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5. That some of the most effectual measures should be taken to promote, not only industry in general, but manufactures in particular; such as granting premiums in different colonies for manufactures which can be produced in them; appointing public markets for all the materials of manufacture; inviting over and encouraging able manufactures in every branch; and appointing societies in every great city, especially in principal sea-ports, to receive subscriptions for directing and encouraging emigrants who shall come over from Europe, whether manufacturers or labourers, and publishing proposals for this purpose, in the British newspapers.

6. That it be recommended to the legislature of every colony, to put their militia upon the best footing; and to all Americans to provide themselves with arms, in case of a war with the Indians, French or Roman Catholics, or in case they should be reduced to the hard necessity of defending themselves from murder and assassination.

7. That a committee should be appointed to draw up an earnest and affectionate address to the army and navy, putting them in mind of their character as Britons, the reproach which they will bring upon themselves, and the danger to which they will be exposed, if they allow themselves to be in the instruments of enslaving their country.

8. That a plan of union should be laid down for all the colonies, so that, as formerly, they may correspond and ascertain how they shall effectually cooperate in such measures as shall be necessary to their common defence.

8 Samuel Allinson to Patrick Henry

[Letter Book, Allinson Papers, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.]

Predictably the discrepancy between the rhetoric of white colonials who feared enslavement from Britain and the reality of black African slavery in America become increasingly obvious to thinking people. The issue of slavery was not an abstraction to residents of New Jersey. Most of the approximately 8,000 Negroes (12 percent of the population) who lived in the province were slaves, making New Jersey the second largest slave colony (New York was first) north of Maryland. With the increased concern about matters of personal liberty after 1765, New Jersey Quakers, drawing on the tradition established by the famous John Woolman, stepped up their efforts to ameliorate the plight of those in bondage through manumission if not abolition. Formal petitions to the legislature were to no avail, as the assemblymen declined to broach the controversial issue during times of imperial crisis. Undaunted, Friends applied pressure upon men of political influence in the Congress as well as in New Jersey. Representative are the thoughts of Samuel Allinson (see Sec. II, Doc. 3), who in the letter below shrewdly called upon Patrick Henry of Virginia five months before Henry's renowned liberty-or-death speech.

NEW JERSEY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Bur[lingto]n 10th Mo. 17th 1774

Resp[ecte]d Friend

Altho' a stranger to thy person, I am not quite so to thy character, which emboldens me to take the freedom of addressing thee on a subject that often occurs to me as an important one: I mean the case of the poor Negroes in Slavery. A case which never called louder for a candid consideration & just conclusions, than at a time when many or all the Inhabitants of N. America are groaning under unconstitutional impositions destructive of their Liberty. How far the present troubles may be brought up on a people so highly favoured by the Almighty as these colonies have been since their first settlement, as a punishment in kind for this very thing, is not for a Mortal to determine, but the history of Mankind shows, that National injustice has drawn down Divine vengeance upon a whole people, until the evil has been expiated. We complain of the violence done to the Constitution by which we, as Englishmen, claim many immunities; but seem to forget th[at] there is a more general Constitution framed & delivered to us from heaven, by which all Mankind are included & enjoined, that whatsoever we would that men should do unto us, we should do even so unto them & we are expressly told "The Law and the prophets were for this end."

Let us consider whether a Negro is not entitled to the same essential justice with ourselves, in "one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he embued him with the faculty of free Will." I hope it is unnecessary to cite Authorities or add arguments to convince thee that Slavery is not warranted by the true principles & spirit of our Constituion, is contrary to Reason; & inconsistent with the decrees of the Divine Legislator: and tho' it has been permitted by Him for purposes we know not, Let me submit to thy considera[tio]n whether, in this enlightened Age, it will not be remembered to the lasting disgrace of so respectable a body of Men as the Congress,¹ if they should spend so much Time to secure their own liberties, & Leave no vestiges of their regard to those of their *fellow Men*, in bondage to themselves?

Can we think that The Father of Mankind will approbate our endeavours to obtain our own rights, whilst we act inconsistent with ourselves? Or, is there not the greatest reason to believe, That "The same measure which we mete shall be measured to us again?"

Can we say, that a limited Slavery is injurious & disagreeable to ourselves, &, by our practice declare, that *absolute Slavery* is not unjust to a race of fellow Men because they are black?

Excuse me for dropping these hints, & let me beg thee to consider; that a fairer time never offered, to give a vital blow to the shameful custom of Slavery in America. I shall not suggest in what manner; if the Congress turns their attention to the liberty of those who are under oppression amongst themselves (which surely they ought) they cannot lay a better foundation for their own, than by, at Least, declaring their sentiments against the future infraction of the rights of others. "He that will have Equity, shall do Equity." I am pleased to observe in the Resolutions of some of the Colonies one resolve, "That they will not import or buy any more Negroes" &c.,² under a hope that it will not be temporary, limited to the continuance of the present troubles, least we should be like the people of old, who humbled themselves & did that which was right in the sight of Omnipotence whilst under affliction, but soon after they were relieved, turned again to folly, & committed the same wickedness.

Do not think me too serious, or that I make this Matter of more importance than

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it is. The Judgments of the Lord are in the Earth, & I wish we may not only learn & practise righteousness in the present, but endeavour for its future continuance.

The People called Quakers have lately agreed, in their society capacity, to exclude any one of their Members who shall import, buy, or sell a Negro; & to set aside from religious servises amongst themselves, all such who shall *detain* in bondage those they have, who, by the Quarter[ly] & Mo[nthly] Meetings to w[hic]h such Members belong, are thought *fit for Freedom*, & advise their being set at liberty. I mention not this boastingly, for indeed we have nothing to boast of.³

The eminent abilities thou art possess'd of are talents committed to thee for improvement & use; & is it not probable, that all the good in thy power to do with them, will be required at thy hands? The present circumstance of things, furnishes an ample field both for reflection and action, & it is my earnest wish, that Wisdom may preside in your counsels & frame your conclusions; that "peace on earth & good will to Men" may be the happy issue of all our labours; & no measures mimical thereto can be justified, upon the principles of Christianity or the practice of our Saviour.

For a Stranger so long to detain thy attention, an apology may be thought necessary & I shall refer to the matter to make it: The manner thou wilt excuse, since the intention I hope appears to be good.

I am thy real friend
SAML. ALLINSON

1. The Continental Congress; Henry was a delegate.
2. The Virginia Association of August 6 contained a pledge neither to import nor purchase imported slaves after November 1, 1774. The Continental Association, modeled on that of Virginia, contained a similar provision effective December 1.
3. Despite admonitions from the Yearly Meetings and pressures exerted in local Monthly Meetings, few Jersey Quakers freed their slaves before the 1780s.

9 The Essex County Grand Jury to Chief Justice Frederick Smyth

[*New-York Journal; or, the General Advertiser*, November 17, 1774.]

By the fall of 1774 the arguments and episodes of the past ten years had made the spectre of British tyranny a tangible reality to many Americans. Attempts by crown officials and sympathizers to convince the people that their fears were groundless and that the real threat to liberty came from extralegal