

Race, Slavery, and Moral Argument in 19th century Ann Arbor

For 'Black and White in Ann Arbor'
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This talk is meant to bring to view aspects of Ann Arbor's 19th century history that—while long past—continue to shape the present in which we live.

Slavery is woven into the fabric of the early history of this part of Michigan. There were 33 slaves among the 483 residents of Fort Detroit in the year 1750. Many of them labored in the fur trade, carrying pelts to the eastern colonies during the warm summer. Lewis Cass, named territorial governor of Michigan by President James Madison between 1813 and 1831, was a slave owner. So was William MacComb, after whom MacComb county was named. He owned Grosse Ile and Belle Isle and several houses and a great amount of livestock; he also owned people. The names of the people he owned—which he listed in a 1791 inventory—were Scipio, Tom, Charly, and Jim Girty. Together the slaves' value was 1,655 pounds in New York currency. Detroit's first mayor, John R. Williams—after whom two major streets in Detroit are named—owned slaves. The Catholic church in Detroit was heavily invested in slavery—priests owned slaves and baptized them; and at least one slave worked in the construction of St. Anne's Church in 1800. The men who owned the Detroit Free Press when it was founded in 1831 were slaveowners, and during the 19th century the paper supported slavery.

From the time of its founding up to the 19th century, the civic architecture of the city of Detroit was built up by enslaved people.

Ann Arbor's foundation likewise owes itself—in part—to slavery.

John Allen was one of the two founders of Ann Arbor, and its moving spirit. Allen had been born in Virginia in 1796; he belonged to one of the old slave holding families of the Shenandoah Valley. His father, Col. James Allen, owned a number of slaves, and farmed a plantation of several hundred acres. John Allen was the eldest son of his family; upon his marriage in 1815 he had been given 397 acres by his father. As late as 1820 he owned eight slaves. In 1823—heavily in debt—he left his Virginia home. The tax collector recorded in 1824 that he had 'absconded'. He purchased several hundred head of cattle on loan, then took them to Baltimore for sale. With the proceeds he went to Buffalo, New York, there to investigate the possibility of buying government land.

In 1824 he traveled to Michigan, and bought a tract of 480 acres from the United States government for \$600. He and his business partner purchased the right to name their settlement the county seat for \$1,000. The land had once been inhabited by Ojibwe, Ottawa and Potawatomi

people; but under the Treaty of Saginaw, in 1820, some six million acres in the Lower Peninsula had opened up for purchase. Allen lived in a log house in what became the corner of Huron and Second Street. He was the first post-master—named in 1824—and the village president from 1834. As Ann Arbor's pre-eminent citizen John Allen was an enthusiastic salesman: 'Our water is of the purest limestone, the face the country moderately uneven, our river the most beautiful I have beheld, and abounding with the most valuable fish, climate as pleasant as tis possible to be... the weather is as fine as I have been accustomed to in April.'

Allen did not own slaves while living in Ann Arbor. In fact he repudiated slavery shortly before he left his Virginia home and travelled to Michigan. But it is impossible to escape the fact that the impetus behind the foundation of Ann Arbor was, in part, a man whose fortunes were grounded in the slave economy.

In 1825 the opening of the Erie Canal eased the passages of settlers west, and cheapened the marketing of products going to the east. The farmers of southern Michigan took advantage of the newly available markets, and by 1846 there were 53 coopers and 56 shoemakers in Ann Arbor. There were also three saw mills, two breweries, and a paper mill. Ann Arbor was the county seat; and a sizeable host of legal talent lived off the land. There was steady traffic in real estate, and between sales, mortgages, and disputes, there was plenty of work for lawyers.

The parish church of St. Andrew's was founded in the early days of the town's history—the first Episcopal ministry was set up here in 1828. On the 20th of April 1833 the legislature of the territory of Michigan adopted an act to incorporate the Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Andrew's Church, Ann Arbor. It is the second Episcopal church in the state of Michigan—the first being the church of St. Paul in Detroit, which was established a few years before.

At the start the church was on unsteady footing. In 1836, when the new bishop of Michigan paid his first visit, there were 16 communicants. It lived a peripatetic existence in the early years: the congregation met at a school house on 4th Street, at a store on Main Street, and in the Court House. The land on which we now sit was purchased—from John Allen—in 1834. A beautiful wooden church was put up in the later 1830s—but it was destroyed by fire in 1838. By 1840 the church was so heavily in debt that it was sold at an auction by its creditors. Happily the property was redeemed by one of the town's great men—Volney Chapin—who was a vestryman of the church. It took several years for the church to pay off the debt it owned to Chapin.

African Americans were among Ann Arbor's earliest residents. Jacob and Berthena Aray came here in 1824 from Somerset, NJ with four children, and purchased 160 acres in Pittsfield Township. The first African American church in Ann Arbor was founded in 1855. It was called the 'Union Church', and was located at what is now 504 High Street. In 1857 the church split, with some members forming Bethel African Methodist Episcopal church, and others forming another church, Second Baptist. Ann Arbor's A.M.E. congregation was pastored by John Wesley Brooks, a former slave born in Maryland. Brooks had won his freedom in 1828, when a lawyer sued for his liberty under the relevant law of the state of New York (where slaves were meant to be freed at the age of 28). He moved to Ann Arbor in 1829, buying a farm in Pittsfield Township, where he farmed for 25 years. He moved back into town, at a place on North Main, at about the same time as the A.M.E. church was being organized.

By 1860 there were 80 black residents of the city of Ann Arbor, with another two dozen living across the river in the Lower Town. Few had any property, and some could not read or write. Two were barbers; James Brook was a drayman with property amounting to \$2,500; Henry Clay was a whitewasher. Slavery was illegal in Michigan: Michigan had been admitted to statehood in 1835 as a free state, paired with Alabama, a slave state.

To the west of Ann Arbor was a substantial group of free blacks in Cass County. They lived alongside large group of Quakers, and the place became something of a refuge for blacks who were fleeing the awfulness of the plantation economy of the American south. In 1847 slave owners from Kentucky had organized a raid on the free black community in Cass County, looking to reclaim slaves who had escaped their control. Using information and maps they had received from a spy—who had spent some weeks in Cass County, posing as an abolitionist—the Kentuckians raided four farms, capturing nine former slaves. But a contingent of free blacks and white Quakers surrounded the raiders, and took them to the courthouse in the county seat. The county magistrate heard the case, ruled against the Kentuckians, and ordered the fugitive slaves released.

These events were widely covered in the press, and Kentucky newspapers indignantly labeled it the ‘Cassopolis Outrage’. Slaveholders’ anger was to propel the U.S. Congress to enact—in 1850—a newly invigorated Fugitive Slave law, requiring U.S. citizens to assist slave owners who were pursuing fugitive slaves.

Nothing so dramatic ever occurred in Ann Arbor. But the city did have a staunch community of abolitionists. The founding meeting of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society was held on November 10, 1836 at First Presbyterian Church in Ann Arbor. In 1841 local abolitionists launched the *Signal of Liberty*, a newspaper that advocated for the end of slavery. It was published by the Methodist minister Guy Beckley, and printed on the second floor of Josiah Beckley’s shop on Broadway Avenue in Ann Arbor.

The newspaper is available, free of charge, through the website of the Ann Arbor District Library (thanks to Roshayne Jaimon of this congregation). It aimed to generate support for the abolition of slavery. Its editors relied on the good faith of its readers to make their enterprise work. In the opening issue they invited ‘Any friend of humanity desiring to act for the cause of *Liberty*’ to act as a sales agent for the newspaper.

Every issue contained an anti-slavery poem; there were minutes from anti-slavery meetings in Michigan and elsewhere. And there were reports on the awfulness of slavery. In one issue the editors printed the story of Robert Coxe, who was helpless to stop the beatings of his sister and mother. In another issue they described how, in one southern town, a slave auction had been moved into a Christian church because of inclement weather. The newspaper also covered the kidnappings of African Americans in Philadelphia, Detroit, Marshall, and Cass County. These and other reports were meant to arouse the sentiments of newspaper readers, to cause them to regard slavery as an affront both to humanity and to Christianity.

The paper was widely cited and widely circulated in the press of mid-19th century. According to one database, the paper was reprinted at least 54,000 times during its print run. It was a forum for argument, and its editors did not pull their punches. In 1846 the editors accused the *Ypsilanti Sentinel* of being insufficiently anti-slavery in its orientation. The *Sentinel's* editors responded with an angry editorial of their own, accusing the Ann Arbor paper of being insufficiently welcoming to divergent points of view about slavery. There followed a long argument, conducted in the two newspapers' editorial pages, about the role of the press in promoting anti-slavery opinion.

The editors and contributors of the *Signal of Liberty* played a key role in the Underground Railroad. It is thought that over the course of years something like 1,000 formerly enslaved people passed through Ann Arbor on their way to Detroit and, from thence, to freedom in Canada. There is a report in the *Signal* from 12 May 1841 describing how the editors had helped six escaped slaves make their way through town: they are said to have tarried here for sixteen hours. The editors reported that the six men were 'much delighted with the prospect of a new home, where the sound of the whip and clanking of chains will no longer grate upon their ears and mangle and gall their limbs'.

They were deliberately unspecific about the names of the people who aided the escaped slaves and about the places where they stayed. Under a 1793 law of the US Congress—reinforced in 1850—it was illegal to harbor escaped slaves. The fugitive slave law empowered bounty hunters to re-capture freed slaves, even in their northern refuge, for return to their masters in the slave states of the south. The editors of the *Signal* reported that 'Our neighbors accuse of being worse than horse thieves ... we are also held up as transgressors of the law and having no regard for civil authority'.

That is why it is so difficult to find evidence about the Underground Railroad here or anywhere else. In its own time the Railroad left no documentary trace. The only sources we have were composed after the fact. Wilbur Siebert's book *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* was based on interviews with survivors of the Underground Railroad. It was published in 1898, thirty years after the Civil War.

Based on Seibert and other sources, we know the names of several Ann Arborites who were directly involved in enabling escaped slaves along their way. Almost all of them were Quakers, with some Methodists and Presbyterians. They included Eber White, a farmer and one of the founders of the First Methodist Church, who lived in a farmhouse on the west side of town, on the corner of Liberty. Another was Robert Glazier, who owned a log cabin on the road that now bears his name. He is said to have conveyed escaping slaves by wagon to Adrian and other locations along the route. Josiah Beckley, the brother of the editor of *Signal of Liberty*, owned two houses on Pontiac Trail—1317 and 1709—that are said to have been stopping places along the railroad.

All of this by now well known. It is possible, now, to take a tour of the sites along the Underground Railroad in Washtenaw County. There are memorials, too, and museums under way to commemorate this chapter in Ann Arbor's history.

And yet: it is important to recognize that abolitionism was controversial here and in other places in Michigan. Throughout the 1850s and 60s abolitionist speakers who came through this part of Michigan were met with controversy, and abolitionist meetings very often veered toward chaotic brawls.

In January 1861 abolitionists announced that they had invited two prominent speakers to address the public in an anti-slavery meeting. The *Ann Arbor Argus*—the town’s leading newspaper—responded to the announcement by calling the two speakers ‘a couple of roving, crazy fanatics’, lamenting that attendees planned to ‘rejoice over the approaching dissolution of the Union’. When the meeting opened, a crowd of ‘lewd fellows of the baser sort’ are said to have saturated the air of the meeting room with pepper, very nearly strangling the audience. ‘The coughing was frightful’, the reporter wrote. ‘Many people rushed wildly out; one person fainted; and the whole scene was for a short time most appalling!’ At a subsequent session at the speaker—Mrs. Garrison—was interrupted by a mob of people, many of them students. The reporter described how ‘No one could be heard, for the constant clamor of groans for Lincoln and the Convention, cheers for Douglas and the Union, the whistling of Yankee Doodle etc. prevented all organization and speaking’. Eventually a group of people who the reporter called ‘roughs’ broke up the meeting, raining blows on the speakers and driving them out through the back window. A reporter who attended the meeting thought it to be ‘one of the stormiest meetings I ever attended.’ The Quaker meeting house—where the meeting had been held—was ‘pretty much destroyed—the seats broken down, and the window sash, as well as glass smashed in.’

Who were the men who mobbed this and other anti-slavery gatherings in Ann Arbor? One reporter thought some of them also to be university students from the southern states. Others were said to be ‘respectable democrats—Union men of the Bell-Everett stamp’. The reporter was referring to the ‘Constitutional Union Party’, which had contested and lost the 1860 presidential election as a fourth party. The Constitutional Union Party was an alliance of southerners and northerners, keenly interested in avoiding secession and war. Its program was simple: it supported ‘The Union, The Constitution and the Enforcement of the Laws’. Members of the party wanted nothing to do with abolitionism: they thought its activists were troublemakers—‘roving, crazy fanatics’ as the newspaper had called them.

Public opinion in Ann Arbor was deeply divided about abolition. It is hardly surprising, then, that Ann Arbor’s civic institutions were reluctant to open their doors to abolitionist speakers after the events in the Quaker church. In February 1861 the anti-slavery campaigner Wendell Phillips announced that he intended to visit Ann Arbor to speak about the abolition of slavery. Phillips was one of the most controversial speakers of the age: during his speeches in Chicago and Cincinnati he had been assaulted by mobs and showered with rotten eggs. When his visit to Ann Arbor was announced the organizers tried to get permission to use the court house, and it was refused. In the end the trustees of the Congregational Church agreed to act as host. The Congregational Church had been formed in 1847 when the minister of First Presbyterian refused to denounce slavery. It was a law of the church that anyone owning slaves—or any apologist for slavery—would not be allowed in membership. At the meeting where Phillips’ request was discussed, a trustee of the church stood and told his colleagues that ‘Brethren, this church building has been dedicated to Almighty God, and if it must be razed to the ground, let it go down in behalf of free speech and the great cause of human liberty’.

A week before Mr. Phillips' lecture the students of the University of Michigan's class of 1861 met in the university's chapel, and agreed that—as a member of the class put it—'Wendell Phillips and free speech must be protected'. On the afternoon of his lecture 24 members of the class acquired stout clubs of hickory wood and arranged themselves outside the doors of the church. When Phillips arrived at the church—which was overflowing with people—there was a mob howling outside the windows, demanding that he be run out of town. A student who was there was sure that 'many would be seriously injured if not killed'.

But when Phillips began to speak that afternoon—behind the protection afforded by the class of 1861—his voice could be heard distinctly. As the student reporter remembered 'we listened to a storm of logic, sarcasm and invective such as I never heard before and never expect to hear again. ... the audience and the speaker were wrought up to the very highest pitch, and the pent up flood of indignation and wrath at the untold wrongs and sufferings of the slaves of the south, and the cowardice of the nation that tolerated it, was poured over that audience by one of the bravest men and one of the greatest orators this nation has produced'.

What part did St. Andrew's play in the political and moral tumult of the mid-19th century? The official account of the church's early history—published by Arthur Lyon Cross in 1906—says nothing about abolitionism, the Civil War, or other conflicts of the time. I therefore went through the church's archives—located in the Bentley Library, at the university—in hopes of finding a hitherto untold story about Episcopalians and abolitionism.

What the archives show—rather against my hope—is that St. Andrew's seems to have deliberately avoided discussion around abolition and slave emancipation. The vestry does not appear to have met at all between September 1860 and March 1861. During the months of January and February 1861, when the rest of Ann Arbor was gripped in argument over slavery and abolition, the leaders of St. Andrew's seem to have avoided talking to each other altogether. When they did meet, the vestry occupied itself discussing the financial and organizational difficulties of the parish. Nowhere in the church's records is there evidence to show that the vestry discussed the great and pressing moral question of their time. Instead, they devoted themselves almost entirely to discussion about the church's bureaucracy. On the 9th of April 1860 they discussed the charges to be levied on the occupants of the pews. On 18 June they agreed that the third Sunday of every month would be a missionary Sunday. On 27 March 1861—a month after Wendell Phillips' visit to Ann Arbor—the St. Andrew's vestry again discussed pew rentals.

It may be that there were, in fact, discussions about slavery and emancipation that did not make their way into the minutes. The evidence we have suggests that this parish's vestry was actively disinterested in encouraging discussion over controversial things. When in September 1861 Rev. Gillespie was appointed as St. Andrew's new rector, he wrote to the church warden to remind him 'how much will depend upon unity of spirit and the bond of peace, with the hearty cooperation of the parishioners'. When—eight years later—Rev. Gillespie recounted the events of his incumbency, he emphasized how 'much is owing to the good common and gentlemanly Christian tone of the vestry. We have had no bickerings, no obstinate individual aspiration'.

Why was St. Andrew's so disengaged from the controversies of the time? The answer to that question is to do with the particular position—theological and political—in which the Episcopal church placed itself in the decades leading up to the Civil War.

The Episcopal Church in the southern states was—until the Civil War—very largely the church of slaveholders. Episcopal clergy were slave owners; and the church was part of the social and economic system of the ruling class. The Southern ruling class provided most of the church's income and all of her clergy; and the church in the south had no inclination to criticize the institution of slavery. That is not to say that Episcopal priests were not interested in slaves. They were: the church promoted the evangelization of enslaved people, and in many parishes in the South enslaved people worshipped in the same churches as their masters. Slaves were ordinarily confined to separate quarters within the church building—to slave galleries, ordinarily positioned out of sight of the rest of the congregation. Episcopal priests in the American south were oftentimes ardent defenders of slavery. One priest—George Freeman, rector of a church in Raleigh, North Carolina—published a pamphlet in 1838 which argued that slaves of African descent were actually the recipients of God's merciful providence, having been delivered from much worse forms and conditions of slavery in their native lands and having been brought to 'a land where, though slaves, they serve, for the most part, humane and enlightened masters ... and may become partakers of the blessings of the Gospel of Salvation'.

The Episcopalians of the northern states, like northerners in general, were opposed to abolitionism, seeing abolitionists as fanatics who could cause a civil war with the south over their insistence on the immediate freeing of enslaved Africans. The option most appealing to northern Episcopalians was colonization, i.e. sending formerly enslaved Africans back to Africa, since few whites could see blacks and whites ever living side by side as social equals in America.

The Episcopal church—like other denominations—avoided discussion of the issue of slavery for fear of rancorous debates which would end in the breaking up of the church. This is what happened to the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians, the churches that were most closely associated with abolitionism. When their national churches passed resolutions condemning slavery as immoral, their southern members withdrew, forming new churches. The 'Methodist Episcopal Church, South' broke away from the Methodist church in 1844; in 1845 the Southern Baptist Convention separated from the Northern Baptists over the issue of slave owning. The Presbyterians argued over the issue for years; eventually, in 1866, the Presbyterian Church of the United States was formed, composed entirely of southern churches.

That is why the Episcopal, Lutheran, and Catholic churches determinedly pursued neutrality in the issue of slavery. Before and after the Civil War the prevailing attitude was that one should not mix politics and religion.

One of the most famous statements on Episcopal thinking during the mid-19th century comes from John Hopkins, Bishop of Vermont, who in 1851 published his pamphlet *Slavery: Its Religious Sanction, its Political Dangers, and the Best Mode of Doing It Away*. Hopkins himself was born in Ireland; he came to Philadelphia with his parents at the age of eight. He was trained as a lawyer, but thereafter was attracted to the priesthood, and was ordained in May 1824. He was made the first bishop of the new diocese of Vermont in 1832.

In his lecture in Buffalo, New York, Rev. Hopkins laid out three arguments. First, he argued that slavery was not a sin since it had been instituted in the Old Testament by Noah's curse of Canaan; and was perpetuated by Abraham and the patriarchs. It had not been mentioned by Jesus, though slavery was prevalent in his time. And his apostles had recommended the necessity for the obedience of slaves and for the return of escaped slaves. These factors led the bishop to conclude that the scriptures were accepting of slavery.

Second, however, the bishop insisted that slavery was a moral evil—a 'curse and a blight'. Slavery had to be abolished, and the time was ripe for it: on all sides the argument was becoming too contentious.

Third, he proposed to accomplish abolition by buying slaves from slaveholders at the rate of 40,000 per year, using the interest from as yet unappropriated public lands, and shipping them off to Liberia. This was to be carried out with the full consent of the southern states.

The Bishop's overriding concern was to maintain the unity of the political union—the United States—and the unity of the Episcopal church. His solution was to appeal to the South to give up their slaves voluntarily, while convincing the north that the ultra-abolitionists were wrong, and that the only effective solution was to be a gradual one.

I do not know whether Bishop Hopkins' pamphlet was read by the vestry at St. Andrew's. It was certainly the subject of a great amount of argument: abolitionists published no less than ten other pamphlets which refuted the elements of the bishop's position. Whether or not they knew of Hopkins' pamphlet, the men and women of St. Andrew's were evidently keen to avoid confronting the most contentious issue of their times. None of them, I emphasize, seem to have been directly involved in profiting from the slave economy. But the leading figures in the parish in the mid-19th century were men of public importance, invested in the business and industrial economy of Ann Arbor and of the upper Midwest. They had no time for divisive argument. They were capitalists, keen to find markets for the things they made, keen on keeping supply lines open.

Let me spend a few moments telling you what I've found about the men and women who built St. Andrew's. The key figure in the church's early life was Volney Chapin, the richest man in Ann Arbor and the vestryman who had bailed out the parish from its bankruptcy in 1840. Chapin was a New Yorker who had emigrated to Ann Arbor in 1833, having already developed a business as a manufacturer of iron products. In Ann Arbor he founded a new corporation—V. Chapin and Co.—which specialized in manufacturing plows, engines, threshing machines and mill machinery. His business employed 60 men. In the 1850s he put his money into land, buying up as many as 6,000 acres in the vicinity of Saginaw. There he built saw mills and paper mills, the products of which were shipped all over the United States. Chapin was a Whig, opposed to slavery, and an early member of the Republican Party. But his business interests must have inclined him to view political division as undesirable. Chapin needed big markets, open avenues for transport, large networks. Division was not in his financial interest.

Other leading members of the church will have been similarly disinclined to court division or discord. The churchwarden in 1860 was William Anderson. Anderson had been Washtenaw County's first sheriff, serving from 1835 to 1839. He built a beautiful house on Packard Road; it is now part of the property of St. Claire of Assisi church. Another leading member of the church was C.H. Millen, owner of a large dry goods and grocery store on Main Street in Ann Arbor and possessor of a beautiful house to the east of town. A third was David Henning, owner of one of the largest fruit packing businesses in the whole United States. From his factory at 417 Detroit in Ann Arbor he packed and distributed fruit—by rail—to the whole of the country. In his own time he was known as the 'Apple King'. There was C.H. van Cleve, owner of a paper mill and one of the first presidents of the village of Ypsilanti. There was S.H. Douglas, a professor of engineering at the University and a nationally-known expert in the mechanics of gas lights. There was John N. Gott, a lawyer; C.B. Grant, a justice of the court; and H.B. Palmer, a medical doctor. There was A.W. Chase, medical doctor and author of a book promising a 'rational treatment of pleurisy, inflation of the lungs ... and also for General Female Debility and Irregularities'. All of these men had interests in promoting harmony. Several of them were fire wardens in the neighborhoods where they lived. Most of them were Democrats, disposed against the prospect of civil war, emphatic about the need to keep the Union together. They were public men, with reputations, careers, and interests that demanded that they stay above the fray. Their investments—of time, energy, intellect and finance—made it impossible for them to take part in the uproarious assemblies that abolitionists convened. These were not the sort of men who would attend chaotic, loud, dangerous meetings to listen to Wendell Philips. They prized order above all.

That is why, over the whole decade of the Civil War, the vestry of St. Andrew's occupied itself with the managerial work of erecting buildings, raising funds, and organizing the books. It was—I think—a conscious strategy, meant to shield the church from the divisive questions that were rending other public institutions asunder.

In the presidential election of 1860 Lincoln won Ann Arbor by 91 votes, thanks to the overwhelmingly Republican vote in the first ward, the city's largest and wealthiest. On 15 April 1861, the day of the assault on Fort Sumter, the citizens of Ann Arbor gathered on the steps of the courthouse. There—under the chairmanship of Dr. Tappan, president of the university—they adopted resolutions to support Lincoln. The Steuben Guard—made up primarily of men from the German community—marched to Fort Wayne to rendezvous with the rest of the First Michigan Regiment; and hundreds of university students volunteered for service as well.

Over the course of the following months residents of Ann Arbor kept a close watch on news of the war, and parents periodically rushed to the bedsides of their wounded sons. A committee was appointed to go to Gettysburg after the battle there, funded with public donations totaling \$1,000. They found the battlefield there 'still strewn with the fragments of limbs'; in the hospital they found 17 men of the 24th Michigan Infantry who had had their wounds treated by amputation. In the decades that followed, men missing an arm or a leg were a common sight around Ann Arbor—among them was Charles Manley, elected mayor in 1890.

Over the course of the war 80 Ann Arbor men died, many of them from the Fifth Ward, the least populated in the city. One of every six Michigan men in the Union Army died during the war. Some 475 soldiers from Washtenaw County perished

The parish church of St. Andrew's played an important part in the war. Members of the vestry may have been keen to avoid war; but once it broke out, they contributed generously to support the war effort. E.C. Seaman, a prominent local politician and a member of the vestry, spoke for many of them when in 1862 he urged the 'energetic prosecution of the war ... for the speedy suppression of the present wicked rebellion, the restoration of the Union, and the preservation of the Constitution and government of the United States, in all their former power and purity'. When in January 1863 Abraham Lincoln liberated enslaved people by presidential decree there was considerable rejoicing in Ann Arbor. But for vestryman Seaman the Emancipation Proclamation was a bridge too far. Seaman was personally convinced, he wrote, that slavery was 'morally wrong and unjust'. But he worried that the emancipation of the slaves had given white Southerners 'fanatical zeal and energy, as persecuted patriots, fighting for the defence of their property, their families, and their firesides'. In his view 'every people and community [should] adhere to the rule of non-intervention, to attend to their own business, and not to interfere with others except in defence of their own rights'. Seaman wanted the Union restored, founded 'upon the absolute sovereignty of the states in all international and domestic matters'. He urged a speedy reversal of slave emancipation, as that was—in his view—the only way in which the Union might be restored.

Mr. Seaman was, of course, wrong: the Civil War came to an end in March 1865.

For Ann Arbor the war years and their immediate aftermath were tremendously prosperous. Ann Arbor's population grew by 50 percent during the 1860s, from a little over 5,000 to almost 7,400, largely through the doubling of the number of German immigrants, and also through the incorporation of the Lower Town into the city. In 1865, returning veterans enrolled in the university pushed the student numbers to 1,205, making the University of Michigan into the largest in the country.

Among those who enrolled in the university in 1868 were the first two African American students: John Davidson of Pontiac, who left after spending a year in the literary department; and Franklin Hargo of Adrian, who completed the two year courts in law.

The census of 1870 found 230 black residents of Ann Arbor. Schools in Detroit and Ypsilanti were segregated, but not in Ann Arbor, where black students alongside whites.

The years immediately following the war saw tremendous growth in Ann Arbor's industrial concerns. Land was being bought and sold in a flurry; and buildings of all kinds were going up. In 1869 the citizens agreed to a \$100,000 bond to finance the building of a north-south railway that would pass through Ann Arbor. It was finally opened in 1878. In the words of one advertisement: Ann Arbor was an 'orderly and educational place Where expenses are low', a place preferable to larger cities where there is 'bad discipline and evil associations'.

The economic buoyancy of the 1860s and early 1870s lifted St. Andrew's, too. Rev. Gillespie organized a fundraising campaign, and some \$20,000 was raised. Among the largest contributors were Mr. Henning—the 'Apple King', Mr. Millen, owner of the dry goods shop, and Dr. Douglas, professor of gaslighting. The cornerstone for new building was laid on Monday, 15 June 1868, at 1:30 pm. In the cornerstone were placed the names of the officers of the parish; the *Church Almanac* for 1868; the report of the public schools for 1868; the city directory of Ann Arbor, with the names of parishioners marked; a catalogue of the University of Michigan; newspapers from Detroit and Ann Arbor; a parcel of coins; and a historical narrative about Ann Arbor. The building went up swiftly, and on 10 November 1869 the new sanctuary was consecrated by Bishop McCosky.

Our beautiful building is the lasting legacy of the Civil War for St. Andrew's. This parish navigated the tumult and division of the time by staying above the fray, by focusing on the fabric of the church's life, and by keeping controversial things under wraps. The building in which we worship is a sign of the church's confidence that, in the wake of the division of war, a new and more beautiful future was in view. But—it is important to say—our beautiful building was only built because the church actively sought to avoid argument over most divisive moral question of the time.

In 2006 the General Convention of the Episcopal Church publicly apologized for its role in the perpetuation of slavery in the United States. In the resolution—which is on the screen—the convention acknowledged that the Episcopal church 'lent the institution of slavery its support and justification based on Scripture'. It apologized for 'its complicity and the injury done by the institution of slavery and its aftermath', and authorized two years of research into the benefits that the church had accrued from its support for slavery. In 2008 there was a two day observance of repentance at St. Thomas African Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. The presiding bishop—Katherine Jefferts Schori—told a congregation of 500 that 'Through it all, people of privilege looked the other way, and too few found the courage to question inhuman ideologies ... We and they ignored the image of Christ in our neighbors'.