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Guerrilla Inscription: Transatlantic Abolition and the 1851 Census.

Abstract

This article reimagines the transatlantic climate of abolition by focus on a specific incident. Wilson Armistead, a Yorkshire Quaker merchant, abolitionist, and prolific author, hosted the African American fugitives Ellen and William Craft in his house in Leeds in 1851, when they were on a lecture tour of the UK. In a typically quiet (yet bold) abolitionist act of what I call guerrilla inscription, he ensured that they were recorded in the UK Census as fugitives. As the Crafts were well-known figures who received sympathetic attention, this unprecedented action was widely covered in the press. Yet subsequently it passed into obscurity. My paper explores this forgotten story to ask how state documents can be subverted for means other than which they are intended, and to reflect on what happens when abolitionists and academics meet in the archive.

Keywords Abolition; census; Wilson Armistead; Ellen and William Craft; Quakers.

In the spring of 1851, a quiet Yorkshireman named Wilson Armistead transformed the United Kingdom census into an abolitionist document. Though his action attracted considerable contemporary media attention, it seems as if it was then quickly forgotten. This article is the first extended discussion in over 160 years. Understanding its significance demands locating it within a much larger, and at first sight more significant, set of contexts. However through the process of attending to how restore Armistead and his activism to histories of transatlantic abolition and to their impact on wider social justice activism what becomes clear is how it destabilises assumptions about relative importance. The relation of centre to margins needs to be rethought. With this in mind, I consider what is at stake in

bringing such a remarkable achievement back into the historical record and what its implications are for the importance of microhistory in disrupting hegemonies. Telling this story allows for a reflection on how historical actors and acts often become hidden over time: it reminds us of how many remarkable stories of resistance and rebellion are still waiting to be uncovered. The account of how a quiet Yorkshireman made a routine piece of UK data collection into an opportunity for making a protest against US slavery is at heart a tale of how activists and academics meet in the archive.

Armistead's use of a piece of United Kingdom bureaucracy to protest against a United States law provides a vivid example of the transatlantic interconnectedness of abolitionist activism. Unlike the extraordinary and rowdy Quaker abolitionist Benjamin Ley whose noisy performances ("guerrilla Theater" [1] as Marcus Rediker terms them) were staged on both sides of the Atlantic about 100 years before Armistead's action, Armistead chose to perform a less theatrical, though still highly dramatic, act of protest. He added the words "Fugitive Slave" to the UK census to describe the status of Ellen and William Craft, who were staying in his family home. Despite the fact that the self-emancipated couple were in England, they remained unfree. The words draw attention to the precariousness of their situation, while also suggesting the way Armistead's moral outrage was channelled into political protest. Like Ley, Armistead was a highly principled Quaker. Unlike him he was personally reserved: the word most commonly used for him by his peers was "unassuming". His quiet activism did not have the carnivalesque quality of Ley's stunts: it was pursued through print culture rather than the live performativity Ley noisily favoured. However the powerful authority of the unexpected presence of these words still compels attention, showing the subversive and resistant possibility of ink markings on pages. This article asks why and how Armistead wrote what I call guerrilla inscription. The term suggests markings ranging from illicit textual additions, to emendations

and marginalia that critique, subvert or otherwise comment on the contents or significance of the state documents on which they appear. They are written with a deliberate intent rather being the product of a kind of reverie. They are designed to be visible and to create surprise and provoke reaction. Thus they are distinct from other kinds of marginalia including the doodles that can be found in the personal collections of private readers.[2] Guerrilla inscription demands to be read, to have its message heard, to make a lasting protest.

Armistead participated in two, sometimes overlapping, transatlantic networks. The first consisted of religious nonconformists in Yorkshire and Pennsylvania, especially the Society of Friends. As has been extensively documented, nonconformists and religious dissenters played a crucial role in anti-slavery and abolitionist activism; the provision of educational facilities and training; scientific discovery; and medical innovations. Many had commercial, familial or other connections that linked specific geographical sites. The second consisted of abolitionist activists. Armistead bridged the two networks and was able to do this, in part, through library membership. A key site in which they came together locally was the Leeds Library. His intellectual world was bolstered by his membership of this library, a private subscription institution which had been founded in 1768 and was well-used by the local bourgeoisie. The Leeds Library was a meeting place, an intellectual and social resource, and a place of refuge. It was especially welcome to him because men like Armistead were in a frustratingly paradoxical situation. They were thwarted in their commitment to conventional forms of public service due to their religious convictions. In a context in which public office was not something Armistead could easily attain, library membership offered access to like-minded people offering local connectedness with other professionals.

Libraries have often been critical to the activities of engaged citizens: they are spaces where the local encounters the global. They provide sanctuaries for those who face persecution and show how the written word and print culture can be used to build alternative communities. This is exemplified by the significance of the People's Library of Occupy Wall Street, though many other examples might be cited. [3] Scholars such as Thomas Augst, Kenneth Carpenter and Elizabeth McHenry have argued that libraries and related sites in which reading happens are both places for reflection and quiet and sites of personal, even revolutionary, transformation for readers. [4] Ellen Gruber Garvey has described the importance of anti-slavery reading rooms to the black community in New York and Rochester in the 1830s and 1840s. The African American abolitionist printer and journalist David Ruggles opened one such establishment to counter the segregation of lyceums and other reading rooms. [5] I propose that to signify both sides of cultural, political and social work of the library we think about the library as an unquiet rather than quiet location. By this I mean to draw attention to the fact that libraries were key sites of debate, learning, and network-building in the mid nineteenth century. In discussion groups, correspondence, and conversation stemming from library membership, religious dissenters promoted egalitarianism and peaceful co-operation both locally, and across national boundaries. Alliances forged out of progressive religious and political commitments to dissent enabled a set of expansive connections across the Atlantic world. These emerged from local proximities, and combined an optimistic commitment to social justice with transatlantic connectedness. Unquiet libraries together with the reading that went on in them, can produce powerful and transformative actions. Furthermore, libraries are memory-keepers of stories only they can tell. They are key resources for scholars as they pursue elusive leads and try to put together resistant stories.

Armistead understood that print culture was a crucial vehicle for political change, and while other abolitionists gave speeches and lectures, he was happy to retreat to his study and to the writing and behind-the-scenes activism at which he excelled. He is one of nineteenth-century abolition's introverted and unsung protagonists and his 1851 intervention one of its remarkable and forgotten moments. Yet he is undoubtedly a figure of immense significance to the philanthropic endeavours of the mid-century period, especially abolition. Now though, nearly 150 years after his death, his contribution remains underestimated, his writing is neglected, and his name is probably unfamiliar to most except a handful of scholars. He only figures quite slightly in histories of abolition, chiefly those focused on Britain, having largely, though not completely, passed from history. Richard Huzzey notes the importance of his leadership in Yorkshire, arguing that there "remains great scope for research on the local impact of anti-slavery societies in provincial towns and cities." [6] Even this welcome and necessary recognition suggests a limited sphere of influence. However, his significance was not just local – or even national – but transatlantic. This is unsurprising, since he had extensive professional, social and religious networks through business as well as the Society of Friends. Restoring him to the history of non-metropolitan abolitionist activism and then to the transatlantic struggle enables a recalibration of his personal impact. It adds to an understanding of the complexity of nonconformist networks within histories of anti-slavery protest. By focusing on his 1851 intervention it becomes possible to reimagine the contours and climate of mid-century abolition, and to reflect upon the kinds of work that can still take place by mining the archive. It shows the way that British archives can contribute to rethinking U.S. slavery and transatlantic abolition, revealing questions of visibility and invisibility and reminding us of how much can still be found. This story draws attention to an under-researched abolitionist and in the process involves a reclamation of the ordinary as Lois Brown puts it. Though her particular focus is on how scholars write the lives of African Americans, I argue that it is also necessary for

understanding the impact of figures like Armistead. I concur with Brown when she urges us to use multiple sources when writing black historiography, "published materials" and "public materials". The latter include "newspapers, city directories, maps, shops and stock inventories, census reports, wills, and legal documents." [7] Using such sources has been invaluable to shape the process of researching Armistead and the Crafts. Armistead's history sheds new light on the lives of the Crafts too: thus black and white historiography come together fruitfully. In addition, this work benefits from what Jean Pfaelzer terms "hanging out – talking, sharing resources, telling and retelling this history". [8] Additional details, sources and possibilities have emerged through discussion with archivists, scholars and local historians. Furthermore, my research is energised by the prompt made (in a slightly different context) by Eric Gardner who argues that "we must all rededicate ourselves to learning about and responsibly sharing the contexts surrounding the texts we study." [9]

Among the contexts for Armistead's action are the series of fairs and peace congresses in the period around 1851 and which brought together abolitionists and peace activists, many of whom were Quakers. These include the World's Anti-Slavery Fair in London which took place in June 1840 as well as the peace congresses of Brussels (1848), Paris (1849), Frankfurt (1851) and London (1851). These highly organised transnational events brought together sympathisers and activists in the belief that they could effective societal change through individual and collective acts. David Nicholls argued that they were "dominated by the British radical bourgeoisie", [10] a group to which Wilson Armistead undoubtedly belonged. His unauthorised intervention in the census should be seen as a part of this climate of optimism and vision and as an early example of other important dissenting acts, including the suffragette activism centring on the 1911 UK census. Many women were unwilling to participate in the census until they were accorded full rights as citizens. While so-called "census evaders" tried

to avoid representation altogether by various strategies including staying away from their homes on census night, "census resisters" subverted the official document by adding written comments such as "VOTES FOR WOMEN" on the household schedules. [11] These protests were inspired both by strong feeling of antipathy towards the census as well as by an embracing of the traditions of peaceful practices such as tax resistance, pioneered by Nonconformists and religious dissenters. The idea of resisting unjust laws had been given new impetus by the political philosophy of Mohandas Gandhi, who met with Charlotte Despard of the Women's Freedom League in 1909. [12] Non-state actors understood that they could make a profound intervention in the activities of the state, even when the state itself did not fully recognise them.

Armistead's action was response to a particular crisis in the history of abolition, the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law by the US Congress on 18 September 1850. Very soon after the law was passed, a number of African Americans who had escaped from slavery made their way across the Atlantic, where they hoped they would be safe from their former masters. Two of them, Ellen and William Craft, were guests in Armistead's house in Leeds on 30 March. Along with William Wells Brown they were traveling in the United Kingdom giving well-attended abolitionist lectures. It was the presence of these two celebrated American fugitives that prompted Armistead's action. Armistead was a relatively well to do Leeds-based Quaker merchant and householder. On 30 March 1851, the night of the census, he was faced with a particular set of obligations. As nominal head of the family, it was his responsibility to complete the household schedule (a slip of paper) with a list of all those residing with him that night. The following day this schedule was to be collected by the local enumerator so that the information it contained could be transferred to the headed columns of the census book. Specific information had to be collected. First were details of the residence itself and all those staying there that night. Once these were recorded, additional information was collected:

names; relation to the "Head of Family"; marital status; age; "Rank, Profession, or Occupation"; place of birth, and "Whether Blind, or Deaf-and-Dumb". As a law-abiding man, Armistead was presumably committed to upholding his civic duty and filling out the schedule accurately and appropriately. Yet he was also committed abolitionist who was actively involved in protests against the Fugitive Slave Law. He seized the opportunity to fulfil a deeply-held moral obligation and use the census to contribute to ongoing protests. The evidence for this can be found in the census book itself, since the household schedules from that year have not survived. From it we learn that Wilson Armistead, aged thirty one, is the head of the household. In the column headed "Rank, Profession, or Occupation" he is described as a "Seed Crusher and Oil Merchant". The next entry records the presence of his thirty two year old wife, Mary. After this the couple's three children Joseph, Sarah and Arthur are recorded. Ending the list of family members is Sarah Bragg, the sixty year old widowed mother of Mary Armistead. Between the family members and the list of domestic labourers, Mary Ann Elland, Jane Elland and Caroline Barraclough, are the names Ellen and William Craft. They are described as a visiting married couple, both born in the United States and aged, respectively twenty four and twenty six years. In the column for "Rank, Profession, or Occupation", William is described as a Cabinet Maker while Ellen is simply designated the 'Wife of Wm. Craft'. But, in an extraordinary unasked for additional detail -- unique to the entire census -- each is also described as a "Fugitive Slave". (See figure 1.) The two powerful words are underlined and stand out clearly from the other routine and requested information surrounding them.

[Figure 1 here]

How did these two words get there? The obvious inference is that either they were first written on the schedule and were subsequently copied by the enumerator, or that the enumerator

added them to the census book independently at a later point. The overwhelming evidence, as I will show below, is that Armistead took personal responsibility for adapting the schedule to include these words. It is also extremely likely that he did this with the full support of Ellen and William Craft as well as Mary Armistead and Sarah Bragg. However since they had to be transcribed from the schedule to the census book, this leaves a question about the political sympathies of the enumerator. Was he also an abolitionist? As I will argue below, the local enumerator was neither sympathetic to Quakers nor to abolition. Given this, the question of why he copied the words "Fugitive Slave" from the schedule to the census book needs to be answered.

Armistead's guerrilla inscription was specifically intended to draw attention to the way the politics of abolition had been geographically reshaped by the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. An important consequence was that the Mason Dixon line was effectively no longer a boundary separating free from slave states. Thus the Atlantic became the new frontier for fugitives like the Crafts who sought the freedom they were denied in the United States. Armistead's addition to the census yoked the US to the UK in the pages of a piece of state bureaucracy with no obvious or official link to the politics of abolition. He used the UK census to raise issues of personhood and liberty across national boundaries and to create a subversive form of textual witnessing.

The 1851 census entry is remarkable in more than one way, and a number of key details need further explanation. First, is the fact that two fugitive slaves from Georgia came to be staying in Leeds. Second, is Armistead's recognition that the census could be used for political protests. Third, is the question of how this extraneous - even incendiary - information made its way from the household schedule, through the intervention of the enumerator and finally

into the complete census book. This required it to take a journey through the hands of a series of individuals tasked with checking and confirming each census entry. It is a striking anomaly in the UK records: though other fugitive slaves were also recorded in the 1851 census, none of them are described using the language of fugitivity. For instance, William Wells Brown, who was lecturing with the Crafts, was lodging at a boarding house in the centre of Leeds. He is described simply as a "lodger". [13] Meanwhile, Henry "Box" Brown was staying on the other side of the Pennines in Burnley, Lancashire, along with James C.A. Smith, the free black man who had helped him escape. By the time of the census, Brown and Smith had successfully exhibited the panorama show, "Henry Box Brown's Mirror of Slavery" on both sides of the Atlantic, in Boston and Manchester. Brown, like Smith, is listed in the census as a "lodger", but each is also described as an "Anti Slavery Advocate" by occupation. [14]

Sympathetic abolitionists often invited lecturers to stay with them in their own homes, and it is likely that Armistead offered the Crafts hospitality in this spirit, building on the fact that he had already met them in Boston the previous year. Understanding how the three encountered each other in Boston, however, requires a brief account of their respective histories. The Crafts have been better served by scholars than Armistead, and key details of their lives are also given in their own account, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (1860). [15] Ellen Craft was the enslaved half-sister of Eliza Smith by the pair's father, Major James Smith, and Maria, one of his slaves. When Eliza Smith married Robert Collins of Georgia, in 1837, her mother gave her daughter the eleven year old Ellen as a wedding present. She was, as William Craft put it, angered "at finding her [Ellen] frequently mistaken for a child of the family" (*Running*, 4) and saw an opportunity to remove the reminder of her husband's infidelity from her sight. The sisters both moved to Macon, where Eliza married Collins, and Ellen met William Craft. He had also been

born into slavery in Georgia. William's family had been separated early in his life. His master had sold his parents to different slaveholders, and had continued to split up the family little by little. He sold William's brother, and then mortgaged both William and his sister to obtain money for cotton speculation. When he could not repay the bank, he then sold them both. The shared histories of being subjected to the whims of their white owners had a lasting impact on the couple. Both the Crafts were skilled workers. This meant that the conditions in which they lived were not as extreme as some others of those held in slavery. In their lectures they emphasised the fact that despite this relative privilege, they wanted, and had the right to want, freedom. Without this, they feared that they might be separated at any moment. They decided upon an audacious and risky and plan for self-emancipation involving a justly celebrated strategy of disguise. Ellen, who was fair-skinned, dressed herself as a white male slave-holder, wearing a sling and poultice on her right arm as if it was injured, to hide the fact that she could not write. William travelled with her as her slave. After successfully escaping from Georgia, in December 1848, they were initially sheltered by a Quaker family near Philadelphia. There they met the abolitionist and former slave Wells Brown whose paths would cross with theirs repeatedly over the next few years. Three weeks after arriving in Philadelphia, they travelled to Boston, where they stayed in the house of Lewis Hayden, a former slave and by this time a prominent Bostonian and key figure in the Underground Railroad. Both Crafts, like Wells Brown who was also based in Boston, were actively involved with abolition just as they would be when they moved to England. The drama of their escape made for a narrative that translated well onto the lecture circuit: they formed a highly effective team. In January 1849 all three, along with Henry "Box" Brown, addressed the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to tell their stories. Meanwhile British abolitionists were making sure that news of their remarkable escape was being circulated in the press. On 10 March 1849, for instance the *Newcastle Guardian* published a letter from Wells Brown, who was himself described by the paper as *"a fugitive*

slave". It called their escape "one of the most wonderful accounts of the escape of fugitives from American slavery, which has ever come under our notice." [16] By the time Armistead arrived in Boston in the summer of 1850, the Crafts were well-known as part of Boston's abolitionist community. Since Armistead was eager to be introduced to American abolitionists, a meeting between the three was pretty much assured.

His background could hardly have been less like that of the two fugitives, and his journey to Boston was certainly unlike theirs. He was born in Leeds, West Yorkshire, on 30 August 1819. He spent his early life in Holbeck, South Leeds, where the city's first Quaker meeting house had been built in Water Lane in 1699, and where many Quakers still lived. [17] His family's flax and mustard business was also based there, in Water Hall By the late 1840s he was occupied by running the business, raising his young family and, increasingly, by his involvement with abolition. [18] These often overlapped. He used Water Hall as a distribution centre for the series of anti-slavery tracts he produced in Leeds and had printed in London in the early 1850s. A few years earlier he published his monumental work *A Tribute to the Negro* (1848), in which he argued that people of African origin were equal to whites. Frederick Douglass, who had lectured in Leeds in late 1846 and early 1847, reviewed this in the *North Star*. The review was republished in *The Liberator* on 20 April 1849, taking his comments to a wider audience. His response was mixed: he writes that he was "deeply gratified that the work was so ably and generously performed by Mr. Armistead, yet grieved and mortified that such a work seemed needful to be done." [19] However, he urged readers to buy the book. This was an important mark of esteem, making US abolitionists familiar with his work. By the time Armistead left Liverpool for the United States on 29 June 1850 he had established a reputation on both sides of the Atlantic as a thoughtful and sympathetic ally. He sailed on the Hibernia, whose sister ship the Cambria had carried Douglass across the Atlantic five years earlier.

The motivation behind his visit to the United States is not clear. It seems probable that he had business interests to pursue, family to visit, and a commitment to abolition that could be strengthened by face to face meetings with US-based abolitionists. He described his trip in some detail in a series of well-written and unsigned articles, serialised in *The British Friend* from November 1850 to December 1852. He opened his account in a fairly conventional epistolary manner:

> DEAR FRIENDS,--
> When you kindly forwarded me a letter of introduction to William Lloyd Garrison, previous to my departure to the United States of America, you expressed a wish to have an occasional line from me during my absence in the far West. I was unable to comply with this request; but now, on my return home, I have pleasure in transmitting a brief outline of some of the most interesting incidents of my journey. I fear, however, from a lack of descriptive powers, that my narrative will neither be very instructive, nor comprise much that will prove new or interesting. [20]

His narrative was one of the many such travelogues circulating in the period, including Charles Dickens' well-known *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842). [21] He visited some of the sites Dickens had gone to, giving his own responses to them. Yet Dickens' work was not the sole model for Armistead's account. He specifically mentions Joseph Sturge's pithily titled *A Visit to the United States in 1841* within his writing, and it is obviously another significant resource for his own text. While in the United States Armistead certainly met a number of key abolitionists, including William Lloyd Garrison. News of his visit was circulated within Quaker abolitionist circles. [22] Through these networks of conviviality and activism, the Crafts and Wilson Armistead encountered each other in a city far away from their usual places of residence.

By the summer of 1850, then, Armistead and the Crafts were all in Boston, moving in the same abolitionist circles and aware of each other's existences. A different kind of writer

might have capitalised more on the fame of the Crafts, who were rapidly gaining celebrity status, to boost his own profile. But not Armistead. He was sincerely committed to abolition, and this was more significant to him than demonstrating his connection to figures who were already in the public domain, though he certainly mentioned the fact that they met. But the multiple meetings between Armistead and the Crafts in Boston were not foregrounded by him. He only revealed them in an extract published in March 1852. Readers would, as he reminded them, have known the story of the Crafts from earlier issues of the journal. He writes,

> During my stay in Boston, I called several times on the notoriously interesting fugitives from slavery, William and Ellen Craft, who were then located there for safety….little did we then think how soon the city of the Pilgrim fathers would yield them no longer security that they would be compelled to flee from the land of their nativity to escape the grasp of the manstealer, and to seek protection in the dominions of Queen Victoria. [23]

At the time of the appearance of this instalment, the Crafts had been in England for some time and were well known in the British press, hence his striking phrase "notoriously interesting fugitives from slavery". But in his descriptions of his time in Boston, published one year earlier in April 1851, Armistead's focus is instead on his favourable impression of the city, his choice of a hotel in a "retired and quiet location", [24] and his contact with men for whom he had letters of introduction: William Lloyd Garrison, John Tilson and Robert Morris. Armistead called first on Garrison, who was away. Tilson was busy (though he arranged to meet him the following day) and so Armistead went instead to meet with Morris. For the serious Quaker, this encounter with the African American lawyer was particularly memorable. Morris represented exactly those qualities that Armistead admired. He had been called to the Massachusetts Bar in 1847. He was intellectually able, hard-working, and committed to abolition. In addition, his professional achievements and ability were evidence of the equality of the races, the basis of *A Tribute to the Negro*. Armistead was always looking out for evidence he could draw on to make the case for equal treatment of blacks and whites and would

go on to mention Morris once more in *God's Image in Ebony* (1854). He writes that "Being deeply interested in the progress of the Negro race, in a moral and intellectual point of view, I shall frequently have to advert to the many proofs of advancement amongst them that came under my observation; ample opportunities offered for ascertaining this, and witnessing a decided onward movement." [25] He admiringly mentions three other African American men he met in Boston: Macon Bolling Allen, a lawyer and a Massachusetts Justice of the Peace; George Boyer Vashon, the first practising African American lawyer in the State of New York; and Samuel Ringgold Ward the newspaper editor, orator and Congregational Minister.

Morris was involved campaigning for social justice and racial equality, work which would have a profound legacy. Early in his career, he and Charles Sumner were appointed by an African American man, Benjamin Roberts, in an important case known as *Roberts v. the City of Boston.* Roberts' five year old daughter Sarah was refused entry to a whites-only school close to her home. Though the case was unsuccessful, five years later a state law requiring integration was passed. The Roberts case would later be cited in two ground-breaking cases that resulted in the integration of schools: *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Morris showed Armistead around Boston, introducing him to Allen. His writing is important evidence that the two men knew each other, something that scholars have previously contested. These meetings were clearly important to Armistead: until this point his personal acquaintance with African Americans was very limited. He argues that in New England, African Americans "have more privileges or rather *just rights* extended to them; and, as a natural consequence, they advance in proportion." [26] He also claims that racial prejudice is diminishing in New England. He writes, "As a proof…I may mention, that in the city *Directory* it has been invariably the custom to class the names of the coloured residents (numbering above 1700), together, at the end of the book, instead of including them in proper

rotation. Last year, or the previous one, they were for the first time printed indiscriminately amongst the names of the other residents." [27] What Armistead specifically draws attention to in this example is the way that formal documents such as the city directory can signal broader social attitudes, draw attention to social justice and injustice, and be used as evidence to develop political agendas. Other examples of the importance of accurate record keeping were also part of what he was shown in Boston. For instance, the morning after Morris showed him around Boston, he finally met John Tilson. He took him to other parts of the city, including the Merchants' Exchange. There he paid special attention to the way in which information was recorded in the reading room: "My friend pointed out to me the exact method adopted here of recording, in books kept for the purpose, the entries of ships' cargoes, &c." [28] Twice, within a few paragraphs, he describes the importance of this kind of accurate record keeping, the first in relation to households and their inhabitants, and the second in relation to ships' cargoes. Since Armistead must have been writing, or revising, this instalment at almost exactly the same time as the Crafts were staying with him in Leeds, the focus on keeping accurate records seems particularly apposite. As a merchant and a Quaker he understood why keeping records was important: records allowed business to be carried out fairly and profitably, while they also allowed marginal communities to document their histories. Scholars of African American culture and history have also drawn attention to the crucial role of records in reconstructing and reanimating the past.

Records play a central role in trying to trace the lives of the Crafts prior to their escape to England. The US Census of 1 June 1850 documents the presence, in Macon, of Robert Collins, Ellen's half-sister Eliza Collins, their four children Juliett (aged 10), Thomas (aged 9), Mary (aged 6) and Robert (aged 3) along with several others, all of whom are white. Robert Collins is described as a speculator, with real estate valued at $60,000.

[Figure 2 here]

Up until 1850, slaves were not recorded as part of the census. But an innovation of that year was the publication of separate slave schedules. [29] These were organised according to the names of white slaveholders, meaning that enslaved people simply appear as the property of whites, while their own names are not given. Instead, columns are provided for age, sex, colour ("B" and "M" indicated whether those recorded were black or mulatta/o), whether or not they were "fugitives from the state", the numbers of those manumitted, and finally whether they were "deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic". The list of Robert Collins' slaves was recorded slightly after the census date, on 9 August 1850. Listed among the forty one slaves held in his name are two fugitives, each denoted by a diagonal mark in the appropriate column. (Figure 3) One is described as a mulatta female, born in 1835 and the other a black male born in 1830. Could this female fugitive be Ellen Craft? It is probably impossible to know for certain, yet the date of birth is incorrect. She was born in 1826, and the family must surely have known her year of birth, given her relationship to Eliza Collins. If this female fugitive is not Ellen however, then the schedule suggests that more than one female slave may have escaped from the Collins' household. This would also mean that Ellen is not mentioned in the slave schedule. Given the concerted and highly publicised efforts Collins would make to bring her back to Georgia in 1851, including petitioning President Millard Fillmore, this seems like a surprising omission. A slave schedule provides significant evidence of ownership and could undoubtedly be used as evidence in support of other kinds of claim. More work needs to be done before it is possible to know for certain the identities of these fugitives.

[Figure 3 here]

Whether or not this fugitive is Ellen Craft, both she and William were certainly explicitly mentioned elsewhere in the 1850 census. They are both listed as staying in the Boston household of Lewis and Harriet Hayden, along with eleven others. [30] These included two children, Joseph (aged 14) and Elisabeth (aged 5). Four of the occupants, very likely former slaves and possibly even fugitives, were born in South Carolina, one in Virginia, one in Pennsylvania, two (the Crafts) in Georgia. Three occupants (Harriet, Joseph and Lewis) were born in New York and one (Elisabeth) in Massachusetts. All are listed as black with the sole exception of a twenty six year old English-born woman, "Bridget E*ly". Within the space of two years, then, the Crafts figure in two different census records, on the opposite sides of the Atlantic. In both cases they were staying in what is essentially a racially integrated household. In direct contrast to the way they are listed in the 1851 census in the UK, neither of the Crafts is recorded as a fugitive. Yet within weeks of their appearance in the Hayden household in the US census, the new law made their positions insecure, and the census record made their geographical location extremely clear.

When Armistead met the Crafts in Boston, their situation had seemed relatively stable, but the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law made their lives far more precarious. Days later, forty fugitive slaves fled from Boston to Canada. [31] Despite the establishment of a Vigilance Committee (whose most active members included Hayden and Morris) the couple were too well-known to be safe. Their presence as lecturers, and the well-known story of their escape, meant that capturing and returning them would be a major strike against abolition. Two slave-catchers Willis H. Hughes and John Knight arrived from Georgia in October openly looking for the Crafts. Ellen went into hiding in the houses of longstanding abolitionists, first to stay in the home of Henry Bowditch before she moved to the home of Theodore Parker. William initially remained in his shop, arming himself against possible attack, and helped by a

supportive community of watchful abolitionists, especially African Americans, who knew that Hughes and Knight were in the vicinity and were determined that they would not succeed. He then moved back to Hayden's house which had been reinforced by the addition of gunpowder in the basement in case of an attack. After a series of dramatic but failed attempts to capture the pair, Hughes and Knight were forced to leave Boston. It was clear that the Crafts were no longer safe. They also left Boston, traveling to England via New Brunswick, and arriving in Liverpool in December 1850. Ellen was initially unwell and though no details are given about her state of health it is reasonable to speculate that she may have had a miscarriage during or after the ocean crossing. She certainly had a period of convalescence out of public view once they arrived in England. By this time their escape story was already well-known to newspaper readers and their arrival was noted in the press. A decade later, their memoir would further cement public interest and add details of their lives in England. Disturbing accounts of the treatment of other fugitive slaves were also being circulated. Armistead would undoubtedly have been updated by US abolitionists about the involvement of men he had met in Boston including Samuel Gridley Howe, Lewis Hayden, and Robert Morris in the case of the fugitive Shadrach Minkins, arrested in Boston in February 1851. [32]

In the period immediately before the 1851 UK census, Wells Brown and the Crafts appeared together in a number of British towns, often on consecutive days. They first visited Scotland and addressed groups in Edinburgh on 2–6 January; Glasgow on 8–9 January; Dundee on 22 January and Aberdeen on 10–13 February. They then travelled back to England, touring the North-East and to Yorkshire. They lectured in Newcastle on 13 March, Sunderland on 17 March, York on 24 March, Bradford on 28 March and Leeds on 29 March – the day before the census. An advertisement in the *Aberdeen Journal* on 12 February gives a sense of the ways in which their self-presentation combined elements of politics and entertainment. The event is

clearly envisaged as multi-dimensional. It takes place over two days and incorporates a lecture, a panorama, singing, and the presence of the fugitives themselves. The event was advertised as follows:

> WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, (assisted by WILLIAM CRAFT – whose Wife, ELLEN CRAFT, the "White Slave." Will also be present --) will deliver, in the MECHANICS' HALL, his THIRD LECTURE ON SLAVERY, illustrated by his
>
> **SPLENDID PANORAMIC VIEWS**,
>
> (Painted on 2000 feet of canvas.)
>
> The Lecture will be enlivened by the Recital of
>
> ANTI-SLAVERY MELODIES;
>
> and Wm. Craft will relate some of the most interesting circumstances connected with the Escape of himself and his Wife from Slavery.
>
> The Lecture to commence at half-past 7 o'clock.
>
> Tickets, 3d. each; Reserved Seats, 6d,; -- to be had at the Booksellers, and at the Door of the Hall.
>
> To-morrow Evening (THURSDAY), at half-past 7 o'clock,
>
> **A PUBLIC MEETING**
>
> Will be held in BLACKFRIARS STREET CHAPEL, when WILLIAM WELLS BROWN will give an enlarged detail of the Horrors of American Slavery, and will explain the Nature and Operations of
>
> **The Fugitive Slave Bill.**
>
> Admission by Tickets, 3d. each - to be had at the Booksellers, and at the Door of the Chapel. [33]

The title "Views of American Slavery" suggests both the visual elements depicted by Brown's panorama with the indication that the Crafts and Wells Brown will, by their very presence as well as what the men say - and sing - give further impressions or perspectives of American slavery. The announcement implies that Wells Brown and the Crafts were already familiar to readers and audiences. At least some of the potential members of the audience would probably have read accounts of the trio's recent engagements in other Scottish towns and would have had some prior expectations of the event. Importantly, there is no promise that Ellen Craft will speak. Following the conventions of the period, she remained silent even when onstage. The advertisement draws attention to her fair complexion, encouraging potential attendees to see her themselves, and perhaps judge whether she corresponded to their ideas about what a slave looked like. [34]

Undoubtedly, then, the detail of the events relies on an audience's curiosity and desire to be entertained, as well as more elevated political and moral commitment to abolition and to building opposition to the new law. The adjectives used to describe the two evenings encompass both ends of this spectrum and contain a strong promise of entertainment. Words such as "splendid", "enlivened", "interesting", all suggest diversion - albeit potentially of an enlightening variety. The fact that tickets were to be purchased both at bookshops and outside a nonconformist chapel, also indicates the significant moral and educational elements of the event. Equally, the sensational description of Ellen Craft as the '"White Slave"' is reminiscent of the way circus or stage monikers were used for figures in the public sphere. Wells Brown, like Henry "Box" Brown had recognised the sensational possibilities of activism - as the name "Box" Brown shows quite clearly. At exactly the same time as the Crafts and Wells Brown were touring in Britain, the Swedish singing sensation Jenny Lind (popularly known as the Swedish Nightingale) was on a wildly successful tour of the United States, organised by the showman P.T. Barnum. He recognised the commercial possibilities created by the combination of her stupendous voice, and well-known commitment to charitable work. Charles Beecher compared the reception experienced by Harriet Beecher Stowe on her celebrity tour of the UK in 1853 with the '"Lind Mania"' of the United States. [35] The Crafts and Wells Brown were conscious of the political and moral urgency of abolitionism, but could also see the importance of building an audience and cultivating celebrity identities through their performativity. [36] Using a register that encompassed a set of separate (even opposing) possibilities all helped build an audience base and raise the public profile of abolition beyond the its active and loyal radical and nonconformist base. After the build-up of the first evening, the second evening's events turned to the more sombre, matter in hand. The evening uses a different lexicon to advertise its events, and is unequivocally located within the politics of abolition.

The Crafts were repeatedly represented in newspaper accounts around this period as fugitives. This shows the effectiveness of their self-presentation and the ways it drew attention to their personal predicament, as well as to that of other fugitives and potential escapees. An important way of creating sympathy was to combine their gripping escape story with their physical presence. Care was taken to build a sense of outrage that even after their escape from slavery they could be subjected to recapture and return at any time. The drama of their escape, therefore, was tempered by the fact that they were still unable to live in the so-called free states of the North with any safety. An article titled "Anti-Slavery Meeting in Newcastle" published in *The Newcastle Guardian* on 15 March 1851 gives a detailed account of events including audience reaction. [37] Accounts like this help recreate not just what was said on such occasions but how the meetings sounded. They give a sense of the interactivity of such public meetings, bringing the voices of people long lost to the archive back into the record once more – albeit as part of a community of vocal responses rather than as individual interlocutors. This noisy vocality is the counterpart to the quiet activism associated with Armistead. First, Ellen, described once more as "a white slave" was asked to join Wells Brown and William Craft on the platform. Sitting next to her husband, she remained silent but was "loudly cheered" by the audience. The presence of three formerly enslaved people would have been specially striking to an audience who had little familiarity with African Americans. The fair skin that had allowed Ellen to disguise herself as a white male slave-owner also allowed white British audiences to identify with her. After a brief introduction by the local chair, William gave an account of their escape from slavery, including their arrival in Philadelphia (at which the audience enthusiastically cheered once more) and their meeting with Wells Brown. The audience's excitement at being told of how they gained their freedom was then challenged by his revelation that after almost two years of living "quietly" in Boston, the passing of the new

law led to them being pursued by their old masters, and having to leave for England. This last announcement also met with applause, heralding their escape. He then pre-empted what must have been anticipated criticism about any "deception" they had entered into "even to obtain their liberties" arguing that they were obliged to act as they did because of the "cursed institution" of slavery. Wells Brown was then asked to speak. He had already given lectures in the city in December 1849 and November 1850, and so "as on former occasions, [was] most enthusiastically applauded." Wells Brown's lecture described his meeting with the Crafts, and their experiences as fugitives. He told the audience that "They were the first to have been driven from their country by the fugitive slave bill" and the sympathy they experienced in New England was probably largely due to the fact that Ellen "was so much fairer than most slaves who escaped". He went on to seek financial help for the founding of a school for fugitive slaves in Canada and to build support for abolition by making sure that fugitive slaves were visible at the Great Exhibition, opening in in London on 1 May. The meeting closed with pledges of assistance and with the two men "singing a negro melody". This model was regularly repeated in the venues in which the Crafts and Wells Brown spoke. For instance, on 24 March 1851 they addressed a "very large public meeting" in York. [38] The meeting ended with the signing of resolutions, including a statement of "a deep abhorrence of the unrighteous provisions of the 'Fugitive Slave Law'". By the point at which the Census was taken, then, the three fugitive activists had established themselves as regulars on the lecture circuit and had set up a pattern for their self-representation. They would reiterate this in Leeds on the eve of the 1851 census.

A number of key events all played a part in Armistead's action on census night. These were: the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, the escape of the Crafts to England, the widely publicised case of fugitives such as Shadrach Minkins and the opportunity the upcoming Great Exhibition gave to draw attention to slavery in the United States. *The British Friend*

uses a mixed tonal register to describe events. Crediting the "Leeds papers" as its source, it combines bare facts with a degree of sensational embellishment. Italics make the moments of particular emphasis stand out, recreating a sense of the drama that the Crafts invoked in their public performances.

> William and Ellen Craft, who gave last week, at Woodhouse Mechanics' Institute, so touching an account of their escape from Slavery, were the guests of our esteemed fellow-townsman, Mr. Wilson Armistead. Being that gentleman's lodgers on the 30th March, it was requisite that their names and places of nativity, as well as their rank and profession, should be inserted by him in the Government Census paper to be filed up and returned on the 31st.
>
> These two individuals were accordingly entered by Mr. Armistead under their real designation, '*Fugitives from Slavery in America, the land of their nativity.*'
>
> What a disgrace to a professedly free and Christian country as America, that such an acknowledgment should have to be made – that it should be published to all the world that *America's own born citizens are driven to seek refuge in a foreign clime from the man-stealer, and from the horrors of Slavery*. [39]

The article assumes that its self-selecting audience would already know the contexts of contemporary abolitionist activism. The huge public interest in the Crafts, combined with Armistead's existing reputation as a principled abolitionist, made great newspaper copy. The compositional methods of newspapers who often simply copied stories from each other also meant that his intervention was to become highly visible.

By this point in the history of the UK census, an administratively standard and very specific pattern had been established. It had been developed and refined in consequence of previous censuses, and there was, it seemed, little opportunity for deviating from established protocols. This make the activism engaged in by Armistead particularly notable. Enumerators, until 1891 always men, were appointed by local registrars for each of the enumeration districts. The enumerators had to meet requirements of literacy, numeracy, health and good behaviour both in order to carry out the necessary tasks, but also to command the respect of the households

they visited. [40] In 1851, 38,740 enumerators and 3,220 registrars were responsible for the census. Enumerators in urban areas were often teachers and other men of good standing. [41] The process they followed was governed by specific protocols. They were issued with household schedules to be distributed to the houses for which they were responsible and filled in by the householder on census night. In addition, enumerators were issued with further books of instructions. The enumerator was required to visit the households for which he was responsible on the morning after the night of the census. He had to collect the schedules and check they were properly completed. Where necessary, he had to ask for additional details or, if the householder was illiterate, fill out the schedule of their behalf. Guidelines for dealing with those who refused to give information, or gave false answers, were clear. A lengthy clause explained the financial penalty. Fines of between forty shillings and £5 could be issued, after due process. Once the schedules were collected, the enumerator transferred the details into the enumerator's book. He was allowed one week to complete transferring the details and compiling other information required of him. [42] At this point his responsibilities were complete. The book was then checked by the registrar and the superintendent registrar, before being dispatched, with the household schedules, to London. Once at the Census Office the books were checked through once more "to sort out any problems or ambiguities in the data, reference no doubt being made to household schedules." [43] Finally, the books were gone through to access detail about births, ages and so on for use in published table. It is by chance that household schedules were still being used for the collection of data. Thomas Henry Lister, the first Registrar General, was unconvinced by their usefulness, and it was only the passing of a Census Act two months before the 1841 Census that kept them part of the process. When Armistead completed the household schedule he prompted a lengthy procedure in which a series of individuals, starting with the enumerator, read, checked, and ultimately approved the record. Armistead completed his, and returned it to the local enumerator William Fryer

Beckwith. At this point the enumerator might have ignored Armistead's comment and simply transferred the expected information into his book, leaving out his additions. As we have seen, enumerators were supposed to make sure records were accurate and complete. In 1911 this led to some enumerators intervening to challenge and correct census entries. For instance the Reverend Cummin of Sussex returned a census entry listing himself as the sole occupant of his residence, and the enumerator altered this to include four daughters, two of whom were described as "'suffragettes wandering about all night'". [44] The fact that Beckwith Fryer did not challenge Wilson's inscription suggests either sympathy for abolition or, alternatively a sense that not copying the entry as it stood would create additional problems of some kind. It is important to try to establish what happened after he collected the schedules.

Here things become still more complex. The final part of the story of Armistead's intervention shows just how unlikely its success was. Little is known of William Fryer Beckwith, though he is listed in the 1851 Leeds trade directory as a painter. At face value, this is surprising since enumerators in larger urban areas were more likely to be professional men. However he appears to have been related to two relatively powerful brothers, George Beckwith, a printer and the Registrar of Marriages for Leeds, and John Beckwith, a journalist on the Conservative leaning *Leeds Intelligencer* and the Superintendent Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages for Leeds. It was probably due to this family connection, rather than his personal standing, that he was appointed to his post. The Superintendent Registrar for the census was Edward Autey, Registrar of Births and Deaths for Leeds West. Each of these men was a staunch Conservative. In political terms they were all direct opponents of Armistead. Further details of their political views, including their voting history, supports this view. For instance, none of their names appear in the membership list for the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association. Furthermore, when the Quaker abolitionist Joseph Sturge stood as a Radical in Leeds in 1847,

George and John Beckwith along with Edward Autey cast the two votes they each had for the Whig candidate James Garth Marshall, and the Conservative candidate William Beckett. Armistead, like other abolitionists such as Edward Baines, the Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, each cast a single vote for Sturge, presumably wasting their second vote rather than cast it for the other candidates. [45] Unsurprisingly, Sturge was not successful. He was routed in an episode that characterised over the conflicts dominating the local politics of Leeds in this period and having an impact on what happened in 1851. [46] As the Quaker founder of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society which had organised the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, Sturge's views were very unlike those of the Tory-supporting Autey. Of all of the Beckwith men, most is known of John Beckwith. He was held in low esteem by his political opponents. After his sudden death in 1856 the *Leeds Mercury* published an openly hostile obituary. While he was admired as an able journalist and a Poor Law administrator, he was attacked as an unfair promoter of partisan Poor Law Guardians and: "a person of notoriety as a local politician…[whose] conduct as a partisan was, however, such that perhaps few men have had less confidence reposed in them by political opponents." [47] Further accusations about his behaviour appeared in the paper a few days later, making it clear that dissenters and nonconformists in Leeds did not have faith in Beckwith's impartiality as a local official. Indeed their ministers collectively agreed and wrote a petition to be read to the Leeds Guardians when they met to appoint a successor. They explicitly stated that they wanted to make sure that the new Superintendent Registrar "discharged his duties courteously and respectfully towards the memorialists and the congregations of which they are ministers." [48] In other words, they did not want another figure like John Beckwith to be appointed. William Fryer Beckwith, probably appointed due to his connection to a group of partisan political opponents of Armistead, would not have been sympathetic to the Crafts. As a painter rather than a professional man he may have lacked the confidence to challenge Armistead's guerrilla inscription openly. Armistead

was an established member of the merchant class with friends who included the prominent newspaper editor Edward Baines. Recognising the hostility directed towards John Beckwith – including accusations of impartiality – he would have known that refusing to incorporate Armistead's inscription in the census would have created considerable publicity and a propaganda coup that had an impact beyond the campaign for abolition.

Against the odds, and despite hostile officials, Armistead's guerrilla inscription remains in the census testifying to his activism and a courageous vision of social justice shared by abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. It was an act of principled opportunism in a local climate in which more unprincipled self-interest and partisan behaviour was commonplace. It remains an example of the many small acts of courage out of which larger protests are built and sustained. Its surprising survival gives us an opportunity to revisit the larger archive of transatlantic abolition and trace previously unknown connections. Through this we can discern patterns of activism that extend well beyond their immediate environments, participants and temporalities linking like-mined individuals across space and time.

Notes

[1] Rediker, *The Fearless Benjamin Lay*, 2.

[2] See booktraces.org

[3] See Taylor and Loeb, "Librarian is my Occupation: A History of the People's Library of Occupy Wall Street".

[4] Augst and Carpenter (eds) *Institutions of Reading and McHenry, Forgotten Readers*.

[5] Gruber Garvey, "Nineteenth-Century Abolitionists and the Databases they Created", 361-62.

[6] Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 219.

[7] Brown, "Death-Defying Testimony", 132.

[8] Pfaelzer, "Hanging Out", 140.

[9] Gardner, "Accessing Early Black Print", 29.

[10] Nicholls, "Richard Cobden and the International Peace Movement", 354.

[11] Liddington, Crawford and Maund, "Women do not count, neither shall they be counted", 106. Women (and sometimes male supporters) protested at a piece of record-keeping that acknowledged their obligations as wives and the mothers of children without according them the privileges of citizenship. Other examples of this kind of guerrilla inscription Dorothea Rock's assertion that: 'I, Dorothea Rock, in the absence of the male occupier, refuse to fill up this Census paper as, in the eyes of the Law, women do not count, neither shall they be counted'. Ibid., 108.

[12] Liddington, Crawford and Maund, "Women do not count, neither shall they be counted", Ibid., 111–12.

[13] "England and Wales Census, 1851." Wells Brown was staying in the household of Elizabeth and Philipp Clark. Also in the property that night were other family members, a number

servants and nine lodgers, including Wells Brown. Two were from Ireland, one from Scotland and the others, with the exception of Wells Brown and a Danish lodger, were from England.

[14] "England and Wales Census, 1851."

[15] Key texts include Blackett "Fugitive Slaves in Britain" and "The Odyssey of William and Ellen Craft" and McCaskill "The Profits and Perils of Partnership" and *Love, Liberation, and Escaping Slavery*.

[16] "Singular Escape of Two Slaves from Georgia." *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, 10 March 1849, 2. The letter was written in Philadelphia and dated 30 December 1848. Similar pieces were published in *The Newcastle Courant* on 30 March 1849 and *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times* 6 April 1849.

[17] Midgley, *The Churches and the Working* Classes, 120–21. This was a decade after the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689, which allowed nonconformists freedom of worship.

[18] This would be a central element of the rest of his short life: his abolitionist activities would be commented on in *The Liberator* throughout the 1850s. See, for instance, "Twentieth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar" 20 January 1854, 2; "Prof. Allen in Leeds, England" 5 May 1854, 1; "The Twenty-First National Anti-Slavery Bazaar" 26 January 1855, 1.

[19] "Negroes are Men!" *The Liberator* 20 April 1849, 2.

[20] "Reminiscences of a Visit to the United States, in the Summer of 1850" *The British Friend* March, 1 November 1850, 261.

[21] He discussed Dickens' meeting with Laura Bridgman of the Perkins Institute when he made his own visit there. See Wilson Armistead, "Reminiscences of a Visit to the United States, in the Summer of 1850" *The British Friend* March 1852, 57.

[22] William Nell informed Amy Post that after dining with Lewis Hayden on 14 July 1850 he went to visit Robert Morris. Here, presumably, he heard of Armistead's visit since he immediately adds that he hopes to meet the Yorkshireman. Letter from William Cooper Nell to Amy Post 15 July 1850. Amy and Isaac Post were active members of the Underground Railroad in Rochester. **https://rbsc.library.rochester.edu/items/show/1248** accessed 19 September 2017.

[23] Armistead, "Reminiscences," March 1852, 57–58.

[24] Armistead, "Reminiscences" April 1851, 94.

[25] Ibid., 95.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 95–96. See the difference between the 1846 and 1849 editions of Adams's *New Directory of the City of Boston* for evidence of this. The later edition is integrated.

[28] Ibid., 96.

[29] The evidence they gave of the lives of enslaved African Americans would be used by abolitionists. See Clarke, *Present Condition.* Whether or not Armistead knew that the slave schedules existed is not clear.

[30] Massachusetts: City of Boston, Wards 608 (NARA Series M432, Roll 336).

[31] Blackett, "Fugitive Slaves", 42.

[32] Collison, *Shadrach Minkins*, 84–85; 130–33; 193–96. Armistead writes of his visit to the Perkins Institute and Asylum for the Blind and his meeting with its director, Grindley Howe, in "Reminiscences," February 1852, 30–32. As Albert Von Frank shows, all three actively defended Anthony Burns. Von Frank, *The Trials of Anthony Burns*, see indexed references.

[33] "Advertisements & Notices." *Aberdeen Journal*, 12 Feb. 1851, 4. Further details of their appearance locally is given in elsewhere. See, for instance, "Local Intelligence." *Aberdeen Journal*, 12 Feb. 1851, 4.

[34] For more on this see P. Gabrielle Foreman, "Who's Your Mama?" and HollyGale Millette "Exchanging Fugitive Identity".

[35] For more on this see Simon Morgan, "Crossing Boundaries", 163.

[36] For more on this, see Daphne Brook's discussion of 'Afro-alienation acts', *Bodies in Dissent*, 3–6.

[37] "Anti-Slavery Meeting in Newcastle." *Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury,* 15 Mar. 1851, 4.

[38] "Public Meeting in York, on the Question of American Slavery." *Yorkshire Gazette*, 29 March 1851, 6.

[39] Armistead, *Reminiscences,* May 1851, 106.

[40] 'He must be a person of intelligence and activity; he must read and write well, and have some knowledge of arithmetic; he must not be infirm or of such weak health as may render him unable to undergo the requisite exertion; he should not be younger than 18 years of age or older than 65; he must be temperate, orderly and respectable, and be such a person as is likely to conduct himself with strict propriety, and to deserve the goodwill of the inhabitants of his district.' Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, 16.

[41] Ibid, 17. Much of the following information is taken from Higgs' book.

[42] Cheshire, *Results of the Census*, 12.

[43] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, 18.

[44] Liddington, Crawford and Maund, "Women do not count, neither shall they be counted", 117.

[45] *Poll Book of the Leeds Borough Election of 1847* (Leeds: T.W Green and Co., 1847), 3 and 5. George Beckwith is not listed as a voter, suggesting he was not living in the constituency.

[46] See Derek Fraser's discussions in "Politics and Society in the Nineteenth Century" and "Areas of Urban Politics".

[47] "Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries." *Leeds Mercury*, 2 Feb. 1856, 1.

[48] "Election of Clerk to the Guardians, Last Night." *Leeds Mercury*, 14 Feb. 1856.

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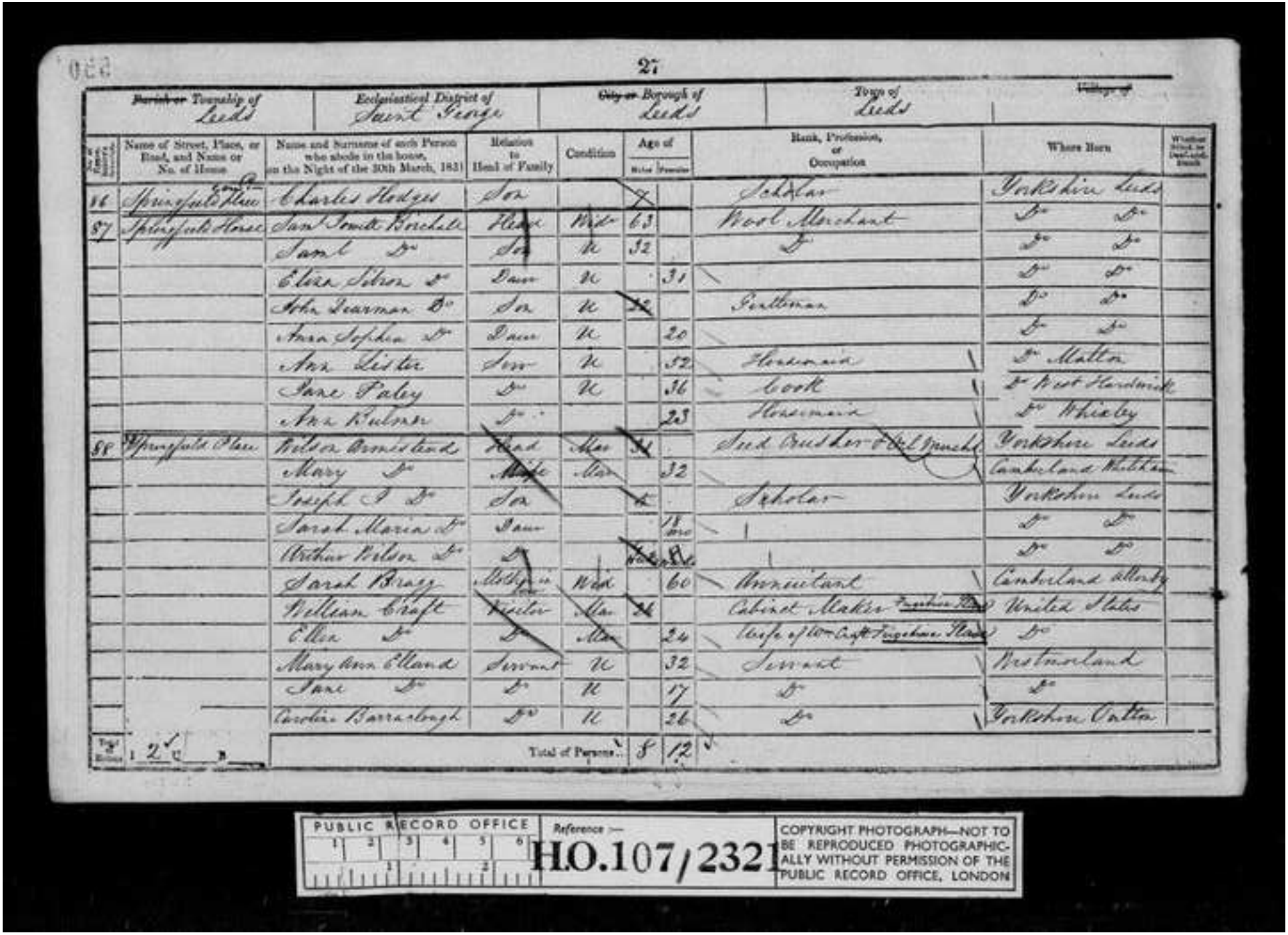
Figure 1: 1851 Census of the Township of Leeds and Ecclesiastical District of Saint George.

Figure 2: 1850 Census, listing the free inhabitants of Bibb County, Georgia.

Figure 3: 1850 Census, slave schedule, Bibb County, Georgia.

Figure



27

Parish or Township of	Ecclesiastical District of	City or Borough of	Town of	Hamlet of
Leeds	Saint George	Leeds	Leeds	

No. of Houses	Name of Street, Place, or Road, and Name or No. of House	Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 30th March, 1831	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of Males	Age of Females	Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Where Born	Whether Blind or Deaf-and-dumb
86	Springfield Place	Charles Hodges	Son		7		Scholar	Yorkshire Leeds	
87	Springfield House	Sam Smith Bischoff	Head	Wid	63		Wool Merchant	Do Do	
		Saml Do	Son	M	32		Do	Do Do	
		Eliza Sibson Do	Dau	M		31		Do Do	
		John Dearman Do	Son	M	32		Gentleman	Do Do	
		Anna Sophia Do	Dau	M		20		Do Do	
		Ann Lister	Son	M		32	Hardware	Do Malton	
		Jane Paley	Do	M		36	Cook	Do Post Hardwick	
		Ann Wilson	Do			23	Housemaid	Do Whitby	
88	Springfield Place	Wilson Armistead	Head	Mar	34		Stuff Burster & Oil Presser	Yorkshire Leeds	
		Mary Do	Wife	Mar		32		Cumberland Whitehaven	
		Joseph S Do	Son		4		Scholar	Yorkshire Leeds	
		Sarah Maria Do	Dau			18 mo		Do Do	
		Arthur Wilson Do	Do			8 mo		Do Do	
		Sarah Bragg	Mother in Law	Wid		60	Annuitant	Cumberland Allonby	
		William Croft	Visitor	Mar	24		Cabinet Maker	United States	
		Ellen Do	Do	Mar		24	Wife of Wm Croft	Do	
		Mary Ann Elland	Servant	M		32	Servant	Westmorland	
		Jane Do	Do	M		17	Do	Do	
		Caroline Barraclough	Do	M		26	Do	Yorkshire Otley	
Total of Houses	1 2		Total of Persons		8	12			

Figure

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in 3rd Dist. [illegible] City Macon in the County of Bibb State of Georgia enumerated by me, on the 9th day of Oct 1850. Wm Moore Ass't Marshal.

	Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	Description: Age	Sex	Color, White, black, or mulatto.	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Persons over 20 y'rs of age who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1			Wm A White	11	M				Ga				
2			S. F. "	9	F				do				
3			O. S. "	8	F				do				
4	204	213	Wm B Heath	24	M		Bll Smith		do				
5			Jackson Scherry	24	M		Clk		do				
6	205	214	Mrs S B Gordon	45	F			12,000	Conn				
7			Jos T Gordon	16	M		Student		Ga		1		
8			Josephine "	14	F				Ga		1		
9			Ellen "	9	F				Ga		1		
10			Jeremiah Hakes	30	M		Carpenter		Ga				
11			E. S. "	18	F				Ga				
12	206	215	E J Mathis	45	F			15,000	Ga				
13			M. D. "	21	F				Ga				
14			Robert "	17	M		Student		Ga		1		
15			John "	15	M		do		Ga		1		
16			Frances "	12	F				Ga		1		
17			A Mathis	8	F				Ga		1		
18	207	216	Asher Ayres	30	M			2,000	N.J.				
19			Mary "	25	F				Ga				
20			Albert "	6	M				Ga		1		
21			Anna "	4	F				Ga				
22			Frances "	2	F				Ga				
23	208	217	John D Gray	39	M		R R Cont	12,000	England				
24			Ann E "	24	F		R R Cont	1,000	S.C.				
25			C. W. "	4	M				Ga				
26			A. H. "	1/12	M				Ga				
27			O S Alex	26	M		Clk		Mass				
28			H. E. Alex	23	F				Mass				
29	209	218	Thos W Lamar	30	M		Phys		Ga				
30			Eliza "	30	F				Ga				
31			Miss Ellen "	16	F				Ga		1		
32	210	219	Robert Collins	50	M		Speculator	60,000	N.C.				
33			Eliza "	32	F				Ga				
34			Juliet "	10	F				Ga		1		
35			Mary "	6	F				Ga				
36			Robert "	3	M				Ga				
37			Thomas Collins	9	M				Ga		1		
38			Elizabeth Cary	60	F			2,500	N.C.				
39			S. Pruett	19	F				Ga				
40			Lydia Rees	24	F				Ga				
41			Clifford Anderson	17	M		Clk		Ga				
42			Charles Benja	53	M	B	Mattress maker		Ga				

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SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in 2nd Dist. Wd. City Macon in the County of Bibb State of Georgia, enumerated by me, on the 9th day of August, 1860. Wm. Merritt Ass't Marshal.

	Names of Slave Owners	Number of Slaves	Age	Sex	Color	Fugitives from the State	Number manumitted	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1		1	5	F	B			
2		1	2	M	B			
3		1	30	M	B			
4	Allen Lopez	1	25	M	B			
5		1	46	F	B			
6		1	12	F	B			
7		1	12	F	B			
8		1	18	F	M			
9	J. B. Lopez	1	8	M	B			
10		1	30	M	B			
11		1	40	M	B			
12		1	45	M	B			
13		1	25	M	B			
14		1	25	M	B			
15		1	22	M	M			
16		1	18	M	B			
17		1	35	M	B			
18		1	30	M	B			
19		1	16	M	B			
20		1	22	M	B			
21		1	50	M	B			
22		1	25	M	B			
23		1	21	M	B			
24		1	40	F	B			
25		1	15	M	B			
26	J. D. Gray	1	35	M	M			
27		1	18	F	B			
28		1	50	F	B			
29		1	22	F	B			
30		1	6	F	B			
31		1	5	F	B			
32		1	3	F	B			
33		1	2	F	B			
34	Thos Lamar	1	35	F	B			
35		1	15	F	B			
36	Robt Collins	1	30	F	B			
37		1	21	F	B			
38		1	30	F	B			
39		1	67	F	B			
40		1	61	F	B			
41		1	53	F	B			
42		1	30	F	B			

	Names of Slave Owners	Number of Slaves	Age	Sex	Color	Fugitives from the State	Number manumitted	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1		1	[illegible]	F	B			
2		1	26	F	B			
3		1	40	F	B			
4		1	33	F	B			
5		1	30	F	B			
6		1	27	F	B			
7		1	36	F	B			
8		1	22	F	B			
9		1	33	F	B			
10		1	24	F	B			
11		1	26	F	B			
12		1	25	F	B			
13		1	40	F	B			
14		1	20	M	B			
15		1	[illegible]	[illegible]	B			
16		1	50	M	B			
17		1	16	F	B			
18		1	12	F	B			
19		1	11	F	B			
20		1	15	F	B			
21		1	14	F	B			
22		1	11	M	B			
23		1	5	F	B			
24		1	8	F	B			
25		1	2	F	B			
26		1	4	F	B			
27		1	6	F	B			
28		1	8	M	B			
29		1	11	F	B			
30		1	12	F	B			
31		1	15	M	M			
32		1	21	F	B			
33		1	30	M	B	1		
34		1	30	F	M	1		
35	S. J. Way	1	25	M	M			
36		1	28	M	B			
37		1	40	F	B			
38		1	12	F	B			
39	Saml Hall	1	40	M	B			
40		1	30	F	B			
41		1	30	M	B			
42		1	14	M	B			