DANIEL WORTH: PERSISTENT ABOLITIONIST

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To Dr. Emma Lou Thornbrough

Teacher, Advisor, and Friend

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One final word of explanation should be added concerning the use of "antislavery" in this thesis. During the nineteenth century, the practice was to hyphenate the term "anti-slavery" or even to make it two words: "anti slavery." It is now accepted practice to drop the hyphen, which was done in this thesis. When quoting contemporary sources, the original spelling has, of course, been preserved, so that all three forms will be found.

FOREWORD

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DANIEL WORTH

Daniel Worth was a reformer. He hated liquor, tobacco, war, and most of all, slavery. This thesis is a description of his struggle against the last of these evils. To those who knew and admired him, this struggle made him great. In the eyes of one contemporary, he was "perhaps the most conspicuous figure in the early history of Indiana."[1]

In the estimation of history, however, Daniel Worth was not a great man. No encyclopedia includes him; his life cannot be found in the Dictionary of American Biography. Many historians of the antislavery movement have ignored him. Standard works by Louis Filler, Dwight L. Dumond, Hazel Wolf, Martin Duberman, and Ronald Walters all pass over Daniel Worth without comment.[2] The works which do mention him, beginning with Henry Wilson's The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, without exception deal only with the last five years of his life, and then only as an illustration of another point. For Allan Nevins, Worth is an example of the polarization of North-South feelings on the eve of the Civil War; for Clement Eaton, he is a symbol of the intellectual repression which characterized the antebellum South.[3]

Two published biographical accounts of Daniel Worth do exist, both of which appeared in the North Carolina Historical Review in the early 1960's. Noble J. Tolbert's "Daniel Worth: Tarheel Abolitionist" is based largely upon secondary sources, and gives almost no consideration to Worth's life before 1857. Clifton H. Johnson's "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in

North Carolina" is a superb account of Worth's sojourn as an antislavery missionary in North Carolina from 1857 to 1860, but is necessarily limited to that period.[4] The reasons for this neglect probably lie in the scarcity of material concerning Worth. He is not known to have left any diary or autobiography; there is no collection of Daniel Worth papers. This account has been written from widely separated sources.

Nonetheless, Daniel Worth, President of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in America; President of the Indiana and the Miami Conferences of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; President of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society; President of the Economy, Indiana Anti Slavery Society; Director of the Western Free Produce Association; state representative; state senator; and magistrate; was obviously a man of some ability and importance. Furthermore, Worth is almost unique in his antislavery career in two respects. The first is its span, beginning in 1817 when William Lloyd Garrison was a boy of twelve and Theodore Weld a teenager, up to the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. His acquaintance with antislavery leaders began with such pioneers as Charles Osborn and Benjamin Lundy and old people in North Carolina who had known John Woolman; among those with whom he worked were Levi Coffin, Arnold Buffum, George W. Julian, Lewis Tappan, John G. Fee, John Rankin, George B. Cheever, Henry Ward Beecher, and Gerrit Smith. Such a career is almost unparalleled.

A second outstanding characteristic of Worth's antislavery work is his courage. Daniel Worth was willing to carry the antislavery crusade into the South itself, first in Kentucky and later in North Carolina, where he preached "uncompromising abolition" for two years.[5] Furthermore, Worth probably sacrificed a promising political career to his beliefs. A state legislator at twenty-nine, Worth obviously had political talents. Espousing the unpopular cause of abolition was political suicide.[6]

Thus Daniel Worth would seem to be a figure deserving further attention. This thesis is an attempt to study the life of a man who played a significant role in his chosen sphere of antislavery activity, and who, for a few months, captured the imagination of the nation.

ENDNOTES

[1]Solomon Woody, "Sketch of Daniel Worth,"(Ms. in the possession of Robert Nixon Huff of Richmond, Indiana, ca. 1890.)

[2]Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1959); Dwight L. Dumond, Antislavery: The Crusade For Freedom in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961); Hazel L. Wolf, On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952); Martin Duberman, The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Ronald Walters, The Antislavery Appeal (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

[3]Henry Wilson, The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1884), p. 668; Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Lincoln, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), II, 115; Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), pp. 139-142, 224.

[4]Noble J. Tolbert, "Daniel Worth: Tarheel Abolitionist," North Carolina Historical Review XXXIX (July, 1962), pp. 284-304; Clifton H. Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina," Ibid XL (July, 1963), pp. 295-320.

[5]The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860. See bibliography for further information on this particular publication.

[6]Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 320.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MAKING OF AN ABOLITIONIST

A. The Quaker Yeoman

Daniel Worth's story begins not in North Carolina, where he was born and spent roughly half his life, nor in Indiana, where he lived the other half and died. Instead, it has its inception off the coast of New England, where, on the rocky island of Nantucket about 1665, a young man from Salisbury, Massachusetts named William Worth was among the first settlers. William Worth became a man of some prominence in his new home, marrying a daughter of Thomas Macy, the island's first settler, and serving as town clerk. When most of the island's inhabitants were converted to Quakerism, the Worths became leaders of the new faith.[1]

In 1771 the first Daniel Worth, former whaling captain, great-grandson of William Worth, and grandfather of the subject of this thesis, left Nantucket for the North Carolina piedmont. Accompanied by his wife Eunice and their four children, Daniel Worth, Senior probably intended to join the large Quaker settlement at New Garden near what is now Greensboro. Instead he found a home in a Quaker neighborhood called Old Center in southern Guilford County.[2]

The elder Daniel Worth was part of a migration which left a definite mark on North Carolina. Discouraged by poor land and a growing population, over fifty Quaker families left Nantucket for the South between 1771 and 1775.

Crevecouer wrote of these emigrants and the land which was their goal in his Letters From an American Farmer:

> Emigration is both easy and natural to a maritime people.... Sometimes they have emigrated like bees, in regular and connected swarms....In the year 1766, a considerable number of them purchased a large tract of land in North Carolina, situated on the several heads of Deep River....The advantage of being able to convey themselves by sea to within forty miles of the spot and etc. made them cheerfully quit an island on which there was no longer room for them. There they have founded a beautiful settlement by the name of New Garden, contiguous to the one the Moravians have at Bethabra, Bethania, and Salem, on the Yadkin River. No spot on earth can be more beautiful; it is composed of gentle hills, of easy declevities, excellent low lands, accompanied by different brooks which traverse this settlement. I never saw a soil which rewards men so early for their labors and disbursements. It is perhaps the most pleasing, most bewitching spot which the continent affords.[3]

Daniel Worth, Senior, when he died in 1830 at the age of ninety-one. left behind a legacy of good deeds and respectability. A devout Friend, he "sat at the head of," or presided over, Center Friends Meeting nearly sixty years. He was also instrumental in the establishment of several schools in Guilford County, including the forerunner of what is now Guilford College.[4]

Job Worth, the father of our subject, was born on Nantucket July 11, 1765 and died in Sullivan County, Indiana September 30, 1822. He was married "according to the good order prevailing among Friends" November 29, 1787 to Rhoda Macy, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Starbuck) Macy, and also a native of Nantucket. She was born December 26, 1769 and died in Randolph County, Indiana February 27, 1837.[5]

Daniel Worth, minister, reformer, abolitionist, and the subject of this work, was born on his father's farm near Center Friends Meetinghouse in Guilford County, North Carolina May 3, 1795. Since he left no journal or other autobiographical materials, we know but little of his early life. A few details of his early growth in Guilford County can, however, be reconstructed

from the accounts of relatives and contemporaries.

Like nearly all of his neighbors, Job Worth was a small farmer. An 1815 tax list shows him as the owner of about two hundred acres of land. The major crops of the region were hay, corn, and tobacco. It is doubtful that the Worths were engaged in the production of the last, however, since it would have been a violation of Friends' discipline.[6] Farmwork undoubtedly occupied much of the time of Job Worth's children, as it did any other member of the yeoman class.

As for education, the young Daniel's opportunities were probably quite limited. North Carolina did not establish a public school system until 1839. Indeed, in the early nineteenth century the state was a byword for ignorance.[7] A nephew later wrote that Daniel Worth was largely self-taught.[8] His opportunities were greater than those of most of his contemporaries, however, since Quakers always took great care with the education of their children. A school was established in the Center settlement at an early date. There are some indications that Daniel studied under one William Reynolds, whom his cousin, Jonathan Worth, described as "the benefactor of his neighborhood...for correct instruction in English grammar and arithmetic."[9] By some means Daniel Worth did acquire a solid grounding in history, literature, and politics, since his letters and other writings are those of a well-read and literate man.

One subject upon which history is silent is Worth's early relationship with the Society of Friends. He definitely left the Society before 1822; unfortunately, the records of Center meeting before 1825 which would contain the requisite information have been lost. Thus it is impossible to determine the circumstances of his departure. There is a tradition that as a young man Worth was somewhat lax in his moral and religious attitudes, behavior which would have resulted in immediate disownment.[10] Certainly, if Worth were

still a Friend in 1818, he lost his right of membership in that year with his marriage to the Methodist Elizabeth Swaim of Randolph County, North Carolina. Marriage "out of unity" to a non-Quaker was considered a cardinal sin by the Friends.[11] In this seeming rebellion against his religious upbringing Worth seems to have been almost alone in his family, since his parents and all but one of his brothers and sisters died faithful Quakers.

The most important elements of Worth's early life as far as this thesis is concerned are those which account for his antislavery sentiments. These can be found in his family background. If ever such a thing as a "born abolitionist" existed, it was Daniel Worth. Quakers had long been among the prominent opponents of slavery; as early as 1781 the North Carolina Quakers had ruled that all slaves owned by members were to be emancipated forthwith.[12] Worth's early life in a Quaker settlement placed him in regular contact with antislavery influences. Furthermore, Worth's own family were Nantucket Friends, and these New England Quakers had been among the first organized groups in the western hemisphere to take open action against slavery, arguing as early as 1716 that buying and keeping slaves was contrary to the laws of God.[13]

The Worths were not content with passive non-slaveholding; they sought to put their ideas into practice. Thus when the North Carolina Manumission Society was formed in 1816, prominent among the members of the Center branch were Job Worth, his brothers David and Zeno, and his son Daniel.[14] A glance at the lives of the children of Job and Rhoda (Macy) Worth confirms this impression:

> 1. William Worth (1789-1855) married Elizabeth Barnard, daughter of Obed Barnard, a charter member of the North Carolina Manumission Society. William and Elizabeth Worth later moved to the Quaker settlement of Walnut Ridge in Rush County, Indiana, which was a noted antislavery center. Several of their children were active abolitionists.[15]

2. Rhoda Worth (1791-1837) married first Silvanus Swain and second Jesse Johnson. She died in Randolph County, Indiana. Although her death took place before organized abolitionist activities began in Indiana, her children, as well as the Johnson family in general, were active abolitionists. Two of her sons-in-law, John Charles and Thomas Marshall, were extremely active in the antislavery movement in Wayne County, Indiana.[16]

3. Daniel Worth (1795-1862) is the subject of this thesis.

4. Reuben Worth (1797-1850) was a member of the North Carolina Manumission Society. Cursory research did not reveal further antislavery activities on his part.[17]

5. Thomas Worth (1802-1863) was an avid abolitionist, a member of the Economy, Indiana Anti Slavery Society, and the son-in-law of Reuben Macy, another antislavery activist. His son Aaron Worth (1836-1925) was his uncle Daniel's protege and successor in the ministry.[18]

6. Lydia Worth (1805-1894) married first Isaiah Osborn, the son of Charles Osborn, an eminent Quaker abolitionist and early antislavery editor. Isaiah and Lydia Osborn were active in numerous antislavery activities. Lydia's second husband, David Maxwell, was also an active abolitionist.[19]

7. Mary Worth (1807-1870) married Elihu Swain, Junior, the son of Elihu Swain, Senior, who was one of the seven charter members of the East Tennessee Manumission Society. Elihu and Mary Swain were radical antislavery Quakers, and were among the first members of the Economy, Indiana Anti Slavery Society. Tradition also makes them conductors on the Underground Railroad.[20]

The Swaim family of Randolph County, North Carolina, into which Daniel Worth married, were also noted for antislavery beliefs. Among Elizabeth (Swaim) Worth's cousins was Moses Swaim, a Randolph County attorney and the first president of the North Carolina Manumission Society, a man known for fervent antislavery principles.[21] Perhaps even better known was another relative, William Swaim, the fiery editor of the Greensboro Patriot, whose use of the columns of his newspaper, along with his considerable talents as a writer and pamphleteer, made him "a most valuable aid to the anti-slavery party."[22]

Daniel Worth's antislavery beliefs were thus no aberration. They were the result of his environment. Guilford County between 1815 and 1835 was

probably the closest thing to an antislavery stronghold the antebellum South ever had. At one point the "Quaker District," as the area was known, even elected a man with antislavery principles to the state senate. William Swaim's Patriot provided a friendly press, while several local antislavery societies sprang into existence.[23] Even many years afterwards, when emigration had depleted the membership of the manumission societies and stilled the antislavery voices, portions of Guilford County could still be described as "abolition strongholds," while one writer noted that Worth's old home, the Old Center neighborhood, was "a nest of antislavery sentiments."[24]

B. The North Carolina Manumission Society

Early in 1816, at least four antislavery societies were in existence in Guilford County. Among these was "a society of manumissionists" at Center, which had been organized under the inspiration of the East Tennessee Manumission Society.[25] In May of that year these little groups were visited by Charles Osborn, a Quaker minister from Knox County, Tennessee and one of the organizers of the Tennessee group. Under his guidance the various North Carolina organizations met in convention at Center July 19 to form the North Carolina Manumission Society. Present as delegates from Center were Daniel Worth's father Job Worth and his uncles Zeno and David Worth. At a meeting in the Union Meeting House in Guilford County July 22, 1817 Daniel Worth made his first appearance in organized antislavery work as a delegate from Center.[26]

The activities of the Manumission Society in its early years were many and varied. Committees were established to communicate with other antislavery groups and religious organizations, to prepare statements of principles for publication, to investigate the statutes of various states in regard to slavery, and to petition Congress and the state legislature "on behalf of

the people of color now held in bondage."[27] Voting for a member of the legislature not committed to emancipation was made an impeachable offense.[28] All indications are, however, that the group was committed to the gradual abolition of slavery.[29]

Daniel Worth's role in the Society was not a major one. Nevertheless, at a meeting held at Center April 27, 1818 he and Joseph Hunt, a prominent Friend, were given the rather important task of preparing "an essay tending to develop the views of Society."[30] Their report, unfortunately, has not survived. The records do show, however, that through the year 1820 Daniel Worth was almost always present at meetings as a delegate from Center, which surely may be taken as an indication of commitment on his part.

The major issue to arise within the Society in these years was colonization, a subject which would divide antislavery men for years to come. Advocates of colonization were men who thought slavery wrong, but who also believed that Negroes and whites could not live in harmony. Thus the colonizationists proposed gradual emancipation of the slaves, with the free Blacks being sent to Africa or the West Indies. Although the scheme had the support of many men of good conscience, it was generally opposed by free Negroes, who feared being forcibly shipped overseas, as well as by other antislavery men who disliked its racist overtones. The colonization movement was quite popular in North Carolina, even the Friends looking upon it with favor.[31] Thus at a meeting held in April, 1817 the Center branch proposed that the Society "open a communication with the American Society at Washington for Colonizing the free people of color." At the same meeting the word "Colonizing" was added to the Society's name. According to Levi Coffin, this was the occasion for a heated debate and, when passed, for the convention to break up in confusion, with several members withdrawing.[32] This description is probably exaggerated, as the minutes show that meetings continued to be well

attended. Early in 1821 a motion was put forth to strike the word "Colonizing" from the Society's name. It failed.[33] It was then that a massive defection took place, with several subsequent meetings passing without business for lack of a quorum. In 1824 the anti-colonization element triumphed, and the Society once again flourished under the guidance of Benjamin Lundy.[34]

The positions of the Worths, especially Job and Daniel, in this affair are unclear. After 1820 Daniel Worth was not present as a delegate at any meeting, but Job Worth attended regularly, even when the rest of the Center delegates absented themselves. Thus it is impossible to determine Daniel Worth's stand on the colonization question. It would be difficult to argue, however, that his absence was a boycott protesting the endorsement of colonization, since he continued to attend meetings regularly after the word was added to the name, and commenced his absence just as agitation for its removal began. The last meeting of the Society attended by Job Worth was in January, 1822, when the colonization matter was discussed and the controversial word was retained in the title.[35] Thereafter followed the period of demoralization. When the Society revived in 1824 the Worths had left North Carolina.

C. The Great Migration

In the spring of 1822 Job and Daniel Worth and their families left North Carolina for Indiana. They were part of a general migration of Carolina Quakers which saw nearly six thousand Friends leave the South, most of them bound for Indiana from North Carolina.[36]

The great migration of the North Carolina Friends had complex causes. The Friends were not immune to the spirit which drew men west into the wilderness. As early as 1784 Guilford County Friends were moving west into Tennessee, while other itinerant Friends were exploring the new lands north

of the Ohio River.[37] At least one historian has noted that the Nantucket Friends were a particularly ambulatory group. It was not uncommon for people who had been born on the island and migrated to North Carolina in their youth to make the journey to Indiana or Ohio in old age.[38]

Three problems seem to have dominated the thinking of Friends like Job Worth in leaving for the Northwest. One of the most important was land. The soil of North Carolina was by this time widely believed to be worn out. The attractiveness of relatively inexpensive land to an agrarian people such as the Friends cannot be overemphasized.[39]

The second and third causes of the Quaker migration were closely interrelated: the wish to avoid slavery, and the fear of slave revolts. Many Friends felt that slavery was a degrading, sinful institution, and wished to live in an environment in which it could not exercise its economic and social influences. The idealism of the Friends in this respect cannot be overstated.[40] Slave revolts, such as that in Haiti in the 1790's and Nat Turner's rebellion, also left a lasting impression in the minds of the pacifist Quakers, leaving many of them fearful for the safety of their families.[41]

The extent to which the Worths shared these sentiments is impossible to determine, but both land and slavery certainly played a part in their decision to move to Indiana. The soil of the Old Center neighborhood was exhausted. One emigrant referred scornfully to the "poor hills" of the area, while another who left Center for Indiana in 1835 later remembered that he would not trade his little farm "for a thousand acres of land in that country."[42]

Considering the views of Job and Daniel Worth on slavery, it was natural for them to seek a home in free territory. Job Worth's daughter Lydia inferred such motives seventy years later when she remembered their journey.[43]

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= 1864 History Jay Co.
- Historic Penn township.

Monument ct.
Balbec Hwy 1
Between Pennville, Fayette.

- Ye Old Genealogy Scrap Book.

67 past Jay Co Highschool
REMC - Elect co.
Road Tyson (left)
Bloomington Street IN (Portland)
East Edgetown Country Place Apt
Left Pierce

The destination of the Worths was Sullivan County in western Indiana, where a group of Guilford County Quakers had formed a settlement on Turmins Creek. If the Worths arrived with high expectations, they were disappointed. The Turmins Creek Friends were isolated and conditions were primitive. A strong rain usually washed out the roads and made the streams of the area impassable.[44] Moreover, morals and religion were lax in the settlement. William Forster, an English Friend who visited Turmins Creek about the time of the Worths' arrival, wrote of the little group:

> It is quite a new settlement of Friends, from the upper part of North Carolina, and it is but lately that they have begun to hold a meeting....Their number is not large, and certainly, as to that which constitutes the life and power of religion, the Society must be considered to be in a low state. There is no Friend acknowledged as a minister among them; and I had to fear that the discipline is far from being supported in the authority of truth, and that the attendance of meetings for worship was regarded by many Friends with great indifference.[45]

If these difficulties were not enough, a final danger lurked in the Wabash Valley in the form of "fevers." In the autumn after their arrival, the two families were stricken with "the prevailing malaria." On September 22 Daniel's three year-old daughter Emily died. Eight days later Job Worth followed. One month after Emily's death the other child of Daniel and Elizabeth Worth, one year-old Edmund, died.[46] Seeing little to hold them, the two families remained only through the winter. In the spring of 1823, Daniel, now the head of the family, entered eighty acres of land in southwestern Randolph County in east-central Indiana, to which they soon removed.[47]

ENDNOTES

[1]Alexander Starbuck, The History of Nantucket Island (Boston: C. E. Goodspeed, 1924),pp. 825, 828.

[2]Mens Minutes, New Garden Monthly Meeting of Friends, 7th Month 27, 1771, Birth and Death Records of Center Monthly Meeting of Friends, p. 27, William Wade Hinshaw, ed., Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy,6 vols. (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1936-1950), I, 583, 671. Received at New Garden the same day was Joseph Worth, brother of Daniel and the author's fifth great-grandfather.

[3]J. Hector de St. John Crevecouer, Letters From an American Farmer (London: Thomas Davies, 1782; repr. ed., New York: Doubleday and Company, n. d.), pp. 138-139. Crevecouer erred when he credited the Nantucket Friends with founding the New Garden settlement. It was founded about 1750 by Quakers from Pennsylvania and Maryland. Stephen Beauregard Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1898),p. 104.

[4]Sallie W. Stockard, The History of Guilford County, North Carolina (Knoxville: Gaut, Ogden, and Company, 1902) pp. 125, 193; Richard L. Zuber, Jonathan Worth: A Biography of a Southern Unionist (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965),p. 3.

[5]Ebenezer C. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago: A. E. Kingman Company, 1882), p. 405; New Castle, Indiana Weekly Courier, June 12, 1891.

[6]Guion G. Johnson, Antebellum North Carolina: A Social History, 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), p. 66.

[7]Ibid, p. 266.

[8]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 405

[9]Zora Klein, Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina (Philadelphia: Westbrook Company, 1925), pp. 50-60; J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, ed., The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1909), p. v; Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 405.

[10]Roy S. Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South (Syracuse: The Wesleyan Publishing House, 1933), pp. 78-79; Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, 2 vols. (London: MacMillan and Company, 1921), I, 174-177.

[11]Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 189.

[12]Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950) p. 84.

[13]Ibid, p. 30.

[14]H. M. Wagstaff, Jr., ed., The Minutes of the North Carolina Manumission Society, 1816-1834, James B. Sprunt Historical Studies, Vol. 22, no. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), p. 13. The original manuscript records at Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina were also consulted by the author.

[15]Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, I, 673; Willard C. Heiss, ed., Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana, 7 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1962-1977), IV, 357; Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, p. 13; New Garden, Indiana Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle, 10th Month 5, 1843.

[16]Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, I, 698; Heiss, Abstracts, II, 180.

[17]Ibid; Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, I, 669; Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, p. 44. From 1838 until his death Reuben Worth was a Richmond, Indiana merchant. "Town" Friends, such as those in Richmond, tended to be more conservative in their antislavery attitudes than "country" Friends, such as Reuben Worth's relatives in and around Economy. Perhaps this accounts for his seeming lack of ardor. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, p. 165.

[18]Wilbur H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1898), p. 408; Lola B. Lennox, Economy Times: The Past, Present, and Future of Economy, Indiana (Dublin, Indiana: Prignitz Press, 1975), p. 55; Membership List of the Economy, Wayne County Indiana Anti Slavery Society, Lindley Collection, Earlham College Library, Richmond, Indiana.

[19]Ruth Anna Ketring, Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement, Ohio Historical Collections, Vol. VII (Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1937), pp. 11, 35; Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 398; Membership List, Economy Anti Slavery Society; New Castle (Ind.) Weekly Courier, June 12, 1891; Worth Family Record, Edgerton Papers, Henry County Historical Society Museum, New Castle, Indiana.

[20]Heiss, Abstracts, II,175; B. H. Murphy, ed., The Emancipator, Published by Elihu Embree at Jonesborough, Tennessee, 1820 (Nashville: Published by the Author, 1932),p. 7; Membership List, Economy Anti Slavery Society; Lennox, Economy Times, p. 52.

[21]Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, p. 14; Levi Coffin, Reminiscences, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1880) p. 74. The author is indebted to his cousin, Miss Mary Louise Reynolds of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, a Swaim descendant, for making her extensive notes on the Swaim family available. The Swaims, who were Methodists of Dutch descent, should not be confused with the Swains, who, like the Worths, were Nantucket Quakers.

[22]Levi Coffin, Reminiscences, p. 74; Alice D. Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1830 (Cambridge: Radcliffe College Monographs, 1908; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964) p. 30.

[23]Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, pp. 3-4; Adams, Neglected Period, p. 36; Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, p. 241.

[24]Greensboro (N. C.) Patriot, January 27, 1860; B. H. White to Ralph Gorrell, February, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[25]Adams, Neglected Period, p. 137; Charles Osborn, Journal of His Life and Labors in the Ministry (Cincinnati: Achilles Pugh, 1854) p. 137.

[26]Ketring, Charles Osborn, p. 29; Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, pp. 13-14, 21. In a speech delivered in New York City in May, 1860 Worth stated that he began his antislavery work at the age of eighteen or nineteen. New York Tribune, May 8, 1860.

[27]Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, pp. 18, 20, 24.

[28]Ibid, pp. 17, 58, 59, 62.

[29]Ketring, Charles Osborn, p. 26; Thomas Earle, The Life, Labors, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia: William G. Parrish, 1847), p. 22; Merton L. Dillon, Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle For Negro Freedom (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966) pp. 66-67.

[30]Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, p. 28.

[31]Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1959) p. 20; John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943; reprint ed., New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1971) pp. 200-202.

[32]Coffin, Reminiscences, pp. 75-76. Coffin was in error when he stated that this meeting was held at "General Gray's in Randolph County." Records show that it was in the Center Friends Meetinghouse. Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, p. 19. Another source states that Charles Osborn was the only delegate present to cast a dissenting vote. Walter Edgerton, A History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends...On the Anti-Slavery Question (Cincinnati: Achilles Pugh, 1856) p. 30.

[33]Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, p. 57.

[34]Adams, Neglected Period, p. 137; Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, pp. 234-241; Earle, Life of Benjamin Lundy, pp. 22-23.

[35]Wagstaff, North Carolina Manumission Society, pp. 21, 22, 26, 32, 34, 37, 42, 44, 56, 61, 64.

[36]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 405; Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, pp. 271-272.

[37]Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, pp. 251-252; Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, "Quaker Migration to the Western Waters," East Tennessee Historical Publications 18 (1946), pp. 47-48. Among the leaders of the migration into Tennessee was a Center Friend named William Beals, the author's sixth great-grandfather.

[38]Bernhard Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XV, no. 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1945), p. 19n.

[39]Johnson, Antebellum North Carolina, p. 39; Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley, p. 19; Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 305.

[40]Coffin, Reminiscences, p. 76; Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley, p. 18; Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 426.

[41]Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 409; Herbert Aptheker, "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," Journal of Negro History 25 (October, 1940), pp. 330-362.

[42]Stephen B. Gardner to Jonathan Worth, February 25, 1841, Hamilton, Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, I, 33; Samuel Lamb to Delilah Vickrey, May 14, 1857, letter in the possession of Mrs. Walter R. Thompson of Greensboro, North Carolina, a descendant of Delilah Vickrey.

[43]New Castle Weekly Courier, June 12, 1891.

[44]Coffin, Reminiscences, p. 87.

[45]Quoted in Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I, 424-425.

[46]New Castle Weekly Courier, June 12, 1891; Tucker, History of Randolph County, pp. 174, 405; Worth Family Record, Edgerton Papers.

[47]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 405.

CHAPTER TWO

SQUIRE DANIEL WORTH

A. The Worths at Home

The reasons for Daniel Worth's choice of Randolph County as a permanent home for his family are not definitely known. We can hazard some fairly accurate guesses based upon what we know of the Worth family's character and the circumstances under which they left the Wabash Valley.

Bereft of three members of the family, it was natural for the Worths to seek solace among friends and family. The Nantucket settlement which they joined along the border of Wayne and Randolph Counties supplied both in abundance. Not far from the farm upon which the Worths settled lived Rhoda Worth's brothers Reuben and Albert Macy; Thomas Worth would soon find a wife in Sarah, the daughter of his uncle Reuben.[1] To the south, keeping a tavern on the northern edge of the village of Economy, the area trading center, were Rhoda's sister Elizabeth and her husband Uriah Barnard.[2] Two other sisters of Rhoda (Macy) Worth, Hannah Wall and Judith Way, lived only a few miles to the east.[3] The neighborhood had taken its name from the fact that many of its early settlers were Nantucket Quakers from North Carolina or Tennessee.[4] Many area residents had come from Old Center. A glance at local records shows such familiar Old Center names as Beeson, Osborn, Chamness, Lamb, Hockett, Reynolds, Dennis, Bales, and Swain. The Worths were far from being alone in their new home. Indeed, they were probably among more friends than they would have been had they returned to North

Carolina, where the Quaker settlements were being rapidly depleted by emigration.

Furthermore, all indications are that the Worths were an extremely religious and moral family. One descendant recorded that Daniel Worth's sister Lydia Osborn refused to allow her children to laugh on Sunday.[5] The "low state" of religion which William Forster found at Turmins Creek undoubtedly pained them. The settlement around Economy would have been much more congenial. For Rhoda Worth and her children the Springfield Friends Meeting was within walking distance of their home; Daniel and Elizabeth Worth found a flourishing Methodist congregation even nearer.[6] Order and morality were enforced strictly in any Quaker settlement, while the Methodist code of behavior was just as drastic. The Reverend William C. Smith, an eminent area Methodist divine, later remembered:

> When one visited a neighbor to spend a social evening, among other topics of conversation religion, and the many happy hours they had enjoyed in the sanctuary in other days formed a prominent part, and they always closed the evening's sociabilities with prayer....It was a rare thing to hear an oath uttered, or the report of a gun on the holy sabbath day, or to see a man drunk.[7]

The law dealt strictly with offenders. Worth's brother-in-law Isaiah Osborn, a Justice of the Peace for Perry Township from 1829 through 1831, recorded fining eight offenders for "profane swearing."[8]

The country in which the Worths settled was still frontier, having been opened to settlement in 1818. The last Indians had left in 1822.[9] It was virgin land, covered with unbroken forests. The process of clearing a pioneer farm has been described too often to require repetition. It was probably the same for Daniel Worth as it was for any other pioneer. Life in the area was not easy. Ira Swain, the husband of Worth's first cousin Phebe Macy, later remembered that for several years he went without shoes, while the long distance from any mill often meant long periods without bread.[10]

Lydia (Worth) Osborn remembered a life of toil and a monotonous if plentiful fare of pumpkins, potatoes, hominy, milk, pork, and beans.[11] As time passed, Daniel Worth prospered as a farmer and was able to expand his land holdings, purchasing an additional eighty acre tract in 1829.[12] Various official duties brought in extra income, so that by the late 1830's he was able to build a substantial brick house which still stands north of Economy.[13]

Life was not without its diversions. The marriages of Worth's sisters Mary and Lydia and brother Thomas in 1828, 1829, and 1833 respectively, were undoubtedly the occasion for celebration, although a watchful committee of elderly Friends would have been present to ascertain that the occasion was not observed "after the fashion of the world."[14] Children were arriving in Daniel and Elizabeth Worth's family, beginning in 1824: Emily, Sarah, Rhoda, William, Lydia, and Mary; and before the family left Randolph County in 1850 the three oldest would be married and established in their own homes.[15] Of course there were the inevitable social occasions of the frontier: quiltings, log rollings, barn raisings, corn huskings, etc.

There were also times of excitement and danger. On July 11, 1824 a catastrophic tornado cut through Wayne and Randolph Counties. One survivor remembered that "the rain fell in perfect floods and the bottoms were soon covered and the roads blocked for miles." The storm cut a swath of fallen timber a mile wide through the forest. Although many cabins, including that of Worth's uncle Albert Macy lost their roofs, and settlers spent weeks rounding up stray livestock, no lives were lost.[16] Daniel Worth would later turn the "fallen timber," as the area became known, to good use.

The life which Daniel Worth and his family led was not unusual for the time and place. Surrounded by a supporting network of relatives and neighbors, almost all of Carolina backgrounds and similar moral and religious outlooks, the Worths were at home.

B. Religion

The dominant faithsof the Whitewater Valley, in which the Worths settled, were Quakerism and Methodism. The former has already been discussed at length. The contiguous counties of Wayne, Randolph, and Henry were the great center of western Quakerism, the "Quaker stronghold of the west," as one historian has dubbed it.[17] The vast majority of the Friends were from North Carolina, as one observer noted: "The places from which they came became almost stereotyped phrases; when asked from where they came the general answer was 'Guilford County, near Clemmons' Store' or 'Beard's Hatter Shop' or 'Dobson's Cross-roads' or 'Deep River settlement of Friends.'"[18] From a Quaker family, Worth was undoubtedly affected by the presence of the large Quaker population.

The religious strain in which the Worths found their home, however, was Methodism. The Swaims in North Carolina were Methodists by heritage, and Daniel Worth joined the Methodist Church in 1831.[19] Originally he belonged to the congregation at Economy.[20] In 1832 he joined in forming a new congregation called Union Chapel two miles northwest of his farm. The circuit minister was the Reverend William Hunt, popularly known as "Old Billy Hunt," a powerful preacher and highly opinionated Kentuckian who was Worth's nemesis in the years to come.[21]

The Methodism of that time and place was an evangelical, emotional sort; "shouting Methodists," its devotees were called. One observer remembered it as "Methodism of...the primitive, volcanic sort, which found fit expression in old-fashioned revivals, camp-meetings, and a remorseless administration of the terrors of the law."[22] Preaching was designed to bring about the conversion of sinners by emphasizing the torments of hell awaiting the unregenerate. One of its practitioners described his compatriots thus:

> These men were fearless in the discharge of duty, not counting their lives dear if they might win souls to Christ. No privation, no hardship, no danger deterred them. They were bold in their attacks on Satan's kingdom, which, by the power of the holy spirit which attended their preaching, was often made to rock from center to circumference. No sin, great or small, in high or low places, was allowed to go unscathed.[23]

A favorite device of the Methodist exhorter was the camp meeting, several of which were held in the Economy area at this time, including at least one at Union Chapel.[24] The camp meeting as practiced in the Whitewater country at this time has been described by the indefatigable Reverend William C. Smith:

> The time at these camp meetings was all devoted to worship, except what was necessary for eating and sleeping. None was devoted to idle or wordly conversation, in the tents or around the encampment. Not unfrequently when the battle commenced, it was continued day and night, without intermission. While some slept, others kept up the engagement, pouring hot shot into Satan's ranks. This continuous fire was such, that often the stoutest sinners, when brought within range, were made to yield and cry for quarter, in a very short space of time. Sometimes, at the midnight hour, the Gospel battery would open anew from the stand, while the infantry at various points of the encampment, were charging the gates of hell by means of prayer meetings. In such engagements the slain of the Lord were many.[25]

As one of Worth's friends later wrote: "Religion was not so much a struggle for heaven as a scuffle to escape hell."[26]

Of Worth's own religious experience during this time we know but little, aside from his membership in the churches already mentioned. From his later writings, however, it can be inferred that he entered into emotional religion with enthusiasm. His own conversion was emotional. Thirty years later he wrote of it as such to a fellow clergyman.[27] At this time the Union Chapel church was on a circuit, so that the regular minister would not always be present when services were held.[28] On such occasions Worth used his own gifts as a preacher, although he was not ordained.[29] Judging from Worth's later ministerial labors, this preaching was in the best tradition of "volcanic Methodism" with "shouting, singing...penitents prostrate, beg-

ging, pleading, wrestling with God for mercy."[30]

C. The Man of Affairs

One historian has written of the Worths:

> They were successful, not only in a material way, but also in obtaining the confidence, respect, and admiration, if not the liking, of all those with whom they came in contact. They were men of too firm a mold, were too given to forming their own opinions and then living up to them, instead of accepting them ready made, to be liked by all.[31]

Although this description was intended for Daniel Worth's cousin Jonathan Worth, it can easily be applied to Daniel Worth the reformer.

Daniel Worth was early attracted to public service of various kinds. Before leaving North Carolina he had held his first position of public, Justice of the Peace for Guilford County, which was an office of much more importance at that time than it is today. Worth referred to the office as a "magistracy."[32] Worth continued his public career after his arrival in Randolph County. Most of the positions he held were relatively minor. In 1833 he was one of three trustees of the school section in the township in which he lived. On several occasions he was appointed a commissioner by the county court to appraise estates or execute deeds.[33]

At some time after his arrival in Randolph County Worth resumed his old position as a justice, a position which he retained nearly twenty years. Worth's duties in this post were important to his neighborhood. In addition to performing marriages, acting as a notary public, and holding the title of "Squire," the justice also presided over a kind of small claims court involving suits of less than one hundred dollars and such common offenses as fighting and swearing. Worth's only commission is dated 1834, although he served much longer.[34] In his public career Worth fell into the model sketched by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick of the able young man

without substantial prior experience who was soon filling responsible positions in new settlements.[35]

Daniel Worth apparently made a good impression in Randolph County. In 1824 he sought election to the lower house of the state legislature. His district was made up of the counties of Randolph and Allen, which then covered most of the northern half of the state.[36] No details are available concerning the campaign he waged, not even the name of his opponent or the margin by which he was elected. A campaign over such a district was undoubtedly strenuous. Oliver H. Smith, who was elected to Congress from the same district two years later, recalled that one hundred miles of wilderness lay between the settled portions of the two counties. When Smith attempted to reach Fort Wayne, the seat of Allen County, the only lodging he could find was with a squaw he could not speak a word of English.[37] Thomas Scattergood Teas, a Philadelphia Quaker who journied through the same country in 1821, wrote of a constant battle with "musquitoes," gnats, "myriads of fleas," and mud.[38] Even less is known about Worth's political views at this time. The area from which he came in North Carolina had been a Federalist stronghold, but at this time Allen and Randolph Counties were strongly Jeffersonian Democratic.[39] On August 2 Worth was elected to a one year term as a state representative.[40]

Worth's first term in the legislature passed uneventfully. He served on the Committee on Education, and was appointed to special committees to contract for wood to heat the assembly chamber and to consider the claims of some of his former Sullivan County neighbors whose lands had been damaged by the construction of a state road.[41] Worth's only opportunity to express his antislavery beliefs came in February, when the House passed a resolution condemning a memorial from the Georgia legislature deprecating the spread of antislavery sentiments.[42]

In 1825 Worth returned to the House. His course was almost identical to the preceding session's. He was appointed to the Committee on Education and the Committee on State Roads. For reasons unknown he joined with a minority in the lower house in voting not to hear the annual message of Governor James B. Ray.[43]

The August election of 1826 saw Samuel Hanna of Allen County take Worth's place in the House. The lack of election returns for this period makes it impossible to know if Worth sought election. It would not have been unusual if he had decided not to do so. The principle of rotation in office was gaining great popularity. Only one other Randolph County representative succeeded himself before 1880, and Hanna was extremely popular in Fort Wayne.[44] Perhaps the Allen County half of the district had demanded a term in power. In August of 1828 Worth returned to the House as Representative from Randolph, Allen, and "all the territory north of Madison and Hamilton Counties to the River Wabash."[45] His performance was again unremarkable. He served on the Committee on Canals and Internal Improvements, which was undoubtedly something of a plum. He was also given a seat on the Joint Committee on Enrolled Bills, which functioned as a liason between the two houses of the legislature, and as a standing conference committee.[46] A bit of Worth's moralism crept into his voting when he successfully opposed a bill to loosen controls on liquor sales.[47]

Although Worth's legislative career thus far seems to have been relatively undistinguished, it was apparently satisfactory to his constituents. It also attracted the attention of John Tipton, the powerful Indian agent for northern Indiana who controlled an effective state political machine and would soon use it to send himself to the United States Senate.[48] Since Fort Wayne was the center of the Indian trade at this time, and lay in Worth's district, the two men were undoubtedly acquainted. Tipton's corre-

spondence for this period shows that Worth was involved in the political maneuverings of the time, and that when he was elected Senator for Allen, Randolph, Cass, and Delaware Counties in August, 1829, it was with John Tipton's blessing.[49]

Worth's three years in the upper house were eventful. In his first year he served on two committees, Education and Internal Improvements.[50] He was attentive to the needs and wants of his constituents, introducing legislation to make the White River navigable through his district and a bill to construct a state road from Richmond to Logansport.[51]

Worth's position on most issues identifies him with the anti-Jackson faction in Indiana which eventually became the Whig Party. He favored internal improvements, including the bill for the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal, which he reported out of the Committee on Canals and Internal Improvements.[52] He opposed forcible Indian removal from the state, low prices for the sale of public lands, and direct election of the President and United States Senators.[53]

Insofar as Worth's antislavery principles are concerned, one minor and one major incident stand out. The minor incident took place during Worth's first year in the upper house. In December, 1829 one William Sewall, a slaveowner from Virginia traveling to Lafayette, was forced to stop in Indianapolis with some of his slaves because of high water. Since Indiana was free territory, Sewall's slaves were told by the townspeople that they could claim their freedom, and a suit was soon instituted on their behalf. On December 26 Circuit Judge Bethuel F. Morris ruled that the slaves were free by virtue of residence in a free state, Sewall's sojourn in Indianapolis being residence. Although the decision was popular with the townspeople, it was otherwise with the legislature. Senator Calvin Fletcher of Marion County found many members enraged, and wondered "what outrages may yet be com-

mitted on the poor Negroes."[54] The answer came in the Senate, where John Depauw of Washington County introduced a resolution calling for the formation of a committee to report a bill "guaranteeing to the owners of slaves while travelling through this state...the legal protection of such property." Apparently the emotions Fletcher feared had cooled, since Worth had the satisifaction of joining with the majority in voting down the resolution.[55]

In the 1830-1831 session Worth faced a piece of legislation which could not have failed to grate upon his antislavery sensibilities. Since the admission of Indiana to the Union in 1816, various proposals had been made to restrict the movement of free Negroes into the state. The reasons were varied, mostly racial prejudice and the fear that the state would be inundated with "the dregs of the offscourings of the slave states."[56] In his 1829 message to the legislature Governor Ray had asked for a statute requiring free Negroes entering the state to post bond that they would not become public charges. Although the legislation had died in that session, it was revived at the next meeting of the legislature.[57]

When the bill reached the Senate January 13, 1831, its provisions set forth that all Blacks entering the state were to post a bond of five hundred dollars. Conviction of a crime meant forfeiture; failure to post bond was considered sufficient grounds for removal from the state. Any person knowingly hiring a Negro who had not posted bond was subject to a fine.[58]

When the bill came before the Senate for its first reading (three being necessary before passage), an effort was made to indefinitely postpone its consideration. Although Worth supported the effort, it failed. On February 5 the bill was brought in for a second reading. Calvin Fletcher of Marion County unsuccessfully attempted to add a clause that the legislation would not apply to United States citizens. Then, with a flash of the sarcasm which so many of his later acquaintances noted, "Mr. Worth moved to

amend said bill by striking out that compelling Negroes when summoned before the overseers of the poor, instead of showing cause why they should not leave the state, to show cause why they are black." Worth's attempt at humor was unsuccessful, as the amendment failed nine to thirteen.[60]

On February 7 the bill was considered for passage. Significantly, an amendment by David Robb of Gibson County to allow limited slavery in the state was rejected almost unanimously. When the final vote was taken the bill was rejected ten to eleven, Worth voting with the majority.[61] The next day, however, James Gregory of Shelby County, who had voted against the measure, moved to reconsider the vote, switched sides, and thus provided a one vote margin of victory.[62] The bill's opponents had little cause for worry, however, since the law proved a flat failure, particularly in the Whitewater Valley.[63]

Worth's last year in the upper house was uneventful. He again served on the Education and Internal Improvements Committees, and his stands on most issues were similar to those he had taken previously.[64] No issues involving slavery arose. When the session ended in February, Worth left the legislature forever. Save for his justiceship, he would never again hold public office.

One wonders about Worth's reasons for retiring at this point. He was relatively young, and later events showed that he retained an interest in politics. One possible explanation is provided by John M. Williams, an Economy resident. In 1860 he wrote that Worth

> was early noted for his devotion to the anti-slavery cause in the legislature and elsewhere....He was stigmatized as an abolitionist because some man in Randolph County, known as such to such a degree as to prevent him from voting, in view of Mr. Worth's course in the legislature, declared 'At last I have found a man I can vote for.'[65]

Abolitionists were extremely unpopular at this time, and identification with

such a politically unpopular cause would undoubtedly have hurt Worth.[66] This, combined with the fact that he lived in a large district in which other men were probably demanding a chance for office, probably deterred Worth from seeking another term.

As the year 1840 approached Daniel Worth, Esquire, could look back upon a profitable life. He was prosperous, a member of the church, a public servant who had worked to further the causes of order, morality, and education in his community. For many this would have been the sum total of a well-spent life. For Daniel Worth it was but a prelude.

ENDNOTES

[1]Ebenezer C. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago: A. E. Kingman Company, 1882), p. 398; Sylvanus J. Macy, Genealogy of the Macy Family, 1635-1868 (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868), pp. 127-128, 206.

[2]Andrew W. Young, History of Wayne County, Indiana (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1872), p. 307; Lola B. Lennox, Economy Times: The Past, Present, and Future of Economy, Indiana (Dublin, Indiana: Prignitz Press, 1975), p. 3.

[3]Macy, Macy Genealogy, pp. 127-128.

[4]Lennox, Economy Times, p. 3.

[5]Ibid, p. 46.

[6]Young, History of Wayne County, pp. 309-310.

[7]Bernhard Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XV, no. 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1945), p. 44; William C. Smith, Indiana Miscellany (Cincinnati: Poe and Hitchcock, 1867), pp. 39, 43.

[8]Docket of Isaiah Osborn, 1829-1831, quoted in Lennox, Economy Times, pp. 44-45. Statutes against profanity and blasphemy were common in frontier states, although they were usually enforced erratically. See Boynton Merrill, Jr., Jefferson's Nephews: A Frontier Tragedy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976; paperback ed. New York: Avon Books, 1978), p. 155.

[9]Tucker, History of Randolph County, pp. 27-28.

[10]Ibid, pp. 82-83.

[11]New Castle (Ind.) Weekly Courier, June 12, 1891.

[12]Randolph County, Indiana Deed Book A, p. 301.

[13]Robert Nixon Huff to the author, July 5, 1978. Mr. Huff, a resident of Richmond, Indiana, is probably more knowledgeable concerning the anti-slavery movement in eastern Indiana than any other living person. He is currently serving as curator of the Levi Coffin House Museum in Fountain City, Indiana.

[14]Willard C. Heiss, ed., Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana, 7 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1962-1977), II, 178. "It is further directed...that the parties themselves, their parents, and others concerned, do take care, at the houses or places where they go, after the solemnization is over, that no reproach arises, or occasion of offense be given, by any intemperate or immoderate feasting or drinking, or any unseemly, wanton, or rude discourses...and that the company retire to their homes in reasonable time....The said overseers are to

report to the monthly meeting whether good order was observed." Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends, Discipline (Cincinnati: A. Pugh, 1854), p. 52.

[15]Edna Harvey Joseph, "The Worth Family," Ms., Genealogy Division, Fort Wayne, Indiana Public Library; Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 144.

[16]Ibid, p. 83; History of Wayne County, Indiana 2 vols. (Chicago: Interstate Publishing Company, 1884), II, 691.

[17]Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley, passim.

[18]John Macamy Wasson, Annals of the Pioneer Settlers on the Whitewater and Its Tributaries (Richmond, Indiana: Press of the Telegram Printing Company, 1875), p. 11. All of the places mentioned are in Guilford County, North Carolina.

[19]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 405.

[20]Young, History of Wayne County, p. 308.

[21]Tucker, History of Randolph County, pp. 156, 168.

[22]Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley, p. 90; George W. Julian, "A Search After Truth," Unitarian Review XXIX (January, 1888), pp. 48-49.

[23]Smith, Indiana Miscellany, p. 46.

[24]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 153.

[25]Smith, Indiana Miscellany, p. 72.

[26]Julian, "Search After Truth," p. 48.

[27]Daniel Worth to James Clayton, January, 1860, Winchester, Indiana Randolph County Journal, January 19, 1860.

[28]William Warren Sweet, Circuit Rider Days in Indiana (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company, 1916), pp. 42-43; Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 156.

[29]Ibid, p. 174.

[30]The Wesleyan, September 22, 1858.

[31]J. G. DeRoulhac Hamilton, ed., The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1909), I, vi.

[32]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 405; Randolph County Journal, January 12, 1860.

[33]Lennox, Economy Times, p. 35. Randolph County Probate Order Book A shows Worth executing deeds, appraising estates, etc. School section trustees

were public officials charged with the oversight of the one section of land in each congressional township which was set aside for school purposes under the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Reginald Horsman, The Frontier in the Formative Years, 1783-1815 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, c. 1970), pp. 141-142.

[34]Tucker, History of Randolph County, pp. 218, 405; Dorothy Riker, ed., Executive Proceedings of the State of Indiana, 1816-1836, Indiana Historical Collections, XXIX (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1947), p. 579. For a discussion of the importance of the justice of the peace on the frontier see Boynton Merrill, Jr., Jefferson's Nephews, pp. 140-141, 151-154.

[35]Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier, Part I: Democracy in the Old Northwest," Political Science Quarterly LXIX (September, 1954), p. 333.

[36]Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough, Indiana Election Returns, 1816-1851, Indiana Historical Collections XL (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1960), p. 192.

[37]Oliver H. Smith, Early Indiana Trials and Sketches (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstack, Keys, and Company, 1858), p. 81.

[38]Quoted in Shirley S. McCord, ed., Travel Accounts of Indiana, 1679-1961, Indiana Historical Collections XLVII (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970), p. 111.

[39]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 213.

[40]Riker and Thornbrough, Indiana Election Returns, p. 192.

[41]Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana...9th Session (Indianapolis: Douglas and Maguire, 1825), pp. 9, 55, 110.

[42]Ibid, p. 224.

[43]Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana...10th Session (Indianapolis: Douglas and Maguire, 1826), pp. 8, 10, 30.

[44]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 216; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1945), p. 46; Charles E. Slocum and Robert S. Robertson, History of the Maumee Basin, Allen County, Indiana, 3 vols. (N.p.: Bowen and Slocum, 1905), II, 89.

[45]Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana...13th Session (Indianapolis: Smith and Bolton, 1829), p. 5.

[46]Ibid, pp. 5, 9, 365.

[47]Ibid, p. 199.

[48]Nellie Armstrong Robertson, ed, John Tipton Papers, Indiana Historical Collections.XXV, 3 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942), I, 23-24.

[49]Joseph Holman to John Tipton, February 21, 1829, Robertson, ed., John Tipton Papers, II, 144.

[50]Journal of the Senate of the State of Indiana...14th Session (Indianapolis: Smith and Bolton, 1830), p. 8.

[51]Ibid, pp. 53, 227.

[52]Ibid, p. 128.

[53]Ibid, pp. 218-219, 244, 301; Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848 (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), pp. 196-198; Roy W. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), pp. 93-96.

[54]Gayle Thornbrough, ed., The Diary of Calvin Fletcher, 1817-1838 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1972), pp. 166-168; Indianapolis Indiana Journal, December 29, 1829, cited in Marion C. Miller, "The Anti-slavery Movement in Indiana" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1938), p. 43.

[55]Journal of the Senate of the State of Indiana...15th Session (Indianapolis: A. P. Morrison, 1831), p. 209.

[56]Emma Lou Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900: A Study of a Minority, Indiana Historical Collections XXXVIII (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1957), pp. 55-58.

[57]Ibid, p. 58.

[58]Senate Journal, 15th Session, p. 262; Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, p. 58.

[59]Senate Journal, 15th Session, p. 262.

[60]Ibid, p. 460.

[61]Ibid, pp. 477-478.

[62]Ibid, p. 485.

[63]Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, p. 62; Levi Coffin, Reminiscences, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1880), p. 193.

[64]Journal of the Senate of the State of Indiana...16th Session (Indianapolis: A. P. Morrison, 1832), p. 31.

[65]Centerville, Indiana True Republican, March 15, 1860.

[66]Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York: G. C. Appleton Company, 1933), pp. 51-52.

CHAPTER THREE

ORGANIZATION---AND DIVISION

A. The Origins of Indiana Antislavery

The decade from 1830 to 1840 witnessed the birth of the organized antislavery movement which culminated in the Emancipation Proclamation. The year 1831 saw the establishment of William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator in Boston, 1833 the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and 1834, 1835, and 1836 Theodore Weld's famous tour of Ohio and the Northeast, leaving antislavery converts wherever he ventured.[1] Inherent in all of these developments was a belief in a new form of antislavery thought and action, a belief that slavery was so great an evil as to demand immediate and unconditional abolition.[2]

Indiana remained relatively untouched by these currents until late in the decade. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had intended to ban slavery forever from the state, and while slaves were introduced and held under various pretenses, even they had been declared free by the courts before 1825.[3] Before 1838, the only organized antislavery activities in the state were those of the American Colonization Society, which began its work in Indiana in 1829.[4] A number of explanations for this lack of activity have been advanced. The groups which led in antislavery efforts in other states, such as the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, were either insignificant in Indiana or under strongly Southern influences, while the large Quaker population was before 1835 mostly concentrated

in newly settled areas, where there was little time for reform activities.[5] One antislavery man blamed the state's large Southern population for the lack of antislavery conscience, while Gamaliel Bailey, one of the nation's great antislavery leaders, argued that the problem lay with the large number of settlers who had left the South because they found slavery inconvenient rather than unjust or immoral.[6] The most reasonable conclusion seems to be that most Hoosiers were racists who, while they had no love for slavery, had even less for Negroes or those agitating on their behalf.

The first antislavery stirrings began about 1835. Theodore Weld, who was a traveling agent and lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society, had achieved remarkable success in Ohio, and planned to visit Indiana, but was prevented by a physical collapse.[7] Despite this, interest in opposition to slavery continued to grow. A Jeffersonville minister, Nathaniel Fields, served as a vice-president of the American Anti-Slavery Society; an Indiana delegate was present at the annual meeting of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society in 1836; and the first antislavery organization in Indiana to advocate immediate and unconditional emancipation, the Decatur County Anti-Slavery Society, was formed in the same year.[8]

In September of 1838 a group of antislavery men met at Milton in Wayne County to form the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society. The state organization was an auxiliary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The state society, in turn, had auxiliaries on the county and township levels.[9] When James G. Birney visited the group's annual convention a year later he found their abolitionist sentiments to be "of the best kind."[10] Encouraged, the national organization sent to Indiana the man who apparently did more for the movement in the state than any other one person, a Rhode Island Quaker named Arnold Buffum.[11]

Buffum was a quaint figure. Thoreau later remembered him as "...look-

ing like a pierhead made of the cork tree with the bark on, as if he could buffet a considerable wave."[12] Nevertheless, Buffum was highly regarded by antislavery men. Originally a prosperous Rhode Island hat manufacturer, he had been among the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and was one of the first supporters of William Lloyd Garrison. Although he had been disowned by the Friends for his radical activities, Buffum, after 1834, made a career of antislavery work. He came west to Ohio in 1839, and in the same year located in Indiana as an agent for the national organization. His intent was to concentrate his efforts among the Quaker population of the Whitewater Valley. As one committed to immediate rather than gradual emancipation, Buffum represented a type of antislavery man new to most of the Whitewater Friends, and unpopular among conservatives. He thus came to Indiana pursued by letters warning against him as a dangerous radical.[13]

Once in Indiana Buffum concentrated upon the formation of antislavery societies, lecturing in Wayne, Randolph, Henry, and Union Counties in the company of Levi Coffin and Daniel Puckett, both noted area antislavery men.[14] The results were encouraging. In January of 1840 Gamaliel Bailey wrote that "abolition is marching on in Indiana," with Buffum "doing great good."[15] The Rhode Island Quaker was soon joined in his work by Lewis Hicklin, a methodist minister from southern Indiana. In January, 1840 they took their crusade to Economy, where a large meeting was held in the Springfield Friends Meetinghouse and the Economy Anti Slavery Society formed. The president of the meeting, and of the new society, was Daniel Worth.[16]

B. Roots of Commitment

One of the most revealing anecdotes regarding Daniel Worth was re-

corded in 1881 by Lucius C. Matlack. About 1850 Worth, traveling on the Ohio River, was introduced by the captain of his steamboat to a man whom the captain regarded as "one of the best of good slaveholders." The slaveowner asked Worth if he thought slavery would eventually die, saying that he was personally convinced that the institution would endure forever. Worth replied that there was one all-sufficient reason why slavery was doomed. When asked for it he thundered: "Sir, slavery must die because God almighty lives!"[17] No description could better fit Daniel Worth's war on slavery than that of a Christian battling against sin.

This author will not attempt to pinpoint exactly what it was within Daniel Worth's personality which made him an abolitionist.[18] As Martin Duberman, one of the most incisive of antislavery historians, has noted, we may never know enough about the human mind to establish precisely why anyone does anything. To attempt to do so with a subject long dead on the basis of fragmentary evidence would be impossible.[19] Nevertheless, we can identify some of the circumstances under which Worth's commitment to the antislavery cause was made.

One factor which was undoubtedly significant in Worth's decision was family background. Recent writers have emphasized the importance of childhood and youth in the formation of antislavery attitudes.[20] As has already been seen, Worth was raised in a family environment in which antislavery beliefs formed an important part. Combined with this were Worth's own impressions of slavery. Like other abolitionists of Southern birth, Worth had an acute sense of the inhumanity inherent in the slave system. He later wrote with great feeling of his own memories of the "woe-begotten countenances and lacerated backs" he had seen on slaves, and summed up the Southern plantation experience as "maimings, beatings, starvings, and brandings."[21] Whether these impressions were accurate or fair is irrelevant.

Worth's judgments were based upon his own perceptions, and these alone are relevant to any consideration of his attitude toward slavery.

A final factor which played an important part in Worth's commitment to abolition was his evangelical Methodism. Evangelical religion was one of the most potent forces in America between 1820 and 1860. Its essence has been well-summarized by Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "revivals, voluntary or benevolent associations, and modified Calvinism."[22] The greatest of the evangelicals of this period was the New Yorker Charles Grandison Finney, who preached that sin lay in selfishness, and salvation lay in giving vent to the good in every man.[23] Revivalism flourished within the Methodist Church, and many Methodists combined the new ideas with older doctrines to justify efforts for social change.[24] The relationship of these concepts with slavery lay in the ideas popular among evangelicals that slavery was a sin. Once this was accepted, the evangelical had no difficulty calling for slavery's complete and immediate extirpation, since no harm could possibly come from purging one's self of sin.[25]

Evangelical religion cannot serve as a complete explanation for the antislavery movement, since many abolitionists were not evangelicals, and most evangelicals never became abolitionists.[26] As the previous anecdote and Worth's later work indicate, however, Worth considered slavery a sin, a sin made all the more heinous because man was a fundamentally sinful creature, and to put him into a situation which he had absolute power over others, such as slavery, inevitably led to abuses.[27] As Timothy L. Smith has noted, two of the most important influences in the evangelical war on slavery were Methodist perfectionism and Quaker concern with ethics.[28] Committed to the former and raised on the latter, Worth was naturally drawn into the antislavery movement.

Two men were in a position to serve as catalysts for Worth's entry

into organized antislavery activities. One was the distinguished Quaker minister and pioneer abolitionist Charles Osborn, who had been instrumental in the formation of the North Carolina Manumission Society. Emigrating to Indiana a few years before the Worths, Osborn had been the founder of Economy, and lived there until 1842. Worth and Osborn were probably acquainted, since Worth's sister Lydia had married Osborn's son Isaiah. Nonetheless, no record has survived of any contact between the two.

The other potential catalyst, and the man who probably brought Daniel Worth back into the antislavery movement, was Arnold Buffum. Buffum and Worth had much in common, both being former Quakers with strong antislavery heritages.[30] The source which links the two is the autobiography of the Reverend W. L. Smith, a Methodist minister who served at Economy in 1840 and 1841. Smith states that "Daniel Worth...became in the winter of 1840-1841 a convert to the extreme views of the abolitionists as led by the notorious Arnold Buffum, who had been brought over from England to enlighten the American people on the slavery question."[31] This sentence alone contains two errors since, as already has been seen, Worth's participation in antislavery activities began a year earlier than Smith would have it. Furthermore, Buffum, although he had traveled extensively in Europe, was a native Rhode Islander.[32] Nevertheless, circumstantial evidence does lend some credence to Smith's claim, particularly the fact that Worth's new interest coincided with Buffum's arrival, and the statement of Aaron Worth that his uncle Daniel began his career as a reformer in 1840.[33] It fitted the pattern of action of agents like Buffum to seek out Worth, since they were urged to concentrate upon leading citizens.[34]

The year 1840 was therefore a watershed in Daniel Worth's life. The public-spirited citizen was to become the professional reformer.

C. The Antislavery Leader

The first organization to demand Worth's attention was the Economy Anti Slavery Society. The records of the society for 1840 have survived, and are revealing concerning Worth's activities. The constitution of the organization gave its objects as immediate and unconditional emancipation with equality of rights for Black Americans.[35] Numerous resolutions expressive of these ends were passed, such as "American slavery is the vilest beneath the sun...it is a heinous sin against God...and ought to be immediately repented of and abandoned;" or "As Philanthropists and lovers of our liberties, we are bound to use every right measure Until Every Fetter shall be broken and every slave a Man."[36] Among those subjects which attracted the society's attention were the repeal of legislation discriminating against Blacks, the repeal of the gag rule on abolitionist petitions in the United States House of Representatives, and the establishment of a circulating neighborhood antislavery library.[37] Speakers were often present, Arnold Buffum and Hiram P. Bennett, a native of Vermont and local physician, being the favorites. On at least one occasion Worth was called upon for remarks.[38]

Worth apparently was successful in his Economy office, since he was recognized for special duties, such as serving as a delegate to the county and state conventions of the society.[39]In the autumn of 1840 the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society held its convention in Newport, the sessions apparently being dominated by Arnold Buffum's Whitewater Valley proteges. At this meeting Daniel Worth was elected president of the state organization, an office he would fill for the remainder of the society's existence.[40] Most of Worth's duties in this capacity were familiar ones, addressing and presiding over meetings and raising funds for various projects.

The years from 1840 to 1843 also saw Daniel Worth return to politics. One of the chief controversies among abolitionists concerned the efficacy and morality of antislavery political action. Some, such as William Lloyd Garrison, held that since the Constitution recognized the existence of slavery, and since election to any political office involved an oath to uphold the Constitution, no abolitionist could conscientiously hold office, since to do so would be to swear to uphold slavery. Political action was thus not only futile, but hypocritical.[42] Other abolitionists disagreed, emphasizing the general guarantees of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights while weaving complex, if weak, arguments that slavery was unconstitutional, and stronger ones that Congress could take action against the institution by abolishing it in the District of Columbia or banning it in the territories.[43] Beginning in 1839 the political abolitionists put their beliefs into practice with the organization of the Liberty Party. After much trepidation, a convention met in Albany, New York in the spring of 1840 to nominate James G. Birney, a former slaveholder from Kentucky turned abolitionist, for the Presidency, with Thomas Earle of Pennsylvania as his running mate.[44]

The Indiana abolitionists had little use for the Garrisonian position. When in 1845 two of Garrison's disciples sought to convert the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society to their views, they were overwhelmingly rejected, with Worth leading the opposition. The Society's organ, the Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle, later editorialized that Garrison's views were tantamount to anarchy.[45] Arnold Buffum, the guiding spirit of the early days of Indiana antislavery activities, was strongly committed to political action, having aided in the organization of the Liberty Party before coming to Indiana.[46]

Still, Indiana abolitionists initially doubted the wisdom of a separate

political party. When the Economy Anti Slavery Society was formed its members, although pledging to vote only for candidates committed to abolition, deplored the organization of a separate party.[47] Later that summer a meeting at Newport came close to putting a separate ticket in the field, but was dissuaded by James Rariden, who convinced the largely Whig gathering that such an action would only throw the election to the Democrats.[48]

By November of 1840 the Whitewater abolitionists had overcome their doubts, holding a convention for the fifth congressional district at Economy. Worth, along with Arnold Buffum and Dr. Nathan Johnson, a Wayne County resident who had been actively opposed to slavery for over twenty years, formed a committee to prepare business for the meeting. They brought in resolutions charging the federal government with the responsibility of protecting Americans from slavery and cheap foreign labor. Worth was appointed to a five man central committee to propose plans for concerted political action.[49] In February a similar convention organized a state Liberty Party. Worth presided over the meeting, which adjourned after calling for a national convention to nominate candidates for the 1844 election.[50]

The immediate concern the Liberty Party was the 1841 election. At the party's Randolph County convention in Winchester March 20 Worth was for Representative from Randolph County in the state legislature.[51] In May, commenting on the approaching election for United States Congressman, Arnold Buffum concluded that those holding to the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence would vote for "Daniel Worth, the honest farmer, the whole-soul'd abolitionist, the sincere-hearted Christian."[52] Coming as it did only a day before the election,Buffum's call resulted in but 152 votes for Worth out of a total of about 15,000 cast.[53]

Early in September of 1842 the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society held its annual convention in Newport, with the state central committee of the

Liberty Party meeting concurrently. At the opening session of the Anti-Slavery Society's convention it was decided to take advantage of a chance both to gain national publicity and to do a good deed. Henry Clay, former United States Senator from Kentucky, and the Whigs' leading contender for the Presidential nomination in 1844, was then in the midst of a tour of Indiana and Ohio, being scheduled to arrive in Richmond October 1. The Whitewater Valley was the great Whig stronghold of Indiana, and Clay was extremely popular there.[55] To antislavery men, however, the Kentuckian was anathema, being both the owner of fifty slaves and an avowed enemy of abolition.[56] A motion was passed that a petition calling upon Clay to free his slaves be circulated, the petition to be presented when he arrived in Richmond. Worth, along with three others, was placed in charge of its presentation.[57] Throughout September the petition was circulated in east-central Indiana, eventually acquiring about 2,000 signatures, although many signers probably had motives other than a desire to see Clay's slaves free.[58]

Clay arrived in Richmond about 10:30 A. M. on October 1 to "the deafening and spontaneous shouts of the yeomanry of the country."[59] Worth's committee was waiting at Clay's hotel, but they were refused access to the Kentuckian, being told that they would be received the next morning. That afternoon Clay addressed a crowd estimated to number 10,000. At the conclusion of Clay's speech James Rariden, the President of the Day, announced that a committee of abolitionists who wished to present a petition to Clay was present, and invited them to come forward.[60] This action, a complete surprise to the committee, was probably planned to give Clay an opportunity to rebuke radical abolitionism. Worth feared exactly that, and so did not move. He had, however, become separated from his three companions in the huge crowd, and they had the petition. After briefly consulting, they sent the petition forward in the hands of Hiram Mendenhall of Randolph County.[61]

Clay, after receiving it, launched an effort in which he condemned abolition and slavery as twin evils, and concluded by urging Mendenhall and all other abolitionists to return home and attend to their own affairs.[62]

The reaction to Clay's speech was mixed. The response of the crowd was enthusiastic. A young Richmond Quaker who fancied himself something of an abolitionist, William Hiatt Coffin, later remembered the scene: "Then came a mighty and prolonged roar...from the excited ten thousand...and Mr. Mendenhall went into a hole, and pulled the hole in, and disappeared."[63] The Whig press was full of praise for Clay's effort.[64]

The speech also received attention from the abolitionists. The Free Labor Advocate devoted several issues to its minute dissection and refutation, while Worth pronounced it a poor effort. He concluded that it had "made abolitionists by the thousands, and lost its author hundreds of votes."[65] Most historians believe that it was abolitionist defection which cost Clay the 1844 Presidential election, but whether these voters were influenced by what happened at Richmond cannot be determined.[66]

D. Split

Abolitionists were contentious. They fought among themselves over means and ends; much of the history of the antislavery movement is the record of their disputes.[67] Far worse for antislavery men, however, were situations in which they found themselves joined to groups opposed to abolition or even supporting slavery. In the winter of 1842-1843 Worth found himself in the midst of two such situations.

The division which occurred first, and one which Worth probably watched with mixed feelings, was in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends. For several years there had been tension among the Indiana Friends over the extent of their opposition to slavery. Although all considered it evil, the

dominant conservative faction within the Yearly Meeting was fearful of radical activities, especially Friends joining with "outsiders" in antislavery societies. In 1841 the Yearly Meeting ordered all meetinghouses closed to antislavery meetings, and in 1842 eight strident abolitionists, including Charles Osborn and William Locke of Economy and Benjamin Stanton, the editor of the Free Labor Advocate, were removed from positions of responsibility within the organization.[68] The radical Friends were further enraged when the conservatives apologized to Clay for the Mendenhall incident at Richmond and seated the Kentuckian in an ostentatious place during a meeting for worship.[69] Consequently, by February, 1843 the radicals had bolted to form Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, which eventually included about 2,000 members, mostly in the Whitewater Valley.[70]

Worth was undoubtedly conscious of the difficulties among the Friends. Many of the radical leaders were his neighbors, and his sisters Lydia Osborn and Mary Swain were among the seceders.[71] Later events showed that he was sympathetic toward the Anti-Slavery Friends.[72] Worth, however, was by this time involved in his own separatist activities.

The Methodist stand on slavery had never been as clear as that of the Friends. The early Methodists had been unhesitating in their denunciation of the institution. John Wesley considered it "the sum of all villainies," while Methodist conferences on several occasions before 1810 ruled that slaveholders could not be admitted into membership.[73] When the General Conference met in Cincinnati in 1836, it was forced to deal with the subject of abolition. Uncertain about the consequences of agitation, and urged on by the Southern delegates, the Conference censured two New England delegates who had attended an abolitionist meeting in Cincinnati, and passed a resolution stating the Methodist Church to be "decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism." A pastoral address was issued urging all Methodists to re-

frain from such agitation.[74] The 1840 conference, although it witnessed several bitter debates, effectively evaded the question.[75] Meanwhile, Southern Methodists were issuing endorsements or apologies for slavery, while in the North abolitionist clergy were purged.[76]

The abolitionists, of course, fought back. In the conferences in which they were strong, such as New England, they attempted to bring the church machinery to bear against slavery. When these efforts were frustrated, abolitionists went outside the church structure to form Wesleyan antislavery societies. Despite these efforts, Methodist abolitionists were increasingly dissatisfied. In November, 1842 three leading abolitionist clergymen, Orange Scott, Joatham Horton, and Laroy Sunderland, seceded from the main body to form what by the following May had become the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, with The True Wesleyan of Boston as its organ.[78] The first issue of the paper contained a long list of grievances against the old organization for its strictures against antislavery activism and discrimination against Negro members, along with a condemnation of the episcopal form of church government.[79] By the end of 1843 the movement had reached every Northern state, and the Wesleyans had attracted several thousand members.[80] The new denomination pledged itself to an aggressive war on slavery and a democratic church government.[81]

The Methodists' internecine war did not leave Indiana unaffected. Although many of the pioneer Methodist preachers in the state had been strong in their condemnation of slavery, the Indiana Conference shared in the widespread disapproval of abolition, officially condemning it in 1839.[82] There were, nevertheless, antislavery stirrings. In November, 1840 the Indiana Wesleyan Anti Slavery Society was formed at Newport with forty-four members and Daniel Worth as one of its vice-presidents.[83] Individual congregations occasionally took action. In 1840 the Economy church, of which Worth was a

steward, and its counterpart at Newport sent antislavery petitions to the General Conference to be presented by the stalwart Orange Scott.[85]

As will be seen later, Worth was quite aware of the events transpiring in the East. He had, however, irritations much closer to home in the persons of two Methodist ministers. One was the already mentioned W. L. Smith, a young itinerant who took great pride in being a member of "one of the First Families of Virginia," and who had a definite dislike for abolitionists.[86] Although he had left Economy by 1842, one may be sure that Worth had little love for Smith and all that he represented. Worse was the area's senior minister, the Reverend William Hunt of Huntsville, a village a few miles north of Worth's farm. Hunt had been among the first settlers of Randolph County. He was a Kentuckian, and apparently a stubborn and argumentative individual. In the words of his admirer, the Reverend W. L. Smith, Hunt "was a man of mark in the days of his strength; he was mighty in the Scriptures, and woe to the unlucky wight that tempted him into a doctrinal controversy."[87] Hunt was not only an enemy of abolition, but a defender of slavery. He was present at the organizational meeting of the Economy Anti Slavery Society to obstruct the proceedings; a year earlier, when a group of slavecatchers had arrived in Randolph County pursuing two fugitives from Tennessee, Hunt had led a party of men to their aid. Any abolitionist lecturer coming into the neighborhood always found a willing opponent for a debate in "Old Billy," as he was popularly known, or his son, Miles S. Hunt. When Arnold Buffum arrived in 1839, so eager was the elder Hunt to encounter him that he agreed to do so before the most hostile audience imaginable, a group of antislavery Quakers from Dunkirk Meeting west of Winchester who had the reputation of being the most radical in Indiana Yearly Meeting.[88] Served by such clergymen, it was natural for Daniel Worth to question his commitment to Methodism.

In February, 1843 the Indiana Wesleyan Anti Slavery Society met in Newport. Worth opened the meeting and then served on a business committee which presented four resolutions. These declared that slavery was a sin; that the Methodist Church, by acquiescing in the existence of slavery, was countenancing sin; that Christians could not associate with churches which countenanced sin; and that abolitionists were justified in separating from the Methodist Church.[89] The meeting then united in urging all conscientious Methodists to join with the newly formed Wesleyans. The next day a separation took place in the church at Newport, followed soon afterwards by one at Economy. Worth, of course, was one of the first to join the Wesleyan ranks, and was active in forming a new church near his home called White Chapel, which was soon a flourishing congregation. By the end of 1843 the separatist impulse had borne fruit across Indiana, although the majority of the Wesleyans were in the Whitewater Valley.[90]

Some sort of organization for the new church was necessary. In September Wesleyans from Indiana and western Ohio met in Troy, Ohio to form the Miami Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. Worth was present, and was there ordained a minister.[91] Daniel Worth, the Methodist squire, had become the Reverend Daniel Worth, the Wesleyan reformer.

ENDNOTES

[1]Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 60; Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York: G. C. Appleton and Company, 1933), pp. 55, 80-87.

[2]Ibid, p. 101.

[3]The standard account of the attempt to open Indiana to slavery is Jacob Piatt Dunn, Indiana: A Redemption From Slavery, revd. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916). For attempts to establish slavery through a system of long term indentures, and the defeat of these efforts, see Emma Lou Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900: A Study of a Minority, Indiana Historical Collections XXXVII (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1957), pp. 8-31.

[4]Ibid, pp. 75-76. For a discussion of the American Colonization Society, see ante, p. 7.

[5]Logan Esarey, A History of Indiana From Its Exploration to 1850 (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart, 1915), p. 238; Emma Lou Thornbrough, Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1965), pp. 11, 606-608; Theodore Clarke Smith, The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1897), p. 327.

[6]Edward Smith to Luther Lee, September 29, 1851, The True Wesleyan, October 18, 1851; Gamaliel Bailey to Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, Proceedings of the Convention Assembled to Organize a State Anti-Slavery Society Held in Milton, Wayne County, September 12, 1838 (Cincinnati: Samuel A. Alley, 1838), p. 13.

[7]Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, p. 105.

[8]Marion C. Miller, "The Anti-Slavery Movement in Indiana" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1938), p. 65; Francis P. Weisenberger, The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850, Carl Wittke, ed., History of the State of Ohio (Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1941), p. 372.

[9]Proceedings of the Convention to Organize a State Anti-Slavery Society, pp. 1-4.

[10]James G. Birney to Joshua Leavitt, June 11, 1839, Dwight L. Dumond, ed., The Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857, 2 vols. (New York: G. C. Appleton and Company, 1938), pp. 494-495.

[11]Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 162.

[12]Cited in Betty Fladeland, James Gillespie Birney: Slaveholder to Abolitionist (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955), p. 285.

[13]Elizabeth Buffum Chace, Anti-Slavery Reminiscences (Central Falls, Rhode Island: E. L. Freeman and Son, 1891), pp. 8, 10, 20; Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, p. 60; Dumond, Letters of Birney, p. 502n; Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, pp. 136-137; Levi Coffin, Reminiscences, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1880), pp. 225-226.

[14]Ibid. Levi Coffin (1798-1877), one of Indiana's earliest antislavery leaders, was popularly known as the "President of the Underground Railroad" because of his aid to fugitive slaves. Daniel Puckett (1779-1846) was the husband of Coffin's sister Beulah (1789-1865) and a minister in the Society of Friends. Ibid, passim.

[15]Gamaliel Bailey to James G. Birney, January 23, 1840, Dumond, Letters of Birney, p. 522.

[16]Coffin, Reminiscences, p. 228; Minutes of the Economy, Wayne County Indiana Anti Slavery Society, Ms., Lindley Collection, Earlham College Library, Richmond, Indiana, 2nd Month 1, 1840. The secretary, Andrew Spillard, used the traditional calendar system of assigning the months of the years and the days of the week numbers instead of using their "pagan" names. The system was used universally among the Friends.

[17]Lucius C. Matlack, The Antislavery Struggle and Triumph Within the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York: Philips and Hunt, 1881), pp. 363-364.

[18]As hereafter used in this paper, abolitionist will denote anyone committed to the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery.

[19]Martin Duberman, "The Abolitionists and Psychology," Journal of Negro History 47 (July, 1962), p. 186.

[20]Ronald Walters, The Antislavery Appeal (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 97.

[21]Daniel Worth to Rawson Vaile, n. d., Centerville, Indiana Free Territory Sentinel, January 31, 1849.

[22]Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War on Slavery (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), p. 29.

[23]Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, pp. 10-11.

[24]The standard work on this interrelationship is Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957).

[25]Ibid, p. 181; Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, pp. 103-105.

[26]Walters, Antislavery Appeal, pp. 39, 188.

[27]Daniel Worth to Rawson Vaile, n. d., Free Territory Sentinel, January 31, 1849.

[28]Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, p. 181.

[29]Ruth Anna Ketring, Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement, Ohio Historical Collections Vol. VII (Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1937), pp. 17-21.

[30]Lillian Buffum Chace Wyman and Arthur Crawford Wyman, Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Her Environment, 2 vols. (Boston: W. B. Clarke Company, 1914), I, 3-6; Chace, Anti-Slavery Reminiscences, pp. 10, 20.

[31]W. L. Smith, Indiana Methodism, Sketches and Incidents (Valparaiso, Indiana: Privately Published, 1892), p. 72.

[32]Wyman and Wyman, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, I, 21-25.

[33]Ebenezer C. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago: A. E. Kingman Company, 1882), p. 404.

[34]Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, p. 81.

[35]Economy Anti Slavery Society Minutes, 1st Month 27, 1840.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid, 1st Month 27, 2nd Month 7, 2nd Month 27, 1840.

[38]Ibid, Fifth Month 23, 1840, date as used in records.

[39]Ibid, Second Month 5, 10th Month 31, 1840, dates as used in records.

[40]W. D. Waldrip, "A Station of the Underground Railroad," Indiana Magazine of History 7 (June, 1911), pp. 64-65.

[41]For examples of these activities see New Garden, Indiana Protectionist, 11th Month 22, 1841; New Garden, Indiana Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle, 3rd Month 2, 1842. Both of these were antislavery newspapers published at Newport, for which the post office name was New Garden. Arnold Buffum edited the Protectionist. It ceased publication when he returned to New England in 1842.

[42]Staughton Lynd, "The Abolitionist Critique of the United States Constitution," Martin Duberman, ed., The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 210-211.

[43]Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, pp. 206-207.

[44]Dwight L. Dumond, Antislavery: The Crusade For Freedom in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), pp. 296-297.

[45]Free Labor Advocate, 10th Month 13, 1845, 5th Month 27, 1847. The two Garrisonians were Stephen Foster and his future wife, Abby Kelley.

[46]Wyman and Wyman, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, I, 85; Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, p. 161.

[47]Economy Anti Slavery Society Minutes, 1st Month 27, 1840.

[48]New York, New York Emancipator, September 24, 1840, cited in Miller, "Antislavery Movement in Indiana," p. 79; Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties, pp. 43-44.

[49]Andrew W. Young, History of Wayne County, Indiana (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1872), p. 268; Protectionist, 1st Month 1, 1841; The other members were Josiah Bell and Nathan Johnson of Wayne County, Micajah C. White of Henry County, and Asa Bales of Hamilton County. Ibid.

[50]Ibid, 3rd Month 1, 1841.

[51]Ibid, 6th Month 1, 16, 1841.

[52]Ibid, 5th Month 2, 1841.

[53]Ibid, 6th Month 1, 1841; Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough, ed., Indiana Election Returns, 1816-1851, Indiana Historical Collections XL (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1960), p. 103.

[54]Free Labor Advocate, 9th Month 17, 24, 1842.

[55]Thomas D. Hamm, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Henry Clay's 'Reply to Mr. Mendenhall,'" (Paper Presented at the Depauw University Undergraduate Honors Conference, March 17, 1977), pp. 1-2; Bernhard Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XV, no. 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1945), p. 75.

[56]Although Clay had once been an advocate of gradual emancipation, he had outraged abolitionists by his denunciation of all forms of abolition, gradual or otherwise, in a February, 1839 speech. Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, p. 150.

[57]Free Labor Advocate, 9th Month 24, 1842.

[58]Charles Worth Osborn, "Henry Clay at Richmond," Indiana Magazine of History 4 (December, 1908), p. 120. Osborn was the son of Worth's sister Lydia. The Wayne County Record of Centerville editorialized October 5 that at least one third of the petition's signers were Democrats determined to embarass Clay. Cited in Hamm, "Henry Clay's 'Reply to Mr. Mendenhall,'" p. 4.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Daniel Worth to Benjamin Stanton, October 13, 1842, Free Labor Advocate, 10th Month 29, 1842.

[61]Ibid. It was charged by some that Worth, seeing the danger in the situation, forced the task on the less astute Mendenhall, a charge Worth flatly denied. Ibid.

[62]Hamm, "Henry Clay's 'Reply to Mr. Mendenhall,'" pp. 10-12.

[63]Charles F. and William H. Coffin, "Henry Clay at Richmond," Indiana Magazine of History 4 (December, 1908), p. 128.

[64]Carl Schurz, Life of Henry Clay, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1888), cited in Hamm, "Henry Clay's 'Reply to Mr. Mendenhall,'" p. 13.

[65]Daniel Worth to Benjamin Stanton, October 13, 1842, Free Labor Advocate, 10th Month 29, 1842.

[66]If the abolitionist Whigs who voted for the Liberty Party's ticket in New York in 1844 had voted for Clay, he would have won New York's electoral vote from Polk and thus would have been elected. Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley, p. 82. Some New York abolitionists were aware of the incident and praised Mendenhall for his efforts. Oswego County, New York Liberty Party Central Committee to Hiram Mendenhall, n. d., Free Labor Advocate, 3rd Month 25, 1843.

[67]Walters, Antislavery Appeal, pp. 3-18.

[68]The standard, although biased, account of the schism is Walter Edgerton, A History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends...On the Anti-Slavery Question (Cincinnati: Achilles Pugh, 1856). Edgerton was Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends for most of its existence. More balanced accounts of the separation can be found in Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, pp. 162-165, and Ketring, Charles Osborn, pp. 50-70.

[69]Edgerton, History of the Separation, p. 119.

[70]Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, p. 164.

[71]Mary Swain was disowned by Springfield Monthly Meeting March 16, 1843, Lydia Osborn November 18, 1843. Mary's husband Elihu Swain, Junior, the Recorder of Births, Deaths, and Marriages for the monthly meeting, became involved in a bitter controversy when he refused to give up the record books, arguing that the separatists were the true Society of Friends. He was disowned January 20, 1844. The reason given in all three cases is "joining with the separatists." Willard C. Heiss, ed., Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana, 7 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1962-1977), II, 170, 175.

[72]See below, p.

[73]Dumond, Antislavery, pp. 343-344.

[74]Lucius C. Matlack, Life of the Reverend Orange Scott (New York: C. Prindle and L. C. Matlack, 1848), pp. 88-89, 96-97, 109.

[75]Ibid., p. 173.

[76]Donald G. Mathews, "Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary," Duberman, Antislavery Vanguard, p. 87; Dumond, Antislavery, p. 344.

[77]Mathews, "Orange Scott," pp. 87-90.

[78]Donald G. Mathews, Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 231-232. Matlack, Antislavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Church, p. 139.

[79]The True Wesleyan, November 8, 1842; Orange Scott, The Grounds of Secession From the M. E. Church (New York: C. Prindle, 1848), pp. 4-9.

[80]Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, p. 124.

[81]The True Wesleyan, March 25, 1843.

[82]Miller, "Antislavery Movement in Indiana," pp. 115-116; "Journal of the Eighth Session of the Indiana Annual Conference Held in Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, October 23, 1839," William Warren Sweet,ed., Circuit Rider Days in Indiana (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart, 1916), p. 208.

[83]Lucius C. Matlack, The History of American Methodism and Slavery, 1780-1845; and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America (New York: Privately Published, 1849), p. 225. This society may have been organized as an auxiliary to Orange Scott's American Wesleyan Anti Slavery Society, which was organized in 1840. Mathews, "Orange Scott," p. 93.

[84]Free Labor Advocate, 3rd Month 18, 1843.

[85]Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, 1840 (New York: Carlton and Lanahan, n. d.), pp. 28, 62; Smith, Indiana Methodism, p. 72.

[86]Ibid, pp. 67, 72.

[87]Ibid, p. 69; Mrs. Herbert E. Brown, "The Reverend William Hunt Family," Indiana Magazine of History 34 (June, 1938), p. 139.

[88]Economy Anti Slavery Society Minutes, 1st Month 27, 1840; Tucker, History of Randolph County, pp. 194, 195, 391; Free Labor Advocate, 5th Month 27, 1841.

[89]Free Labor Advocate, 3rd Month 18, 1843; Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 161.

[90]Ibid; Young, History of Wayne County, pp. 296, 311; Lee M. Haines, "The Story of Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana, 1843-1867," (Ms., Archives of the Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana, 1959), p. 12. In 1843 there were nine circuits in Indiana: Williamsport, Plymouth, Lafayette, Westfield, Newport, Neels Creek in Jefferson County, Camden in Jay County, and Duck Creek and Greensboro in Henry County. Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

DANIEL WORTH: MASTER ABOLITIONIST

In the spring of 1843 a young North Carolina Friend named Addison Coffin set out to seek his fortune in Indiana. The son of Vestal Coffin, one of North Carolina's early antislavery leaders, Addison headed for Newport, where he hoped to find employment in the store of his kinsman Levi Coffin.[1] Fifty years later he remembered the state of affairs when he reached the Whitewater country:

> It was a time of intense excitement, both in the church and in the state....It was exceedingly interesting to hear the contending, declaiming, denouncing, vilifying, swearing, and vulgarity that filled the community. It was still not uncommon for a speaker to be mobbed and abused, even ladies....Egging speakers was common ....It was almost universal for ministers of the Gospel to run into the subject...in their sermons. Neighbors would stop and argue pro and con across the fence; people traveling along the road would stop and argue the point, everywhere it was abolition...[2]

As it was in the Whitewater Valley, so it was to be with Daniel Worth. His life after 1843 would be almost entirely devoted to the antislavery cause.

A. The Minister

In the autumn of 1844, after a year as a traveling agent for the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, Daniel Worth took up duties as minister in charge of the Newport circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Newport at this time took in all of Wayne and Randolph Counties. Worth covered it once a month. At some places, such as Newport and Economy, there were regularly constituted churches or "classes" to which he would regularly preach. Since

Worth's duties also included proselytizing, he occasionally found a group interested in Wesleyan beliefs. On such occasions he scheduled an "appointment," sending out word that he would preach at a certain location on a certain date. If interest developed, those present at the appointment were organized into a Wesleyan church. Worth was responsible for the organization of several new churches, including Smyrna in Henry County, Goshen north of Richmond, and Pleasant Grove near Wabash.[3] Most of these congregations did not have church buildings, but met in homes, schoolhouses, or occasionally buildings belonging to other denominations. The 1850 federal census showed but twelve Wesleyan churches in Indiana, although there were many more congregations.

The activities at a Wesleyan religious service were usually hymn singing (always without instrumental accompaniment), Bible readings, lengthy prayers, and, of course, preaching.[5] The duties of a Wesleyan preacher were clearly laid out in the denominational discipline:

> Quest. 1. What is the best general method of preaching?
>
> Ans. 1. 1: To convince: 2. To offer Christ: 3. To invite: 4. To build up, and to do this in some measure in every sermon.
>
> Quest. 2. What is the most effectual way of preaching Christ?
>
> Ans. The most effectual way of preaching Christ is, to offer Him in all His offices: and to declare His law, as well as His Gospel, both to believers and unbelievers. Let us strongly and closely insist upon inward and outward holiness in all its branches.
>
> Quest. 3. Are there any smaller advices which might be given to us?
>
> Ans. Perhaps these: 1. Be sure never to disappoint a congregation. 2. Begin at the time appointed. 3. Let your whole deportment be serious, weighty, and solemn. 4. Always suit your subject to your audience. 5. Choose the plainest text you can. 6. Take care not to ramble, but keep to your text, and make out what you take in hand. 7. Take care of anything awkward or affected or affected, either in your gesture, phrase, or pronunciation. 8. Do not usually pray <u>extempore</u> above five or six minutes, without

> interruption. 9. Frequently read and enlarge upon a portion of Scripture, and let young preachers often exhort without taking a text.[6]

Worth was effective in his preaching. Orange Scott, who heard him at a missionary meeting in Newport during the summer of 1845 wrote that he was "full of light, heat, and power."[7] Worth's voice was strong and resonant, and when he "warmed to his subject," he was considered extremely powerful. Probably typical was a meeting held at Greensboro, Indiana in 1850, where the news that he was to preach attracted a crowd so large that they could not fit into any building in the town, and so adjourned to a nearby grove. Alexander Haywood, another Wesleyan minister present at the service, wrote:

> Brother Worth has quite a good voice for speaking out of doors; but what added to the interest of the occasion was how he came down upon the congregation with a tremendous gust of anti-war, anti-slavery, and anti-liquor arguments giving evidence of the warmth of feeling and fervor that pervaded his bosom.[8]

As Haywood suggests, the Wesleyan theology was unabashed in its reform tenets. The most important of these was a total commitment to the unconditional and immediate abolition of slavery. Worth wrote in 1850 that "if a man or woman is converted under our ministry we intend that they should be abolitionists." The discipline forbade voting for slaveholders, while aid to fugitive slaves, a violation of federal law, was made a religious duty. In many neighborhoods the synonym for Wesleyan was "Free Soil Methodist."[9] The use of alcohol also came under the Wesleyan ban.[10] In keeping with the reformist sentiments of the day was the Wesleyan opposition to war. Although pacifism was considered a matter of individual conscience, Wesleyan leaders, particularly Worth, were strong in their condemnation of the use of force. Worth was active in the formation of the Newport Peace Society, and throughout his career he steadfastly adhered to principles of non-resistance.[11] In this he seems to have reflected the views of most Indiana Wesleyans, many of whom were the product of Quaker backgrounds.[12]

The years 1843 through 1850 were a period of growth for Wesleyanism in Indiana, although by the latter date a membership of roughly 1,200 placed them among the smallest sects in the state.[13] The state organization was considered quite efficient, especially when it was taken into consideration that none of the clergy had ever been ordained in the Methodist Church, and thus were all self-trained.[14] When Orange Scott visited Newport in 1845 he was impressed by "the spirit of enterprise...here in these western wilds," especially among the ministers, whom he considered "devoted and in good spirits...ready to go through mud and waters to save souls."[15]

These were also years of growth for Daniel Worth as a minister. At the Miami annual conference of 1844 he was ordained an elder, and the 1845 and 1846 conferences he served as secretary. He continued his duties as a circuit minister, serving at Newport and at Greensboro.[16] The latter place was undoubtedly to his liking. Addison Coffin thought it "an anti-slavery hotbed only a little less notorious than Newport," while another writer remembered it as "the home of many determined abolitionists." The Wesleyans held services in Liberty Hall, a large structure erected in 1843 for the sole purpose of holding natislavery meetings. In the fall of 1846 Worth returned to duty on the Newport circuit, where he remained until 1849.[17]

At the Miami conference of 1847 Worth was elected president for the following year. In 1848 he was instrumental in setting off Indiana as a separate conference, with himself chosen the first president.[18] In October of the same year Worth journied to New York City for the second General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodst Connection of America. There he was honored by being chosen president for the duration of the meeting. This was not a permanent post, since it ceased when the conference rose, and its duties consisted mainly of presiding over the sessions. It was, however, a signal honor for Worth.[19]

By this time Worth was recognized as the premier figure of Indiana Wesleyanism. The sect's historian concludes that he "stood head and shoulders above all his brethren."[20] Edward Smith, an eminent Wesleyan minister from Ohio who visited Worth in 1849, wrote to The True Wesleyan of Worth's zeal and effectiveness in his work.[21] When the Indiana Conference convened for its first annual session in 1849, it was Worth who was in the chair and who guided the sessions. At the conclusion of the meeting he was given the post of Conference Missionary with the duty of holding one protracted meeting on each of the conference's ten circuits during the course of the year and overseeing the expansion of the church into new territories.[22] In the latter Worth was apparently successful. In February of 1850 he wrote to The True Wesleyan:

> Never, since the beginning of the Wesleyan movement has the prospect been so glorious; the work of conviction and conversion pervades to a greater or lesser extent every meeting, and we feel confident that if the same interest should continue throughout the year we shall fall not greatly short of doubling in this conference.[23]

Worth's estimate of growth proved overly optimistic, but at the annual conference of 1850 he was given high praise for his work, and those present expressed a sense of loss in the knowledge that he was leaving to take up residence in Ohio.[24]

Worth's activities as a Wesleyan minister did not detract from his antislavery duties; indeed, the two went hand in hand. In 1843, for example, the official appointment given Worth by the Miami Conference was to serve as an agent for the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society.[25] Wesleyans encouraged participation in the Liberty Party. In 1843 the denominational organizational conference was purposely scheduled to coincide with a Liberty Party convention.[26] Religious, organizational, and political antislavery activities meshed. It is to the second side of Worth's life,

President of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, that we now turn.

B. The Abolitionist

As President of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society, Worth's activities centered around conventions and meetings held periodically at which a variety of affairs were discussed. After 1845, as the antislavery movement became increasingly political in nature, the number and frequency of such gatherings fell off sharply. In the early days of the state organization, however, these meetings were its lifeblood.

Convention activities usually followed a set pattern. When Worth was present he presided. Occasionally special business was considered, such as in 1843 when a Greensboro meeting chose Arnold Buffum as its delegate to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London and the trustees of the local seminary were scored for their refusal to admit Negro students.[27] Addison Coffin attended a similar meeting in the Wayne County village of Dalton in June of the same year over which Worth also presided. Coffin was impressed by the large attendance of Nantucket Quaker families.[28] Speakers were usually present on such occasions, the local favorites being Worth, Arnold Buffum, Dr. Hiram P. Bennett, Ziba Casterline, Benjamin Stanton, and later George W. Julian and Stephen S. Harding. A lecturer from the East, such as Frederick Douglass or Abby Kelley, always attracted a large audience.[29] Occasionally meetings were less than harmonious. At the annual session of the state society in Newport in 1845 the presence of two visiting groups made the meetings stormy. One, a delegation of English Friends who had come to the United States in the hope of healing the split in Indiana Yearly Meeting, had outraged antislavery men by condemning the actions of the seceders.[30] Worth introduced resolutions characterizing the English Quakers as "temporizing, hypocritical, cringing,

and servile." The resolutions passed unanimously.[31] The other visitors were two Garrisonians from Massachusetts, Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelley, who introduced resolutions stating that the United States Constitution was a proslavery document which no abolitionist could support, and that political action was both counterproductive and immoral. Worth took the floor to combat Foster and Kelley, and saw their resolutions overwhelmingly rejected.[32] Most meetings were much less exciting, however, usually concentrating on resolutions condemning slavery, organizations opposed to abolition, and the Indiana Black Laws.[33]

One antislavery activity in which Worth participated was the free produce movement. Advocates of free produce believed that abstinence from goods produced by slave labor was not only morally correct, since to do otherwise would be to participate in sin; but also an excellent pressure tactic, since a successful boycott of slave-produced products would eventually bring such intense economic pressures to bear that slavery would collapse.[34] The greatest problem was procuring goods like cotton, almost all of which involved some slave labor in production. To this end the Western Free Produce Association was organized at a meeting in Salem, Union County, Indiana in 1842, and soon free produce stores began to appear in towns like Newport and Greensboro.[35] There is no mention of Worth's presence at this meeting, but he was sympathetic to the cause. When the Free Produce Association met in Greensboro in August, 1843, Worth presented a series of resolutions which denounced the use of slave labor produce as participation in sin.[36]

Despite the best efforts of the Indiana abolitionists, the free produce movement was not successful. Although there were attempts to revitalize the organization, the Western Free Produce Association continued a spasmodic existence until it finally expired in 1851.[37] Free produce

goods were difficult to obtain, and when they were available, they were usually higher in price and inferior in quality to those normally produced. As Lucretia Mott put it: "...unfortunately, free sugar was not always as free from other taints as that of slavery; and free calicoes could seldom be called handsome, even by the most enthusiastic; free umbrellas were hideous to look upon, and free candies were an abomination."[38] Nevertheless, some abolitionists attempted to maintain their abstinence. Among these was Daniel Worth, who continued the practice until he returned to North Carolina in 1857, and gave it up only then because he felt that it would interfere with the more important task of meeting with the people and convincing them of the sinfulness of slavery.[39]

It would be incorrect to assume that antislavery sentiments were widespread or even popular in Indiana. There was significant opposition even in the Whitewater Valley. A mob greeted Arnold Buffum when he attempted to speak in Centerville in 1840; Levi and Addison Coffin both testify that such occurrences were not uncommon.[40] Even worse was the treatment received by the noted Black abolitionist Frederick Douglass at Pendleton in 1843. When Douglass and Worth's Liberty Party compatriot Micajah C. White attempted to hold a meeting in the town it was broken up by a gang of rowdies. Douglass barely escaped with his life.[41] Although the abolitionists were ever enthusiastic about the progress they were making in the state, there was reason for gloom as late as 1851, when Edward Smith concluded that Indiana was "a hard place for Anti-Slavery."[42] Levi Coffin probably best summed up this period when he wrote: "It tried a man's soul to be an abolitionist in those days, when brickbats, stones, and rotten eggs were some of the arguments we had to meet."[43]

After 1845 there was a notable decline in the activities of the antislavery societies. Abolition was becoming increasingly political in its

aims and goals, as were the issues it confronted: the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the Wilmot Proviso forbidding the extension of slavery into any of the territories acquired as a result of the Mexican War.[44] It became increasingly difficult to separate the activities of the Liberty Party from those of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society. Daniel Worth, like other antislavery men, after 1844 concentrated his concerns in the political sphere.

C. The Liberty Man

The first election in which the Liberty Party participated on a truly national scale was that of 1844. The ticket consisted of James G. Birney and Thomas Morris, with some of the enthusiastic party faithful entertaining great hopes for success.

Liberty Party men in Indiana had good reason to look forward to the 1844 elections, since those in the state in 1843 had not been particularly successful. Elizuer Deming of Tippecanoe County had been the gubernatorial candidate, with Stephen S. Harding of Ripley County as his running mate. Although Worth and his compatriots conducted a strenuous campaign, the ticket received but 1,700 votes, half of which came from the Quaker counties of Randolph, Henry, Wayne, and Grant. Nearly all of the Liberty Party voters were former Whigs.[46] The elections of 1844 were equally disappointing. The state convention was held in June, with Worth in the chair and consenting to serve as a Birney elector. The ticket received 2,100 votes, half again coming from the four Quaker counties.[47] The main result of the election was an outpouring of Whig wrath directed at the abolitionists for allegedly drawing votes away from Clay and thus making Polk's election possible.[48]

Eighteen forty-five was the high watermark of success for the Liberty

Party in Indiana. The great issue was the annexation of Texas, one which not only had popular appeal, but which was well-suited to abolitionist agitation. Since it had achieved its independence from Mexico in 1836, the Republic of Texas had sought to become part of the United States. Although this was the heyday of "Manifest Destiny," annexation inspired widespread opposition. Abolitionists opposed it because they saw it as a plot to expand slavery, while Whigs tended to view it dimly because they feared that annexation would stir up sectional antagonisms and possibly precipitate a war with Mexico.[49] An attempt at annexation by treaty was defeated in the Senate in 1844, but early in 1845 President Tyler maneuvered a joint resolution through Congress providing annexation by negotiation with the Texan government. This did not bring Texas into the Union, however, and both Whigs and Liberty men joined in an effort to prevent admission, or at least make the abolition of slavery in the state its price.[50] In the spring of 1845 Worth threw himself into the battle. He addressed anti-Texas meetings in New Castle, Economy, and Winchester "in a manner creditible to himself and the cause in which he was engaged."[51] In all of these meetings he sponsored resolutions stating that the existence of slavery in Texas was reason enough to oppose admission. Prominent Whigs were cooperative. The meeting at Economy was addressed by Whig Congressman Caleb B. Smith, and presided over by David P. Holloway, editor of the Richmond Palladium, the area's most important Whig newspaper.[52] The last such meeting was held in Winchester, the seat of Randolph County, in May, at which Worth engaged in a fiery debate with the Reverend William Hunt on whether annexation was "a plot of the slave power."[53]

By the summer, however, the parties had again separated. Meanwhile Liberty Party men in Grant County were proposing Worth, "a man of true principles and fair talents," as a candidate for Congress, but instead

Worth received a nomination for state senator. He was, needless to say, unsuccessful in his bid for election.[54]

By the summer of 1846 the admission of Texas was a reality, and the attention of the nation had shifted to the resulting war which the Whigs had feared so much. Few wars have provoked so much conflict and opposition in the United States as did the Mexican War. The entire Whig Party was vociferous in its criticisms, while the arsenals of abolitionist invective were seemingly limitless. Whigs charged that the conflict had been forced upon a weaker neighbor in a brazen land grab, while antislavery men saw the war as another plot of the slave power, this time to acquire vast new territories which would be open to slavery.[55]

Indiana was no exception to this rule, particularly the Whitewater Valley. The local Whigs, led by Caleb B. Smith, denounced the war unceasingly, while the conflict was so unpopular with the general populace that a recruiting officer who visited Wayne County in 1847 left without a single enlistment.[56] The abolitionist reaction was even more vehement. The Quakers and the Wesleyans who made up the antislavery rank and file in the Whitewater country were pacifists to whom any war was offensive. The circumstances of this one made it even more so. Propelled by a combination of moral outrage and political expediency, the Free Labor Advocate concluded that there was no difference between a soldier and a hired assassin, and urged Congress to take the extreme step of terminating the war by cutting off the funds to wage it.[57]

Worth, both as an abolitionist and a Wesleyan, was appalled by the war. As a Wesleyan, he reflected the views of his church. Doubtless he agreed with Orange Scott that the war was "one of the most wicked furnished in the bloody annals of mankind...."[58] As a pacifist Worth preached that the duties of the Christian to God outweighed those to country, and

urged non-enlistment, while blasting the Methodist Church for its support of the conflict.[59] As an abolitionist, Worth saw the war as another plot of the slave power to expand itself territorially. The solution which he proposed to the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society was two-fold. First of all, Congress should stop appropriating funds for the army and thus bring hostilities to an immediate halt. Secondly, Liberty Party men must be put in charge of all branches of the federal government to purge it of the influence of the slave power.[60]

The Liberty Party, however, was near death. The political future of antisalvery men lay in a new organization then taking shape in the fertile brain of an Ohio politician,

D. The Free Soiler

By the summer of 1848 the great issue for abolitionists had become the status of slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico. As early as 1846 Congressman David Wilmot, Democrat of Pennsylvania, had introduced an amendment to a supply bill then before the House of Representatives stating that slavery would be forbidden in any territory acquired as a result of the war. Thus the Wilmot Proviso became an issue attracting wide support in the North.[61]

As the two major parties were splitting over policy in regard to the extension of slavery, the Liberty Party was also suffering tensions. Three factions had developed within the little party. The largest, led by Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, was amenable to coalition with either of the major parties on the basis of opposition to the extension of slavery. A second group, which looked to James G. Birney for guidance, wished to maintain the party's separate existence, but to transform in into a general reform group. The third faction desired the maintenance of the status quo. The

course Chase's supporters was made easier during the summer of 1847 when the Birney faction broke with the party to form the Liberty League, with the New York millionaire Gerrit Smith as its candidate for the Presidency.[62] Chase, however, was unable to prevent a convention in Buffalo in October, 1847 which chose Senator John Parker Hale of New Hampshire as the Liberty Party Presidential candidate. Chase and the Westerners, including the Indiana Liberty men, had urged delaying the convention until the spring of 1848, when a more accurate estimate of the positions of the two major parties could be formed.[63]

The Indiana Liberty Party had mixed feelings about coalition. The state convention of 1847 did not soften its criticism of the old parties, although it did support the effort to postpone the convention. Daniel Worth, however, seems to have doubted the wisdom of maintaining a separate organization. When the Liberty Party met in Indianapolis for its state convention in June, 1848 Worth, for the first time in its history, was not present, although he was chosen a Hale elector.[64]

Late in the spring of 1848 the Whigs and Democrats held their national conventions. The Democrats nominated Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan for the Presidency; the Whigs, General Zachary Taylor of Mexican War fame. Both were obnoxious in the extreme to antislavery men. Throughout the free states dissident Whigs and Democrats held meetings to repudiate their national tickets, while Chase, seeing the possibilities, called for a convention of those opposed to the extension of slavery in Columbus June 21. When it was held over a thousand men were present, and it was there decided to hold a national convention in Buffalo in August.[65]

The movement gained ground rapidly in Indiana among Liberty Party men. Late in July a state Free Soil convention was held in Indianapolis. Worth attended as a delegate from Randolph County, and asisted in drafting a

platform which concentrated its attentions upon denouncing the extension of slavery into the territories. At the convention's conclusion Worth was chosen a delegate to the national convention in Buffalo, along with such old Liberty Party stalwarts as Asa Bales and Henry Hoover and newcomers like George W. Julian.[66]

The Buffalo convention, which commenced April 9, met in what one historian has described as "the atmosphere of a revival meeting."[67] The Indiana men arrived by train from Cincinnati on the seventh, and on the eighth, according to Henry Hoover, "The Free Soilers came pouring into town by the hundreds and thousands---railroad cars and steam boats were literally crowded with free territory lading until,the number was estimated at forty thousands."[68] Three major factions made up the convention: old Liberty Party men; "Conscience" Whigs, who could not stomach the slaveholder Taylor; and"Barnburner"Democrats, mostly from New York, who were miffed by the regulars' rejection of the Wilmot Proviso and their chief, Martin Van Buren. After intense maneuvering, Van Buren, who while not an abolitionist had been a consistent opponent of the extension of slavery, was nominated for the Presidency, with the Conscience Whig Charles Francis Adams as his running mate.[70] The platform, acceptable to the Liberty men, pledged the containment of slavery and abolition in the District of Columbia.[71]

Worth returned home from Buffalo well-pleased, and plunged with fervor into the campaign. Another state convention was held in Indianapolis August 30, with Worth in the chair at its opening, and serving as one of three vice-presidents. The national platform was endorsed, and resolutions passed which, while they attacked slavery as an unmitigated evil, disavowed any intention of meddling with the institution where it already existed.[72] A month later Worth was present at the county meeting in Winchester, and was appointed to the county central committee after delivering the main

address.[73]

By this time the Liberty Party had disappeared into the Free Soil organization. Symbolically, the Free Labor Advocate published its last issue in August, its place being taken by the Centerville Free Territory Sentinel. The tickets of the two parties were fused, with Worth retaining his place as a Presidential elector.[74]

The campaign was bitterly fought, particularly in the Whitewater Valley. Loudest in denunication of the new party were the Whigs, from whose ranks most of the area Free Soilers defected. Orators attempted to paint the Whigs as the true free soil party, while Van Buren was attacked as an opportunist. Their rhetoric often sank to low levels. George W. Julian, with whom Worth campaigned, later remembered:

> I was subjected to a torrent of billingsgate which rivaled the fish market...I was an 'amalgamationist' and a 'wolly-head.' I was branded as the 'apostle of disunion' and the 'orator of free dirt.' It was a standing charge of the Whigs that I carried in my pocket a lock of the hair of Frederick Douglass, to regale my senses with its aroma when I grew faint.[75]

The election saw Cass carry Indiana, although Taylor captured the Presidency. The Free Soilers won about five percent of the state's vote.[76]

In January, 1849 the Free Soilers met in Indianapolis to decide their party's future. It was resolved to carry on a separate organization. Although Worth was not present, he was placed on the state central committee.[77] By the fall of 1849, however, the organization was virtually dead, having fused with the Democrats. There were some results. George W. Julian was sent to Congress by a combination of Democrats and Free Soilers, and the "doughface" Edward Hannegan was replaced in the United States Senate by James Whitcomb, a supporter of the Wilmot Proviso.[78] Worth, whose family was prostrated by illness at this time, played little part in these developments. He was alarmed, however, by the decline of the abolitionist

spirit. In May, 1350 he wrote despondently to the Free Soil organ, now renamed the True Democrat, asking: "What has become of the friends of the slave? Where is the zeal, the sacrifice, the devotion of former years? ....O let us rouse up to the rescue! Let us come to the help of the Lord." He suggested a meeting at Greensboro "such as we formerly had, not merely enough to fill Liberty Hall, but to cover an acre or two."[79] The meeting was never held.

This was Worth's last comment on Indiana antislavery for nearly six years. The hoped-for revival did come in the autumn, when Henry, Wayne, and Randolph Counties exploded in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.[80] By this time, however, Worth had sold his Randolph County farm and had been released by the Indiana Wesleyans to the Miami Conference. As the antislavery work began anew in Indiana, Daniel Worth left for new labors in Ohio.[81]

ENDNOTES

[1]Addison Coffin, Journal (Cleveland: William H. Hubbard and Company, 1897), pp. 52-53.

[2]Ibid, pp. 57-58.

[3]Lee M. Haines, "The Story of Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana, 1843-1867," (Ms., Archives of the Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana, 1959), pp. 56, 67-68, 111; Edward Smith to Luther Lee, n. d., The True Wesleyan, February 17, 1849.

[4]Ibid, p. 68.

[5]Ibid, p. 69.

[6]The True Wesleyan, March 18, 1850.

[7]Orange Scott to Luther Lee, August 18, 1845, Lucius C. Matlack, Life of the Reverend Orange Scott (New York: L. C. Matlack and C. Prindle, 1848), p. 227.

[8]Alexander Haywood to Luther Lee, June 3, 1850, The True Wesleyan, June 13, 1850.

[9]Daniel Worth to Luther Lee, n. d., Ibid, February 17, 1850; Isaac W. Beeson to William Hockett, 1st Month 31, 1857, Isaac W. and Benjamin B. Beeson Papers, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library; Daniel Newby, "Memoranda of Old Richsquare," (Ms., Henry County Historical Society Museum, New Castle, Indiana, 1921).

[10]William Warren Sweet, Methodism in American History, revd. ed. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), p. 242.

[11]Carleton Mabee, Black Freedom: The Non-Violent Abolitionists from 1830 Through the Civil War (London: Macmillan and Company, c. 1970), pp. 139, 141; New Garden, Indiana Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle, 4th Month 6, 1846. For a general discussion of the peace movement in the United States at this time see Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Civil War (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944), pp. 396-424.

[12]Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," p. 28.

[13]Ibid, p. 17.

[14]Ibid, p. 12.

[15]Orange Scott to Luther Lee, August 18, 1845, Matlack, Life of Orange Scott, pp. 228, 229.

[16]Ebenezer C. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago: A. E. Kingman Company, 1882), p. 405; William Francis Boor, History of Henry

County, Indiana (Chicago: Interstate Publishing Company, 1884), p. 433; Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," p. 13.

[17]Coffin, Journal, p. 61; Boor, History of Henry County, p. 641; Edward Smith to Luther Lee, September 29, 1851, The True Wesleyan, October 18, 1851.

[18]The True Wesleyan, September 18, 1847; Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," p. 15.

[19]Ira F. McLeister and Roy F. Nicholson, Conscience and Commitment: The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 4th ed. (Marion, Indiana: The Wesley Press, 1976), pp. 49-51.

[20]Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," p. 61.

[21]Edward Smith to Luther Lee, n. d., The True Wesleyan, February 17, 1849.

[22]Indiana Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Minutes, First Session, 1849, Indiana North District Office of the Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana.

[23]The True Wesleyan, February 16, 1850.

[24]Indiana Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Minutes, Second Session, 1850, Indiana North District Office of the Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana.

[25]Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," pp. 13, 62.

[26]The True Wesleyan, January 28, 1843.

[27]Free Labor Advocate, 4th Month 18, 1843.

[28]Ibid, 6th Month 24, 1843; Coffin, Journal, pp. 59-60.

[29]Elwood Pleas, Henry County; Past and Present (New Castle: Pleas Brothers, 1871), p. 73.

[30]Walter Edgerton, A History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends...On the Anti-Slavery Question (Cincinnati: Achilles Pugh, 1856), p. 327. One of the English Friends was the same William Forster who had visited Turmins Creek in 1822. Levi Coffin, Reminiscences, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1880), p. 234.

[31]Free Labor Advocate, 10th Month 20, 1845.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Almost every issue of the Free Labor Advocate contains such material.

[34]Coffin, Reminiscences, pp. 267-268; Walter Edgerton to Rawson Vaile, 12th Month 23, 1849, Centerville, Indiana True Democrat, January 3, 1850.

[35]Coffin, Reminiscences, p. 270.

[36]Ibid, p. 271; Free Labor Advocate, 8th Month 25, 1843.

[37]Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, "The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest Against Slavery," Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, XXV (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942), pp. 51-52.

[38]Cited in ibid, p. 99.

[39]Mabee, Black Freedom, p. 99.

[40]Coffin, Reminiscences, pp. 226-227; Coffin, Journal, pp. 52-53.

[41]Benjamin Quarles, Frederick Douglass (New York: Associated Publishers, 1948), pp. 32-33.

[42]Edward Smith to Luther Lee, September 29, 1851, The True Wesleyan, October 18, 1851.

[43]Coffin, Reminiscences, p. 227.

[44]Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York: G. C. Appleton Company, 1933), pp. 189-190.

[45]Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 176.

[46]Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough, ed., Indiana Election Returns, 1816-1851, Indiana Historical Collections, XL (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1960), pp. 151-152; Dora Etta French, "Stephen S. Harding: Hoosier Abolitionist," Indiana Magazine of History 27 (September 1931), p. 221.

[47]Riker and Thornbrough, Indiana Election Returns, pp. 48-52; Free Labor Advocate, 6th Month 14, 1844.

[48]Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, p. 174; George W. Julian, Political Recollections, 1840-1872 (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg and Company, 1884), pp. 41-42.

[49]Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, p. 174; Theodore Clarke Smith, The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1897), p. 86; Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Life of Henry Clay (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1938), p. 364; Martin Duberman, Charles Francis Adams, 1807-1886 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), pp. 87-92.

[50]Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848 (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), pp. 190-191; Duberman, Charles Francis Adams, p. 100.

[51]Free Labor Advocate, 4th Month 10, 19, 26, 1845. No explanation is given by the editor for the issue of the tenth being published out of sequence.

[52]Ibid, 4th Month 26, 1845.

[53]Ibid, 5th Month 24, 1845.

[54]Jonah H. Pierce to Benjamin Stanton, April 20, 1845, Ibid, 4th Month 26, 1845.

[55]John H. Schroeder, Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, c. 1973), p. xiv.

[56]Richmond (Ind.) Palladium, June 1, 1847, cited in Bernhard Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1945), p. 118.

[57]Free Labor Advocate, 11th Month 28, 1846.

[58]Ibid, 7th Month 30, 1846.

[59]Ibid, 9th Month 23, 1847; Charles S. Ellsworth, "American Churches and the Mexican War," American Historical Review 45 (January, 1940), pp. 301-302.

[60]Free Labor Advocate, 9th Month 16, 1847.

[61]Duberman, Charles Francis Adams, p. 122; Frederick J. Blue, The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics, 1848-1852 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, c. 1973), p. 23.

[62]Ibid, pp. 8-9.

[63]Joseph G. Rayback, Free Soil: The Election of 1848 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, c. 1970), pp. 107-112.

[64]Free Labor Advocate, 7th Month 7, 1848.

[65]Blue, The Free Soilers, pp. 54-55.

[66]Free Labor Advocate, 7th Month 14, 1848.

[67]Blue, The Free Soilers, p. 71.

[68]Henry Hoover, Sketches and Incidents Embracing Fifty Years (Indianapolis: John Woolman Press, 1962), pp. 26-27.

[69]Julian, Political Recollections, p. 56.

[70]Rayback, Free Soil, pp. 227-229; Blue, The Free Soilers, pp. 72, 77-78.

[71]Ibid, pp. 72-73.

[72]Centerville, Indiana Free Territory Sentinel, September 6, 1848.

[73]Ibid, September 27, 1848.

[74]Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties, p. 134; Thornbrough and Riker, Indiana Election Returns, pp. 63-68.

[75]Julian, Political Recollections, p. 65; Daniel Worth to George W. Julian, July 25, 1857, Giddings-Julian Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Microfilm in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

[76]Blue, The Free Soilers, p. 148.

[77]Free Territory Sentinel, January 24, 1849.

[78]Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties, pp. 187-189.

[79]Daniel Worth to Rawson Vaile, n. d., Indiana True Democrat, May 22, 1850.

[80]Charles H. Money, "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History 17 (October, 1921), pp. 176-177. At a meeting in Economy November 9 it was resolved to violate the law "at every opportunity." Indiana True Democrat, November 22, 1850.

[81]The sale of the Worth farm to one Levi Bunker was finalized October 8. Randolph County, Indiana Deed Book S, p. 222. For Worth's transfer to Ohio see Indiana Conference Minutes, 1850.

CHAPTER FIVE

DOING GOOD

A. The Miami Conference

The reasons for Daniel Worth's departure from Indiana are not definitely known. He was hardly retiring, since the duties he assumed in his new home were as exacting and consequential as those he had performed in Indiana.

Worth's new pastorate was at Troy, Ohio. It is a mark of the high regard in which he was held that he was selected for it. Troy had a long history as an antislavery center, with activities dating back to 1825.[1] The surrounding Miami County countryside held a large population of Quakers, many of them of Nantucket descent, while there were several scattered Black settlements, some of whose inhabitants were slaves who had been freed and brought to Ohio under the will of John Randolph of Roanoke.[2]

The Wesleyan Church of Troy was one of the most important in the Miami Conference. It had been founded in 1843 by antislavery Methodists led by Lester Smith and Richard Brandriff, who charged that the Methodist Church had become hopelessly permeated with proslavery sentiments.[3] The congregation flourished, and was avid in its devotion to reformist causes. By 1849 it was a kind of headquarters for the Miami Conference. The Reverend Edward Smith, who visited Troy in 1849 found "large and excellent house---not a particle of foolish ornament about it," and a flourishing Dorcas Society, whose female members furnished fugitive slaves with clothing.[4]

Unfortunately we know almost nothing of Worth's tenure at Troy since, save for an obituary in June, 1851, the usually prolific minister halted his contributions to The True Wesleyan.[5] That autumn he returned to Indiana for the annual conference, which was "cheered and aided" by his presence.[6] By October he was in Ohio for the annual meeting of the Miami Conference whose sessions, he wrote to Luther Lee, were blessed by a "sweet and heavenly influence." Worth was appointed to the Wilmington Circuit in Clinton County, Ohio.[7]

Clinton County was located in the southwestern part of the state. Like all of the other areas in which Worth had lived, it contained a large Quaker population, and had been an early center of antislavery activities in Ohio.[8] There were two major churches under Worth's care at Wilmington and New Burlington, both of which had been formed in 1844. The Wesleyans of Clinton County had encountered some opposition and not a little prejudice. Those at Wilmington often emerged from services to find the tails and manes of their horses clipped, while the Wesleyans of New Burlington were called "Wooly-Heads" by their detractors because of their sympathies for Negroes.[9]

Again, little is known of Worth's activities during this year, save that one correspondent wrote to The True Wesleyan that "Brother Worth's labors are resulting in a great outpouring of the spirit."[10] At the 1852 annual conference Worth served as chairman of the church government committee and was given the Felicity, Ohio circuit for the following year.[11]

Felicity was in Clermont County, Ohio, not far from the Ohio River. The area was not an antislavery stronghold, but there were some organized abolitionist activities, conducted mainly by Wesleyans.[12] Nearby was the former home of Thomas Morris, once United States Senator from Ohio, a pronounced abolitionist, and the Liberty Party candidate for Vice-President

in 1844.[13] Worth's ministerial duties centered around the church at Felicity, organized in 1847, and a country church called Sugar Tree Run, which dated back to 1845. Both had been organized when abolitionist members withdrew from Methodist congregations. The church at Felicity was in particularly good condition, with its congregation planning a new edifice costing $9,000, complete with a one hundred foot tower and clock.[14] The Wesleyans there had received powerful impetus two years earlier when the town's Methodist minister was condemned by his superiors for abolitionist sentiments and had responded by leading a secession.[15]

Worth took up his duties at Felicity with enthusiasm. In December of 1852 he conducted a sixteen day protracted meeting, during which "sinners were converted, backsliders reclaimed, and the Church powerfully strengthened."[16] Early in 1853 Worth and another Wesleyan preacher, W. C. Yancy, founded a church in the town of Bethel. Although the revival in which the church had its origins was conducted along interdenominational lines, with "Methodists, Baptists, and Wesleyans mingling their tears around one common altar," the Methodists soon denied the Wesleyans the use of their church, forcing Worth and Yancy to hold services in a schoolhouse and the town's Temperance Hall.[17] To Worth and Yancy this was of little importance compared to the fact that there was now a congregation of twenty-four organized, soon to double in size, "opening the way for the introduction of those reformatory principles which distinguish us as a denomination... until the last fetter is broken from the limb of the dying bondsman."[18]

The 1853 annual conference was held in Felicity. It was distinguished by an emphasis on reform, especially antislavery activities. Jesse McBride, a Wesleyan minister who had been driven from North Carolina two years before for antislavery activities, conducted a children's antislavery society; the American Bible Society was branded an instrument of slavery;

and Worth presented resolutions condemning slavery, tobacco, and war. Indeed, so much time was taken up with exhortations on reform that one observer was moved to write: "Too many words were often pressed into service, when a few volunteers would have done more."[19]

Daniel Worth was never a man content with mere words. In the spring of 1853 he had conceived the idea of carrying the Wesleyans' antislavery war onto the enemy's home ground, across the Ohio River into Kentucky.[20] It was to this mission that the Miami Conference appointed him.

B. Kentucky

Worth was no stranger to Kentucky. In May, 1853 he had been in Bracken County assisting John G. Fee, of whom more will be said later. Of his experiences at this time Worth wrote: "I preached six sermons...besides exhortations, and I never dealt more publicly with the sin of slavery in any latitude," going on to tell of several instances of cruelty on the part of slaveowners in the neighborhood.[21]

Worth was hardly the first antislavery crusader on Kentucky soil. As early as 1799 Henry Clay had argued for gradual emancipation, and there had been a strong but unsuccessful effort to include a provision for some type of gradual emancipation when a new state constitution was adopted in 1849.[22] In 1851 an antislavery party had participated in the fall elections, while occasionally a newspaper with sympathies for some variety of emancipation could be found.[23]

In Kentucky Worth worked with the Reverend John Gregg Fee, undoubtedly one of the greatest antislavery leaders ever produced by a Southern state. A native Kentuckian, Fee had much in common with Worth. Although born into a slaveholding family, Fee was of Quaker ancestry, and had committed himself to antislavery beliefs at an early age. Later ordained a Presbyterian

minister, Fee had left that church because of its opposition to abolition. He then organized several Free Churches which disqualified slaveowners from membership.[24] Like Worth, Fee was an evangelical abolitionist, arguing: "In whatever we enter our protest against slavery, it must be for the good reason it is a sin against God."[25]

Fee's main source of financial support was the American Missionary Association, an organization which later loomed large in Daniel Worth's life. The A. M. A. was organized in Albany, New York in 1846 for the purposes of reform-oriented home missionary activities, particularly antislavery. An avowedly evangelical group, it numbered among its founders such abolitionist stalwarts as Simeon S. Jocelyn and the Tappan brothers of New York City, who felt that they could no longer support the American Home Missionary Society, which had not taken a definite antislavery stand.[26] Fee had once been an agent of the Home Society, but in 1848 became affiliated with the A. M. A.[27]

By the time Worth joined Fee the Kentuckian had achieved some success. He had organized several churches and was writing and lecturing on slavery whenever and wherever possible. Mob efforts to silence him had had no effect, and by 1853 Fee was requesting additional aid from the A. M. A. Soon afterwards Daniel Worth, bearing commissions from both the A. M. A. and the Wesleyans, arrived in Kentucky.[28]

Worth liked what he referred to as "noble, glorious Kentucky." He found the climate salutary, the soil fertile, and was impressed by the quantities of building stone.[29] The people impressed him equally well:

> There are many noble hearts here in Kentucky---great Christian hearts expanded wide with philanthropy and love. I have felt, with the most lively emotions, the warmth of regard shown me by this people since laboring among them....I am well-pleased with my field of labor, and would as soon occupy it as the most favored spot of Indiana or Ohio. Kentuckians are characterized by

> many noble traits, and when converted to antislavery Gospel, there are no better specimens.[30]

In company with Fee, the old Wesleyan set to work with a vengeance. In November he and the Kentuckian held a protracted meeting near the latter's home in Lewis County, with several conversions to the Free Church resulting.[31] The two centered their efforts in Lewis and Bracken Counties, both near the Ohio River in the eastern part of the state. Together they conducted a series of revivals, finding themselves in great demand.[32] On one occasion they found themselves before a debating society waiting to hear the evils of intemperance weighed against those of slavery. Although others were to participate, they were content to leave matters in the hands of the two abolitionists. After Worth discussed intemperance and Fee "followed in a most powerful speech on the untold wrongs and horrors of slavery," a slaveowner rose to reply. Unfortunately for his case, this champion of the peculiar institution was interrupted by a woman who accused him of having starved one of his slaves to death. The debate ended with slavery judged to be the greater evil.[33]

By February Worth and Fee were in Fleming County, where they formed a church composed of former Methodists and New Lights.[34] Doubtless Worth took some delight in proselytizing in the old home of his erstwhile adversary the Reverend William Hunt. While there Worth and Fee encountered two ministers, one a New Light, one a Methodist, and "drew them out on the subject of slavery." The New Light replied that it was a great sin, but that in the face of overwhelming support for the institution he thought it wise to say nothing, thus bringing down Worth's evangelical wrath. "What a dumb dog to lie watch upon the walls of Zion," he exclaimed. Worse in his view was the Methodist, who said that he could find nothing in the Bible concerning slavery, and thus ignored the question. Of him Worth concluded

acerbically:

> This reverend shepherd of Christ's flock lately got to suck a little blood (vampires love blood) in the price of a poor slave, whose body and soul were put into market, a dividend of an estate part of which went into his pocket as one of the heirs at law....Such a Methodist preacher would almost make John Wesley groan in his grave.[35]

In April Worth was in Cincinnati for still another abolitionist convention. Such luminaries as Frederick Douglass, Lucy Stone, Henry B. Stanton, and C. C. Burleigh were present to strengthen the faithful with speeches and debates. It is indicative of the high regard in which Worth was held that he was chosen one of the convention's vice-presidents, and was selected to deliver one of the main speeches. He blasted the Fugitive Slave Act; the recently introduced Kansas-Nebraska Act, which he feared would open those territories to slavery; and the federal government in general. He told of his adventures in Kentucky, and predicted that once slavery was abolished, that state would rival Ohio. He concluded his address by waving a pair of handcuffs he had taken from a free Negro whose sale back into slavery he had helped prevent.[36]

Worth's Kentucky sojourn lasted only a year. Part of this time he was back in Ohio. In January he returned to Felicity to conduct a revival, while later in the year he traveled to Williams County in the extreme northwest corner of Ohio, where he found "many...anxious in that quarter to have a religion as pure as their politics."[37] It would have been reasonable for Worth to have remained in Kentucky. His work was successful. He had preached at least fifty times with encouraging results, while Fee informed the A. M. A. in 1854 that his own work flourishing.[38] Fee, furthermore, was about to leave Lewis County for Madison County, where he founded Berea College.[39] The Kentucky abolitionist was, however, disenchanted with his colleague. He did not doubt his abilities, writing that Worth was

a man of "good ability and true piety" who was "straight-out anti-slavery."[39] Fee, however, was strongly non-denominational, and suspected Worth of plans to carry the churches he was establishing over the Wesleyanism, an aim which Worth expressed in print at least once. Thus Fee decided to let Worth "stay on the other side of the Ohio River."[40]

Back in Ohio Worth was received with enthusiasm. He enthralled the annual conference with stories, and at the conclusion was chosen president for the following year with the title of traveling evangelist headquartered in Cincinnati.[41] Worth, however, spent little time in Cincinnati, instead concentrating his attentions upon a new interest: the Black population of southwestern Ohio. The Negro population scattered throughout this area was concentrated, of course, in Cincinnati and Dayton, but was significant elsewhere.[42] Racial prejudice was rampant, and most Negroes lived on the edge of the most desperate poverty. There were, however, some signs of progress. Free Soilers in the legislature had secured repeal of the fierce state Black Laws, and scattered throughout the region were Quakers and other liberals who aided and supported the Blacks.[43]

The position of the Wesleyans in regard to Negroes was quite progressive, even by modern standards. There was no segregation within Wesleyan churches. Negroes were admitted on the same basis with whites. Indeed, one of the grounds for secession had been discriminatory Methodist practices.[44] There was at least Black minister, Charles Clemons, in the Indiana Conference at an early date.[45]

Worth seems to have been free from racial prejudice. He had lived near large Negro settlements in Wayne and Randolph Counties in Indiana, had fought discriminatory legislation in the legislature, and, as has already been seen, as President of the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society urged repeal of the Indiana Black Laws.[46] He had had Negro members in his New-

port circuit for a time was Charles Clemons, a talented Black man. The spectacle of a Negro preaching to predominately white audiences was undoubtedly an unusual one for the time.[48]

From the autumn of 1854 until the spring of 1856 Worth centered his efforts at Ripley, Ohio. After September, 1855 he held the position of Pastor of the Ripley Wesleyan Chapel, whose members were mostly former slaves. Charles Clemons had been his predecessor.[49] Worth claimed descendants of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson among his members.[50]

Ripley itself was a contradictory place. There was, and had been for several years, a large Negro population in and around the town which was growing rapidly during the 1850's.[51] Near the town dwelt the Reverend John Rankin, an eminent Presbyterian minister and antislavery pioneer widely known for his aid to fugitive slaves.[52] Still, abolitionists were not popular in the area. There was a powerful Southern influence in the town, and it was not unusual to see slavecatchers from Kentucky searching for fugitives.[53] Racial prejudice was even worse. In 1850 it took an order from the Ohio Supreme Court to force a county judge to grant a Black minister (probably Charles Clemons) a license to perform marriages.[54]

As usual, Worth was simultaneously involved in other reform activities. In August, 1855 he was present at a giant religious reform convention in Dayton, and as a member of the executive committee helped plan an interdenominational assault on slavery by the United Brethren, the Free Presbyterians, the Evangelical Association, the Congregationalists, and the Wesleyans. Little came of the convention.[55]

Meanwhile, Worth considered it his duty to protect his flock. Aside from the usual temptations of the flesh, there were swindlers abroad who preyed upon the generous impulses of the abolitionists. Worth encountered little resistance when he scored a Jeffersonville, Indiana mulatto named Mar-

shall who had made a small fortune under the pretense of raising funds for the benefit of Calvin Fairbanks, an abolitionist then imprisoned in Kentucky. There was even less when he exposed Elijah Anderson, who made his living begging money supposedly to pay the costs of an old judgment against him for violating the Fugitive Slave Act.[56] Worth probably did an injustice, however, when he scored the Reverend W. R. Revels, the talented pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Indianapolis. Revels was soliciting funds for a seminary in Louisville, Kentucky which Worth believed to be a fraud, although he admitted that "we do not know that this man is acting fraudulently."[57] A few weeks later Revels published an indignant reply in The Wesleyan, to which Worth replied late in June. Although admitting that his original charge against Revels might have been exaggerated, he still argued that the project was unworthy of support, since the A. M. E. Church was "a slave-holding church."[58] Oddly enough, there was a grain of truth in Worth's comment, since a few members in the South were the de jure owners of slaves, usually wives, children, or other relatives.[59] It is a mark of the advanced nature of Worth's antislavery sentiments that not even the African Methodists were free from his strictures.

C. Return to Indiana

By the summer of 1856 Worth was back in Indiana. His status with the church at Ripley is not known. In 1856, however, Worth's main interest was politics.

The political situation in Indiana had changed radically since Worth's departure in 1850. The Whig Party, for all practical purposes, was dead. Opposition to the Democrats had coalesced in the People's Party, which only later assumed the name Republican. That party at this time was a coalition of old Free Soilers, moderate abolitionists, antislavery Whigs, Know Noth-

ings, and Democrats opposed to the extension of slavery. This last point, opposition to slavery in the territories, was the only one upon which all of the elements of the party could agree.[60]

The People's Party, although organized only in the summer of 1854, won a smashing victory in that year's fall elections. The entire state ticket, a majority in the lower house of the legislature, and nine of eleven congressional candidates won election.[61] Nonetheless, the new organization's members were not a harmonious group. Former Free Soilers who wished to see an aggressively antislavery party develop clashed with former Whigs while ex-Democrats looked askance at both.[62] It was the Free Soilers who proved the most vocal faction within the party. Their leader was Worth's old friend George W. Julian, the Free Soil candidate for Vice-President in 1852.[63] The other elements in the party feared that radicalism would alienate voters and thus steered a more moderate course. The May, 1856 state convention contented itself with expressing opposition to the extension of slavery, refusing to adopt the name Republican and hesitatingly selecting delegates to the party's national convention in Philadelphia in June.[64]

This was the situation when Worth returned to Indiana. It is doubtful that any man could have been found in the state who would have been less impressed by the appeals of the moderates for caution. Worth was present at the state convention in May, and came away thoroughly disgusted. Retreating to refresh himself among more fervent abolitionist spirits in Greensboro, he wrote to Julian: "I came to the conclusion it was not the party for me. A poor miserable truckling concern without soul or body. I have just about as much faith in it as I have in Franklin Pierce himself."[65] The old abolitionist, in a rare mood, also theorized about the reasons for the convention's sins:

> This was done for the benefit of Knownothings and old fossil Whigs who have just emanated from their political graves where they have been perservering to rot, and are now ready to take office at the hands of the anti-slavery men provided that they are not compelled to take more of anti-slavery than they might safely take of arsenic.[66]

Worth suggested that the Free Soilers bolt and hold their own convention in June to nominate an alternative slate of delegates to the Republican national convention, saying that he had found such a plan to be agreeable to Henry and Rush County abolitionists. Otherwise, he predicted, anti-slavery men would defect by the hundreds.[67] Apparently Julian, already under attack for party disloyalty, discouraged Worth, since no such convention was ever held.

In June the Republicans met in Philadelphia, nominating John C. Fremont for the Presidency on a platform of exclusion of slavery from the territories. Although many antislavery men like George W. Julian were not completely satisfied with the new party, they fell into line behind it, while not ceasing to point out its weaknesses.[68] Many abolitionists followed suit, even Lewis Tappan announcing his intention of voting for Fremont.[69]

For Worth this was a time of soul searching. Doubtless the practical politician within him was attracted by the Republicans' chances for success, but his conscience rebelled at the compromises he saw them making. In the end conscience was triumphant. In August a significant article by Worth appeared in The Wesleyan. Never one to take the middle ground, since the old abolitionist could not support the Republicans, he felt compelled to damn them, and this he did quite effectively. He began with an examination of the Philadelphia platform, pointing out that it voiced no criticism of slavery as an evil, nor did it propose repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act, prohibition of the interstate slave trade, or abolition of slavery in

the District of Columbia, all of which were dear to the hearts of abolitionists. Worth considered agitation over the extension of slavery secondary to the question of its final extinction.[70]

Having thus disposed of the measures of the Republican Party, Worth turned to its men. He blasted Indiana Republican leaders as "staunch pro-slavery men...making use of the Kansas excitement as a hobby to ride into office," but it was for Fremont that Worth reserved his most withering criticism. The pacifism in Worth emerged as he described Fremont as

> ...a man of no experience as a statesman, without a single antecedent on which we can rely; a kind of modern Robinson Crusoe, a Mexican War filibuster fighting on his own hook, invading and conquering California without even the authority of government, and shedding the blood of her unoffending citizens on their own hearth-stones; and now fresh from this baptism of blood shed in a war which for wickedness rivals any in human history, this man is presented to the reformers of this land as a suitable leader.[71]

In Worth's conclusion emerged the time-honored evangelical conception of the sin of slavery. To Worth slavery wasnot an abstract question, but "terrible reality" with "its whips and chains, its gags and neck yokes, its branding irons and bloodhounds." Thus compromise was impossible, for to compromise would be to follow the formula: "Of two devils take the littlest." The answer of true antislavery men, according to Worth, would be: "We will have no devils at all."[72]

In the fall elections the Democrats were triumphant both nationally and in Indiana. Soon the Republicans were engaged in bitter intra-party recriminations, with moderates and radicals blaming each other for defeat.[73] Worth, however, was to play no further role in Indiana politics.

During this time Worth did not forget religion. At the Indiana Conference's fall session, for which he was in charge of arrangements, Worth was chosen president for the following year and was appointed to the New Castle South circuit, which embraced Rush County. Worth was by this time

making his home at Carthage.[74] In October he was in Cleveland for the General Conference. He took an active role in the sessions, and it is evidence of his abilities as a speaker that from all the ministers present he was chosen to conduct the devotional service.[75]

The year 1857 was to be a stormy one for Daniel Worth. From all accounts, he was not what would be considered a likeable person. Now past sixty, he was still austere and undoubtedly rather forbidding. The circuit for which he was assuming responsibility was an important one, the main church being located at Carthage. Essentially a Quaker town, Carthage was an important antislavery center.[76] The Wesleyan church there had been founded in 1851 and, according to the historian of the Wesleyans in Indiana, made up what it lacked in numbers by the reforming zeal and devotion of its members.[77]

Worth, however, took a hearty dislike to his new congregation. He later wrote of "those miserable abortions which made up a large part" of the membership.[78] At least one of his members, as will be seen later, returned his pastor's feelings.

The annual conference of 1857 was held in Westfield. As president Worth, in addition to the usual burdens of office, faced two problems. The first of these was secret societies. The Wesleyan discipline forbade membership in "secret, oath-bound societies," the Masons apparently being the target. The Indiana Conference had always been quite scrupulous in observance of this tenet. In 1850 a minister had been expelled for joining a Masonic lodge, and in 1851 Edward Smith had concluded with satisfaction that the Indiana Conference was "thoroughly anti-Masonic."[79] The problem was not dead, however. At Westfield the question arose again in the form of a proposal to suspend enforcement of the article. Worth again led the battle for its retention, being bitterly opposed by the younger ministers. In

the end Worth and his supporters were victorious, but the incident left bad feelings on both sides.[80]

More personally humiliating to Worth, however, was his subjection to a "trial." Each year the conference "examined" the character of each minister, at which time complaints could be presented. If these were serious enough, a trial by the conference followed. The historian of the Wesleyans in Indiana notes that there were regular epidemics of such trials, with the charges usually being based on mere gossip.[81] In this year, when the character of Daniel Worth came before the conference, charges of lying, abusing his church, and obscene conduct were leveled against him by Benjamin Nixon, a lay preacher at Carthage. Details of the charges and the resulting trial are sketchy, but Worth denied everything, and was unanimously cleared.[82] Coming after the battle over Masonry, however, the trial was a bitter experience. Certain members seem to have used it to even old scores, particularly one L. C. Beckford, of whom Worth wrote: "...before he can receive the recognition of a brother from me he will have to take back and apologize for the mean and vulgar thrust made at me on the conference floor." He continued:

> I am the oldest preacher in the conference...and have travelled from the beginning. My toils and sacrifices are known to all the brethren, and if they will not shield me from the flouts of upstarts, I can at least show a decent self-respect by treating all such as 'heathen men and publicans.'[83]

Worth, however, knew that he would not be enduring such insults much longer. At the end of the conference he was transferred to the Zanesville Conference, where he was given the title of missionary and assigned to duty in North Carolina.[84] In October he attended the American Missionary Association's annual meeting in Mansfield, Ohio, and received a commission from that organization. Whether the inspiration for Worth's mission came from the Wesleyans, the A. M. A., or Worth himself is unclear.[85] But by the

end of October Daniel Worth had returned to his native state.

ENDNOTES

[1]Leonard U. Hill, ed., The History of Miami County, Ohio, 1807-1953 (Columbus: F. J. Heer Company, 1953), pp. 171-172.

[2]History of Miami County, Ohio (Chicago: W. H. Beers Company, 1882), p.384 ; Frank U. Quillin, The Color Line in Ohio: The History of Race Prejudice in a Typical Northern State (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1913), p. 29.

[3]Lucius C. Matlack, The History of American Slavery and Methodism, 1780-1849 and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America (New York: Privately Published, 1849), p. 320; Ronald Walters, The Antislavery Impulse (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 49; Wilbur H. Siebert, The Mysteries of Ohio's Underground Railroads (Columbus: Long's College Book Company, 1953), p. 137.

[4]Edward Smith to Luther Lee, n. d., The True Wesleyan, February 17, 1849.

[5]Ibid, July 26, 1851.

[6]Ibid, October 11, 1851.

[7]Daniel Worth to Luther Lee, October 2, 1851, Ibid, October 25, 1851.

[8]History of Clinton County, Ohio (Chicago: W. H. Beers Company, 1882), p. 380.

[9]Ibid, pp. 382, 675.

[10]The True Wesleyan, February 28, 1852.

[11]Ibid, October 2, 1852.

[12]Siebert, Ohio's Underground Railroads, p. 67.

[13]Francis P. Weisenberger, The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850, Carl Wittke, ed., The History of the State of Ohio (Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1941), p. 378; History of Clermont County, Ohio (Chicago: A. E. Kingman, 1880), p. 134.

[14]History of Clermont County, pp. 333, 355.

[15]The Wesleyan, September 28, 1853. "True" was dropped from the title at the beginning of 1853.

[16]Ibid, January 13, 1853.

[17]History of Clermont County, p. 333; The Wesleyan, March 20, 1853.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid, September 29, 1853.

[20]D. Worth to Luther Lee, May 23, 1853, The Wesleyan, May 19, 1853.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Life of Henry Clay (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), pp. 20-21; J. Winston Coleman, Jr., Slavery Times in Kentucky (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), pp. 313-317.

[23]Ibid, pp. 317-321.

[24]John G. Fee, Autobiography (Chicago: National Christian Association, 1891), pp. 10, 16, 34-38; Fletcher M. Green, "Northern Missionary Activities in the South," Journal of Southern History 21 (May, 1955), pp. 154-156; D. Worth to Luther Lee, May 12, 1853, The Wesleyan, May 19, 1853.

[25]John G. Fee to Lewis Tappan, June 10, 1847, cited in Lowell H. Harrison, The Antislavery Movement in Kentucky (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978), pp. 68-69.

[26]Green, "Northern Missionary Activities," p. 156; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War on Slavery (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), pp. 290-291.

[27]Green, "Northern Missionary Activities," p. 156.

[28]Harrison, Antislavery Movement in Kentucky, pp. 70-71; Fee, Autobiography, pp. 72-73; Clifton H. Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 40 (July, 1963), p. 306; George W. Julian, Political Recollections, 1840-1872 (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg and Company, 1884), pp. 216-217.

[29]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, February 10, 1854, The Wesleyan, March 2, 1854.

[30]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, November 8, 1853, Ibid, November 17, 1853.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, February 1, 1854, Ibid, February 17, 1854.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, February 10, 1854, Ibid, March 2, 1854.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Pennsylvania Freeman, quoted in Ibid, May 4, 1854.

[37]John O'Neill to Cyrus Prindle, February 1, 1854, Ibid, February 17, 1854; Ibid, September 28, 1854.

[38]Ibid; Green, "Northern Missionary Activities," p. 157.

[39]Fee, Autobiography, p. 39.

[40]Ibid, p. 39; John G. Fee to George Whipple, n. d., cited in Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 306.

[41]The Wesleyan, September 28, 1854, October 12, 1854.

[42]Quillin, Color Line in Ohio, p. 74.

[43]David A. Gerber, Black Ohio and the Color Line,1860-1915 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 5, 10-13.

[44]Lucius C. Matlack, Life of the Reverend Orange Scott (New York: L. C. Matlack and C. Prindle, 1847), p. 226; Orange Scott, The Grounds of Secession From the M. E. Church (New York: Cyrus Prindle, 1848), pp. 7-8; Dwight W. Culver, Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 48.

[45]Edward Smith to Luther Lee, n. d., The True Wesleyan, February 17, 1849.

[46]Emma Lou Thornbrough, The Negro in Indiana Before 1900: A Study of a Minority, Indiana Historical Collections, XXXVIII (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1957), pp. 48-49.

[47]Levi Coffin, Reminiscences, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1880), p. 153; Matlack, Life of Orange Scott, p. 226.

[48]Edward Smith to Luther Lee, n. d., The True Wesleyan, February 17, 1849.

[49]History of Brown County, Ohio (Chicago: W. H. Beers and Company, 1883), p. 422; The Wesleyan, October 10, 1855.

[50]Roy S. Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South (Syracuse: The Wesleyan Publishing House, 1933), p. 80.

[51]History of Brown County, p. 422; Eugene H. Roseboom, The Civil War Era, 1850-1873, Carl Wittke, ed., The History of the State of Ohio (Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1944), p. 7. In 1834 the great abolitionist Theodore Weld visited the Black settlements around Ripley and was impressed by the good order he found there. Theodore Weld to James G. Birney, December 11, 1834, Dwight L. Dumond, ed., The Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857, 2 vols. (New York: G. C. Appleton and Company, 1938), pp. 154-155.

[52]Wilbur H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom New York: Macmillan and Company, 1898), pp. 109, 306; Dwight L. Dumond, Antislavery: The Crusade For Freedom in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), pp. 134-135.

[53]History of Brown County, p. 314.

[54]Quillin, Color Line in Ohio, p. 106.

[55]The Wesleyan, August 29, 1855; Roseboom, The Civil War Era, p. 303.

[56]The Wesleyan, April 11, 1855.

[57]Ibid. At this time the A. M. E. Church of Indiana and Ohio was planning the organization of a college. It was ultimately located at Xenia, Ohio and became Wilberforce University. Daniel A. Payne, Recollections of Seventy Years (Nashville: Publishing House of the A. M. E. Sunday School Union, 1888), p. 130.

[58]The Wesleyan, May 30, June 20, 1855. This Revels may have been the William Revels who served briefly as an agent for the American Colonization Society in the 1840's. One wonders what Worth would have done had he known this. Thornbrough, Negro in Indiana, pp. 80-81.

[59]Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), pp. 406-409; Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South (New York: Vintage Books, c. 1956), pp. 194-195, 229.

[60]Charles Zimmermann, "The Origin and Development of the Republican Party in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History 13 (September, 1917), p. 240; Emma Lou Thornbrough, Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1965), p. 61. The Know Nothings, mostly former Whigs, were a nativist, anti-Catholic secret order. They were a political power in the mid-1850's. Ibid, pp. 60-61.

[61]Ibid, p. 67.

[62]Zimmermann, "Republican Party in Indiana," p. 260.

[63]Patrick W. Riddleberger, George Washington Julian: A Study in Nineteenth Century Politics and Reform, Indiana Historical Collections, XLV (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1966), ch. 4, passim.

[64]Thornbrough, Indiana in the Civil War Era, p. 72; Zimmermann, "Republican Party in Indiana," p. 240.

[65]D. Worth to G. W. Julian, May 13, 1856, Grace Julian Clarke, "A Letter of Daniel Worth to George W. Julian and Other Documents," Indiana Magazine of History 26 (June, 1930), pp. 153-154.

[66]Ibid, p. 154.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Julian, Political Recollections, pp. 148-157.

[69]Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan, p. 334.

[70]The Wesleyan, August 6, 1856.

[71]Ibid. Fremont had served in the Mexican War and had played a prominent part in the seizure of California, hoping that it would be annexed by the United States. Bernard De Voto, The Year of Decision, 1846 (Boston: Houghton

Mifflin Company, 1943), pp. 279-283.

[72]The Wesleyan, August 6, 1856. This idea of antislavery men casting their votes for the lesser of two evils dated back at least to 1844, when supporters of Henry Clay used it to woo them. Abolitionists were usually unimpressed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1945), p. 440.

[73]Thornbrough, Indiana in the Civil War Era, pp. 80-81.

[74]The Wesleyan, August 20, 1856; Lee M. Haines, "The Story of Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana, 1843-1867," (Ms., Archives of the Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana, 1959), p. 22.

[75]Ira F. McLeister and Roy S. Nicholson, Conscience and Commitment: The Story of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 4th ed. (Marion, Indiana: The Wesley Press, 1976), p. 66.

[76]History of Rush County, Indiana (Chicago: Brant and Fuller, 1888), p. 659.

[77]Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," p. 83.

[78]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, original in 1959 in the possession of Everett Davis of Fountain City, Indiana, whereabouts now unknown, copy in Daniel Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[79]Edward Smith to Luther Lee, September 29, 1851, The True Wesleyan, October 18, 1851.

[80]Indiana Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, Minutes, Ninth Session, 1857, Indiana North District Office of the Wesleyan Church, Marion, Indiana.

[81]Haines, "Wesleyan Methodism in Indiana," p. 38.

[82]Indiana Conference Minutes, 1857. "Benjamin Nixon...born January 10, 1819, was a native of Perquimans County, N. C., and came to Carthage...in 1835. He was Justice of the Peace in Carthage for twenty-four years, and never had a case reversed, when appealed from his decision, in that time. He was a local preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and died in Rushville, December 4, 1883, as he lived---a Christian gentleman." History of Rush County, p. 731.

[83]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, Daniel Worth Papers.

[84]Indiana Conference Minutes, 1857.

[85]Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, p. 82.

[86]Worth later said that he was "selected" for the mission. The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NORTH CAROLINA WORK

A. Daniel Worth, 1857-1860

In the autumn of 1857 Daniel Worth took his wife Elizabeth and their youngest daughter Mary, then eighteen, back to North Carolina. Officially he held two posts: Missionary for the Zanesville Conference for North Carolina, and North Carolina agent of the American Missionary Association. The implications of both of these positions will be discussed at length later. By November, 1857 the Worths had found a home in the village of New Salem in Randolph County, not far from Daniel Worth's Guilford County birthplace.[1]

The reasons for Daniel Worth's return were complex. There were scattered Wesleyan congregations in Guilford, Randolph, Chatham, and Alamance Counties in the central piedmont which had had difficulties both with mobs suspicious of their antislavery principles and with the previous incumbent, Daniel Wilson, who had been charged with immorality, dereliction of duty, and lack of strong antislavery principles.[2] Both Worth and his fellow Wesleyans thought that since he was a native of the state he might be relatively safe from molestation.[3]

Worth undoubtedly was drawn to North Carolina for another reason: his wife's failing health. All indications are that Elizabeth Worth was in the last stages of tuberculosis. As so often happened with such cases, she was brought to North Carolina in the hope that the warmer climate would aid in her recovery.[4]

A final reason for Worth's departure was suggested by Noble J. Tolbert in the North Carolina Historical Review in 1962. Tolbert claimed that Worth's assignment to North Carolina was an attempt by the Indiana Conference after its stormy 1857 session to rid itself of a difficult member. One is inclined to doubt this, since Worth's position on every issue was upheld, and arrangements for such a departure would have had to have been made well in advance.[5] Nonetheless, Worth was upset by the difficulties to which the younger ministers had subjected him, particularly the morals charge. In April, 1858 he wrote to his nephew Aaron Worth:

> I do not expect to belong to the Indiana Conference again. I am out of it, and I think I shall not return to it. There are good men and noble in it...but on the other hand there are some others whom I never like so well as when furthest off, so I think I will keep out of the Conference.[6]

Almost immediately Worth encountered problems in North Carolina. One which seems to have constantly plagued him was money. The country in which he found himself was relatively poor, as were its inhabitants. "Our Wesleyans here in North Carolina are almost poor, many quite so," he wrote, "and have never been taught the duty of contributions."[7] By April, 1858 he had collected less than twenty-five dollars since coming to North Carolina and thus was forced to scrape by on two hundred dollars a year provided by the American Missionary Association and the Zanesville Conference.[8]

A second difficulty with which Worth was forced to cope was his weight. A unfriendly observer later wrote that he resembled "nothing so much as a three hundred pound hog,"[9] and Worth himself admitted that his "great weight" was causing problems. "I am likely to be soon incapacitated from travelling by my great weight," he wrote his nephew in 1859. "I now weigh modestly clad 276 pounds and am still increasing."[10]

Elizabeth Worth's health worsened during the winter of 1857-1858; by

the spring her husband knew that she was dying. In March he told Cyrus Prindle of The Wesleyan: "She must leave me soon." At the end of April he realized "the end to be near."[11] In her last weeks his circuit duties were laid aside as he stood over her almost constantly. "She had wasted so thin," he wrote to his sister, "that I was in the habit of taking her and carrying her down in my arms."[12] On the morning of May 12 she died, "calm, composed, and resigned...uttering the name of her Redeemer."[13]

Elizabeth Worth is a shadowy figure. She was apparently aloof from antislavery work, and she is seldom mentioned in her husband's correspondence. Her time was probably more than occupied with maintaining and rearing a large family with a husband often absent on ministerial or antislavery duties. Worth was deeply affected by her death. Although he spoke of her in terms befitting a minister, he wrote: "Great is the privation of such a bosom counsellor, and deep are the pangs when the dearest bond known on earth is severed."[14]

What immediately followed is little short of fantastic. Elizabeth Worth had been nursed in her last illness by her widowed sister Huldah Cude, of whom Worth wrote: "She is one of the best women I know, whether reference be made to still, quiet, unobtrusive piety, or those qualities necessary to render a woman the best of companions."[15] Less than three weeks after Elizabeth's death they were married. Worth took the matter in stride, consulting "many friends, Wesleyans, Methodists, Quakers, and others. Not one dissuaded from the step."[16] His daughter was "violently opposed...but did not even attempt to assign a reason" against it.[17] Yet Worth realized the awkwardness of his situation. He sent no notice to The Wesleyan; when he wrote his sister Lydia to inform her of his wife's death did not include news of his new wife in the main body of his letter but instead added an oblique postscript beginning: "And now there is a mat-

ter which I must mention which I have omitted, though possibly you may have heard it ere this. I am married to a second wife some ten days ago."[18] Interestingly, however, this incident was never mentioned in all of the attacks which were later made on Worth.

While life had its griefs, it also brought its joys to Daniel Worth. Chief among these was the marriage of his daughter Mary to Dr. Charles Wesley Woolen of New Salem in 1858. Worth delighted in the match, although hardly for the reasons one would expect.

> Dr. Charles Wesley Woolen becoming my son-in-law has excited a tremendous excitement here. He is something of an old young man, a splendid physician, a gentleman of great beauty of manners, and some fortune, and had long been sought by several slaveholders as a suitable match for their daughters. But lo! who could have thought it. 'He turned from all these away and took the old abolitionist's daughter from Indiana.' So talk the slaveholders and their friends.[19]

After his daughter's marriage Worth moved into his son-in-law's home, remaining there until he left North Carolina.[20]

As for the North Carolina which Daniel Worth had left in 1822, it had changed little and much. The state had suffered greatly from the migration to the West the Worths had joined. Many of the old Quaker settlements were gone; Worth was able to appropriate the abandoned Concord Friends Meetinghouse in Randolph County for use as a Wesleyan church without complaint.[21] North Carolina still remained "a byword for ignorance." To the New York Tribune the state was "fifty thousand miles of stagnation."[22] Frederick Law Olmsted wrote about the time of Worth's arrival that this was not so much the result of any inherent deficiencies in the population as the lack of adequate public education and facilities for transportation. Nevertheless he concluded that "North Carolina has a proverbial reputation for the ignorance and torpidity of her people."[23]

Daniel Worth saw the ignorance and poverty around him, which he was

quick to cite as the inevitable consequences of slavery. Like any true reformer, however, he did not let this deter, but instead was spurred on to greater efforts.

B. The Old Guilford Circuit

Daniel Worth was not the first Wesleyan clergyman to labor in North Carolina, nor did he begin without a base of support. In order to understand Worth's experiences, one must understand the origins of the Wesleyan movement in North Carolina and the difficulties which it had previously encountered.

In 1847 a group of antislavery Methodists at Jamestown in Guilford County found themselves unable to associate with the Methodist Episcopal Church South because it did not condemn slavery as a sin and organized a separate congregation. After two years of independent existence this group, under the leadership of one its members, Daniel Wilson, asked to be received as the Guilford Circuit of the Alleghany Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America.[24] The Alleghany Conference accepted their application and dispatched the Reverend Adam Crooks as a missionary preacher. Soon the work was so successful that that eight new churches had appeared and the Reverend Jesse McBride was sent out to aid Crooks on a circuit which included Guilford, Randolph, Alamance, Chatham, Forsythe, and Davidson Counties.[25]

The fervent antislavery preaching of the two missionaries soon caused problems. The Greensboro Patriot launched a campaign against the two men, who soon found themselves under indictment for circulating incendiary literature, on which charge McBride was convicted. He appealed to the North Carolina Supreme Court and along with Crooks attempted to resume preaching. The public had become so excited, however, that by August, 1851 both

Crooks and McBride had been forced to leave the state.[26]

The loss of their clergymen proved to be a disaster for the Wesleyans. Many despaired of ever practicing their religion in peace and left for Ohio, Indiana, or Iowa.[27] Daniel Wilson assumed the post of minister, supported by the remaining members and a covert annual grant from the American Missionary Association.[29] Wilson, however, proved inadequate to the task, so Daniel Worth was selected to return to North Carolina.

When Worth arrived late in 1857 he found the scene fairly encouraging. His circuit embraced the above-mentioned counties, and soon he had established twenty regular preaching appointments, covering the circuit once a month. He found the people, many of them of staunch antislavery principles, quite friendly, "plain, simple, primitive; no gew-gaws, no fantastical drapery, no putting on of gold."[29] Of course he saw much that did not meet with his approval. His antislavery work will be described later, but he found many other sins to correct. Chief among these was tobacco: "the universal chewing, snuffing, and smoking, by all ages, of the filthy narcotic..."[30] He wrote to his sister: "This whole southern atmosphere is most abominable for their tobacco....I sometimes get tobacco as well as slavery, & then, as the boys say, I am apt to give it <u>particular</u> fits."[31]

Worth's techniques of preaching appear to have been little different from those which he had used since the beginning of his ministerial career. Chief among these was the revival. This was nothing new to the area, particularly among the Methodists. James McGready, the Presbyterian minister given credit for inspiring the Great Revival of 1800, had lived in Guilford County, while the counties embraced in Worth's circuit had been among those most deeply affected by earlier revival work. The year 1857 was the season of a general religious quickening in Virginia and North Carolina,

which undoubtedly aided Worth in his efforts.[33]

Worth's revival techniques seem to have fit the best patterns of emotional religion. Probably typical was a meeting which Worth held in Reynolds Schoolhouse in Guilford County which lasted nine days. Worth described it to Cyrus Prindle, the editor of The Wesleyan:

> I think I never saw a time of such power. Convictions threw the penitents prostrate, begging, pleading, wrestling with God for mercy. O what elegance, O what despair! But hark, mercy's angel approaches, the star which foretokens the morning is seen, and the penitents are singing the song of the ransomed captive. The wife is in the arms of the husband, and the husband in the arms of the wife; the parent the child and the child the parent, rejoicing in the liberty in the Son of God; as the joint hallelujahs of our worshiping congregation swelled up the empyrean the ecstasy is caught up by 'the first burn of the sons of light,' and Heaven reverberates the mighty joy the dead's alive and the lost found....This triumph is worth my whole toil and trouble and expense of more than a thousand miles to reach this land.[34]

By all accounts, Worth's religious labors met with some success. In June, 1858 he reported that his average congregation was twice the size of those of other North Carolina ministers, and that he was forced to hold services out of doors because no buildings large enough for them could be found.[35] By January, 1859 he had added 130 members to his churches, which he considered quite a success "in view of the prostrated state of things when I reached here."[36] The hostile Raleigh Standard was quite alarmed by Worth's following, especially among "the low-down and extremely ignorant."[37] His followers were devoted. "As for the affections of my people, thank God, it is almost unbounded," he wrote to his nephew in 1859. "We love each other with a warmth I never experienced before....My young converts love me as they would a father, and I love almost all of them not quite as well as though they were my own sons and daughters."[38] Worth's followers showed a deep solicitude for his welfare. In 1866, when they attempted to begin again after the Civil War, it was not to any Wesleyan

conference they turned, but to Huldah Worth.[39] By 1858 Worth had taken on Alfred N. Vestal of Chatham County as his assistant. A year later a second, Jesse Osborn, was chosen.[40]

C. The Abolition Emissary

If Daniel Worth had been content merely to preach salvation through abstinence from liquor, tobacco, and "fripperies," he probably would have been left undisturbed. It was his unabashed antislavery work which made him so dangerous in the eyes of many North Carolinans.

Daniel Worth must have been fully aware of what he was taking on when he returned to North Carolina. His own experiences in Kentucky and those of Crooks and McBride would have provided warning. Yet he showed no sign of ever having moderated his attacks on the peculiar institution. Instead, he fully intended to attempt to create an abolitionist stronghold in the North Carolina piedmont.[41] Worth, however, aimed his message solely at the white population, believing that the method by which slavery would end would be the conviction on the part of the whites that the system was harmful.[42] There are only a few incidental mentions of contact with Blacks, free or slave, on Worth's part: an accusation that he had once forced some white women to give up their seats to some slave women at a prayer meeting, Worth's own acknowledgement that when conducting family prayers in a slaveholding household he always called in the family servants to participate.[43]

The methods of Daniel Worth's attack on slavery were varied. His firmest conviction was the classic evangelical abolitionist idea that slavery was a sin which had to be extirpated, and for that reason had to be clearly understood as such: "I tell my congregations that I seek plain words with which to characterize sin, and that I seek no covering except

such as the shield of truth will throw around me."[44] Worth did not use moderate language to characterize slavery. To him it was "the unparalleled wickedness and stupendous blasphemy of man-stealing religion...this huge infernal system for the destruction of men, soul and body."[45] From his only surviving sermon, one can understand how he later came to be charged with the use of incendiary langugage in the pulpit. Preaching at Sandy Ridge in Guilford County in 1858, he chose as his theme Moses' deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, a favorite among abolitionists. Comparing the Hebrew bondage with American slavery, he concluded that the Israelites' condition was "paradise" compared to American slavery, and called down the judgment of God upon the "proud American oppressor." Worse in Worth's opinion was the North Carolina slave code, "enacted by a drunken atheistic legislature." He proclaimed that "man cannot make a law to enslave his brother," and proceeded to cite several examples of North Carolina's folly. One was the statute, almost universal in the South, making it a crime to teach any slave to read. Worth branded it "...worse than the law of Egypt to murder the infants...a law to murder the soul...a law spreading ignorance by statute, and heathenism by enormous penalties." As for the statute placing slaves in the category of chattels, Worth had a succinct commentary: "It is the biggest, boldest lie the devil has invented in six thousand years." Although "considerable excitement and various threats" followed the sermon, Worth remained unharmed.[46]

While Worth refused to mince words, he also refused to exempt any group from the scourge of his preaching. The primary target was the slaveholding class. Worth remarks upon their presence in his audiences on many occasions; indeed, he was criticized for allowing them to attend at all.[47] He did not temper his rhetoric on such occasions. In the best evangelical tradition he told The Wesleyan: "I am honestly trying to requite the kind-

ness of slaveholders by dealing honestly with their sins."[48] He did, seeking them out daily.[49] There are no indications that he ever converted anyone in this class, although he was successful in the case of Joab Hiatt, a Methodist of Quaker background who had been a leader of the mob which had driven Crooks and McBride from the state.[50]

Worth also found an unlikely target: the North Carolina Quakers. At this time there were roughly two thousand Friends left in the state, most of them concentrated in Guilford, Randolph, Chatham, Alamance, and Yadkin Counties.[51] For many years they had led antislavery efforts in the state, but by 1835 the activist antislavery tradition had died out, partially because of migration to Indiana and Ohio, partially because of the increasingly hostile public reaction. The North Carolina Friends remained firmly opposed to slavery in principle, and continued to disown members who hired or purchased slaves, but they did their best to discourage radical abolitionist activism.[52] The Friends who had remained in North Carolina tended to take a dim view of the antislavery efforts of their Indiana brethren in particular, and of the North in general. Probably typical was William Hockett, an Elder in Center Friends Meeting and the scion of a large and prominent Quaker family with whom Worth was undoubtedly acquainted. In 1848 Hockett wrote to a cousin in Indiana:

> Much noise has emanated from the West to East on the Cause of abolition, and while the Western abolitionists have done the cause more harm than good by getting into extreams friends of N. C. seem to adhere in good degree to what I think the best policy, not Clamorous in the Cause but trying to convince the public mind of the inconsistency of slavery with the Christian religion, and when the public mind has been convinced by reason, remonstrance etc the work of emancipation will be consummated. There hath been much blame attached to the friends of N. C. by some of the abolitionists of Indiana for not standing up against the laws we live under when at the same time those who thus retort if they were in North Carolina would be quite still.[53]

Daniel Worth, however, was in North Carolina, and he was not about to

be "quite still." He was willing to give the Friends some credit for "the light shed upon the question for so many years." A few Quakers, especially those at Cane Creek in Alamance County, he found sufficiently advanced in their antislavery sentiments.[54] The vast majority, however, he judged wanting. Most galling to him was the consistent support which the Quakers gave to slaveowners running for public office. To Worth, such compromises were "that by which Satan is permitted to triumph over righteousness," and since he stood for "uncompromising Gospel," this deficiency would be loudly pointed out.[55] Thus he took advantage of a meeting with a group of Friends to "remonstrate with them on the inconsistency of such a course," labelling their position that which he hated so much: "Of two devils take the littler."[56] When in 1859 the Friends almost to a man supported the candidacy of John Adams Gilmer, a former Whig and large slaveowner, for Congress, Worth was moved to send a biting letter to Dr. Nathan Branson Hill, a leading Randolph County Quaker. In it he charged that "the Quaker church was one of the surest supports of slavery....They have for more than seventy years stultified their profession with pro-slavery voting."[57] Worth then began to take measures to publish the letter.[58]

Daniel Worth's refusal to compromise on the previous matters, while undoubtedly making enemies he did not need, did not involve the risks he faced when he began to defy an institution which admitted of no compromise: the laws of North Carolina. The state had the usual slave code restricting the education and the movements of slaves, as well as manumission and the rights of free Negroes.[59] The statute most dangerous to Worth, however, was an 1830 law passed in response to an incendiary pamphlet written by one David Walker, a Boston Negro, which exhorted slaves to violent rebellion against their masters. The act provided that anyone circulating

or publishing anything which would incite "insurrection, conspiracy, or resistance in the slaves or free Negroes" would be subject to a year's imprisonment and, at the discretion of the court, whipping and the pillory. For the second the punishment was death.[60]

In the sermon already cited Worth made known his opposition to the bulk of the North Carolina slave code, and he made no secret of his intention of defying any statute which stood in the way of antislavery truth. "Slavery cannot make a law which I will obey," he wrote to his sister, and he proclaimed the same from the pulpit.[61] No fear of the charge of incendiary language would prevent him from denouncing slavery "with whatever of zeal or ability or emphasis I have been able to bring to the encounter---he that will not risk something for Christ is not worthy of Him."[62]

Worth utilized three major tools in his antislavery work. The most important of these was the sermon, of which the one already summarized serves as a good example. In his preaching the old abolitionist was always ready to clash with anyone who dared oppose him. He dogged one slaveholding minister through Chatham County; one morning when the unfortunate man refused to share his pulpit with Worth the missionary countered by announcing that he would preach in the same place that afternoon. "I suppose that at night I had two friends to his one among the people, and even some of the slaveholders," he gloated.[63] Religion and antislavery sentiments were synonymous for Worth. Every Wesleyan convert would be an abolitionist.[64]

Worth was also willing, on at least one occasion, to mix into North Carolina politics. That was the congressional election of 1859, in which the victorious candidate was John Adams Gilmer of Guilford County. At this time a member of the American Party, Gilmer was a Whig moderate on most is-

sues, definitely not a "fire eater" or a proslavery extremist. Lincoln offered him a Cabinet post in 1861.[65] Worth disliked Gilmer for several reasons. First, as has already been seen, Gilmer was a Whig, and Worth despised "old fossil Whigs." Secondly, Gilmer was not only a slaveowner, but had taken a prominent part in the expulsion of Crooks and McBride from the state eight years before.[66] Probably most important, however, was the fact that Worth was a believer in the efficacy of political action, and apparently had some hopes of beginning a small revolution in North Carolina politics.[67] "Could the masses only understand their strength and get a little intelligence they would soon take the government into their own hands, and slavery would be nowhere," he wrote.[68] Thus his disgust with the almost unanimous support given Gilmer by the Friends.

Perhaps more important about Worth's political activities are what they reveal about the advanced nature of his antislavery sentiments. Worth's political attitudes had brought him perilously close to the position of the Garrisonians whom he disliked so much. By this time he was on the verge of becoming a disunionist.

> I cannot vote for a slaveholder to save the union, dear as it is. Truth is dearer than union. If the Union is only to be saved and held together by the blood of the slave, then let the union perish. If the government is to be dissolved by the attempt to let the slaves go free, then let its dissolution come, and a shout louder than 7-fold thunder go up at its execution.[69]

Worth's ultimate downfall came not from his sermonizing or political activities, however, but from a third method he used: circulating books and tracts. The most important of these was Hinton Rowan Helper's The Impending Crisis of the South, and How to Meet It, a fierce antislavery diatribe by a native of North Carolina. Helper attacked slavery on all fronts, arguing that it retarded the economic, social, and cultural growth of the South; kept the poor whites in subjection to the planting class;

and violated the rights of the slave. Helper, however, was no friend of the Negro. A bitter racist, he urged that the freed slaves be forcibly colonized outside the United States, preferably in Liberia. Like Worth, though, he declared himself "an unqualified abolitionist," and urged the poor whites to organize and exclude slaveholders from public office.[70]

Worth was early aware of The Impending Crisis. Tradition has it that he left the 1857 meeting of the American Missionary Association in Mansfield, Ohio, loaded down with copies; he admitted coming to North Carolina with fifty.[71] From his own account, however, he did not begin distributing the volumes until the autumn of 1858.[72] Worth found it an "able work," and disposed of the fifty copies quickly, soon ordering more from New York.[73] He boasted to Helper that he distributed them "as publicly as a Yankee peddler would sell a tin comb."[74] Other works soon appeared, particularly those published by the American Reform Tract and Book Company of Cincinnati, in whose organization Worth had participated.[75] He flagrantly violated Southern mores by subscribing to the New York Tribune (anathema to Southerners because of its antislavery sympathies), and soliciting subscriptions for it in New Salem and the vicinity.[76]

D. North Carolina Responds

Daniel Worth came to North Carolina because he felt that he had the greatest chance of success of any Northern abolitionist of establishing an antislavery foothold. Worth summarized his advantages in an 1858 letter to his nephew Aaron Worth:

> ...my southern birth on the very spot where I preach, my age, which has reached a point to attract somewhat of reverence, an influential connectionship (my cousins are Slaveholders & are men of great popularity) my wife's very large relationship, and my general acquaintance with the old men of the country and with the fathers of the young---these, with other considera-

tions, give me an advantage which perhaps no other in the connection could have.[77]

One group which viewed Daniel Worth's return with something less than enthusiasm was the family of his uncle David Worth. The brother of Job Worth who had embraced antislavery principles with such enthusiasm was now deceased, and his wife and sons who remained in North Carolina had rejected his beliefs. Worth found them little to his liking, particularly his cousin Jonathan Worth, slaveholder, prominent Whig legislator, and a future governor. Although he admitted that Jonathan had "some rather brilliant properties," he detected "evidences of aristocracy sticking out." He was further offended when Jonathan refused to return his calls.[78] Jonathan might have been excused, since the two families had been long out of touch. When Jonathan addressed a letter to Daniel's sister Lydia in 1867 he inquired after the health of her brother Reuben Worth, dead since 1850.[79] As for another son of David Worth, Sr., Milton Worth, Daniel admitted that he was the most popular of the family, but found "considerable whoremongering and profanity about him." Milton, apparently something of a wit, retorted by commenting on his cousin's arrival: "I'll be damned if he is not the first preacher that bore the name of Worth within the memory of man."[80] He proved equally unfriendly, however, causing Daniel to conclude: "We are not likely to cousin much while I remain in North Carolina."[81]

There was no public outcry against Worth until January, 1858. The Reverend George McNeill, editor of the North Carolina Presbyterian, a denominational newspaper published in Fayetteville, had received a copy of the January issue of The American Missionary Magazine containing a short letter from Worth. McNeill published an article which, while it did not mention Worth by name, blasted the Association and demanded that legal action be taken against its North Carolina agent.[82] Nothing happened. Worth wrote

that McNeill's "bitter, fiery, persecuting article" dropped "dead from his wicked heart and pen."[83]

Throughout 1858 Worth remained confident. There seem to have been no manifestations of hostility besides McNeill's. He reported that all, slaveholders included, showed the utmost kindness during Elizabeth Worth's last illness, while in January, 1859 he exulted that he had been active for more than a year and had remained unmolested.[84] He was confident of continued support. In early 1859 he stated his intention of remaining until at least the end of 1861.[85] He also wrote that he had no fear of personal attack in view of the avidity of his followers. Writing about McNeill's article he said: "Any serious apprehension of...danger would call together a thousand men in a few hours."[86] Of another incident he wrote:

> A vaporing slaveholder some time ago threatened to pull me out of the pulpit for preaching against slavery, and a rumor becoming rife that he would attempt it at my next appointment brought out hundreds of sympathizers with the Wesleyan movement who declared they would tear him limb from limb before he could put a finger on me. I do not suppose I could restrain my friends in such a case, it would make ugly work, still I apprehend no danger will offer.[87]

This was certainly an incongrous attitude for a pacifist and non-resistant.

By the autumn of 1858 Worth felt secure enough about his work to leave it to journey to Massachusetts for the American Missionary Association's annual convention. He found himself received everywhere with cordiality and interest, and was touched by the gift of an overcoat from Lewis Tappan.[88]

In the autumn of the following year, however, Worth had become more uncertain about his mission. To the A. M. A. he maintained a confident front; in October his associate, Alfred Vestal, wrote that he considered prospects for antislavery work in the state better than ever before.[89] For this reason the Association, when it met in its 1859 convention, resolved to expand

its Southern operations.[90] Still, Worth was uneasy. Writing to The Wesleyan early in October to tell of recent successes he added:

> This blessed work goes forth amidst much contention. Never did I experience such bitterness from the tongue of calumny. The very atmosphere seems to groan beneath the load. Men and women who attend my appointments are asked how they can consent thus to listen to a man covered with every crime, and steeped in every infamy which abandoned human nature ever stooped to perpetrate.[91]

Worth had good reason to worry. The tide of events had turned against him and his mission. Doubtless in his zeal he had alienated potential supporters, such as the Quakers, who by this time had closed their meeting-houses to his use.[92] His active role in the 1859 campaign also made enemies.[93]

Most dangerous to Worth, however, was his circulation of The Impending Crisis. When he first began distribution the book was little known. It was no until late in 1858, when Republicans began using it as a campaign document, that the Southern reaction began.[94] It was tremendous. John Sherman of Ohio was denied the Speakership of the United States House of Representatives because he had endorsed the volume, and throughout the South men were attacked and imprisoned for possessing copies.[95] North Carolina was no exception. Nereus Mendenhall, the Quaker headmaster of New Garden Boarding School, was considered a brave man for owning one, while Governor John W. Ellis fended off political attacks by procaliming that of the two copies he had received he had thrown one out the window and used the other to light his pipe.[96]

The catalyst for the final wreck of Worth's fortunes came in mid-October, 1859: John Brown's attempt to raise a slave insurrection at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. It is difficult now to grasp the effect which this event had upon the Southern mind, but it was awesome.[97] Worth condemned Brown's actions, but this did him little good. North Carolina had been "powerfully

stirred," and was now determined to exterminate the "abolition vipers" which had crept into her midst.[99] Late in November the North Carolina Presbyterian resumed its crusade against the "Abolition Emissary," labeling Worth a "cut-throat," "assassin," and "run-mad fanatic," and demanding that he be forcibly removed from the state, although still not identifying Worth by name.[100] Immediately a cry went up in the press for the recreant's identity, which the Presbyterian supplied in its December 17 issue. "The man to whom we refer is Daniel Worth," it proclaimed. "For a year or two past it is notorious that he has been inculcating, publicly and prviately, his incendiary doctrines in Guilford and Randolph Counties."[101] The Raleigh Semi-Weekly Standard immediately began its own campaign, demanding: "Why is not this man arrested?" and advocating that the public take matters into their own hands. In the same issue was a letter from one A. M. Ingold, who had attended one of Worth's meetings and had concluded that Worth was "an ignorant, ill-bred, uncouth man, a very fair specimen of the country he represents...sowing seeds and rapine and insurrection."[102]

The same day that the Standard's attack appeared, Worth was writing to the American Missionary Association. He concluded: "The prospect is that we shall have time of trial here before long. Since the unfortunate affair at Harpers Ferry the country is in a tremendous ferment....I know arrangements are making to meet me with a mob at my next appointment---Sabbath the 25th."[103]

Worth never kept his appointment. On December 23 he was informed that an indictment had been issued in Guilford County for his arrest, whereupon he went to the home of his cousin Hiram C. Worth in Greensboro and sent word to the sheriff, Caleb A. Boon, that he wished to surrender.[104] Worth's surrender at Greensboro was apparently motivated not so much by a martyr

complex as by the opposite, a desire to subject himself to as little danger as possible. By surrendering in Guilford County he insured that he would be tried in Greensboro rather than a more unfriendly area such as Raleigh or Salem.[105] That afternoon Worth was taken into custody. He would now face the inevitable consequences of his beliefs.

ENDNOTES

[1]Ebenezer C. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago: A. E. Kingman Company, 1882), p. 405.

[2]Clifton H. Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 40 (July, 1963), pp. 295-320, passim.

[3]The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860; Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers, Henry County Historical Society Museum, New Castle, Indiana. This is Daniel Worth's sister Lydia. Her husband Isaiah Osborn died in 1846. In 1858 she married David Maxwell of Union County, Indiana. Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 402.

[4]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers; Winchester, Indiana Randolph County Journal, January 12, 1860; Centerville, Indiana True Republican, March 15, 1860.

[5]Noble J. Tolbert, "Daniel Worth: Tarheel Abolitionist," North Carolina Historical Review 39 (July, 1962), p. 288, For the 1857 conference see above, pp. 86-87.

[6]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, original in 1959 in the possession of Everett Davis of Fountain City, Indiana, whereabouts now unknown, copy in Daniel Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[7]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers.

[8]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, Daniel Worth Papers.

[9]Raleigh, North Carolina Semi-Weekly Standard, December 17, 1859.

[10]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers. The reason for Worth's obesity was not discovered by the author. It certainly seems incongrous in such an ascetic man.

[11]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, March 24, 1858, The Wesleyan, March 31, 1858; Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, Daniel Worth Papers.

[12]Ibid; Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Tucker, History of Randolph County, p. 405, gives the date of the second marriage as May 19, 1859. Worth's letter to his sister, however, proves conclusively that it was in 1858. Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[19]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Guion G. Johnson, Antebellum North Carolina: A Social History, 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 37-41; Stephen Beauregard Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896), ch. X; Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[22]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860.

[23]Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854 (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856), p. 366.

[24]Lucius C. Matlack, The History of American Slavery and Methodism from 1780 to 1849, and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America (New York: Privately Published, 1849), p. 361; Roy S. Nicholson, The Story of Wesleyan Methodism in the South (Syracuse: The Wesleyan Publishing House, 1933), pp. 28-40; Claude R. Rickman, "Wesleyan Methodism in North Carolina, 1847-1902" (M. A. Thesis, University of North Carolina, 1952), pp. 1-6.

[25]Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 299.

[26]Ibid, pp. 299-301. For information on the statute under which they were indicted see below, pp. 104-105.

[27]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, March 24, 1858, The Wesleyan, March 31, 1858.

[28]Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," pp. 303-305.

[29]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, December 25, 1857, The Wesleyan, January 6, 1858.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[32]Johnson, Antebellum North Carolina, pp. 378-385.

[33]Ibid, p. 390.

[34]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, September 6, 1858, The Wesleyan, September 22, 1858.

[35]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[36]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers.

[37]Semi-Weekly Standard, December 17, 1859.

[38]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers.

[39]Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 316; Rickman, "Wesleyan Methodism in North Carolina," p. 39.

[40]Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 309.

[41]Washington, D. C. National Era, August 4, 1859.

[42]New York Tribune, April 12, May 8, 1860.

[43]Greensboro (N. C.) Patriot, January 6, 1860; National Era, August 4, 1859.

[44]Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (New York: G. C. Appleton Company, 1933), pp. 101-103; Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[45]National Era, August 4, 1859.

[46]Worth published the full text of this sermon in The Wesleyan, September 1, 1858. It must have been delivered some months previous, since he enclosed a synopsis in his June 9 letter to his sister Lydia.

[47]For the attendance of slaveholders at Worth's services see The Wesleyan, September 1, 1858 and Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers. For criticism of Worth for allowing slaveowners to attend services see Daniel Wilson to Simeon S. Jocelyn, September 26, 1858, cited in Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 307n.

[48]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, December 25, 1857, The Wesleyan, January 6, 1858.

[49]National Era, August 4, 1859.

[50]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, n. d., The Wesleyan, November 10, 1858.

[51]North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, An Account of the Suffering of the Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in Support of Their Testimony Against War From 1861 to 1865 (Baltimore: The Peace Association of Friends in America, 1868), p. 6.

[52]P. M. Sherrill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society X (Durham: Duke University Press, 1914), p. 51; Richard L. Zuber, "Conscientious Objectors in the Confederacy: The Quakers of North Carolina," Quaker History 67 (Spring, 1978), p. 1; Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Fate of the Southern Antislavery Movement," Journal of Negro History 28 (January, 1943), p. 20; Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, p. 242n.

[53]William Hockett to Isaac W. Beeson, 9th Mo. 16, 1848, Isaac W. and Benjamin B. Beeson Papers, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

[54]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[55]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, n. d., The Wesleyan, October 12, 1859.

[56]Ibid; Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[57]Daniel Worth to Dr. N. B. Hill, August 17, 1859, Greensboro Patriot, January 20, 1860.

[58]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, n. d., The Wesleyan, October 12, 1859.

[59]John Spencer Bassett, Slavery in the State of North Carolina, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), pp. 10-46; John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943; repr. New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1971), pp. 58-101.

[60]Clement Eaton, "A Dangerous Pamphlet in the Old South," Journal of Southern History 2 (August, 1936), pp. 331-334; Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), p. 124.

[61]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[62]National Era, August 4, 1859; Boston Tract Journal, quoted in Greensboro Patriot, January 13, 1860.

[63]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers. This may not have been due so much to Worth's abilities as to his opponent's lack of them. Many observers commented upon the ignorance of the rural clergy in the South. Mary A. Livermore, The Story of My Life (Hartford: A. D. Worthington and Company, 1899), pp. 250-252.

[64]Isaac W. Beeson to William Hockett, 1st Mo. 31, 1857, Isaac W. and Benjamin B. Beeson Papers; Daniel to Luther Lee, n. d., The True Wesleyan, February 16, 1850.

[65]Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South, p. 211; James G. Randall and David H. Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction, 2nd ed. (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1969), pp. 165-166; Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Lincoln, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), II, 461.

[66]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, n. d., The Wesleyan, October 12, 1859.

[67]Annual Report of the American Missionary Association for 1858, cited in Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 309

[68]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[69]Daniel Worth to Dr. N. B. Hill, August 17, 1859, Greensboro Patriot, January 20, 1860.

[70]Hugh C. Bailey, Hinton Rowan Helper: Abolitionist Racist (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1965), ch. 2; Clement Eaton, The Mind of the Old South, 2nd ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967) ch. 8; Hinton Rowan Helper, The Impending Crisis of the South, and How to Meet It (New York: A. B. Burdick and Company, 1860), pp. 155-156.

[71]Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, p. 82; Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers.

[72]The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860.

[73]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers; Semi-Weekly Standard, March 17, 1860.

[74]Helper, The Impending Crisis, p. 397.

[75]Ibid; The Wesleyan, August 29, 1855.

[76]Semi-Weekly Standard, December 31, 1859; John Spencer Bassett, Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1898), p. 25.

[77]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, Daniel Worth Papers.

[78]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[79]Jonathan Worth to Lydia Maxwell, January 15, 1867, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, ed.,The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1909), II, 876.

[80]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Fayetteville, North Carolina Presbyterian, January 15, 1858.

[83]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[84]Ibid; Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859, Daniel Worth Papers.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Daniel Worth to Lydia Maxwell, June 9, 1858, Edgerton Papers.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, January 23, 1859.

[89]Daniel Worth and Alfred Vestal to Simeon S. Jocelyn, July 16, 1859, Alfred Vestal to Simeon S. Jocelyn, October 19, 1859, quoted in Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 311.

[90]Ibid, pp. 311, 313.

[91]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, n. d., The Wesleyan, October 12, 1859.

[92]Greensboro Patriot, January 20, 1860.

[93]Rickman, "Wesleyan Methodism in North Carolina," pp. 22-23.

[94]Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South, p. 224.

[95]Bailey, Hinton Rowan Helper, pp. 57-59, 61-81.

[96]Francis C. Anscombe, I Have Called You Friends: The History of Quakerism in North Carolina (Boston: Christopher Publishing Company, 1959), p. 159; William Polk, "The Hated Helper," South Atlantic Quarterly 30 (April, 1931), p. 182.

[97]For a discussion of the reaction to Brown's raid see Ollinger B. Crenshaw, "The Psychological Background of the Election of 1860 in the South," North Carolina Historical Review 19 (July, 1942), pp. 260-279.

[98]National Era, January 12, 1860.

[99]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860.

[100]North Carolina Presbyterian, November 26, 1859.

[101]Ibid, December 17, 1859.

[102]Semi-Weekly Standard, December 21, 1859.

[103]Annual Report of the American Missionary Association for 1860, quoted in Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities," p. 312.

[104]The American Missionary Magazine IV (June, 1860), p. 126.

[105]Ibid; New York Tribune, May 8, 1860.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A TIME OF TROUBLES

A. "A Prison Is But a Dreary Abode"

After Worth surrendered to the Guilford County authorities he was taken to the county jail in Greensboro. Then as now Southern prisons were notorious, and Worth found himself in an unheated cell, "a dirty pallet" for a bed and the stench so great he feared that he would suffocate.[1] Far worse for the highly moral old minister, however, were the oaths and blasphemies of his fellow prisoners, often so terrible that he stopped his ears.[2] He was permitted private conversation with no one, his writing paper was strictly rationed, and he was closely guarded day and night to prevent any attempt at escape.[3]

On Christmas Eve Worth was arraigned before three justices in Greensboro. He had no counsel at this time, preferring to defend himself after the charges against him had been presented.[4] The indictment stated that "on diverse occasions, in the presence of slaves and free Negroes, said Worth used incendiary language designed to stir up insurrection."[5] A number of witnesses were produced who testified that Worth had said that the laws of North Carolina should not be obeyed since they had been enacted by "adulterers, drunkards, and thieves;" that he had expressed sympathy for John Brown; and that he had circulated The Impending Crisis.[6] Worth then rose in his own defense. A correspondent for the New York Herald described him as

> ...a large, portly man, with a fine head, an intellectual and expressive countenance, and a large commanding eye. He is fluent in speech, and in the general style and manner of his speaking, which are calculated to win attention. He did not appear to be at all embarassed or frightened by his position, but, on the contrary, expressed his ideas with boldness and fearlessness.[7]

Never one to shrink from a battle, Worth did not mince words. He denied categorically any intention of inciting a slave revolt. He then went on to utter "sentiments of the rankest abolitionism."[8] Apparently Worth intended to defend both his intentions and The Impending Crisis. Quoting extensively from the work and making antislavery statements, he denied that he was a disunionist or had attempted to provoke violence, citing the Wesleyans' opposition to war. His real motives for taking up residence in the state, he claimed, were to minister to the scattered Wesleyan congregations and attempt to improve his wife's health.[9] Worth nonetheless drew a warning from the bench to confine himself to the matter at hand, while the mood in the crowded courtroom grew ugly.[10] Ralph Gorrell, a prominent Greensboro attorney, addressed the crowd urging them to allow the law to take its course, and calm soon returned.[11] Worth was bound over to the spring term of the superior court, with bond set at $10,000, half for appearance and half for good behavior.[12] Worth, knowing that his life would be in danger outside the jail, and not deigning to compromise his freedom of speech, turned down offers of bail money, also being well aware that sheriffs from three other counties were hovering around the jail to serve warrants upon him as soon as he was released.[13] The Randolph County sheriff was allowed in, however, to arrest Worth on a similar charge. After a preliminary hearing in Asheboro Worth was placed under another $5,000 bond and returned to Guilford County.[14]

As Worth awaited his trial he found himself at the center of complex

cross currents. The old minister decided to play the martyr, a role for which he was well-suited, despite the fact that the conditions of his imprisonment improved. The jailor proved a kindly man who eventually permitted Worth to move to a larger cell with a real bed and allowed his wife to visit with him alone.[15] Worth occupied himself with a voluminous correspondence with friends and well-wishers in the North, much of which eventually found its way into the newspapers. His letters usually had two facets. One constant theme was that of the Christian martyr: the confidence of innocence, the evil intentions of his accusers, and his determination to bear such affronts with a Christian attitude of suffering and patience. As Worth wrote to a New York City minister:

> Yesterday, the anniversary of my Savior's birth, I spent in prison, reading my Bible and in prayer. I seemed to hear my Savior's voice asking 'Art thou ready to suffer for the Savior's sake, canst thou enter into dungeons for my sake?' When I came to the point when I could say 'Yes, Lord, I am willing to suffer thy righteous will in all things,' He poured forth his love into my soul so boundlessly that I shouted aloud for joy.[16]

Simultaneously, he was not averse to seeking to further his cause. Thus a stream of letters went forth asking for prayers, warning against the expression of antislavery sentiments in letters directed to him, and, most important, soliciting contributions with which to maintain his defense.[17]

As Worth remained in Greensboro friends were rallying to his aid. One of the first tasks was retaining an attorney. This was left almost entirely to Northern associates; as late as mid-March Worth's son-in-law, Dr. Woolen, wrote that he had yet to meet with a lawyer.[18] On January 14 Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, a former member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina who had been dismissed because of antislavery sentiments, wrote from New York City to Ralph Gorrell, the Greensboro attorney who had been present at Worth's preliminary hearing, urging him to take the case.

Gorrell agreed, and engaged as his co-counsel James T. Morehead.[19] Although Worth was quite satisfied with his lawyers, they apparently had qualms about their client, since in March Gorrell was dunning Hedrick for the payment of his $500 fee, complaining that Worth had made no arrangements.[20]

In North Carolina the popular mood was ugly. A reporter for the New York Tribune later wrote that the state's "50,000 square miles of stagnation had been stirred to action," while a member of one of Worth's congregations told The Wesleyan that the entire state was convulsed with hysteria.[21] The New Bern Daily Progress editorialized: "We still think that Worth, when arrested, should have been taken out and swung to the nearest tree. Folly to talk about letting the law take its course in such cases."[22] The usually reserved Greensboro Patriot repeated this sentiment, echoed as far away as New Orleans, while The Spirit of the Age, a "family newspaper" printed in Raleigh, screaming "Incendiaries Abroad," interrupted its observations on the progress of Christian missions in Morocco and the encouraging increase in Sunday school attendance to express its hope that "the hoary offender... will not be worth much by the time he gets out of the clutches of the law."[23] William W. Holden, the fiery editor of the state leading newspaper, the Semi-Weekly Standard of Raleigh, editorialized that Worth had "offended both man and God" and concluded: "We regret that the only legal punishment in his case is whipping, the pillory, and imprisonment. It is far better that one man should die than that the peace of whole communities should be endangered."[24] Although there is no record of any attempt at mob justice while Worth was in the Greensboro jail, both he and many other observers believed that his life would have been in serious danger if he had been released.[25] By the end of January, however, the exictement in the state had died down, as mention of the case in newspapers ceased.

Meanwhile, local authorities pressed the search for Worth's confederates and sympathizers. Although the Patriot felt constrained to deny that the Greensboro jail was filled with abolitionists, several persons were questioned and taken into custody.[26] George W. Vestal, the son of Worth's assistant Alfred Vestal, lost his position as an Alamance County schoolteacher when it was shown that he had publicly proclaimed himself an abolitionist. Later he was placed under $2,000 bond. Two elderly men from Guilford County, one Turner and a Jesse Wheeler, were placed under arrest when it was shown that they had circulated The Impending Crisis, while authorities reluctantly released an old Quaker named Jonathan Harris who was known to have abolitionist sympathies. A resident of High Point, Jesse Pope, fell under suspicion when a railroad shipment to him turned out to be a crate filled with Helper's books. He was cleared when he proved that he had simply allowed Worth to use his address and that he had no knowledge of the crate's contents. A few days later the books were burned on the town square.[27]

In any time of hysteria people see threats everywhere. The Worth incident was no exception. Probably typical of this was the action of one John T. Harriss, a semi-literate Randolph County farm laborer who sent to Governor John W. Ellis his own account of Worth's seditious activities, naming those whom he knew to be in possession of copies of The Impending Crisis and disclosing that Dr. Nathan B. Hill had letters detailing Worth's plans. More ominously, Harris claimed that

> ...it is thought by some of our best men that he has a box of arms depoisited at Jacob Briles in this county Worth has made Briles his home when in this Neighborhood and at some time not long since there was a waggon at Brileses It had a large long box What the contents was no one knows The report is it was guns.[29]

There is no record of any of these charges being substantiated.

As events progressed, it was perhaps inevitable that the Worth case would become a political issue in North Carolina. In mid-January the Democratic Semi-Weekly Standard loosed a blast identifying Worth as a Whig, perhaps in the hope of hurting his prominent Whig relatives. The Greensboro Patriot responded immediately with a statement from a "near relative," undoubtedly Jonathan Worth, that Daniel Worth had been a Democrat for nearly twenty years.[30] Although the newspaper war ended thus, private maneuverings continued. Both parties were uncertain about how to approach the case. Early in March Dr. Woolen wrote to Thomas Worth that the area Whigs had not been behind Worth's prosecution, and would gladly have ignored the entire matter, but "all the young Democratic lawyers in the country got up a howl, aided by the judges, etc., who are all Democrats."[31] Only four days later, however, Benjamin S. Hedrick saw the matter differently, fearing that the Democrats "might manage to stave off a trial at present, so as to either kill Mr. Worth by long imprisonment or avoid any ill consequences which might result to the prospect of the Democratic candidate for President."[32]

One Whig politician definitely disturbed by these events was Jonathan Worth. Fearing the effects of the case on both state and national politics, Worth addressed a letter March 10 to George McNeill, the editor of the North Carolina Presbyterian, in an attempt to bring the case to a quiet solution. Noting that his cousin was "a man of considerable talents and exemplary character, who unfortunately has dwelt upon the subject of emancipation of the slaves until he has become a monomaniac," Jonathan proposed a compromise. He did not deny his cousin's guilt, but he was fearful of the attempts already being made in the Northern press to turn the old minister into a martyr, and knew that they would increase if he were subjected to

severe punishment. Therefore he asked McNeill to contact Judge Thomas Ruffin, probably the most respected man in the state, asking him to publish an appeal for leniency towards Worth in return for which, after conviction, the old minister would leave the state. Jonathan felt certain that he could convince his cousin by "operating" on Dr. Woolen.[34] McNeill agreed to publish an appeal to the governor for clemency if the old minister agreed to leave the state. He then forwarded Jonathan Worth's letter to Ruffin. There is no indication that Ruffin ever acted on the suggestion, despite the fact that he and Daniel Worth were supposedly boyhood friends.[35]

As North Carolina's feelings cooled, Northern feelings, especially in antislavery circles, increased proportionally. A number of important newspapers, including the New York Times, the New York Herald, and the New York Tribune, printed the story of Worth's arrest, as did The American Missionary Magazine and the National Era, both staunch antislavery organs. The Times and the Tribune printed letters from the old missionary, while the Herald's North Carolina correspondent provided regular coverage of the case.[36] The Wesleyan, of course, gave Worth's plight regular and prominent coverage, with frequent appeals for aid from sympathizers. Typical of these was a letter from Daniel Worth's son, William W. Worth, which appeared in February, crying: "Let the voices of thousands of Northern freemen be heard demanding justice for their fellow citizens...Thousands of friends will exert themselves on behealf of Daniel Worth by circulating petitions in his behalf if called upon."[37] The response, The Wesleyan reported, was gladdening.[38]

In Worth's old home, the Whitewater Valley of Indiana, the reaction to his plight was strong and completely sympathetic. Increasingly an antislavery stronghold, the area was highly sensitive to "aggression" on the

part of the slave power, especially when it involved a local citizen. The local press response was as vehement as its antithesis in North Carolina. The Randolph County Journal of Winchester began coverage of the case in its January 12 issue. A week later it compared Worth to Christ, and commented on his interest in reform and his piety and integrity.[39] Letters from Worth to local residents were regularly reprinted with titles like "From the Cell of a Modern Martyr."[40] The New Castle Weekly Courier in adjoining Henry County, edited by the radical abolitionist Elwood Pleas, who had sold The Impending Crisis door to door at cost because he was so taken by its arguments, was also a faithful supporter, describing Worth's incarceration in the most denunciatory terms and blasting his captors.[41] The area's most influential "radical" sheet was the Centerville Indiana True Republican, controlled by Worth's old friend George W. Julian. The True Republican showed an immediate interest in the case. On January 12 it issued a call for an "indignation meeting" to protest Worth's imprisonment.[42] Worth's letters were regularly reprinted, while contributions by friends and neighbors around Economy regarding his work and character frequently appeared.[43]

On February 2 two meetings were held at Economy, one designed to express sympathy for Worth, the other indignation at his treatment by the North Carolina authorities. At the morning sympathy meeting in the Wesleyan church Worth's nephew Charles Worth Osborn, his cousin Ira Swain, and an old neighbor, John M. Williams, eulogized the old abolitionist. The meeting had unabashed political overtones, concluding with a call for a Republican victory in the fall elections.[44] The afternoon indignation meeting was even more blatantly political, with Alfred Vestal haranguing the audience on the evils of the North Carolina "slaveocracy." He was followed by Matthew R. Hull, one of the area's most rabid abolitionists.[45]

The meeting concluded with the passage of a series of resolutions condemning slavery and praising Worth.[46]

B. Trial

On March 30 Worth's trial began in Randolph Superior Court in Asheboro. The prosecution was conducted by Thomas Settle, solicitor for the district, assisted by James R. McLean and Levi M. Scott. Morehead and Gorrell presented arguments for Worth.[47] The indictment had been drawn four weeks earlier, charging specifically that

> Daniel Worth, late of Randolph County being a malicious and seditious person of wicked and depraved mind...on the first day of June 1859 did willfully, wickedly, unlawfully, and feloniously circulate and cause to be circulated and published 'The Impending Crisis of the South and How to Meet It by Hinton Rowan Helper of North Carolina' the evident tendency of which was to cause the slaves of the state to become discontented with the bondage in which they are held by their masters.[48]

The opening period of the trial was occupied with the process of choosing a jury. Over fifty men were examined before the defense found twelve acceptable. Only four were slaveholders.[49]

The prosecution was opened by Levi Scott, whose intention apparently was to shock the jury by reading aloud the most offensive portions of The Impending Crisis. The New York Tribune's correspondent commented that Scott mixed this with "the usual rhetorical devices on such occasions.... Deluges of blood, massacred bodies generally, but particularly of women and children, badly cut throats and burning buildings were wrought together into a picture of very gory hue."[50] The prosecution then called its witnesses. The first was John H. Pierce, who testified that Worth had given him a copy of The Impending Crisis with the warning "to be careful into whose hands it comes, for there is enough in it, if the people were mean enough, to whip a man's back."[51] Others who had received copies of The

Impending Crisis or The Struggle in Kansas, "an old Fremont publication as vile and dangerous as The Impending Crisis," testified briefly.[52] As damaging to Worth were reports of his remarks on various occasions. He had delivered sermons which were "abolition from the word go." He had once told some female members of one of his congregations to give up their seats to some Negro women. He had sold copies of The Impending Crisis on Sunday with the comment: "It is not usual, but these are good books."[53]

The defense called no witnesses, nor did it deny Worth's antislavery activities. Gorrell presented highly technical arguments to prove that Worth had not violated the letter of the North Carolina law. He first asserted that The Impending Crisis, a book, was not a "pamphlet or paper" within the meaning of the statute under which Worth was being tried, and that for an infraction of the law to occur, Worth would have had to have delivered the book to a Negro, which he had never done.[54] Gorrell concluded with a fervent indictment of the statute, crying that "such laws were written in blood."[55] The prosecution then closed its case with summations by Settle and McLean, Settle being particularly vehement in his denunciation of Worth. Morehead closed for the defense.[56] Morehead and Gorrell must have been disappointed by Judge John L. Bailey's charge to the jury, for in it he denied the validity of Gorrell's arguments on the definition of "paper of pamphlet," as well as the contention that delivery to a Negro was necessary for a violation of the law to occur.[57] Bailey finished his charge at midnight. Four hours later the jury returned with a verdict of guilty.[58] Bailey then dismayed the prosecution by giving Worth the lightest sentence possible, one year's imprisonment. The defense immediately announced its intention of appealing the conviction to the North Carolina Supreme Court.[59]

From all accounts Worth was quite satisifed with the manner in which Gorrell and Morehead handled his defense. Jonathan Worth, who visited him the day after his trial, said that his cousin spoke of the efforts of his lawyers in "the warmest terms of approbation."[60] Judge Bailey, although he knocked the props from under the bulk of the defense case in his charge to the jury, also received Worth's approval. Of Bailey the old minister later wrote: "God sent a deliverer in the form of an impartial judge. He saw at once that the prosecution had their foundation in wickedness."[61] Worth returned to the Greensboro jail to await trial in Guilford County.[62]

The reaction to the verdict, North and South, was much as expected. A writer for the New York Tribune reported widespread dissatisfaction in Randolph County that Worth was not whipped, while many among the crowd hoped for even more drastic punishment.[63] In the North antislavery sympathizers rallied to Worth's support. In Indiana the Randolph County Journal and the True Republican published highly colored accounts of the trial. In the view of Isaac Hoover Julian of the True Republican, Worth's case was manifest proof of an "impending crisis."[64] Wesleyans hastened to manifest their support. Typical was a resolution passed by the Syracuse Conference

> ...assuring him that we weep for him and rejoice with him in all his consolations...and proffer...all the succor which our deep abiding sympathy, our unceasing prayers, and our unswerving fellowship in the bonds of that Gospel...for whose sake you are now in chains and imprisonment, can possibly afford.[65]

In the month before the second trial several significant events took place. Probably the most important of these was the gradual deterioration of Worth's morale. Although brave letters continued to come forth from the Greensboro jail, the old minister was dismayed by the prospect of spending a year in prison, as well as by a new indictment found against him in Ran-

dolph County for the use of incendiary language in the pulpit, for which the whipping could not be remitted if he were convicted.[66] Early in April Worth wrote to Lewis Tappan, an officer in the American Missionary Association, in a spirit of despair: "If I pass through the hands of what these men call justice I shall expect to suffer all that humanity can endure and then die in a southern dungeon. The spirit of conflict is fast breaking me. Please do something for me if possible."[67] Perhaps with this in mind, Ralph Gorrell wrote to Tappan asking for his reaction to an arrangement whereby Worth's sentence would be remitted in return for a promise to leave the state. Tappan negatived the suggestion, replying that Worth would lose credibility with the abolitionists if he made such an arrangement.[68]

Worth's second trial in Greensboro was virtually identical to his first one at Asheboro. The verdict again was guilty, and again Gorrell and Morehead announced their intention of appealing. Judge Bailey then, over Settle's violent objections, reduced Worth's bail to $3,000.[69]

If Worth had been awaiting a chance to make his escape from North Carolina, Judge Bailey's action provided the perfect opportunity. Late in the evening of April 27 the bond was posted by five men, one of whom, James Davis, was a planter who supposedly said that he would sell a slave if necessary to raise the money needed.[70] Aaron Worth is the only source for the rest of the story.

> The bonds were signed late in the evening, and he was placed in a closed carriage with two friends, one a slaveholder well-armed (without his knowledge, however) and driven over unfrequented roads in a direction unexpected by his enemies. The following day was a drizzling one and but few people were on the road, and they were not recognized by anyone, and they soon succeeded in putting him on a train in Virginia, where he was soon north of the Mason-Dixon line.[71]

Worth himself added to this explanation in a New York City speech in

which he stated that the slaveholder who aided him in his escape had been given his start in life by Job Worth. He posted part of the bond and rode with the old minister, saying: "The Worths made me, and I have a devilish notion to shoulder the whole of that myself."[72] Thus with the aid of a slaveholder riding shotgun, the pacifist abolitionist Daniel Worth arrived in New York City May 5.[73]

ENDNOTES

[1]New Castle (Ind.) Weekly Courier, February 2, 1860; Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 9, 1860, Winchester, Indiana Randolph County Journal, April 26, 1860; Daniel Worth to George W. Julian, February 6, 1860, Giddings-Julian Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, microfilm in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

[2]Ibid.

[3]C. W. Woolen to Thomas Worth, March 13, 1860, Randolph County Journal, March 29, 1860; Raleigh, North Carolina Semi-Weekly Standard, December 31, 1859; John M. Dick to Governor Ellis, January 6, 1860, Noble J. Tolbert, ed., The Papers of John Willis Ellis, 2 vols. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1964), II, 343-344; American Anti-Slavery Society, The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year, Being the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1861), p. 172.

[4]Greensboro (N. C.) Patriot, January 6, 1860.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Semi-Weekly Standard, December 28, 1859; New York Herald, December 30, 1859. The Randolph County Journal, January 12, 1860 credited Worth with including "whoremongers" in his indictment of the North Carolina lawmakers.

[7]New York Herald, December 30, 1859.

[8]Greensboro Patriot, January 6, 1860.

[9]Randolph County Journal, January 5, 1860; New York Herald, December 30, 1859.

[10]Greensboro Patriot, January 6, 1860. Worth later said that when he quoted the Declaration of Independence in his defense, one of the justices replied: "Tom Jefferson said a good deal of tomfoolery of which he would be ashamed now." New York Tribune, May 8, 1860.

[11]New York Herald, December 30, 1859.

[12]The American Missionary Magazine IV (June, 1860), p. 126.

[13]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, August 15, 1860, The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860; Greensboro Patriot, January 20, 1860.

[14]Ibid.

[15]C. W. Woolen to Thomas Worth, March 13, 1860, Randolph County Journal, March 29, 1860.

[16]Daniel Worth to "Dear Friend," December 26, 1859, New York Times, December 31, 1859.

[17]Daniel Worth to James Clayton, January, 1860, Randolph County Journal, January 19, 1860; Daniel Worth to Seth Linton, February 20, 1860, ibid, March 29, 1860; New York Tribune, January 25, 1860.

[18]C. W. Woolen to Thomas Worth, March 13, 1860, Randolph County Journal, March 29, 1860.

[19]Benjamin S. Hedrick to Ralph Gorrell, January 14, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[20]Ralph Gorrell to Benjamin S. Hedrick, March 12, 1860, Benjamin S. Hedrick Papers, Manuscripts Division, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.

[21]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860; The Wesleyan, February 22, 1860.

[22]New Bern, North Carolina Daily Progress, January 3, 1860.

[23]Greensboro Patriot, January 6, 1860; Raleigh, North Carolina Spirit of the Age, January 4, 1860; Ollinger B. Crenshaw, "The Psychological Background of the Election of 1860 in the South," North Carolina Historical Review, 19 (July, 1942), p. 260.

[24]Semi-Weekly Standard, January 7, 1860.

[25]Greensboro, North Carolina Times, May 17, 1860; Centerville, Indiana True Republican, April 26, 1860; John M. Dick to Governor Ellis, January 6, 1860, Tolbert, Ellis Papers, II, 344.

[26]Greensboro Patriot, January 6, 1860.

[27]Semi-Weekly Standard, December 31, 1859, March 17, 1860; Greensboro Patriot, January 6, 1860. None of these men were ever tried. By February, 1860 George W. Vestal was in Indiana, soon to be followed by Jesse Wheeler, although the latter returned to North Carolina after the Civil War. Indiana True Republican, February 9, 1860; Hiram Coffin Worth, The Rev. Dan'l Worth and Mr. Solicitor Settle, broadside, Quaker Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina; J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, ed., The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Broughton and Edwards Printing Company, 1909), II, 770.

[28]John T. Harriss to Governor Ellis, December 30,1859, Tolbert, Ellis Papers, I, 340.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Semi-Weekly Standard, January 18, 1860; Greensboro Patriot, January 27, 1860.

[31]C. W. Woolen to Thomas Worth, March 13, 1860, Randolph County Journal, March 29, 1860.

[32]Benjamin S. Hedrick to Ralph Gorrell, March 17, 1860, Gorrell Papers.

[33]Jonathan Worth to George McNeill, March 10, 1860, Hamilton, Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, I, 111.

[34]Ibid.

[35]George McNeill to Thomas Ruffin, March 12, 1860, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, ed., The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, 4 vols. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1920), III, 73; Roy S. Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South (Syracuse: The Wesleyan Publishing House, 1933), p. 79.

[36]New York Herald, December 30, 1859; New York Times, December 31, 1859; New York Tribune, January 17, 1860

[37]William W. Worth to Cyrus Prindle, n. d., The Wesleyan, February 15, 1860.

[38]Ibid, March 21, 1860.

[39]Randolph County Journal, January 19, 1860.

[40]Ibid, April 19, 1860.

[41]George Hazzard, History of Henry County, Indiana, 2 vols. (New Castle: Published by the author, 1906), II, 1094; New Castle Weekly Courier, February 2, 1860.

[42]Indiana True Republican, January 12, 1860.

[43]Examples were found in ibid, February 16, 1860, March 15, 1860.

[44]Ibid, February 9, 1860.

[45]Ibid. Ironically, Worth despised Hull, a former minister whom Worth had accused of a long series of frauds and sexual improprieties, including fathering an illegitimate child. Daniel Worth to George W. Julian, July 25, 1857, Giddings-Julian Papers.

[46]Indiana True Republican, February 9, 1860.

[47]Greensboro Patriot, April 6, 1860. Morehead had served as counsel for Crooks and McBride nine years earlier. Guion G. Johnson, Antebellum North Carolina: A Social History, 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), p. 576.

[48]North Carolina Supreme Court, Original Cases, 1800-1909, No. 8124, State vs. Daniel Worth, Search Room, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[49]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Greensboro Patriot, April 6, 1860.

[52]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860; Greensboro Patriot, April 6, 1860; Semi-Weekly Standard, April 7, 1860.

[53]Greensboro Patriot, April 6, 1860.

[54]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Worth, The Rev. Dan'l Worth and Mr. Solicitor Settle; Semi-Weekly Standard, April 7, 1860.

[57]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid. Gorrell never challenged the constitutionality of the North Carolina law, nor was any intention ever voiced of appealing the case beyond the North Carolina Supreme Court, since until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment the guarantees of freedom of speech and freedom of the press of the Bill of Rights were held not to apply to the states. Robert F. Cushman, Leading Constitutional Decisions, 15th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. : Prentice-Hall Company, c. 1977), pp. 160-161.

[60]Jonathan Worth to Rev. G. W. Bainum, March 31, 1860, Hamilton, Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, I, 113.

[61]The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860.

[62]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Randolph County Journal, April 19, 1860; Indiana True Republican, April 12, 1860.

[65]The Wesleyan, April 25, 1860.

[66]New York Tribune, April 12, 1860.

[67]Daniel Worth to Lewis Tappan, April 3, 1860, cited in Clifton H. Johnson, "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 40 (July, 1963), p. 318n.

[68]Lewis Tappan to Ralph Gorrell, April 20, 1860, Gorrell Papers.

[69]Greensboro Times, May 5, 1860.

[70]Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, p. 100.

[71]Ebenezer C. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago: A. E. Kingman Company, 1882), p. 405.

[72]New York Independent, quoted in Indiana True Republican, May 24, 1860.

[73]Indiana True Republican, May 17, 1860.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TWILIGHT OF AN ABOLITIONIST

A. The Martyr

Daniel Worth arrived in New York City May 5. His immediate concern was to raise the $4,000 needed to pay the costs of his defense and to indemnify his bondsmen in North Carolina. To this end he launched a speaking tour of New York and New England.

While in New York City Worth was feted by its antislavery elite. On May 6 he attended services at Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Beecher announced from the pulpit that he envied Worth his experiences, and felt unworthy even to "stoop down and unfasten the latchet of dear Br. Worth's shoes."[1] Other leading abolitionists took Worth to their hearts. Lewis Tappan acted as his financial manager; Horace Greeley arranged for a lecture; Worth's host was Edgar Ketcham, an old Liberty Party and Free Soil stalwart.[2] That same evening Worth went to George Cheever's Church of the Pilgrims, where that eminent abolitionist clergyman compared Worth to John Brown. One hundred dollars was raised in his behalf.

On May 7 Worth climaxed his day with the lecture arranged by Horace Greeley. A large crowd was on hand to hear introductory remarks from Edgar Ketcham and Lewis Tappan. Worth had just launched his effort when he was interrupted by A. Perry Sperry, a New York City merchant of North Carolina birth. Sperry, after announcing that he had once given the

Greensboro jailor a dollar to buy Worth a hot breakfast, pointedly asked the old abolitionist if he had known that circulating The Impending Crisis was contrary to state law. Worth said no. Apparently Sperry made some impression upon the audience, since at the conclusion of his remarks there was some applause, mingled with cries of "Go it, North Carolina."[4] Worth, however, soon regained command of the situation, recounting in the most vivid detail the experiences of his persecution. Judge Bailey and his own attorneys were praised: "Even slaveholders can recognize the righteousness of the cause of freedom," while the Democrats whom Worth blamed for his persecution were damned both politically and spiritually by the old minister. At the conclusion of the meeting $150 was raised for Worth's benefit, one third of which was contributed by Hinton Rowan Helper himself.[5] The next morning Worth was at Cooper Union to deliver the invocation at the opening of the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society and share the platform with such luminaries as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.[6]

Worth remained in New York City until June 1, when he left for New England. Meanwhile, in its June term the North Carolina Supreme Court heard arguments on Worth's appeal. Morehead and Gorrell repeated their earlier defense, asserting that a book was not included within the meaning of the statute, that delivery or sale to one person did not constitute circulation, and that actual delivery to a Negro was necessary for a violation of the law. The Court, in an opinion written by Judge Mathias E. Manly, rejected Worth's arguments and upheld his conviction.[7]

Worth spent most of June and July traveling through New England, speaking mostly in Congregational churches, among whose members Worth found congenial companionship. "I have been almost exclusively among

them since my return to the North," he wrote on July 20. "They say they have no thought of my returning to prison. I have raised among them nearly fifteen hundred dollars....Nearly all this has been in small sums."[8]

By July 11 Worth was on Nantucket, where he addressed a gathering in the Methodist Church of Sherborn. Writing to his wife, the old minister, in a rare personal note, stated that he had made the long journey from Boston "from the interest I felt in seeing the birthplace of my parents.... I suppose that I have thousands of relations here 'who know me not, and I know not them.'"[9]

Worth was not forgotten in the Midwest. The Randolph County Journal and Indiana True Republican were mainly concerned with the approaching election, but local Republicans were not averse to mixing politics with good deeds. In mid-June the Quakers of Spiceland in Henry County held a combined Republican rally and sympathy meeting to raise money for Worth. George W. Julian, the Republican candidate for the United States House of Representatives, was present as orator of the day and brought in over one hundred dollars.[10] A similar meeting was held at Bloomingsport near Worth's old Randolph County home July 1.[11]

Equally fervent in the cause were Worth's Wesleyan brethren. Each issue of The Wesleyan was filled with appeals and letters enclosing small amounts. Typical was one from the Reverend R. E. Johnson of Parishville, New York, with $10.50 and the message: "You may feel assured that there is a deep sympathy for Br. Worth in this section. The inhumanity of the slave obliarchy is creating a deeper seated hatred to the entire system of American slavery."[12]

In August Worth returned to New York. In its August 8 issue The Wesleyan announced that the fund raising goal had been reached, and that there

was no danger that Worth would be forced to return to North Carolina, as he had promised to do if he could not repay the bail money which had been forfeited when he fled.[13] By this time Worth's journey had become a kind of holy mission: "I have addressed thousands. It has been thought desirable that, as far as possible, everybody should hear the story. Therefore I have been pressing myself up to the highest point of endurance."[14] By mid-August he was in western New York, visiting antislavery centers like Penn Yan, Rochester, and Syracuse. At Peterboro he was entertained by the millionaire abolitionist Gerrit Smith who, according to legend, was so impressed by Worth that he insisted that the old minister remain with him for three days.[15] Apparently Worth was considered drawing card by the Wesleyans, since they made arrangements for him to attend the Zanesville, Miami, Indiana, and Michigan annual conferences that fall.[16]

By late August Worth was in Cleveland, moving on to attend the annual meeting of the Zanesville Conference, of which he was still officially a member. There he was received as a conquering hero, the session resolving: "Our venerable friend Daniel Worth, a member of this conference, has been subject to trial and imprisonment for exercising the rights of a free man and a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ and finally, we believe, delivered, in answer to prayer to God offered on his behalf."[17] From there Worth went to the Miami conference, at which he came as one from the dead. Cyrus Prindle wrote:

> I was making an address to the Miami conference the other day, and he came into the church for the first time; and men rushed from their seats, with extended arms and their eyes overflowing with tears of joy, and I lost the entire attention of all, and had to stop short and wait until the emotion had subsided.[18]

Thence Worth accompanied Prindle to Cincinnati, and then to Indiana, keeping the New Yorker awake at night with his "most powerful snoring."[19]

The zenith of Worth's homecoming was, of course, his attendance at the annual meeting of the Indiana Conference at Sugar Grove near Marion in the second week of September. While the faithful that year considered the devotions "a time of power...to be long remembered," Worth was the center of attention. Selected for the conference's benedictory sermon, the old minister recounted his experiences and estimated that he had addressed 75,000 people since May. Although one listener thought him "not quite the pluck he represents himself to be," doubters were apparently in the minority.[20] Worth was made Conference Missionary and chosen a delegate to the 1860 General Conference.[21] He then continued on to Michigan with Prindle. His labors were not finished, however, for in October he was in Syracuse for the General Conference. His Southern experiences had not mellowed him. He blasted the younger generation of believers for refusing to kneel when praying, while his Quaker upbringing manifested itself in a diatribe on lack of plainness in dress. He reserved his most withering blasts, however, for musical instruments. "Even Wesleyan churches," he cried "have stuck their music boxes up there (pointing to the melodeon in the gallery) and praise God by turning a crank."[22]

B. Home

By late autumn of 1860 Daniel Worth was back in Indiana. He and his wife settled at Newport, where they seem to have lived comfortably. There was a flourishing Wesleyan church, the congenial company of fellow abolitionists, and the presence of Charles W. and Mary Woolen and of Aaron Worth, the nephew whom Daniel seems to have recognized as his successor in the ministry.[23] He was not forgotten by his church, being once more chosen President of the Indiana Conference in 1862.[24]

These were, nonetheless, years of decline. One leg gave the old minister particular difficulty. In July, 1860 he feared that it would prevent him from traveling; in August, 1861, when he undertook a tour of Iowa, the condition of the roads caused him so much pain that he was forced to turn back at Des Moines.[25] He apparently recovered somewhat by the summer of 1862, however, for her and his wife returned to Iowa to visit his now widely scattered children.[26]

Early in December, 1862 Worth was seized with an attack of acute erysipelas, a skin disease accompanied by high fever. Despite Dr. Woolen's care he died "the death of a Christian" December 12. He was buried in Willow Grove Cemetery at Newport. His epitaph doubtless would have met with his approval: "In imitation of his Master, he went about doing good."[28]

It was perhaps fortunate for Daniel Worth that death came when it did. His last days were undoubtedly cheered by Lincoln's annoucement of the Emancipation Proclamation, and he had the satisfaction of seeing himself vindicated by his church and once more raised to a position of honor. Yet one has the feeling that there was something anachronistic and almost pitiful about the old man after his return from North Carolina, raging at church organs and attempting the same labors at sixty-five which he had undertaken in his forties.

In the end, we return to the question posed in the opening pages of this work: was Daniel Worth a great man? He was a man of great ability and firm convictions who exhibited a rare courage and determination which won the respect even of those who opposed him. He underwent great hardships and probably sacrificed both political and material gain for the sake of his beliefs. He was a contradictory man. Attempting to "loose

the chains of those in bondage," he found himself in prison. A confirmed pacifist, he contributed to the tensions which brought North Carolina into the Civil War.

Among the yeomen of the piedmont Daniel Worth knew so well one could, not long ago, hear folksongs of "men of mighty power" who strove and, in the end, failed. Perhaps that is the best way to sum up Daniel Worth's life. He was a man of mighty strength and power who, in the end, was forced to wait for stronger men and greater events to bring about what he desired.[29]

ENDNOTES

[1]Daniel Worth to George W. Julian, May 7, 1860, Giddings-Julian Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, microfilm in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

[2]Ibid; Winchester, Indiana Randolph County Journal, May 24, 1860.

[3]New York Tribune, May 7, 1860.

[4]New York Herald, May 9, 1860; New York Independent, quoted in Randolph County Journal, May 24, 1860.

[5]New York Tribune, May 8, 1860.

[6]New York Times, May 9, 1860.

[7]North Carolina Supreme Court, Original Cases, 1800-1909, State vs. Daniel Worth, Nos. 8124 and 8125, Search Room, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[8]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, July 20, 1860, The Wesleyan, July 25, 1860.

[9]Daniel Worth to "Dear Wife," July 11, 1860, North Carolina Collection, Greensboro, North Carolina Public Library, copy in Daniel Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[10]Centerville, Indiana True Republica, June 7, 1860; The Wesleyan, June 7, 1860.

[11]Indiana True Republican, July 5, 1860.

[12]R. E. Johnson to Cyrus Prindle, August 16, 1860, The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860.

[13]The Wesleyan, August 8, 1860.

[14]Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, July 20, 1860, ibid, July 25, 1860.

[15]Indiana True Republican, August 23, 1860; Aaron Worth, "Pioneers of the Indiana Conference," The Wesleyan Methodist LXXII (December 2, 1914), p. 6; The Wesleyan, August 22, 1860.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Leslie D. Wilcox, Wesleyan Methodism in Ohio (N.p.: Privately Published, 1941), p. 14.

[18]Cyrus Prindle to Luther Lee, September 13, 1860, The Wesleyan, September 26, 1860.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid; J. P. Winslow to Ralph Gorrell, September 14, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[21]Roy S. Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South (Syracuse: The Wesleyan Publishing House, 1933), p. 105.

[22]The Wesleyan, October 24, 1860.

[23]The American Wesleyan, December 24, 1862. The name was changed at the end of 1861.

[24]Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, p. 105.

[25]The Wesleyan, August 28, 1861; Daniel Worth to Cyrus Prindle, July 20, 1860, ibid, July 25, 1860.

[26]Ebenezer C. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago: A. E. Kingman Company, 1882), p. 405.

[27]There is disagreement as to the exact date of Worth's death. His tombstone says February 13, 1863, while the death notice in The American Wesleyan, December 24, 1862 says December 15,1862. The obituary in the Indiana True Republican, the biographical sketch by Aaron Worth, and the separate family records of Worth's sisters Lydia Osborn Maxwell and Mary Swain agree on December 12, 1862, which is the date accepted by this author. See Worth Family Record, Edgerton Papers, Henry County Historical Society Museum, New Castle, Indiana; Indiana True Republican, December 25, 1862; William Wade Hinshaw, ed., Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, 6 vols. (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1936-1950), I, 687.

[28]Inscription copied by the author, October 8, 1977.

[29]Suggested by C. Vann Woodward, Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 486.

POSTSCRIPT

THE ABOLITIONIST AS LEGENDARY HERO

In his work American Folklore, Richard M. Dorson notes several characteristics of folklore and the folk hero. Folklore is defined as a series of traditions transmitted orally over several generations among certain groups. A folk hero is the person around whom the group centers their traditions. When the hero's fame spreads, for example, through a county history, he becomes what Dorson calls the legendary hero.[1] Dorson goes on to list three outstanding characteristics of the folk or legendary hero: great physical strength, democratic attitudes, and a sense of humor.[2] By this definition Daniel Worth, whose memory lives on among the local history buffs and the descendants of the abolitionists in the Whitewater Valley, can be considered a type of folk hero.

In 1961 Professor Larry Gara of Wilmington College published his book The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad, in which he attempted to debunk that famous institution. His success is still an open question, but Gara did point out how the antislavery movement had become encrusted with romantic and legendary accretions.[3] Although Gara was apparently unaware of it, he was following a vein which had already been tapped by Bernhard Knollenberg in 1945. Writing of Daniel Worth's Whitewater Valley, Knollenberg concluded that there was "probably no region of the country more destitute of authentic folklore." It is significant that the only story Knollenberg considered to have the elements of folklore was

Hiram Mendenhall's encounter with Henry Clay, a direct outgrowth of the antislavery tradition.[4]

Despite Knollenberg's conclusion, the Daniel Worth who lives on in the Whitewater Valley today does seem to be a type of folk hero. One of the traits which emerges clearly in the popular description of Worth is his great physical strength. This is most evident in a description by Solomon Woody, a Newport Quaker who knew the old Wesleyan well. Woody remembered him as something almost more than human:

> He was of robust constitution, tall and commanding, in appearance, full of fiery energy, who had acquired muscle and strength by wrestling with and subduing the heavily timbered forest in which he lived, preparing a home for himself and his family....He was a tower of strength, physically and mentally ...with a kingly bearing---clad in a suit of homespun, color'd by the hand of nature, spun, cut and made by his industrious, loyal wife and daughters.[5]

Woody's description makes Worth the epitome of another of the great myths of American history: the sturdy yeoman, making a garden from the wilderness, living a pure and simple life.[6]

Another of the great characteristics of the folk hero is wit and humor. The facet of the antislavery movement which has lent itself best to this type of story has been the Underground Railroad, with its tales of fearless conductors outwitting slavecatchers, and twitting them afterwards.[7] Daniel Worth fits this pattern well, as a story still current in Economy illustrates. Early in the 1840's a fugitive was resting at the Worth home when a party of slavecatchers arrived in the yard, among them the slave's master. Seeing the group, the fugitive panicked and took out for the tangled mass of undergrowth and fallen trees which still remained from the 1824 tornado behind Worth's house. Despairing of ever penetrating the tangled mess, the mounted party returned to the house and a smiling Daniel Worth. "Why don't you people get busy and clean out that mess?" the planter asked. "To tell

you the truth, we have been waiting in hopes that you'd do it for us," Worth replied.[8]

Probably the most fantastic of all the Daniel Worth stories is one which Aaron Worth remembered. When Daniel Worth's trial in Asheboro was in progress, the Lord made known his displeasure with the proceedings by sending down a bolt of lightning from a cloudless sky to strike the courthouse. Messers Scott, Settle, and company of the prosecution were so disturbed that they asked for an adjournment. Worth, however, told them to proceed, as "they would hear thunder before long." And, from Aaron Worth's point of view, they did, for soon "the guns were thundering at Bull Run, and they never ceased their reverberations over the valleys and hills of the South until at Appomatox the rebel chief threw down the sword and slavery was dead."[9]

ENDNOTES

[1]Richard M. Dorson, American Folklore (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 2, 199.

[2]Ibid, p. 201.

[3]Larry Gara, The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, c. 1961), passim.

[4]Bernhard Knollenberg, Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West, Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XV, no. 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1945), p. 74.

[5]Solomon Woody, "Sketch of Daniel Worth" (Ms. in the possession of Robert Nixon Huff of Richmond, Indiana, ca. 1890).

[6]Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Myth and Symbol (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 142-144.

[7]Gara, Liberty Line, p. 164.

[8]Related to the author by Mr. Robert A. Peirce of Dalton, Indiana.

[9]Aaron Worth, "Pioneers of the Indiana Conference," The Wesleyan Methodist LXXII (December 2, 1914), p. 6.

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