Reintroducing

Robert Morris: Lawyer & Activist

Boston College Law Library
Daniel R. Coquillette Rare Book Room
Spring 2023
REINTRODUCING
ROBERT MORRIS:
LAWYER & ACTIVIST

Curated by
Laurel Davis & Mary Bilder

BOSTON COLLEGE LAW LIBRARY
DANIEL R. COQUILLETTE RARE BOOK ROOM
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As with our Spring 2017 exhibit on Robert Morris, we hold the deepest gratitude for the many people who have supported us in this larger endeavor—exhibits, writing about Morris and his library, creating a Boston College website in his name, and continuing the hunt for his books.

Our sincere thanks go to the following and those we have inevitably failed to include: the staff of the John J. Burns Library, including Christian Dupont, Katherine Fox, Amy Braitsch, Amy Brown, Shelley Barber, and Andrew Isidoro; Barbara Hebard, former Burns Conservator and detective extraordinaire; Filippa Anzalone, Alex Barton, Helen Lacouture, Avi Baner, and the entire staff of the BC Law Library; Professor Michael Vorenberg for his insights on Morris’s books on the Civil War; John D. Gordan III for his enthusiasm, support, and knowledge of all things Robert Morris; George T. Comeau at the Canton Historical Society in Canton, Massachusetts for graciously arranging a loan of two of CHS’s exceptional Morris items; and the many scholars, activists, and community members who have kept Morris’s memory alive for almost 150 years.

Catalog cover & image: Additional thanks to Maja Hight-Huf for creating the beautiful catalog cover, and to the Boston Athenaeum for permission to use the image of Robert Morris, which is found in the Harriet Hayden Albums.
REINTRODUCING ROBERT MORRIS

Since our Spring 2017 exhibit, *Robert Morris: Lawyer & Activist*, more of Morris’s books have been found in the Boston College collections. We are excited to reintroduce Morris and his remarkable library with this new exhibit.

**Robert Morris (1825–1882)** has long been known as the second Black person to become a lawyer in the United States. He was deeply involved in the 19th-century U.S. civil rights movement and constantly agitated for full and equal rights for people of color.

Morris was born in Salem, Massachusetts on June 8, 1825, over forty years after the legal abolition of slavery in the Commonwealth. Around age 12, Morris moved to Boston to work for Ellis Gray Loring, a white abolitionist lawyer. After apprenticing to Loring, Morris was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in February 1847. His legal career included filing the first major school desegregation case in the country (*Roberts v. City of Boston*), representing fugitives from slavery, and serving as the go-to lawyer for Irish immigrants.

This exhibit explores Morris’s life through his books, which he donated to Boston College in its earliest days. After following his wife Catharine to the Catholic Church, Morris forged strong relationships with the young institution and early leaders like Father Robert Fulton.

The books included in this exhibit were chosen from the extant portion of Morris’s library (now 94 books). Some appeared in the 2017 exhibit, but most have been identified in BC’s collections since that time by careful sleuthing of catalog records and combing through books for his signature and bookplate. Besides that of Frederick Douglass, it is the only known, extant, 19th-century African American library.

*All Morris books in this exhibit are on generous loan from the John J. Burns Library, Boston College, unless otherwise noted.*
Morris the Lawyer

Robert Morris built a strong reputation as a trial lawyer and was involved in many high-profile cases. We know he had law books because 1) some are listed in an extant account book, including a criminal law treatise and various case reports (see opposite); and 2) Morris bequeathed his law books to his son Robert Jr. in his will. Most of his law texts have not been found, but the selection here provides a glimpse into his engagement with writings on law and politics.


Brownson, like Morris, converted to Catholicism in Boston. His treatise on the Constitution also considers the religious and spiritual aspects of American politics. What did Morris think of Brownson, who found slavery morally reprehensible but did not call for emancipation until 1861 or support equal voting rights for Black people after 1865?


Goodell was a leading abolitionist and advocate for equal rights. In this book, he meticulously works through state statutes and cases to show how the American slavery and caste systems were created by the law. Goodell saw the U.S. Constitution as an antislavery document and felt that the government had a moral and legal duty to immediately abolish slavery.


This book was discovered in the BC Law Library during the summer of 2021, when
Curator Laurel Davis and Rare Book Cataloger Helen Lacouture were scouring the Rare Book Room to find books with epigraphs for an exhibit. This book and another on Massachusetts history contained Morris’s signature and bookplate.

Hoffman’s work was a popular textbook for law students. He provided an extensive reading list and tips for producing notebooks while studying the law. It is a bit of a precursor to modern study aids! Morris likely consulted it during his legal apprenticeship with Ellis Gray Loring.

Excerpt from Morris’s Account Book, 1854-55.
Courtesy of the Canton Historical Society, Canton, Massachusetts

Morris engaged in broad antisubordination activity that extended beyond the issue of slavery. Before the Civil War, he agitated for equal access to schools, public spaces, and militia service, as well as abolition. However, his library—including these recently identified books—reflects the reality that antislavery was a major focus of his reading and activism during the antebellum years. For example, in February 1851, Morris rushed to represent Shadrach Minkins, a freedom seeker arrest-
ed under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Morris himself was subsequently tried for and eventually acquitted of aiding in Minkins’s successful escape.

Goodell (see previous cabinet) was an American abolitionist who helped found the American Anti-Slavery Society and was involved with the progressive Liberty Party. As was his custom, Morris signed the book on the front pastedown. He dated it Feb. 26, 1853 and noted his address on Williams Street in Chelsea, across the Mystic River from Boston.

Hildreth was a Massachusetts historian and abolitionist who believed that the despotic system of slavery in the American South, encoded in the law, was a threat to democracy. In 1834, he also wrote and published a popular anti-slavery novel called The Slave: or Memoir of Archy Moore.

William Jay, Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery. Boston, 1853.
The son of U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Jay, William was an abolitionist writer and member of the American Anti-Slavery Society. His preface describes American slavery as a “heinous sin” that “ought to be immediately abandoned.”
The Liberty Bell was a gift book series sold at the annual Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar in Faneuil Hall to raise money for the abolitionist cause. The primary organizer and editor, Maria Weston Chapman, solicited antislavery essays, poems, and stories for inclusion in the annual volume. Contributors included Lydia Maria Child, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Harriet Martineau, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Chapman and her sisters also contributed pieces. Fifteen volumes were published from 1839–1857. Six belonging to Morris have been found at Burns Library, Boston College.

The Liberty Bell. Boston, 1849.
Morris’s copy of the 1849 volume is inscribed to him by the Ladies of the Anti-Slavery Bazaar and dated just before Christmas. The decorative binding with the bell emblem made the book an appealing purchase for a holiday gift or to display in one’s parlor. Morris owned another, similar gift book, Autographs for Freedom, edited by Julia Griffiths, an associate of Frederick Douglass.

The Liberty Bell. Boston, 1843.
This volume is inscribed by the Liberty Bell editor and organizer Maria Weston Chapman to Morris. Chapman (1806–1885) was a strong abolitionist force, even serving as editor of the Liberator when William Lloyd Garrison was away.
The Liberty Bell. Boston, 1852.

Several of the annual editions include this illustrated half-title page. The eerie image features a bell tied by a rope to a tree branch. The bell is emblazoned with the words “Proclaim Liberty All.”

The book’s creators and the artist seem to be evoking the image of enslaved people being strung up in trees to be beaten or killed. That vivid evocation sits in ironic juxtaposition to the (unfulfilled) promise of the Liberty Bell.

Voices of the Enslaved

Neither Morris, his siblings, nor his parents were enslaved—though his grandfather Cumono likely was. In Massachusetts, slavery had been legally abolished in 1783, but segregation reigned and the Fugitive Slave Act was omnipresent. Morris read broadly about slavery, and his library includes the narratives and stories of those who had been held in bondage. In addition to the books below, we know from an extant letter that Morris also had a copy of The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, given to him by abolitionist and women’s right activist Lydia Maria Child.


Wheatley (c. 1753-1784) was kidnapped from her West African home as a child and sold into slavery in Boston, where she became a well-known literary figure. Wheatley was finally manumitted in 1773. She is one of many poets and female writers represented in Morris’s library.

Toussaint L’Ouverture was enslaved in the French colony of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) before eventually leading a successful rebellion and independence movement. He was a hero to Morris, who copied Wordsworth’s sonnet about the Haitian revolutionary into this book (given to him by wife Catharine on his 28th birthday).

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*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. Boston, 1845.

Douglass’s first autobiography made him a national figure in the abolitionist movement. It traces his life from enslavement as a boy to his eventual escape from Baltimore to Massachusetts. Morris’s copy is signed and dated May 1, 1845, the day the book was released.

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**CABINET 5**

**Consciously Collecting Black Voices**

Morris may have been one of the first self-conscious African American collectors of the African American experience. He had Wheatley and Douglass, the Toussaint
L’Ouverture biography, books on Africa, and a wide range of works on abolition and the fight for equal rights. He also owned, is featured in, and supported the creation of William Cooper Nell’s *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1855), a history of the contributions of African American soldiers and other Black leaders.

**Robert Benjamin Lewis, *Light and Truth*. Boston, 1844.**

Lewis was an African and Native American writer, entrepreneur, inventor, and activist. Professor John Ernest describes this history of Black and Native Americans as “an early example of what we would today understand as black liberation theology.” Notably, this edition was printed by Benjamin Roberts, father of young Sarah, whom Morris represented in the country’s first school desegregation case after she was excluded from a Boston public school due to her skin color. They lost in the courts but won via the Massachusetts legislature.

**David Walker, *Walker’s Appeal, in Four Articles*. Boston, 1830.**

Morris had Walker’s famous appeal for Black liberation bound together with 16 other documents, with a table of contents written in his own hand. The Walker pamphlet was famously banned and criminalized in the South because it focused on the hypocrisy of the country’s leaders and advocated for revolt if no emancipation.


Brown escaped from slavery in Kentucky and became a well-known abolitionist and writer. In this book, he balks at the notion of white supremacy and outlines the achievements of Black Americans like Douglass, Wheatley, Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Benjamin Banneker, Crispus Attucks, and Morris himself.
Michael Vorenberg, Associate Professor of History at Brown University, referred to this as “a quirky set of books to own on the Civil War,” for reasons indicated below. Morris likely owned other books on the topic, either lost to the ages or yet to be discovered.

Warren Lee Goss, *The Soldier’s Story of His Captivity at Andersonville, Belle Isle, and Other Rebel Prisons*. Boston, 1867.

Goss was a Union soldier from Massachusetts who was held captive two different times during the war. Professor Vorenberg wondered if there was some thematic resonance for Morris between the prison narratives written by captured white U. S. soldiers like Goss and pre-war slavery narratives written by Black Americans.


Professor Vorenberg noted that Butler was from Massachusetts and famous for pro-emancipation measures like the “contraband policy” (deeming those fugitives who reached Union lines to be contraband of war and thereafter free). However, prior to the war he was a Democrat with no special sympathy to Black Americans. This is one of only a handful of Morris books with annotations in his hand. The notes include references to the sections on the contraband policy and the commissioning of Black soldiers:

Headley was a member of the nativist and anti-Catholic Know-Nothing party, which Morris might not have known. Morris attended a Catholic Church at this time and represented so many Irish immigrants that he was deemed “The Irish Lawyer.” He probably would not have liked knowing that he owned a book by someone with Headley’s political and religious views.

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**Fiction**

Most of Morris’s extant books are nonfiction, with a healthy dose of poetry (including Pope, Burns, Longfellow, and Wheatley). But he also owned fiction, including *The Ways of the Hour*, a criminal courtroom drama by James Fenimore Cooper; *The Hour and the Man*, Harriet Martineau’s work of historical fiction inspired by Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner; and three novels by Harriet Beecher Stowe (*Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is not among them, though it is hard to imagine that he did not have it). The following works of fiction have been identified as Morris’s since the 2017 exhibition:

**Ellen Louise Chandler, *This, That, and the Other*. Boston, 1854.**

Chandler (later Moulton) was known for her literary salons in Boston and London, with attendees like Longfellow, Emerson, and Oliver Wendell Holmes. Morris led a literary society for young men of color in the early 1840s; perhaps he knew of or even had a connection to her group.

**Sophia Little, *Thrice Through the Furnace*. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1852.**

Little, one of many female writers in Morris’s collec-
tion, was an abolitionist and longtime friend of William Lloyd Garrison. She began writing this antislavery novel right after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act.

**Sylvester Judd, *Margaret*. Boston, 1845.**

Judd’s novel has been called the “first book of the American Renaissance” and “the closest thing we have to a transcendental novel.” It tells of protagonist Margaret Hart’s experience growing up in poverty in a fictional New England village. The first page of text features an amusing note in Morris’s hand expressing his displeasure at a borrower who wrote in the margins:

Faith is an important part of Morris’s story and of his connection to Boston College. He was raised Methodist but began attending the local Catholic parish at his wife Catharine’s behest. Due to this move and his regular representation of Irish immigrant clients, he had strong connections to Boston College (founded in 1863) and early leaders like Father Fulton. Robert and Catharine financially supported BC as well, including their donation of his books to the young school. Simultaneously,
he had a relationship with Boston’s community of Black Freemasons, which has yet to be deeply explored.


Balmes, a Spanish Catholic priest, wrote this defense of Catholicism in the 1840s. Several chapters focus on the Church’s opposition to slavery. The book is inscribed to Morris by a fellow lawyer, William J. Connolly, who sponsored his formal reception into the Catholic Church in 1870.


Niccolini was an Italian poet and playwright. Morris bought his Jesuit history in 1854, roughly around the time he began attending the local Catholic parish and almost a decade before the founding of Boston College.


The centuries-old Freemason fraternal organization had a strong presence in early America. Early lodges were segregated, leading to the creation of Black lodges. The first was the Prince Hall Grand Lodge in Boston. We don’t know if Morris was an official member—perhaps not, due to anti-Catholic policies—but he did speak there on occasion. This book on Freemasonry is an intriguing feature of his collection.
PERSONAL RECORDS

The Canton Historical Society holds a rich collection of Robert Morris papers, including correspondence from his son Robert Jr. while studying abroad; a wonderful letter from his sister Mercy in Salem; and several speeches (three given at the Prince Hall Grand Lodge).

Robert Morris, Account Book. Boston, 1854-55. Morris’s account book includes his book purchases for parts of 1854 and 1855. A handful, such as Niccolini’s History of the Jesuits (Cabinet 8), This, That or the Other (Cabinet 7), and Hildreth’s Despotism in America (Cabinet 2) have been found in BC’s collections. Many others, such as Alexander Dumas’ The Three Musketeers, have yet to surface. If one assumes this rate of collection over the course of, say, 30 years, it seems likely that Morris’s library was over 1,000 books strong.

ON GENEROUS LOAN FROM THE CANTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CANTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Robert Morris, Scrapbook of the Fugitive Slave Rescue Trials. Boston, 1851. In February 1851, Shadrach Minkins was arrested in downtown Boston at his job and taken to the courthouse to begin the process of forcing him back to his enslaver in Kentucky. Morris ran to the courthouse to represent him. After the initial proceedings, the courtroom was cleared, chaos erupted, and Minkins was swept from the premises. He eventually made it safely to Canada. Soon, Morris and six others
were indicted for aiding in the escape of a fugitive in violation of the Fugitive Slave Act. It was said that no Boston jury would convict someone under the Act. Indeed, Morris was acquitted in November 1851. None of the others were convicted either. Morris kept this scrapbook of clippings and notes about his trial and the trials of the other accused rescuers.

**ON GENEROUS LOAN FROM THE CANTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CANTON, MASSACHUSETTS**

George Smith, sworn—On the 15th about two o’clock, I saw Mr Morris in a large crowd going through Southac street. With him was a man without a coat, and people said he was a “fugitive.” Morris had on a black hat.

Charles Sawyer sworn—On the day of the rescue I several times saw Mr Morris in the Court House. He and another tall man spoke to Shadrach while I was sitting beside him. They whispered while I ear, and as soon as they left him he rose from his seat, took off his coat, rolled up his sleeves, adjusted his neckerchief, and remarked—“If I die, I die like a man!” I have since learned that the tall man was Ellis Grey Loring.

**CABINET 10**

**TRAILBLAZERS**

This cabinet takes a sneak peek into the personal collection of Evan Shenkman, BC Law 2001. Evan is also a graduate of Mary Bilder’s Property class and reached out to Professor Bilder and Rare Book Curator Laurel Davis after learning of their work on Robert Morris. His collection focuses on trailblazing lawyers and civil rights leaders.
**Evan J. Shenkman** (BCLS ’01) is the Chief Knowledge and Innovation Officer at Fisher Phillips LLP. After practicing labor and employment law for a decade, in 2010 he shifted his career into knowledge management and legal innovation. Evan is now focused on leveraging AI, Data Analytics, and other advances in technology to assist in the practice of law. For his efforts, Evan was named the 2021 International Legal Technology Association’s Innovator of the Year, his firm won the American Legal Technology Awards’ 2021 Law Firm of the Year, and he was named a 2021 Fastcase 50 Recipient.

While Evan’s career is focused on the future, his hobby is focused on the distant past: for over twenty-five years he has collected rare manuscripts and autographs pertaining to 19th and 20th century civil rights, women’s rights, and labor and industry personalities.

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**Letter of Administration Signed by Macon B. Allen.**
Charleston, 1877.

Macon Bolling Allen was the first Black person to become a lawyer in the U.S. He was admitted to the Maine bar in 1845. Morris followed on his heels in 1847. There is no direct evidence that they knew each other, but it is hard to imagine that they did not. Allen practiced in Boston before heading to Charleston after the Civil War. His signature appears to the left of the blue seal.

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**Writ Signed by Wentworth Cheswill.**
Newmarket, New Hampshire, 1807.

This writ of attachment is signed by Wentworth Cheswill (1746–1817), the first Black judicial official in the United States.
Calling Card of Belva Lockwood (1830–1917).

Lockwood was a women’s rights advocate and lawyer. She was the first woman admitted to practice before the Supreme Court, as well as the first to run for the U.S. presidency (in 1884 and 1888). Shirley Chisholm would become the first Black woman to run for President, in 1968.


A 1912 Berkeley Law graduate, Adams (1877–1956) was the first woman to serve as a federal prosecutor and the first to sit on the California Court of Appeals. In this delightful letter, she offers some advice on careers (“do not permit others to discourage you”) and horoscopes (“a waste of time”) to a young woman interested in becoming a lawyer.
For an ongoing reconstruction of Morris’s library based on his extant books and information from other sources, see “The Robert Morris Legacy Library” on LibraryThing: https://www.librarything.com/profile/RobertMorrisLibrary.

In Memoriam, Robert Morris Sr. Boston: [1883].


