

THE GERMANTOWN PROTEST AND AFRO-GERMAN RELATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

German-Americans and abolitionism — if one believes the history books — are synonymous. Motivated by their own experiences in Europe, German immigrants reportedly were repulsed by the proliferation of slavery in the new homeland and both actively and passively opposed what they considered an inhumane system. One measure of their passive anti-slavery activity was a refusal to exploit the labor of Africans in any form. The popular histories, that is, the textbooks utilized to teach American history in our schools, state unequivocally that Germans as a group did not own slaves. Increasingly, the Germantown Protest is used to explain the origins of this humanitarian struggle against popular opinion and convention.

One need not be a professional historian to discover how deeply slavery was rooted in the American system both before and after the creation of the Bill of Rights. Slavery and the issue of equal rights for Blacks were and are the political controversy that threatened the Constitutional Convention, engendered the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1797 and 1850, necessitated the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, contributed to the outbreak of the Civil War, and precipitated the Civil Rights Movement which in recent years has floundered because it has collided with the bedrock problem of economic justice. Within that context, the Germantown Protest would seem to have been the most important document for Black Americans before the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself. So it would seem.

In the following I propose to re-examine the Germantown Protest from the perspective of its impact on Afro-German relations in Pennsylvania and Maryland during the succeeding two centuries, up to the Civil War. Specifically, I am interested in testing a hypothesis formulated forty years ago by Dieter Cunz in his book on the German ele-

ment in Maryland and most recently by LaVerne J. Rippley. Both authors differentiate the anti-slavery attitudes of the older German migration (pre-1800's) from that of the group which arrived as refugees from the political turmoil of the 1840's.¹ If the Germantown Protest has value as a source document for German anti-slavery sentiment then one might expect some sort of casual relationship between the Protest and German-Black interactions between 1700-1860.

When the Germanic settlers arrived in Pennsylvania in 1683 Africans and African slavery had already been present in the Delaware Valley for at least four decades. In Maryland it had been tolerated since at least 1642.² In both areas African laborers had been obtained, presumably from the flourishing seventeenth century slave trade that continued the process begun in the sixteenth century of depopulating Western Africa to meet the labor needs of Spanish and Portuguese New World colonies. The establishment of English colonies in North America did nothing to impede or reduce the spread and growth of this trade in human beings.

Quaker Pennsylvania also required laborers and embraced slavery as a convenient solution. In 1684 a consignment of one hundred-fifty slaves was sold to the highest bidders in Philadelphia³ and slavery began its slow but steady infiltration of all levels of colonial society. From a prerequisite for survival of the colony, slavery soon evolved into a status symbol, an outward sign of wealth and position. At that point it had become so intertwined with Pennsylvania's social fabric that its removal was unthinkable and fraught with the danger of extensive social disruption.

The Germantowners arrived early in this process and thus witnessed the rapid proliferation of Africans and slavery. Their reaction was the Germantown Protest. It is misleading, however, to read a special empathy for Afri-

cans into that document. The Germantowners' condemnation of slavery was motivated in part by self-interest. Slaves were unpaid laborers and as members of a working-class settlement the Germantowners were understandably apprehensive at the prospect of a large pool of cheap labor with which they would have to compete.

Furthermore, although the protesters use the Golden Rule to argue cogently against the inhumanity of involuntary servitude, their underlying perception of Africans is not entirely free of ego-and ethnocentrism. The core of their *argument* is contained in the following passage:⁴

You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This makes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off that ye Quakers doe here handle men licke they handle there ye Cattel. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither, and who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it?

The oblique reference to Holland and Germany was intended as a comparison. Dutch and German traders had been engaged in the slave trade for some time but to the Germantowners Quaker involvement far exceeded that of the other groups.⁵ Apparently, it was not only the intensity of Quaker involvement in the trade that was disturbing but also its proximity to Germantown that prompted the protest.

The Germantowners would have us believe that Quaker involvement in the slave trade was turning public opinion against Pennsylvania in some parts of Europe. As a consequence, potential colonists were reconsidering whether or not they should emigrate there. A reduction in the flow of colonists to Pennsylvania was certainly not a prospect which the colonial government would welcome. The Germantowners had an even direr prediction should the slave trade not cease:⁶

If once these slaves (wch they say are so wicked and stubbern men) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these masters & mastrisses tacked the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke wee are able to believe, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these negers

not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

These protesters argue here very pragmatically.

The spectre of slave revolt — a not uncommon phenomenon in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies — was an intimidating prospect. But potentially even more threatening to Quakers was the likelihood that such revolts could test Quaker commitment to pacifism as a way of life. In effect the Germantowners were saying that slavery was not only morally wrong but its presence created a situation which would ultimately challenge a basic tenet of the Society of Friends, possibly destroying in the process the source of that group's moral authority. Self-interest was an important motivation for the protest because some of the Germantowners were beginning to identify themselves with the Society of Friends as is manifest in the audience chosen for the protest. A second motive — concern for the plight of the African — is not as uncomplicated or unambiguous as historians would have us believe.

The text of the protest provides brief glimpses of the Germantowners' attitude towards Africans. A central concept is the notion of servitude. Coming from Central Europe the Germantowners were well acquainted with servitude. Seldom still existed there as well as the ever present danger of enslavement from marauding Turks. This experiential background lent added fervor to the protest's denunciation of involuntary servitude:⁷

There is a saying that we shall do to all men, licke we will be done our selves; making no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of conscience, which is right & reasonable/likewise liberty of ye body./ But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against.

These are strong sentiments indeed.

But what sort of men were these enslaved Africans? As noted above, the Germantowners believed many of them to be "wicked" and "stubborn." This mildly nega-

tive characterization is strengthened by a telling reference to the Africans: "Now tho' they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones."⁸ Color is a critical issue for the Germantowners. Their demand is for fair treatment *despite* the Africans' skin color — at least a tacit recognition that skin color can negatively affect social status. Equally interesting is the term used to identify the Africans.

African identity has been a controversial subject for centuries. Racism decreed an inferior role for all people of color and therefore as recently as 1941 in his *The Myth of the Negro Past* Melville J. Herskovits felt compelled to defend the notion that Egyptians were Africans and that dark-skinned races were capable of creating great civilizations such as the Egyptian. The Germantowners were obviously aware of the danger of using race to stigmatize individuals but nevertheless referred to Africans as "negers."

The word "neger" uses, of course, color as the sole designation of racial group. Other racial groups are identified by a region where they allegedly originated. The etymology of "neger" is also very instructive. A quick glance in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* confirms that the word used most frequently to refer to Africans by Germans before 1800 was "Mohr."⁹ There was, however, some confusion in the use of the term since it was applied indiscriminately to refer to Ethiopians, Turks, North Africans, and to a lesser extent to dark-skinned Sub-Saharan peoples — the latter groups were relatively unknown in Europe before 1600. It is worth noting that according to Grimm the term "Neger" first came into common German usage near the end of the eighteenth century when it found its way as a French loan word into Johann Christoph Adelung's dictionary.

The Germantowners' use of the word "neger" could indicate either English or Dutch influence. The Oxford English Dictionary documents the use of the word "negro" as early as 1555 when it was used as a synonym for "Ethiopian."¹⁰ Whatever the source of their term, the Germantowners'

usage clearly indicates at least tacit acceptance of the ethnocentrism then current in contacts between Europeans and dark-skinned races. More significantly, it signals an ambivalence in the perception of Africans that would influence future contacts between the two groups.

The Protest's latent ambivalence stems in part from the fact that it was intended for internal rather than public discussion. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's minutes show clearly that for almost three generations the question of slavery was discussed in the Monthly Meetings without any resolution until the two decades before the Revolutionary War when the Quaker leadership in Pennsylvania successfully curtailed Quaker involvement in the slave trade by disowning all offenders against this self-imposed ban. A similar development among Maryland's Friends was not completed until 1780,¹¹ the year in which Pennsylvania began the process of phasing out its slave population by enacting the Gradual Abolition Act.

German involvement in this early anti-slavery activity was minimal. Indeed in 1844 when the existence of the Protest was "discovered",¹² Quakers presented it as a Quaker document and as early evidence of their anti-slavery activity. That action ignored, of course, the fact that the protest was directed against Quaker merchants who bought, sold, and used slaves. With the exception of an editorial in Christopher Sauer II's Germantown newspaper "Pennsylvania Berichte" from 1761, evidence of German-Black relations can be extrapolated only by an analysis of diverse information sources such as church records, newspapers, court records, census returns, and — in the case of Frederick County, Maryland — Jacob Engelbrecht's marvelously detailed record of daily life in Frederick during the Antebellum Period.

Let us then extract some information from these sources. Surveying the entire period under discussion, one is stuck not just by the coexistence of Blacks and Germans but also by the variety of their interactions. Moravian, Lutheran, and Reformed Church records

from both Pennsylvania and Maryland document a significant Black presence. It is not always clear whether the Blacks listed in those records were accepted as members of the various congregations, but they were unquestionably baptized, married, and buried by the clergymen of those churches. A few brief citations from several churches in both states can perhaps illustrate the range and depth of Black involvement in German churches during the period.

The Moravian settlement at Bethelhem, Pennsylvania, exemplifies one aspect of Afro-German interaction that was transatlantic in nature. Among the residents there in the 1740's was:¹³

Andrew, alias York, alias Ofodobendo Wooma, a native of Ibo, Guinea. Baptized at Bethelhem 1746, and presented to Spangenberg by Thomas Noble of New York. He married Magdalen alias Beulah Brockden, a native of Great Popo, Guinea. Died at Bethelhem, March 1779.

This terse notice is complemented by a reference to another Andrew.¹⁴ The second Andrew apparently played an important role in the history of the Moravians. A slave on St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies, Andrew came to Denmark as the possession of a Court Laurwig around 1730. There Count Zinzendorf, spiritual leader of the Moravians, reportedly made his acquaintance and had him brought to his estate at Herrnhut.

In Herrnhut Andrew so eloquently represented the plight of his people on St. Thomas that the Moravians reportedly were moved to begin missionary and philanthropic work that would take them to Greenland, Lapland, Africa, and the Americas. In the New World, especially in North America, settlements such as Bethelhem, Nazareth, and Winston Salem were established as operational bases from which the Moravians launched their frequently perilous missions to christianize and educate Indians and Africans. Thus a triangle exchange came into being. Through their missions Moravians and their Africans converts moved from the West Indies to Pennsylvania, to Germany, and back. Andrew from St. Thomas, for example, lived for a time in Bethelhem and then accompanied Zinzen-

dorf on his return to Germany in 1743 and died the next year in Marienborn.¹⁵

Even Moravian philanthropy had overtones of ambivalence. In volume one of "The Bethelhem Diary," the minutes of the meetings of the congregation council between 1742-44, the protocol for October 31/November 11, 1742, contains a very revealing passage:¹⁶

It was further proposed to get rid of our white hired hands, because to present they have behaved so arrogantly and insolently. And should we be compelled to keep hired hands, it would be preferable to buy Negroes from St. Thomas and employ them as regular servants who would receive wages, to show Pennsylvania and a conscientious author, who in his writing has opposed slavekeeping, how one can treat even Negroes.

We would always simply deceive ourselves should we have dealings with such people with the laudable intention of converting them.

No one becomes converted in a state of servitude; such folk seek their own advantage and harbor false designs.

If one should wish to help people pay *off* their debts one should do so out of pity and as an act of mercy, and then let them go their way again.

This homespun pragmatism is perhaps a humane way of not exploiting the misfortunes of others, but it gives an unsympathetic view of Blacks. This Moravian brother, and perhaps the entire council, obviously considered Blacks to be a deprived and thus depraved species. Such an attitude, steeped as it is in an ambivalent sense of charity, might easily be transformed into hostility should the objects of that charity and pity not adhere to the giver's expected behavioral norms.

Even more importantly, the Moravian experience in Bethelhem leads us to a most complex problem: German involvement in slavery. Were Germans slaveholders? If so then to what extent? If one considers the early German settlement areas in Pennsylvania and Maryland, namely, Lancaster, York, Frederick, and Washington Counties, then we must affirm that Germans were indeed slaveholders but not major slaveholders. Admittedly, the existing data for those areas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is

too sketchy to render a definitive answer but even a cursory glance at the 1790 Census reveals an interesting contradiction of traditional assumptions about Germans and slaveholding.

In Pennsylvania in 1790, York and Lancaster Counties had the largest and third largest slave populations. In fact, 22% of all the slaves held in the Commonwealth were housed in the two counties considered today to be the heart of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. In Maryland, whose slave population in 1790 of 103,036 ranked third among the sixteen states, only 4.8% of that population was found in those counties with a significant German population as a result of eighteenth century migrations. However, the total of 4,927 slaves in Frederick and Washington Counties contrasts markedly with York and Lancaster's total of 847. Of course, not all of the slave-owners in the four counties were German, but a survey of the census comparing slave ownership and German surname shows that in Lancaster and York Boroughs 24 of 59 and 15 of 30 slaves, that is, 41% and 50% respectively of the slaves in those boroughs were owned by individuals with German surnames.

Census returns for Frederick County, Maryland's earliest German settlement area, unfortunately do not reflect governmental subdivisions but 115 slaveholders with German surnames owned 282 slaves or 7.8% of the total slave population in the County. In Washington County 63 slaveholders with German surnames owned 248 slaves or 19% of the County total of 1,286. Slavery was an aspect of Afro-German relations in Pennsylvania and Maryland but what was its origin and what conclusions can be drawn about the nature of the relationship between master and slave?

Perhaps the earliest reference to German slaveholding in Pennsylvania is a letter written by Cornelius Bom, a former resident of Philadelphia who joined the Germantown settlement. Writing to Rotterdam in 1684 Bom commented on his living arrangements in Germantown by noting: "I have no regular servants except one Negro whom I had bought."¹⁷ Bom's purchase was not an iso-

lated event From 1684 to the appearance of Sauer's editorial in 1761 there are numerous documented references to Germans and Africans in a master-slave relationship. For example, the German Lutheran pioneer John Caspar Stoever recorded his baptism of "Johannes Jung's Negro children" on July 23, 1733 in Schifenthill (Montgomery County?). Their names were Sybilla, Daniel, Margaretha, Ludwig, Jacob, and Johannes and their ages 10, 8, 6, 4, 2, and 5 months.¹⁸

One of the more unusual cases of German slaveholding is that of Gideon Moor,¹⁹ the slave of Rev. George Michael Weiss, who pastored at — among others — the New Goshoppen Reformed Church in Montgomery County. His master died in 1761 and was followed a few years later by his mistress. From the late 1760's up to the eve of the Revolutionary War, Gideon and the Goshohoppen congregation were embroiled in one law suit after another. Gideon claimed that his mistress had willed her house to him which the congregation refuted. There followed a series of nuisance actions filed by Gideon such as trespass, malicious mischief, etc. Finally in 1776 Gideon's lawyers tried a new tactic: they proposed to prove his right to the property by questioning the validity of the church's title to the land. Unfortunately, there seems to be no record of how the dispute was settled.

A similar set of circumstances can be found in Maryland. Frederick County's Monocacy Lutheran Church records contain a reference to a baptism on May 31, 1749 of Jacob, son of "Richard Wosle, Negro,"²⁰ but potentially more sensational are two references to a certain James who was "of Ethiopian nationality in service with Johannes Hoffmann." This James has two sons baptized on April 13, 1743: one named Samuel and one who was the illegitimate offspring of a liaison with "the white servant girl, Eva Margaretha (surname not given), member of the so-called Reformed church standing in service with him at Johannes Hoffman."²¹ In Colonial America fornication and bastardy were punishable offenses; miscegenation was also.

The above entries can be multiplied several times over and found replicated in the

German congregations at Graceham (Maryland), Lancaster, York, Hagerstown, etc. It is not surprising therefore that in his February 13, 1761, editorial Christopher Sauer commented.

It has been noted with dismay that Germans [in the area] have gotten involved in the inhumane practice of buying negros because they can no longer have German servants.²²

Sauer's consternation was engendered in part by German involvement in the slave trade. Equally lamentable to his mind was the expansion of the trade itself, Quaker merchants seemed on the verge of establishing a direct link to Africa that might guarantee a veritable flood of slaves. Three ships had been sent directly to Africa perhaps in the hope of reducing the time and expense involved in having Africans "seasoned" in the West Indies. Should this scheme be successful, Sauer feared conditions similar to those in the Carolinas would soon obtain in Pennsylvania. According to Sauer's report White Carolinians were so outnumbered by Africans that they could not sleep at night for fear of slave insurrections. It is interesting to note the parallels between Sauer's warning and the premonition of the Germantown protesters about the dangers of the slave trade.

Clearly, Black and Germans experienced each other at close quarters. Such contacts much have had some impact on attitudes and perceptions. Here again the dearth of in-depth documentation and an overabundance of minutiae hinder generalization. Obviously nothing definitive can be said about Afro-German relations until more research is conducted on individual responses to such contacts. Increasing the sample can perhaps establish patterns which in turn can lead to hypotheses about group behavior. Three final sources of information provide at least initial movement in that direction.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century newspapers from Maryland and Pennsylvania provide useful insights into everyday interactions of Germans and Blacks. Some, but unfortunately not all historians have long since discarded the myth of slavery's essential benevolence. Apologists for slavery betray their own

ethnocentrism when they attempt to portray forceful abduction, sale, and involuntary servitude as Christian benevolence vis-a-vis a primitive race. Such logic flies in the face of all we know about the level of culture and civilization in West Africa before and during the period of European colonial expansion. Also the number of runaway slave advertisements demonstrate the willingness of many Blacks to escape bondage whenever the opportunity presented itself.

Maryland newspapers for the Post-Revolutionary War period are a gold mine of information for local history enthusiasts, genealogists, and researchers interested in Black history. A typical example of the sort of information to be found is contained in this advertisement from *the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of December 1, 1789:²³

Eight Dollars Reward

RAN AWAY, from the subscriber on the Night of the 18th Inst. a NEGRO WENCH called ELEANOR, alias NELL, but supposed will change her Name, and, probably, call herself LINDY: She is about 20 years of Age, about 5 Feet 3 Inches high, stout made, bold Look, swallow Complexion, short wooly Hair, which is very knotty, has a scar on one of her Cheeks, near the Temple, walks very brisk, understands and can speak German; has a soft Voice, and speaks fast, fond of Dress, and has a great Variety of Clothes with her [...]

George P. Keepports

Baltimore, November 29, 1789

The important bit of information in this notice is something that researchers have largely ignored. In some cases a significant part of the acculturation process for Afro-Americans has been the contact with ethnic groups and a resultant need to acquire proficiency in languages other than English. Where is the research on the Black enclaves that were proficient in Pennsylvania German?

Newspaper advertisements can also shed light on the nature of the master-slave relationship. An appropriate example is the following notice from the October 1, 1788, edition of the *Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung*:

**For Sale at a good price with favorable terms
A negress and two beautiful children,
A boy and a girl (both duly registered accord-**

ing to the law). The woman is a slave for life, the children are indentured to serve until the age of 28. The woman is herself only 25 years old, able to serve in either the city or the country, she can speak both English and German. Several types of grain, flour, whiskey, or other produce will be accepted at the prevailing market price as payment and the terms made easy for the buyer. Interested parties can inquire as to price and terms. Ask for the undersigned at the Lancaster Courthouse.

Salomon Etting

N.B. The negress would prefer to be sold to a German farmer who lives reasonably close to Lancaster.²⁴

Generalizations are not feasible on the basis of this one advertisement but here is proof that the slavery experience was not uniform. The slave's opinion was not only solicited but also considered in the plans to sell her and her family. Furthermore, her preference of a German farmer as a future master is significant and indicates a positive attitude at least of this slave towards Germans. Obviously, more material must be gathered before a valid hypothesis can be formulated.

Our third and final source of information is *The Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht* (1818-1878). The three volume edition of the diary edited by Prof. William R. Quynn provides a plethora of everyday events in Frederick during six decades. Many of the events which Engelbrecht noticed or participated in also had relevance for Black history. For example in December 5, 1820, he wrote in his diary a list of various Blacks who lived in Frederick Town. This list documents who owned slaves.²⁵

Schley^S Jacob Livers Steiners Moses Graham
& Philip Mercer
Bradley Tyler^S Daniel Anderson Shrivens
Abraham Brightwell
Helfenstein^S William Brown Bealls Robert
Magruder Taney^S
Romico Price & Cyrus Jenkins Murdock^S Wm.
Warfield Ross^S

Frederick Hillman Potts^S Cornelius Thompson
Here as elsewhere in his diary Engelbrecht's comments are objective and devoid of editorializing. Occasionally, however, his true feelings do rise to the surface.

On October 19, 1822, at 9:00 AM he wrote

the following remarkable entry in his diary:²⁶

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born FREE, that they have been endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights among which are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness" Declara. of Independence, I was forceably Struck by the above Sentence, this morning, at Seeing a drove of fellow beings whose chance of birth hath put them in perpetual Slavery — I mean a set of "Soul-drivers" who in two instances, two & two hand-cuffed together — Shame, Shame for this land of Liberty — "Remember God the revenger reigns"

Engelbrecht's anti-slavery sentiment which surfaces so forcefully here led him to support the Union cause forty years later. Throughout his long life he maintained many friendships among Frederick's Black community as is evident in the last entry in the diary made by Engelbrecht's son on the occasion of his father's death and funeral. It was noted that: "a large number of Colored persons came to pay their last respect, a class among whom he had many friends."²⁷

Despite his obvious empathy for Blacks there are still unexplained lapses, ambiguities which seem to suggest an ambivalence towards Blacks in certain circumstances. On several occasions Engelbrecht came forward as a witness to corroborate that this or that Black individual was indeed a free person. Yet, though he frequently refers to Blacks as "Negroes" or "Colored friends" later in the diary — and here the editor is perhaps at fault — one finds references to "Darky."²⁸ Also in 1823 after observing the public whipping of a black man convicted of theft Engelbrecht's almost gleeful remark on the punishment: "His dose consisted of 25 pills which were administered by Dr. Jacob Myers Constable 'Honesty is the best policy' "²⁹ contrasts strangely with the empathy displayed elsewhere.

Equally anomalous is Engelbrecht's lack of comment on an event that occurred in February 1826. Jacob C. Nicholson, a resident of Frederick, punished one of his Black indentured servants, a certain James Toogood age seven, by incarcerating him overnight in a cold closet. Because he was naked, except for a shirt, Toogood's legs and feet froze and he

died eight days later. An inquest was held in Frederick Court and after almost ten hours of deliberation Nicolson and his wife, who had been tried as an accessory, were both found not guilty of manslaughter. Other than recording the facts, Engelbrecht voiced no opinions.

Similarly, throughout his diary there are many references to events among Frederick's free Black community: church events, activities of various Black organizations such as the masons and beneficial societies, and marriages or deaths in the community. Yet, two events that had the greatest impact on free Blacks during the Antebellum period receive only cursory attention from Engelbrecht. Those events were the urban riots and the activities of the American Colonization Society. On August 14, 1835, for example, it was reported:³⁰

They had a kind of mob in Baltimore last week — about the "Poultney Bank" business — it happened between 7. & 10. of this month. & on Monday or tuesday night, they had a small Spree in Washington, about the "Nigg" business Torn down Several black school houses & burnt a black Church & c.

The "'Nigg' business" is a reference in this case to the infamous "Snowhill Riot" of 1835 which sought to destroy the advances made by free Blacks in Washington, D.C. through wanton destruction of property and random violence directed at individuals. Engelbrecht's comments are remarkably casual.

Just as casual are his references to the organization of a branch of the Colonization Society of Frederick. Although an auxiliary was organized there in 1831, as early as August 13, 1825 Engelbrecht reported being present at a lecture given in Frederick's German Reformed Church by Rev. Ralph R. Gurley, agent of the American Colonization Society. Lectures given ten days later by Gurley and Francis Scott Key at the church presumably also dealt with the program for returning free Blacks to Africa but Engelbrecht was more concerned with Key's excessively long speech than with its content.

The only interesting note which is offered on the entire colonization scheme is found in the September 21, 1838 entry in which Engel-

brecht describes how a free Black named Thomas Jackson, formerly owned by Ritchie of Frederick, spoke at the Lutheran church on his experiences in Maryland's African colony since 1831. Still the objective observer, Engelbrecht remarked on Jackson: "he will find it difficult, to get those of his own Color, to believe his Statements, too many of them have no faith in the Colonization Scheme."³¹ But where does our diarist stand? The answer is silence until April 18, 1853 where we find the note that "Cornelius Campbell (of Robt) & wife Mary Thomas. Ford & wife Rebecca Thom^m Smith all colored" were leaving that afternoon to sail for Liberia.

The ambivalence and contradictions which we have found in the diary of Jacob Engelbrecht are typical of the entire development of Afro-German relations since the Germantown Protest. During the almost two centuries between the formulation of the protest and the outbreak of the Civil War it is not possible to refer to Germans as an ethnic group united by commonalities of language, religion, and custom. Similarly, it is impossible to comment on Afro-German relations as group interactions; instead we find a myriad of individual responses in which numerous discrepancies and contradiction are present. The response of German-speaking individuals of the first migration to the African presence varied from group to group.

Wealth and standing were an important factor in so far as only wealthy and socially prominent members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches could afford to own slaves. Moravians, however, bought slaves and made them indentured servants with results such as we have seen. The pietistic groups such as Dunkards, Amish, and Brethren have no documentable evidence of a stand on slavery and their preference to shun worldly matters removes them from consideration on this issue. Given our current information we can only conclude that Afro-German relations before the Civil War in the older German settlement areas can only be fully understood if we divorce ourselves from the ideology imposed by an incorrect interpretation of the Germantown Protest. The

Protest was the laudable result of a few conscientious individuals who were able to wed self-interest and a humanitarian concern for a subjugated race. In the process they were able to overcome an ethnocentrism which affected not only their time but themselves as

well. Their descendants and successors have not always been able to measure up to their achievement.

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NOTES

¹cf. LaVern J. Rippley, *The German Americans* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), 163f.; Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton U. Press, 1948), 284.

²Helen Tunncliff Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, Vol. IV: *Cases from the Courts of New England, the Middle States, and the District of Columbia*, 1926 edition repr. (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 8.

³Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York: Scribner, 1976), 63.

⁴Louisa M. Waddell (ed.), "The Germantown Protest," *Unity from Diversity* (Harrisburg: Penna. Historical and Museum Commission, 1980), 36f.

⁵The historical record is not entirely clear but the *assientos* or trade monopolies were given to entrepreneurs from many countries, including Germany. With the ascendancy of Holland and England as sea powers the entire transatlantic slave trade became the sole property of one power.

⁶Waddell, *Germantown Protest*.

⁷*ibid.*

⁸*ibid.*

⁹Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (eds.), *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 6. Band: "L.M." (bearbeitet von Dr. Moriz Heyne)(Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1885), Sp. 2472-2473.

¹⁰*The Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. VI "L-M" and Vol. VII "N-O" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 645 and p. 82, resp.

¹¹Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," in *Quaker History*, Vol. 72 (Spring 1983), No. 1, 41.

¹²*The Friend. A Religious and Literary Journal* 17, No. 16 (March 13, 1844), 125.

¹³W. C. Reichel (trans.), *A Register of the Members of the Moravian Church . . .* (Nazareth: 1873), 365.

¹⁴J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church known as the Moravian Church* (Bethlehem: 1900), 50.

¹⁵Reichel, *Register*, 333.

¹⁶Kenneth G. Hamilton (ed.), *The Bethlehem Diary*, Vol. I: 1742-1744 (Bethlehem: Archives of the Moravian Church, 1971), 105f.

¹⁷in Samuel Pennypacker, "The Settlement of Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine* IV (1880), 25f.

¹⁸John Casper Stoeber, *Early Lutheran Baptism and Marriages in Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publ., 1982), 5.

¹⁹Gideon Moore: Slaves, Freedom and Litigant," *The Penn Germania*, I, No. 5 (May 1912), 365-368.

²⁰Frederick S. Weiser (trans.), *Maryland German Church Records*, Vol. 3: Monocacy Lutheran Congregation and Evangelical Lutheran Church, Baptisms 1742-1779, Frederick, Frederick County, 10.

²¹*ibid.*, 16.

²²*Pennsylvanische Berichte oder Sammlung wichtiger Nachrichten aus Natur-und Kirchen-Reich*, 250, p. 1, col. 1 f. Original text: Es ist mit grossem Jammer wahrgenommen worden, daß die teutsche Nation sich nun auch gefallen läßt, in den unmenschlichen Handel des Negerkauffens sich einzulassen, weil sie keine teutsche Serven mehr haben können.

²³Lathan A. Windley (ed.), *Runaway Slave Advertisements. A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, Vol. 2: Maryland (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1983), 399.

²⁴*Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung und Anzeigs-Nachrichten*, Nr. 61, Mittwoch, den 1. Oktober 1787.

²⁵William R. Quynn (ed.), *The Diary of Jacob Englebrecht, 1818-78* (Historical Society of Frederick County: 1976), Vol. I: 1818-32, p. 38.

²⁶*ibid.*, 179.

²⁷*ibid.*, Vol. III: 1858-78, p. 523.

²⁸*ibid.*, Vol. II: 1832-1858, p. 215 and p. 236.

Es ist um billigen Preißbund sehr billige

Zahlungstermine zu Verkaufen

Eine negerfrau und 2 schöne Kinder,

Ein Knabe und ein Mädchen, (alle gehörig in der Amtsstube nach einer Acte der Assembly registrirt). Die Frau ist ein Slav auf ihre Lebzeit, die Kinder sind verbunden zu stehen bis sie 28 Jahr alt sind, sie ist nur 25 Jahr alt, schickt sich in die Stadt oder aufs Land, sie kann sowohl Deutsch als Englisch sprechen. Einige Art Getreide, Flauer, Whisky oder andere Landes=Produktionen werden nach dem Marketpreiß in Zahlung angeommen und die Bedingungen dem Käufer erleichtert werden. Wer Lust hat sie und die Kinder zu kaufen, kan den Preiß und die Zahlungstermine erfahren bey dem Endsbenannten wohnhaft bey dem Courthaus in Lancaster

Salomon Etting

N.B. Sie wolle über an einen Deutschen Bauer der nicht zu weit von Lancaster wohnt, verkauft sey

²⁹*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 220.

³⁰*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 171.

³¹*ibid.*, p. 317.

