherine(C)
(1850- ?), Barber/Sailor, Fourth Ward
Served as Chairman of the first mass meeting of Negroes
in Milwaukee on October 7, 1850.
- 90 JOHNSON, Mary(N), c. William(M)
(1870), No Occupation, Fourth Ward
- 91 JOHNSON, Robert(N), w. Hannah(N)
(1846-1852), Joiner, Fourth Ward
- 92 JOHNSON, Thomas(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
- 93 JOHNSON, William
(1840- ?)
Census Report lists three other members in the family
but does not give their names.
- 94 JONES, Stephen
(1863-1870), Barber, Fourth Ward

87 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 327;
Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for
1859; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, December 6, 1855.

88 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 226;
Thickens, City Directory for 1868.

89 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 456
Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; Van Slyck, City Directory for
1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Milwaukee Daily
Sentinel and Gazette, October 11, 1850.

90 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 274.

91 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Wisconsin, Census Re-
port, 1847; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850,
p. 448; MacCabe, City Directory for 1848; City Directory for
1849; City Directory for 1851-52.

92 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-

93 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Sixth Census, 1840.

94 Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Direc-
tory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Ed-

- 95 JONES, Wayne
(1867-1868), Coachman, Fourth Ward
- 96 KENNEDY, Ellen(N)
in the home of John Bodman
- 97 LA CHAPPEL, Lewis
(1850), Barber, Fourth Ward
- 98 LEWIS, Mary(M)
(1870), Seamstress, Fourth Ward
- 99 LINCOLN, Daniel(M), w. Mary(M)
(1868-1870), Hostler, Fourth Ward
- 100 LOKS, Mary(N)
(1850), Domestic, First Ward
- 101 LOT, Mary(N)
(1850-1855), Domestic, Fourth Ward
- 102 LOYD, Thomas(N)
(1860), Waiter, Second Ward
- 103 LOX, John(N)
(1850), Cook, First Ward
- 104 LUCAS, Anthony(M), w. Mary(M), c. Frena(M), William(M-b. 1870)
(1870), Barber, Fourth Ward

1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

95 Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868.

96 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 292.

97 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 456

98 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 263.

99 Ibid., II, 274; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

100 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 301

101 Ibid., p. 469; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855.

102 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 413.

103 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 201.

104 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 262; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

- 105 LUSEBLE, Theodore(M), w. Mary(M)
(1870), Laborer, Fourth Ward
- 106 LYRUS, George R.
(1855), unknown, First Ward
Census Report lists four other members in the family
but does not give their names.
- 107 McCOY, John
(1848-1855), Cook, Third Ward
Census Report lists two other members in the family
but does not give their names.
- 108 MANN, Lucieta(N)
(1870), Domestic, Third Ward
- 109 MASON, Charles(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- 110 MINER, Patrick(M)
(1850-1851), Laborer, First Ward
- 111 MITCHELL, William
(1846-1852), Tailor, Third Ward
Census Report lists one other member in the family but
does not give the name.
- 112 MIX, Florentine(M), Juba(M), Cynthia(M), Fannie(M)
(1860), Laundress, Fourth Ward
- 113 MORGAN, William
(1846-1848), Barber, Fourth Ward
Census Report lists one other member in the family but
does not give the name.

105 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 244.

106 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855.

107 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; City Directory for 1849;
City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854.

108 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 145.

109 Ibid., II, 384-86.

110 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 301;
Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 11, 1850.

111 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; City Directory for 1851-5

112 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 92.

113 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; MacCabe, City Directory
for 1848.

- 114 MORRISON, Benjamin
(1858), Cook, Fourth Ward
- 115 MOSELY, John(N)
(1860), Farmer
In the County Jail.
- 116 MYERS, Jonathan(N), w. Elizabeth(N), c. Benjamin(N), Anna(N),
Frederick(N-b. 1850)
(1848-1862), Grocer, First Ward/Seventh Ward
Economic leader of the Negro community. Went to
Africa in 1859 to help educate less fortunate Negroes.
- 117 NELLER, John(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankinton House.
- 118 NEW, Ada(N)
(1870), Domestic, Fourth Ward
- 119 NOBLES, Rufus(M), w. Mary(M), c. Nellie(M)
(1870), Steward, Fifth Ward
- 120 OFFER, John(N)
(1850-1852), Barber, Third Ward
- 121 OLIVER, Joseph(N)
(1835-1837), Cook, Seventh Ward
First Negro in the city of Milwaukee. First Negro
to cast a legal ballot in Milwaukee.
-
- 114 Smith et al, City Directory for 1858.
- 115 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86
- 116 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 203;
Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census,
Eighth Census, 1860, I, 240; City Directory for 1849; City Dir-
ectory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Erving
et al, City Directory for 1857; Starr and Son, City Directory
for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Milwaukee
Daily Sentinel and Gazette, August 2, 1859, June 11, 1860.
- 117 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86
- 118 Ibid., II, 343.
- 119 Ibid., III, 266.
- 120 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 149;
City Directory for 1851-52.
- 121 Green, Negroes in Milwaukee; Buck, Pioneer History, I, 73

- 122 PADDOCK, George
(1846-1858), Farmer, Seventh Ward
Census Report lists five other members in the family but does not give their names. Served on the jury that freed the Glover rescuers in 1855.
- 123 PAGET, William(M-d. 1866), w. Ann(M), c. Eliza(M)
(1865-1870), Hostler, Fourth Ward
- 124 PARKER, Samuel(M)
(1870), Porter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankinton House.
- 125 PARKER, William
(1858), Whitewasher, Fourth Ward
- 126 PARKS, Anthony(M), w. Betsy
(1868-1870), Laborer, Fourth Ward
- 127 PERKINS, Joseph(M)
(1870), Domestic, Fourth Ward
- 128 PHILLIPS, Henry(N)
(1847-1854), Ship's Carpenter, Fifth Ward
- 129 PHILLIPS, Joseph(M)
(1869-1870), Waiter, Seventh Ward

122 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; MacCabe, City Director for 1848; City Directory for 1851-52; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Circuit Court, Criminal Docket Circuit Court, B, 295, 302.

123 Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, III, 222.

124 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-8

125 Smith et al, City Directory for 1858.

126 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 244; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

127 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 284.

128 MacCabe, City Directory for 1848; City Directory for 1849; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

129 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, III, 314; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

- 130 PLATT, Henry A.B.(M), w. Nancy(M), c. Henry A.L.(M-b. 1851), Benjamin(M-b. 1852), Charles(M-b. 1863) (1850-1870), Porter, Fifth Ward/Seventh Ward
Served as Chairman of the meeting of Negroes held in 1855 to petition the Legislature to place the question of Negro suffrage on a referendum.
- 131 POTTS, Samuel(N), w. Louisa(C), c. Charles(M-b. 1848) (1848-1859), Whitewasher, Fifth Ward
- 132 PRATT, _____
(1867), Porter
- 133 PRICE, Charles(N-d. 1860), w. Eva(C), c. Anna(M-b. 1855) Alexander(M-b. 1859)
(1851-1870), Whitewasher, Fourth Ward
- 134 PRICE, Thomas(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.

130 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 202; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 19; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, III, 207; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1867; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, November 10, 1855.

131 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 17; City Directory for 1849; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858.

132 Edwards, City Directory for 1867.

133 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 28; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

134 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86.

- 135 REED, Moses(M)
(1870), Bellboy, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- 136 REYNOLDS, George(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- 137 REYNOLDS, Henry(M)
(1870), Domestic, Fifth Ward
- 138 REYNOLDS, Michael(N)
(1857-1869), Whitewasher, Third Ward/Fourth Ward
- 139 RICHARDSON, Elijah(M), w. Eliza(M), c. John(M), Edward(M-b. 18!
(1859-1870), Laborer/Nurse, Fourth Ward
- 140 RICHARDSON, Richard(N)
(1850-1855), Barber, First Ward
- 141 RILEY, William
(1867), Janitor, Seventh Ward
Served in the U. S. Colored Troops, 1864.
- 142 ROAN, Ambrose(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.

135 Ibid.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid., III, 265; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

138 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 590; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Edwards, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869.

139 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 225; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

140 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 204; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854.

141 Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Adjutant General, Regimental Descriptive Rolls, Series 37/1/29, Sec. 4 and 5, Box No. 5

142 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86

- 143 ROBERT, Rebecca(N)
(1860), Vagrant
In the County Jail.
- 144 ROBINSON, Ella(M), Adena(M)
(1870), _____, Fourth Ward
Minors living in the house of Ezekiel Gillespie.
- 145 ROLLER, William(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- 146 ROWN, Odan(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- 147 RUE, Thomas(N)
(1850), Waiter, First Ward
- 148 SANDFORD, Thomas(N)
(1850), Waiter, First Ward
- 149 SANDFORT, John(N)
(1870), Sailor, Second Ward
- 150 SCOTT, George(M), w. Clara(M)
(1867-1870), Janitor, Fourth Ward
- 151 SCOTT, Sussanna(M), c. Mortimer(M-b. 1850)
(1850), _____, Fourth Ward
- 152 SENTFET, Thomas(N)
(1860), Sailor, Sixth Ward

143 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 87.

144 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 235.

145 Ibid., II, 384-86.

146 Ibid.

147 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 202.

148 Ibid., p. 201.

149 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, I, 462.

150 Ibid., II, 248; Thickers, City Directory for 1868;
Thickers, City Directory for 1870; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel
and Gazette, March 13, 1867, December 14, 1867.

151 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 441.

152 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 381.

- 153 SHELBY, James(N)
(1870), Porter, Fifth Ward
- 154 SHELTON, James B.(N)
(1860-1861), Waiter, Second Ward
Arrested for the murder of Dabney Carney in 1861,
acquitted, escaped the mob that lynched Marshall Clark,
- 155 SMITH, A.(N)
(1850), Cook, Third Ward
- 156 SMITH, Franklin(M), w. Emily(M)
(1860-1861), Saloonclerk, Fourth Ward
- 157 SMITH, Isaih(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- 158 SMITH, John(N), w. Martha(N)
(1849-1854 ?), Steam Engineer, First Ward
- 159 SMITH, Martin(M), w. Agnes(C), c. Albert(M-b. 1857), Martin
(M-b. 1859)
(1851-1870), Whitewasher, Fourth Ward
Arrested for inciting to riot during the Glover rescue,
acquitted. Served in the U. S. Colored Troops, 1864.
Murdered in 1874 by relatives of his white wife during an
argument.

153 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 392;
Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

154 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 318;
Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; See Chapter II for
other references on Shelton.

155 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 142.

156 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 37;
Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861.

157 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-86.

158 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 162.

159 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census,
Eighth Census, 1860, II, 122; City Directory for 1851-52;
Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory
for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al,
City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr
and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Direc-
tory for 1861; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens,
City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869;
Thickens, City Directory for 1870; Adjutant General, Regimen-
tal Descriptive Rolls, Series 37/1/29, Sec. 4 and 5, Box No.

- 160 SPENCE, Van
(1867), Laborer, Seventh Ward
- 161 SPENCER, Penice(N)
(1860), Domestic, First Ward
- 162 STAUGHTON, Thomas(N)
(1860-1861), Saloonkeeper, Fifth Ward
- 163 STEPHEN, Sarah(M)
(1850), Domestic, Fourth Ward
- 164 STEWART, Charles M.(N), w. Eliza J.(N), c. Mary J.(N)
(1860), Musician, Seventh Ward
- 165 STOGDEN, Thomas(N)
(1850), Laborer, Fourth Ward
- 166 STRATHE, Emma(N), c. William(M)
(1870), _____, Fourth Ward
- 167 STROTHERS, Albert(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.
- 168 SYMES, George R.(N-d. 1858), w. Grace(M)
(1848-1859), Barber, First Ward

59; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, May 16, 1854, April 7, 1874, July 17, 1874, July 18, 1874; Circuit Court, Criminal Docket, B, 295, D, ; History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1881), p. 331.

160 Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Adjutant General, Regimental Descriptive Rolls, Series 37/1/29, Sec. 4 and 5, Box No. 59.

161 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 25.

162 Ibid., II, 254; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861.

163 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 448.

164 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 146; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860.

165 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 448.

166 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 226.

167 Ibid., II, 384-86.

168 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 208; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Direc-

- 169 TATE, Levi(M), w. Mary(M), c. Tbellian(M-b. 1869)
(1868-1870), Laborer, Fourth Ward
Served in 13th Battery, Wisconsin Volunteer Light
Artillery.
- 170 TAYLOR, Jesse(N), w. Joanna(N)
(1850), Cook, Third Ward
- 171 TAYLOR, Samuel(M)
(1870), Waiter, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankinton House.
- 172 THOMAS, Clara(M)
(1870), Domestic, Fifth Ward
- 173 THOMAS, Susan(N)
(1870), Domestic, Fifth Ward
- 174 THOMPSON, Henry
(1854-1855), Shoemaker, Third Ward
Census Report lists two other members in the family
but does not give their names.
- 175 THOMPSON, Margaretha(N), c. John(N), Scilty(N)
(1858-1860), Washerwoman, Second Ward
Arrested for running a house of ill repute.
- 176 THORNHILL, Mary(M)
(1870), No Occupation, Fourth Ward

tory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town,
City Directory for 1859; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette,
December 8, 1848.

169 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 268;
Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and
Gazette, January 24, 1868; Adjutant General's Office, Rooster
Wisconsin Volunteers, War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865 (2 vols.;
Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Company, 1866), I, 252.
Green, Negroes in Milwaukee.

170 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 130

171 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-8

172 Ibid., III, 244.

173 Ibid., III, 312.

174 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; Van Slyck, City Direc-
tory for 1854.

175 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 326;
Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, March 23, 1858, May 22, 18

176 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 244.

177 TITBALL, Robert(N), w. Adelle(M), c. Alfred(N-b. 1842), Walter (N-b. 1844), Frances(N-b. ? - d. 1849) (1840-1859), Barber, Third Ward
First Negro married in Milwaukee. First Negroes divorced in Milwaukee. First Negro child born in Milwaukee. First Negro to die in Milwaukee. Was involved in the Caroline Quarles Affair.

178 TOLLEVER, E.
(1858), Cook

179 TORREY, Abraham(N), w. Cainegonda(C)
(1854-1869), Cooper, Sixth Ward

180 TRIMBALL, H.F.(M), w. Elizabeth(M)
(1858-1861), Whitewasher, Fourth Ward

181 UNDERWOOD, Charles(N)
(1870), Hostler, Fourth Ward

182 VALENTINE, John
(1867), Cook

177 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1846; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1847; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 148; MacCabe, City Directory for 1848; City Directory for 1849; City Directory for 1851-52; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 5, 1842, February 15, 1849; Circuit Court, Document No. 156, Equity, Adelle Titball vs. Robert Titball, in the Collections of the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. For other references to Titball see the Circuit Court Indices for 1848-1850 and Chapters I and II.

178 Smith et al, City Directory for 1858.

179 Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 381; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856; Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869.

180 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 43; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861.

181 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 209.

182 Edwards, City Directory for 1867.

- 183 VANCE, John(N)
(1859-1861), Grocer, Third Ward
- 184 VINCENT, Lewis(M), w. Augusty(M), c. Louisa(M), Minnie(M-b.
1867), Capitola(M-b. 1868), Grace(M-b. 187
(1867-1870), Sailor, Third Ward
- 185 VIRGINIA, William C.
(1857-1858), Barber, Fourth Ward
- 186 WARD, Henry(M)
(1860), Cook, Third Ward
- 187 WARE, Charles(N), w. Lucinda(N)
(1850-1852), Sailor, First Ward
- 188 WASHINGTON, Frank(M), w. Priscilla(M), c. Julie(M)
(1870), Porter, Fourth Ward
- 189 WATSON, Sully(N-d. 1862), w. Sussanna(M), c. William T.(M),
Solomon(M), Mortimer(M-b. 1850)
(1850-1870), Mason, Fourth Ward

183 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 530;
Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City
Directory for 1861; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, Aug-
ust 17, 1859.

184 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 142;
Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for
1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Dir-
ectory for 1870.

185 Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al,
City Directory for 1858.

186 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, I, 587.

187 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 171;
City Directory for 1851-52.

188 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 248;
Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

189 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 441;
Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census,
Eighth Census, 1860, II, 52; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth
Census, 1870, II, 229; City Directory for 1851-52; Van Slyck,
City Directory for 1854; Van Slyck, City Directory for 1856;
Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Dir-
ectory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son,
City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861
Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for
1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Dir-

- 190 WATSON, William T.(M), w. Julia(M), c. John(M-b. 1856), Mary Ann(M-b. 1858), Nellie G.(M-b. 1859), William(M-b. 1863), George(M-b. 1869) (1850-1870), Mason, Fourth Ward
- 191 WEAVER, Margaret(N) (1860), Domestic, Fourth Ward
- 192 WELLS, Joseph(N-d. 1853), w. Sarah J.(M) (1848-1853), Barber, First Ward
- 193 WILEY, William(N) (1870), Laborer, Fourth Ward
- 194 WILKESON, Charles(M), w. Emma J.(M) (1860), Barber, Fourth Ward
- 195 WILLIAMS, John B.(N) (1857-1858), Barber, Fourth Ward
- 196 WILSON, Alexander(N), w. Maria(N), c. Sarah(N), Charles(N) (1850), Waiter, First Ward

ectory for 1869; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, June 27, 1862.

190 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 441; Wisconsin, Census Report, 1855; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 52; U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 229; City Directory for 1851-52; Erving et al City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858; Town, City Directory for 1859; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1860; Starr and Son, City Directory for 1861; Bailey, City Directory for 1863; Edwards, City Directory for 1865; Edwards et al, City Directory for 1866; Edwards, City Directory for 1867; Thickens, City Directory for 1868; Thickens, City Directory for 1869; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

191 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 54.

192 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 195; City Directory for 1849; City Directory for 1851-52; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, April 26, 1853.

193 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 341; Thickens, City Directory for 1870.

194 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, 1860, II, 47.

195 Erving et al, City Directory for 1857; Smith et al, City Directory for 1858.

196 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 193; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel and Gazette, October 11, 1850.

197 WILSON, Charles(N), w. Joanna(M)
(1850), Waiter, First Ward

198 WILSON, James(N)
(1850), Barber
In the County Jail for Burglary.

199 WINTREY, William(N), w. Sarah(M)
(1850), No Occupation, Second Ward

200 WOODSON, George(M)
(1870), Bellboy, Fourth Ward
Worked in the Plankington House.

197 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 193.

198 Ibid., p. 253.

199 Ibid., p. 312.

200 U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, 1870, II, 384-8

APPENDIX TWO

The following three appendices list the findings of a survey of the Federal Census for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870 which was made to determine who the members of Milwaukee's Negro community were. The manuscript copies of the Seventh(1850), Eighth(1860), and Ninth(1870) Census, which are located in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison, Wisconsin, were the sources used for this survey.

The listings give the following information as it was recorded in the manuscript copy: 1) the page number of the entry in the census rolls, 2) the names of individuals(always beginning with the head of the family after which are listed, in order, wife, children, and then others living in that particular household, 3) the age of the individual at the time of the census taking, 4) sex, 5) race(here the census taker makes three distinctions with which the survey was concerned: Negro, signified on the listing by an "N", Mulatto, signified by an "M", and Caucasian, signified by a "C"), 6) the state or country of the individual's birth, 7) whether the individual was illiterate, signified by an "I", or attending school, signified by an "S", 8) the value of any real estate and personal property owned by the individual, 9) occupation. In a number of instances where a Negro was living in the home of a Caucasian, that fact is signified after the information by the phrase "in the household of...".

A careful comparison of the various listings will show a number of minor inconsistencies such as spelling of names,

differences in ages, or repetitions of listings. However, to be fully accurate it was felt necessary to reproduce the listings exactly as they were written in the manuscript copies by the census takers, inaccuracies and inconsistencies notwithstanding. Only in a couple of instances do these inconsistencies raise any problems or questions and if the reader will check the corresponding entry in the Biographical Directory he will soon be able to clear up any doubtful issues.

17.POTTS, Samuel F.	58	M	N	Pa.		400	Whitewasher
Louisa	43	F	C	Ger.			
Chrales S.	2	M	M	Wis.			
113.BOLAND, John	25	M	N	Va.	I		Cook
Elizabeth	34	F	N	Tenn	I		
LENNOX, Eliza	25	F	C	N.Y.			
130.GARDNER, John	25	M	N	Ohio			Barber
Ann	30	F	N	Va.			
Mary	7	F	N	Ohio			
TAYLOR, Jesse	22	M	N	N.Y.			Cook
Joanna	19	F	N	Mass			
142.SMITH, A.	27	M	N	Pa.	I		Cook
148.TITBALL, Robert	40	M	N	My.	I		Barber
Adelle	32	F	M	Pa.			
Alfred	8	M	N	Wis.	S		
Walter	6	M	N	Wis,	S		
EVANS, Hester	unk	F	N	My.			
HUDDERT, Susannah	17	F	C	Eng.			
149.OFFER, John H.	22	M	N	My.			Barber
161.GRAY, Jared	39	M	N	My.			Barber
162. Elizabeth	35	F	N	D.C.			
Euritla	20	F	N	Pa.			
Jane	18	F	N	Pa.			
Elizabeth	16	F	N	N.Y.			
Maria	11	F	N	N.Y.	S		
Augusta	13	F	N	N.Y.			
Jared	7	M	N	N.Y.	S		
Gordon	5	M	N	N.Y.			
BARNES, Fanny	49	F	N	N.Y.			
COOKS, Henry	24	M	N	Va.	I		Barber
BELLOWS, John	24	M	N	Mo.	I		Barber
162.SMITH, John	24	M	N	S.C.	I	150	Steam Engineer
Martha	23	F	N	Va.	I		
169.JACKSON, Daniel	36	M	N	Ky.		250	Whitewasher
Rachel	24	F	N	Can.			
Mary E.	3	F	N	N.Y.			
Frances	1	F	N	N.Y.			
Alexander	4	M	N	Can.			
171.WARE, Charles	25	M	N	Va.	I	400	Sailor
Lucinda	26	F	N	Va.	I		
in the household of Rosina Philips,							Housekeeper
188.BROWN, T. J.	30	M	N	Va.			Barber
Margaret	30	F	N	Va.	I		
OTTENBERG, Charles	15	M	C	Ger.	S		Barber
CONRAD, Louisa	17	F	N	Pa.	S		

193.WILSON, Alexander	28	M	N	Can.		Waiter
Maria	26	F	N	Pa.	I	
Sarah	2	F	N	Mich		
Charles	6/12	M	N	Mich		
WILSON, Charles	25	M	N	Can.		Waiter
Joanna	16	F	N	Ind.	I	
195.BROWN, William	29	M	N	Tenn		Cook
Ann	29	F	C	Eng.		
LENNOX, Eliza	25	F	C	N.Y.		
WELLS, Joseph	25	M	N	Ohio	I 1000	Barber
Sarah J.	21	F	M	Can.		
201.LOX, John	31	M	N	Pa.		Cook
202.SANDFORD, Thomas	23	M	N	Ky.		Waiter
HARRIS, Samuel	30	M	N	unk		Waiter
HOPKINS, David	25	M	N	unk		Waiter
BAILEY, Augustus	23	M	N	Conn		Clothes Cleaner
RUE, Thomas	30	M	N	unk		Waiter
in the household of H. D. Garrison,				Tavernkeeper		
202.PLATT, Henry	23	M	M	N.Y.	1000	Cleaner
Nancy	23	F	M	Pa.		
203.MYERS, Jonathan J.	33	M	N	Pa.	300	Grocer
204.RICHARDSON, Richard W.	22	M	N	My.		Barber
FAIR, Minerva	32	F	M	Tenn		No Occupation
208.SYMES, George R.	30	M	N	N.Y.		Barber
Geuet(?)	26	F	M	N.Y.		
249.DELONG, Caroline M.	11	F	N	Wis.		
in the household of John B. Dousman,				Physician		
253.WILSON, James	30	M	N	Ky.		Barber
DEVOE, Lemuel	23	M	M	Lou.	I	Barber
in the Milwaukee County Jail						
301.LOKS, Mary	35	F	N	N.Y.		
in the household of James B. Martin,				Landowner		
301.MINER, Pattrick	22	M	M	Lou.		Laborer
in the household of Robert E. Gillet						
312.WINTREY, William	48	M	N	Ky.		No Occupation
Sarah	35	F	M	Mich		
369.EPPS, Jesse	37	M	N	N.Y.		Grocer

411.JACKSON, Orange	36	M	N	Va.	I		Laborer
Mary	45	F	M	Va.			
Mary Ann	3	F	M	Wis.			
PRICE, Charles	40	M	N	Va.			Laborer
441.WATSON, Sully	70	M	N	Va.			Whitewasher
Sussanna	51	F	M	Va.			
William Thomas	22	M	M	Va.			Laborer
Solomon	11	M	M	Ohio	S		
SCOTT, Sussanna	23	F	M	Va.			
Mortimer	3/12	M	M	Wis.			
441.ANDERSON, William H.	33	M	M	Ohio			Barber
Ann	33	F	M	Va.			
Emily E.	13	F	M	Ohio	S		
448.JOHNSON, Robert	40	M	N	Ky.	I		Laborer
Hannah	29	F	N	Va.	I		
STEPHEN, Sarah E.	18	F	M	N.Y.			
STODDEN, Thomas	25	M	N	unk	I		Laborer
in the household of Martin McGraith, Carpenter							
455.BENJAMIN, Lyman	35	M	N	Va.			Cook
in the hotel of Philander Kane, Innkeeper							
456.CLARK, George H.	35	M	M	Pa.			Barber
Mary A.	21	F	C	Mo.			
JOHNSON, Lewis	33	M	M	N.Y.			Barber
Catherine	14	F	C	Ger.			
LACHAPPELL, Lewis	19	M	N	Mo.	S		
460.HARLING, William	36	M	N	Ohio		600	Whitewasher
Emily	20	F	M	N.Y.	I		
William	1	M	M	Wis.			
BERGET, Joseph	27	M	M	Ala.			Mason
469.LOT, Mary	10	F	N	S.C.			
in the household of Alexander Johnston, Baker							
476.BENJAMIN, Lyman	35	M	M	Conn	I	1000	No Occupation
Mary Ann	34	F	M	Va.	I		
BLOOM, Mary	18	F	C	Ger.	I		

APPENDIX THREE

19.PLATT, Henry A. B.	34	M	M	N.Y.	2200	Porter
Nancy E.	32	F	M	Pa.		
Henry A. L.	9	M	M	Wis.	S	
Benjamin M.	8	M	M	Wis.	S	
Amelia	19	F	M	N.Y.	S	
25.SPENCER, Penice	60	M	N	N.Y.	I	Servant
in the household of Levi Hubbett						
41.HOOD, Ann	35	F	M	Va.		Servant
in the boarding house of Hannah M. McPherson						
57.GILLESPIE, Ezeikel	41	M	M	Tenn	2200	Porter
58. Sophia	31	F	M	N.C.		
Mary	13	F	M	Ind.	S	
Samantha	10	F	M	Ind.	S	
Emma	7	F	M	Wis.	S	
Alice	5	F	M	Wis.		
William	2	M	M	Wis.		
ELLIS, Robert	31	M	M	Lou.	100	Barber
Sarah J.	21	F	C	Pa.		
Ida	5	F	M	Wis.		
SCHNELL, Mary	17	F	C	Ger.		Servant
64.GOINES, James	36	M	M	Va.	800	Barber
Mary	26	F	M	Va.		
Ida	6	F	M	Ohio		
Susan	17	F	M	Pa.		
DRAIKNT, Bertha	16	F	C	Prussia		Servant
86.MOSELY, John	56	M	N	Lou.		Farmer
87.ROBERT, Rebecca	19	F	N	Mass		Vagrant
in the Milwaukee County Jail						
120.DUNCAN, Richard	33	M	M	Mich		Barber
Louisa	17	F	C	Maine		
Willie	1	M	M	Wis.		
120.DAY, George W.	43	M	N	Ohio	3800	Barber
Nancy	24	F	N	Va.		
Sarah	3	F	N	Wis.		
146.STEWART, Charles M.	37	M	N	N.Y.	1100	Musician
Eliza J.	38	F	N	Ohio	1200	
Mary J.	14	F	N	Can.		
BROWN, Caroline	21	F	N	N.Y.		Seamstress
240.MYERS, Jonathan J.	40	M	N	Pa.	5050	
Elizabeth	32	F	N	Ill.		
Benjamin	14	M	N	Ind.	S	
Anna M.	12	F	N	Ill.	S	
Frederick D.	10	M	N	Wis.	S	
318.SHELTON, James B.	28	M	N	Va.	50	Waiter
CLARK, G. M.	22	M	N	Pa.		Barber

326.BADGER, Nelson	38	M	M	N.C.		300	Dentist
Elizabeth	31	F	M	Va.			
Mary Jane	11	F	M	Geo.	S		
Sarah	11	F	M	Geo.	S		
Ella	9/12	F	M	Wis.			
326.FRANKLIN, William	22	M	N	Ala.	I	25	Teamster
Henrietta	17	F	N	Minn	I		
MANS, Franklin	2	M	N	Wis.			
THOMPSON, Margaretha	36	F	N	Va.	I		
John	6	M	N	Wis.			
Scility	1	F	N	Wis.			
327.JEFFERSON, William	25	M	N	My.		50	Whitewasher
409.BOOKER, David	40	M	N	Ind.		50	Whitewasher
Scynthia	31	F	N	Ill.			
Juliane	5	F	N	Wis.			
413.LOYD, Thomas	15	M	N	N.Y.			Waiter
in the household of B. C. Fitzhugh							
511.HALE, Alice	35	F	N	Ohio			Seamstress
Julia	3	F	N	Ohio			
Alice	5/12	F	N	Mich			
515.BROWN, John T.	40	M	N	Can.		1500	Whitewasher
Sarah A.	42	F	C	Eng.			Washerwoman
WALKER, Thomas	7	M	C	Ohio			
530.VANCE, John	40	M	N	Va.		50	Grocer
587.WARD, Henry	21	M	M	My.	I		Cook
in the household of Henry McHiele							
590.REYNOLDS, Michael	36	M	N	Va.			Whitewasher
in the household of Herman Berger							
590.HARBST, William	32	M	N	Ohio			Whitewasher
in the household of William Harbst							
593.BROWN, Thomas	40	M	N	Ky.			Cook
28.PRICE, Eva	28	F	C	Ger.		150	Washerwoman
Anna	5	F	M	Wis.			
Alexander	1	M	M	Wis.			
32.CLARK, George H.	44	M	M	Pa.		500	Barber
Antoinette	32	F	M	Mo.			
Eugene L.	6/12	M	M	Wis.			
George H. jr.	19	M	M	Mo.			Journey Barber
Marshall	22	M	M	Pa.			Journey Barber
SEH, Anna	16	F	C	Switz.			

33.HARLING, Emily	39	F	M	N.Y.	I	150	Seamstress
William	11	M	M	Wis.			
Benjamin	4	M	M	Wis.			
Edward	1	M	M	Wis.			
37.BAKER, Margaret	34	F	M	N.Y.	(wife of Frederick C.)		
SMITH, Franklin	18	M	M	N.Y.	30	Saloon Clerk	
Emily	24	F	M	N.Y.		Domestic	
40.HARDISTER, Benjamin	25	M	N	Ohio		25	Whitewasher
43.TRIMBALL, H. F.	29	M	M	Ky.		2150	Whitewasher
Elizabeth	28	F	M	Ky.			Milliner
47.ANDERSON, Ann G.	42	F	M	Va.		3400	Washing
Emily E.	20	F	M	Ohio			
47.WILKESON, Charles	23	M	M	Tenn			Barber
Emma J.	20	F	M	Va.			
52.WATSON, Sully	85	M	M	Va.	I	5400	Journey Mason
Sussana	63	F	M	Va.			
Mardones M.	10	M	M	Wis.	S		
BURNS, Joseph	37	M	M	Ohio			Cook
Sussana	32	F	M	Va.			Washing
52.WATSON, William T.	30	M	M	Va.		1200	Brick Mason
Julia A.	25	F	M	N.C.			
John J. C.	4	M	M	Wis.			
Mary Ann	2	F	M	Wis.			
Nellie G.	1	F	M	Wis.			
54.WEAVER, Margaret	28	F	N	Tex.			Domestic
in the household of				Royal D. Jennings			
92.MIX, Florentine	18	F	M	Va.	I	50	Laundress
Julia A.	13	F	M	Va.			
Cynthia	9	F	M	Va.			
Fannie	4	F	M	Wis.			
122.SMITH, Martin	48	M	M	Va.	I	600	Whitewasher
Agnes	36	F	C	Ger.			
Albert	3	M	M	Wis.			
Martin	1	M	M	Wis.			
DIEFENBACH, Catherine	73	F	C	Ger.	I		
254.STAUGHTON, Thomas	32	M	N	Mich		300	Saloon Clerk
381.TORREY, Abraham	30	M	N	Tenn		500	Cooper
Cainegonda	39	F	C	Bavaria			
SENTFET, Thomas	36	M	N	Mo.		300	Sailor
485.HOLSTEIN, Joseph R.	32	M	N	Can.		25	Sailor
Henrietta	28	F	N	unk			
Emmeli J.	3	F	N	N.Y.			
Joseph	3/12	M	N	Wis.			
Richard	14	M	M	unk			

APPENDIX FOUR

421.JACKSON, Charlotte	6	F	N	unk		
in the Protestant Orphan Home						
462.SANDFORT, John	47	M	N	Ky.	900	Sailor
538.BOOKER, David	57	M	N	S.C.	I	Whitewasher
Cinthill	34	F	N	Del.		
Julie	15	F	N	Wis.		
Charles	4	M	N	Wis.		
Mary	1	F	N	Wis.		
<hr/>						
121.FRIKE, Henry	55	M	N	Va.		Cook
142.VINCENT, Lewis	30	M	N	Can.	100	Sailor
Augusity	25	F	M	Wis.		
Louisa	7	F	M	Wis.	S	
Minnie	3	F	M	Wis.		
Capitola	2	F	M	Wis.		
Grace	1/12	F	M	Wis.		
145.MANN, Lucietia	15	F	N	Miss		Domestic
in the household of John Boraur						
209.UNDERWOOD, Charles	25	M	N	Ala.		Hostler
217.BLAND, George	40	M	M	Va.	I	Servant
Nancy	35	F	M	Miss		
Elizabeth	6	F	M	Miss		
Thomas	5	M	M	Tenn		
Lanrinda	1	F	M	Conn		
DANIS, Mary	16	F	C	Conn		Servant
218.HUGHES, Matilda	37	F	N	Ky.	I	
Lydia	6	F	N	Ala.		
Mattie	3	F	N	Can.		
Charlott	3	F	N	Can.		
NARBOT, Ellen	69	F	N	Ky.	I	
DANDESD, Mary	22	F	N	Ky.	I	Seamstress
Robert	11	M	N	Miss		
Alfred	8	M	N	Tenn		
FARLESS, Dolly	46	F	N	Ky.	I	
Rochall	13	F	N	Tenn		
Mary	2	F	N	Can.		
225.RICHARDSON, Elijah	56	M	M	Ky.	I	Laborer
Eliza	54	F	M	Geo.	I	
John	23	M	M	Wis.	I	
Edward	11	M	M	Wis.	S	
JOHNSON, James	41	M	N	D.C.	I	Laborer
Mary	50	F	N	Mo.	I	
STRATHE, Emma	20	F	N	Mo.		
William	2	M	M	Mich		

229.WATSON, (unreadable)	85	F	N	Va.		
Mortier	20	M	N	Wis.		Brick Mason
229.WATSON, William	42	M	N	Va.	2000	Brick Mason
Julie	33	F	M	N.C.		
Mary	12	F	M	Wis.	S	
Nelly	10	F	M	Wis.	S	
William	9	M	M	Wis.	S	
Charles	7	M	M	Wis.	S	
George	1	M	M	Wis.		
235.DANGERFIELD, Horace	56	M	M	Ky.	I	Laborer
Fonien	23	F	M	Mo.		
Francis	3	M	M	Wis.		
Horace	4/12	M	M	Wis.		
235.GILLESPIE, Ezekiel	52	M	M	Tenn		Porter
Catherine	34	F	M	Ohio		
Emma	17	F	M	Wis.		
Alice	14	F	M	Wis.		
William	12	M	M	Wis.		
Ida	3	F	M	Wis.		
Oley	1	M	M	Wis.		
ROBINSON, Ella	13	F	M	Ohio		
Adena	11	F	M	Ohio		
244.PARKS, Antony	50	M	M	Geo.	I	Laborer
Betsey	23	F	M	Tenn	I	
THORNHILL, Mary	20	F	M	Miss		
244.LUSEBLE, Theodore	27	M	M	Miss		Laborer
Mary	22	F	M	Tenn		
248.SCOTT, George	25	M	M	Va.	I	Janitor
Clara	21	F	M	Del.	I	
248.THUSS, Alonzo	30	M	M	Conn		Laborer
Anna	28	F	C	Tenn		
248.WASHINGTON, Frank	24	M	M	Lou.		Porter
Prusilla	23	F	M	Pa.		
Julie	6/12	F	M	Ill.		
BLANEY, Rebecca	67	F	M	Del.	I	
256.ANDERSON, Ann	59	F	M	Va.	4000	Washing
ADAMS, George	28	M	M	Wis.		Porter
Emily	26	F	M	Ohio		
Anna	2	F	M	Wis.		
259.COLEMAN, Emily	42	F	M	N.Y.	I	
Benjamin	15	M	M	Wis.		
Emma	3	F	M	Wis.		

262.LUCAS, Antony	31	M	M	Va.		Barber
Mary	28	F	M	Geo.		
Frena	3	F	M	Neb.		
William	3/12	M	M	Wis.		
263.FRENCH, Allen	29	M	M	Ind.		Porter
Lucy	25	F	M	Ohio		
Coso	3	F	M	Wis.		
Florence	4/12	F	M	Wis.		
LEWIS, Mary	29	F	M	Ind.		Seamstress
268.TATE, Levi	27	M	M	Tenn	I	Laborer
Mary	18	F	M	Ohio		
Tbellian	1	M	M	Wis.		
COLLINS, Mary	18	F	C	Wis.		Servant
274.LINCOLN, Daniel	30	M	M	Va.	I	Hostler
Maria	38	F	M	Ohio		Washing
274.JOHNSON, Mary	36	F	M	Can.		
William	13	M	M	Can.		
284.GREEN, John	21	M	N	Ark.		
PERKINS, Joseph	21	M	M	Tenn		
servants in the household of Moses Hanson, Doctor						
292.BODMAN, John	29	M	M	Ohio		RR Conductor
Leonard	27	F	M	Ohio		
KENNEDY, Ellen	70	F	M	Va.	I	
295.BENJAMIN, Lyman	49	M	M	Conn	I	Cook
Mary	50	F	M	Va.		
307.BASSIL, James	25	M	M	Va.		Cigarmaker
Mary	23	F	M	Tenn		
341.WILEY, William	26	M	N	N.C.		Laborer
in the household of Samuel Hooker						
343.NEW, Ada	22	F	N	Tex.		Servant
in the household of Jacob Platoe, Lawyer						
384.HUGHES, Lucius	39	M	M	Va.		Porter
385.CLARK, Archibald	18	M	M	S.C.		Bellboy
386.BLAND, Charles	13	M	M	Va.		Bellboy
CASSINGHAN, Frank	17	M	M	Ark.		Bellboy
WOODSON, George	19	M	M	Tenn.		Bellboy
REED, Moses	20	M	M	Tenn.		Bellboy
PARKER, Samuel	17	M	M	Ky.		Porter
BROWN, Mace	30	M	M	Va.		Waiter
BLAND, Henry	31	M	M	Va.		Waiter
ROAN, Odan	25	M	M	Va.		Waiter
BEVERLY, Johnathan	28	M	M	Va.		Waiter
SMITH, Isaih	30	M	M	Va.		Waiter

TAYLOR, Samuel	21	M	M	My.		Waiter
CHANDLER, Jordan	27	M	M	Tenn		Waiter
RDAN, Ambrose	22	M	M	Miss		Waiter
FULLER, George	23	M	M	Miss		Waiter
STROTHERS, Albert	27	M	M	Miss		Waiter
MASON, Charles	30	M	M	Miss		Waiter
PRICE, Thomas	24	M	M	N.Y.		Waiter
CARRIERY, Charles	27	M	M	N.Y.		Waiter
FLETCHER, Thomas	24	M	M	N.Y.		Waiter
ROLLER, William	24	M	M	Mass		Waiter
NELLER, John	23	M	M	Pa.		Waiter
JOHNSON, Thomas	26	M	M	Can.		Waiter
REYNOLDS, George	25	M	M	Geo.		Waiter
HILL, John	27	M	M	My.		Waiter
392.SHELBY, James	33	M	N	Pa.	1400	Porter
393.BENJAMIN, Lyman	50	M	N	Conn.		Cook
207.PLATT, Henry A.	43	M	M	N.Y.	4000	Domestic
Nancy	42	F	M	Pa.		
Benjamin	17	M	M	Wis.	S	
Henry	19	M	M	Wis.		
Charles	7	M	M	Wis.	S	
222.PADGET, Ann	50	F	M	Va.		Domestic
Eliza	9	F	M	Wis.	S	
in the household of Anson Allen						
244.THOMAS, Clara	17	F	M	Wis.		Domestic
in the household of (unreadable) Hicks						
265.REYNOLDS, Henry	21	M	M	Ohio		Domestic
in the household of Charles Spangenberg						
266.NOBLER, Rufus	37	M	M	Miss		Steward
Mary	30	F	M	Ohio		
Nellie	10	F	M	N.Y.	S	
ESIPEN, Maggie	14	F	M	N.Y.		Domestic
312.THOMAS, Susan	16	F	N	Miss		Domestic
in the household of Samuel Brightman						
GOINES, Mary	35	F	M	Va.	2000	Hainworker
Ida	16	F	M	Ohio	S	
Veary	9	F	M	Wis.	S	
GRANT, Ellen	21	F	M	Pa.		Hainworker
314.CARROLL, Walter	22	M	M	Wis.		Domestic
in the household of Charles Roth						
314.PHILLIPS, Joseph	19	M	M	Wis.		Domestic
CLARK, Areha	18	M	N	Wis.		Domestic
in the hotel operated by Lyman Thompson						

APPENDIX FIVE

This listing of Negroes who served in the Union army during the Civil War is taken from two basic manuscript sources. Both of these sources are located in the Wisconsin State Archives at the State Historical Society in Madison. The first source is the Adjutant General's Office. Records of Volunteer Regiments, U. S. Colored Troops, Co. F, 29th and Unassigned Colored Troops, Muster Rolls. Series 37/4/1, Boxes 168 and 169. Archives Division. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. The other source is the Adjutant General's Office. Regimental Descriptive Rolls, 1861-1865, Unassigned and Miscellaneous. Series 37/1/29, Sections 4 and 5, Box No. 59. Archives Division. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

The Negro troops connected with Milwaukee fall into four different groupings. First are those who enlisted prior to April 1, 1864 when organized recruiting of Negroes began. Six categories of information are given for these: 1) Name of enlistee, 2) Date of enlistment, 3) City of Milwaukee ward to which enlistee was credited, 4) Place of enlistment, 5) Unit to which enlistee was assigned, 6) Rank of enlistee if other than Private. The second group consists of those who enlisted in Company F, 29th U. S. Colored Infantry between April 1 and July 8, 1864. The categories of information on these enlistees is the same as for the first group.

The next grouping of Negroes are those who joined the army after July 21, 1864 when Negroes could be used as substitutes for whites. The information given on these enlistees

consists of: 1) Name of enlistee, 2) Date of enlistment, 3) Ward to which enlistee was credited, 4) Place of enlistment, 5) Whether enlistee was a substitute or not, 6) Unit to which enlistee was assigned(when known). The final group of Negroes are those who enlisted in Milwaukee but were credited to another city or town. The catagories of information on this group are: 1) Name of enlistee, 2) Date of enlistment, 3) Whether enlistee was a substitute or not, 4) City or town to which enlistee was credited. Whenever other information about a particular individual was found, it was placed in a footnote at the bottom of the page.

ENLISTMENTS PRIOR TO APRIL 1, 1864:

Allen, Jefferson [#]	11 Feb	8th	Gallatine Co, Ill	F, 29th	
Allen, Judson	11 Feb	8th	Gallatine Co, Ill	F, 29th	
Brown, Felix	21 Dec	5th	Quincy, Illinois	F, 29th	
Carter, Jonathan	25 Mar	3rd	Madison, Wisc	F, 29th	
Dodden, Robert	1 Nov	8th	Quincy, Illinois	F, 29th	
Leeper, Rufus [*]	11 Feb	8th	Gallatine Co, Ill	F, 29th	
Morris, Garrett	15 Mar	5th	Alton, Illinois	F, 29th	
Price, Benjamin [@]	14 Mar	5th	Cottonville	F, 29th	
Taburn, Edward	11 Feb	8th	Gallatine Co, Ill	F, 29th	Cpl.

ENLISTMENTS IN Co. F, 29th USCI, APRIL 1--JULY 8, 1864:

Casey, Richard	25 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	F, 29th	
Christian, John	16 June	Mil	"	"	
Cooley, Turner D.	21 May	Mil	"	"	
Edwards, Aaron [!]	27 June	5th	"	"	
Field, Henry [%]	8 July	8th	"	"	
Fielding, Jacob	16 June	5th	"	"	
Foggey, Antney	2 June	5th	"	"	
Foggey, William	2 June	5th	"	"	
Furman, Jacob	13 June	5th	"	"	
Griffic, Levi [%]	8 July	8th	"	"	
Griffith, Matthew	2 June	5th	"	"	
Griffith, William ^{&}	2 June	5th	"	"	
Hall, William H.	16 Apr	3rd	Madison, Wisc	"	
Hammons, Martin	25 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	
Hammons, Robert	2 June	5th	"	"	
Harris, John	15 Apr	1st	Milwaukee, Wisc	"	sub.

[#]Killed in Action, 30 July 1864 at Petersburg, Va.

^{*}Died, 23 September 1864.

[@]Killed in Action, 30 July 1864 at Petersburg, Va.

[!]Deserted, 23 August 1864.

[%]Rejected for duty, not continued on the muster rolls.

[&]Died, 3 March 1865.

Henry, Jackson	16 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	F, 29th	
Hill, Henry	2 June	8th	"	"	
Houton, Jesse [#]	16 June	5th	"	"	
Houton, Perry	16 June	5th	"	"	Sgt.
Jackson, John [*]	16 May	8th	Chicago, Illinois	"	
Johnson, Allen	2 June	8th	Quincy, Illinois	"	
Johnson, John [@]	16 May	8th	"	"	
Johnson, Richard E. [!]	14 May	8th	"	"	Cpl.
Joy, Charles	8 July	5th	Unknown	"	
Lee, Charles [%]	24 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	
Lucas, Daniel	14 May	8th	"	"	
Lyons, Martin ^{&}	9 June	8th	"	"	
Mackay, Henry ⁺	16 June	5th	"	"	
Mackay, Jackson ^{##}	2 June	5th	Louisiana	"	
Mackay, Perry ^{**}	16 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	
McCann, Anderson ^{@@}	2 June	8th	"	"	
Modley, Henry ^{!!}	16 June	5th	"	"	
Modley, John	16 June	5th	"	"	
Monroe, Joseph	14 June	8th	"	"	
Moore, David	16 June	8th	"	"	
Moore, Thomas	14 June	5th	"	"	

[#] Died, 3 October 1864.

^{*} Killed in Action, 30 July 1864 at Petersburg, Va.

[@] Deserted, 7 October 1864.

[!] Deserted, 3 August 1864.

[%] Died, 28 July 1864.

[&] Died, 8 September 1864.

⁺ Died, 24 December 1864.

^{##} Died of Wounds, 14 August 1864.

^{**} Died, 25 September 1865.

^{@@} Died, 16 December 1864.

^{!!} Died, 4 February 1865.

Moorehead, York [#]	9 June	8th	Quincy, Illinois	F, 29th	
Norton, John [*]	3 June	5th	Louisiana	"	
Oden, Frank [@]	16 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	
Orr, George M.	1 June	5th	Louisiana	"	
Orr, James E. [!]	1 June	5th	Louisiana	"	
Orr, Lewis	21 May	5th	Louisiana	"	
Paton, Louis	9 Apr	3rd	Madison, Wisc	"	Cpl.
Reed, William	7 Apr	3rd	Madison, Wisc	"	
Rice, Julius S. [%]	25 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	Cpl.
Roberts, George	8 Apr	3rd	Madison, Wisc	"	
Robinson, Wesley	14 June	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	
Sink, Henry	16 Apr	3rd	Madison, Wisc	"	
Smith, Henry	7 July	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	Sgt.
Smith, Issac	8 Apr	3rd	Madison, Wisc	"	
Smith, Paten ^{&}	2 June	5th	Louisiana	"	
Smith, Phillip	16 May	5th	Quincy, Illinois	"	Sgt.
South, Charles	28 June	3rd	"	"	
South, Collins	16 June	5th	"	"	Cpl.
Stark, Peter R. [@]	2 June	8th	"	"	Sgt.
Starrett, Thomas	16 June	8th	"	"	Cpl.
Strander, Sanford [@]	16 June	5th	"	"	
Sturgeon, Turner	24 May	3rd	Louisiana	"	
Summers, Joseph	2 June	5th	Louisiana	"	
Tinsley, Charles [@]	21 June	3rd	Quincy, Illinois	"	
Turner, Winston	25 June	3rd	"	"	
Walker, Adam	31 May	8th	"	"	
Watson, Madison	14 May	3rd	"	"	
Williams, Henry ⁺	2 June	8th	"	"	

[#] Died, 20 September 1864.

[@] Killed in Action, 30 July 1864 at Petersburg, Va.

[!] Deserted, 14 July 1864.

[%] Deserted, 18 January 1865.

[&] Died, 12 August 1865.

⁺ Died, 11 August 1864.

^{*} Died, 1 September 1865.

Wilson, Albert G.	11 June	8th	Quincy, Illinois	F, 29th	
Witherspoon, A. [#]	21 June	8th	"	"	Musc.

ENLISTMENTS AFTER JULY 9, 1864:

Barken, James	30 July 64	7th	Milwaukee	subst	
Belfour, William	12 Sept 64	7th	"	"	
Burnett, Wallace	12 Oct 64	6th	"	"	
Campbell, William	15 Sept 64	2nd	"	"	
Chapman, Charles	1 Oct 64	4th	"	"	F, 49th
Dangerfield, Horace	21 Sept 64	4th	"	Draft	
Davis, Nelson	23 Aug 64	4th	"	subst	F, 29th
Fitzpatrick, Andrew	26 Aug 64	3rd	"	"	
Graham, Robert	26 Aug 64	2nd	"	"	
Hart, George	29 July 64	7th	"	"	F, 29th
Hays, John	26 Aug 64	6th	"	"	
Holster, George	21 Dec 64	1st	"	"	
Hunt, Henry	12 Sept 64	7th	"	"	
Jantry, Edward	15 Aug 64	1st	"	"	
Jenkins, Jared C.	25 Jan 65	3rd	"	"	
Johnson, Henry L.	8 Aug 64	7th	"	"	F, 29th
Kane, Dick	26 Aug 64	1st	"	"	
Lackay, Samuel	4 Jan 65	8th	"	"	
Malone, James	8 Aug 64	7th	"	"	F, 29th
Marks, Albert	26 Aug 64	5th	"	"	F, 29th
Monroe, Alfred	29 Aug 64	4th	"	"	
Newton, Issac	21 Sept 64	3rd	"	"	
Paine, Hill	26 Aug 64	1st	"	"	
Parson, Peter	20 Sept 64	2nd	"	"	
Piper, Charles	2 Sept 64	7th	"	"	
Riley, William	27 Dec 64	1st	"	"	
Robnett, John	10 Sept 64	2nd	"	"	
Ross, Samuel	23 Sept 64	4th	"	"	
Shaw, Allen	19 Jan 65	4th	"	"	
Smith, Martin	8 Oct 64	2nd	"	"	F, 49th
Spence, Van	24 Feb 65	2nd	"	"	

[#]Died, 25 April 1865.

Thomas, John	7 Feb 65	1st	Milwaukee	subst	
Turner, William	12 Sept 64	2nd	"	"	
Warner, Joseph	9 Sept 64	7th	"	"	
Washington, George	30 Sept 64	1st	"	"	F, 29th
Washington, George	6 Jan 65	2nd	"	"	
Wilkinson, Godfrey	26 Aug 64	5th	"	"	
Williams, Larmer	12 Sept 64	4th	"	"	

MILWAUKEE ENLISTEES CREDITED TO OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS:

Adams, Daniel B.	29 Sept 64	subst	Delafield
Allen, John	13 Feb 65	"	Brookfield
Anderson, Elisha	14 Sept 64	"	Racine, Ward 3
Berden, Henry	13 Feb 65		Racine, Ward 2
Bond, William	25 Oct 64	subst	Caledonia
Bowman, John	11 Jan 65	"	Granville
Brown, James	9 Jan 65	"	Dover
Buel, Edmund	27 Sept 64	"	Waukesha
Cardwell, Frank	19 Sept 64		Racine, Ward 3
Dodge, Anton	9 Jan 65		Kenosha, Ward 1
Douglas, John	30 Jan 65	subst	Wheatland
Ellmore, Joseph	28 Feb 65	"	Pewaukee
Freeman, Harrison	14 Sept 64	"	Racine, Ward 3
Green, James	29 Oct 64	" "	Oak Creek
Harris, Henry	29 Aug 64	"	Somers
Holster, Joseph	19 Oct 64	"	Town of Lake
Hunt, Charles	6 Sept 64		Sharon
Jackson, William	20 Sept 64	subst	Rochester
Johnson, Henry	12 Oct 64	"	Summit
Jones, Wing	21 Oct 64	"	Richmond
Kneley, William	14 Feb 65	"	Richmond
Lay, James	19 Sept 64	"	Racine, Ward 3
Lewis, Alexander	17 Sept 64	"	Racine, Ward 3
Moore, Aaron	26 Aug 64	"	Whitewater
Newman, Hazel	3 Sept 64		Racine, Ward 1
Pendar, Zach	23 Feb 65	subst	Randell
Ponder, Jack	23 Feb 65	"	Holland

Randolph, Henry	2 Feb 65		Sharon
Rankin, Edward	21 Sept 64		Bloomfield
Rice, William	26 Jan 65		Pleasant Prairie
Robinson, John	28 Oct 64	subst	Beetown
Searls, James	1 Sept 64		Merton
Smith, Andrew	20 Sept 64		Bloomfield
Tillman, Abe	24 Aug 64		Sharon
Washington, George	14 Sept 64		Racine, Ward 3
Wayne, Monroe	8 Mar 65	subst	Muskego
Williams, Nathan	18 Nov 64	"	Pewaukee
Woods, Henry	9 Mar 65		Wauwatosa
Wright, Coffie	2 Sept 64	subst	Town of Milwaukee
Yates, William	22 Dec 64	"	Town of Lake

APPENDIX SIX

The following two letters were written in 1880 by Caroline Quarles to Mr. Lyman Goodnow, who had taken her from Waukesha to Canada in 1842. They were included by Mr. Goodnow at the end of his narrative about the Quarles rescue which was published in the 1881 History of Milwaukee. The first letter has been doctored by Mr. Goodnow, while the other is an exact copy of the one Caroline wrote.

Sandwich, April 18, 1880

Dearest Friend: Pen and ink can hardly express my joy when I heard from you once more. I am living and have to work very hard; but I have never forgotten you nor your kindness. I am still in Sandwich--the same place where you left me. Just as soon as the postmaster read the name to me--your name--my heart filled with joy and gladness, and I should like to see you once before I die, to return thanks for your kindness towards me. I would like for you to send me one of the books you were speaking about.

Dearest friend, you don't know how rejoiced I feel since I heard from you. Answer this as soon as you get it, and let me know how you are, and your address.

Direct your letter to Caroline Watkins, Sandwich, Ontario.

CAROLINE WATKINS

Dear Friend-- i received you letter and was glad you was well and doing well it leaves me in not very good health. I did marry a man on Col. princess farm by the name of Watkins but he was considerable elder than i was and had children by his first wife as old as i was but she was sold from her children in slavery and before she got to the end of her journey she killed herself. I learned to read and write in Canada went to school the first year i came here to Askins i was here nearly three years before i was married. My husbands occupation is a cook i got a pretty good living but by working pretty hard for it, but i am not very happy. I heard from St. Louis several times since i came by my cousin who served her time out and got free and came here my old Mistress is dead and my Master is married again that is Charles R Hall i knew about me having property left me before i came away perhaps if a had stayed until i became of age i could have got it and perhaps not, there was but two of us, i had one sister but she died before i came away, i have forgotten how long i was going from Alton to Milwaukee by stage. Mr. Potts was the minister that my master and his wife wnet to and they were Presbyterians my hus-

was once a slave born in richmond virginia belonged to a man by the name of William watkins after he died he fell heir to a widow in kentucky by the name of Nancy Cleveland and remained there until he came to Canada. I have six children three boys and three girls three married and three single the youngest is 16 a boy my oldest boy is a farmer and my other boy in cincinnati my youngest girl is 18 is at home and i am trying to educate her for a school teacher only she has quite an impediment in her speech they have all very good educations-- Mr. Askill is dead he moved away from here the second year after i came here he was not the man as professed to be he had some very dark traits about him my grandfather and father both was born in richmond virginia then emigrated to St. Louis my father was name Robert Rrior Quarlis i was born in St. Louis on the corner of pine and sixth streets. I got the box out of my masters store soon and hid it in a cherry hedge i left on the 4th of July my mistress folks treated me well enough for a slave. Yes i have been whipped yes i had to do the house work for i was kept for that purpose. I told my grandmother that i was going to canada but i was so young that she did not pay any attention to me nor any the rest of them.

I have answered all the questions you asked me until the next time good bye.

CAROLINE WATKINS

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