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From the White House to the Lake House

Tracing Eliza Winston's Enslavement and Her Pursuit of Freedom in Minnesota

Christopher P. Lehman

Eliza Winston gave a detailed but selective account of her life when petitioning for her freedom in a Minneapolis courtroom in August 1860. In her affidavit the African American enslaved woman claimed to be 30 years old, and she spoke almost exclusively of the last dozen years of her bondage. She recalled that her enslaver—a man in Memphis named Mr. Gholson—agreed to free her after she and her husband, a free African American, paid him \$1,000. However, her husband died before paying him the full amount, and Gholson pawned her off to Richard Christmas of Mississippi in 1853. Gholson's death soon afterward transformed Christmas into Winston's permanent owner, cutting her off from Memphis for the duration.¹

The Christmas family had taken Winston to Hennepin County in Minnesota to labor for them on their summer vacation. Local abolitionists successfully applied to Judge Charles Vanderburgh for a *writ of habeas corpus* on Winston's behalf, and the county sheriff helped her leave her captors at Lake Harriet and brought her to Hennepin County District Court. She complained to Judge Vanderburgh of spending nearly all of her time serving her mistress Mary Elizabeth Christmas and the mistress's daughter Norma. Winston

intended to use her freedom to return to Memphis and work as a nurse. She portrayed herself as a person whose last 12 years of captivity socially stifled and financially robbed her.²

Winston had experienced a winding, lifelong journey through the institution of American slavery to reach the Minnesota courthouse—very little of which was written or spoken that day. She hardly spoke about her life before her enslavement by the Christmases. When giving her affidavit, she identified a man she named “Macklemo” as her first enslaver and the man who “raised” her to adulthood. She noted that his daughter inherited Winston upon marrying Gholson. She also recalled the unfulfilled promises by Thomas Yates Gholson and the Christmases to free her. By focusing largely on Gholson and the Christmases in her affidavit, she illustrated the circumstances that led her to pursue freedom herself.³

Looking beyond the courtroom proceedings reveals a longer, more complex history of enslavement, one that provides fuller context for her desire for freedom. During most of that period, she belonged to a prominent political family in Tennessee—the Donelsons. This family's influence reached the White House, and a sitting US president at one point claimed ownership of Winston. She

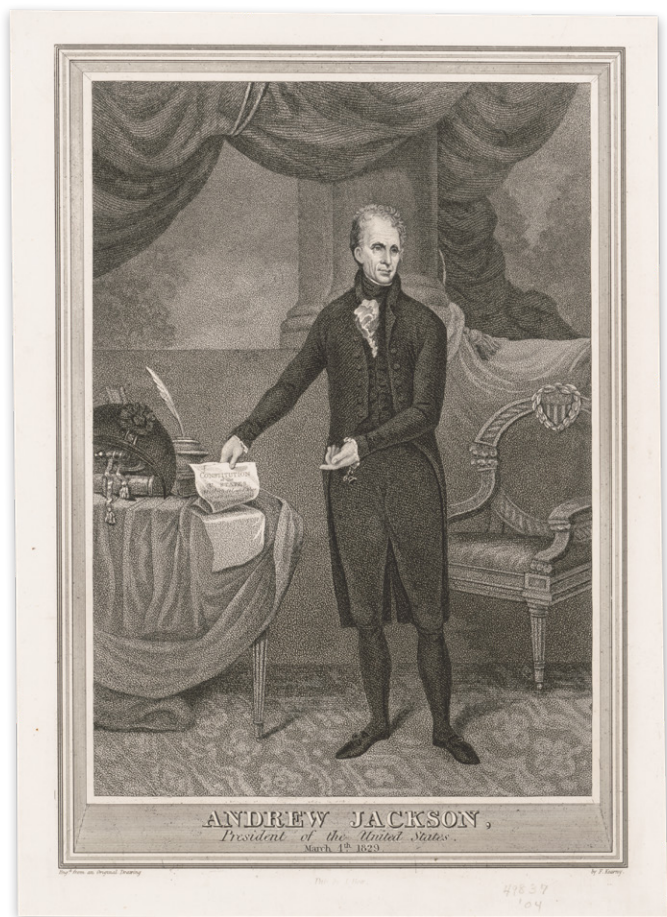
spent her childhood with her parents and siblings but lost them all through deaths and sales by age 25. She served in a variety of environments, such as large plantations and small urban homes, and she encountered several powerful people of national renown. Also, she knew European Americans who did not enslave anyone and many free African Americans years before coming to Minnesota. Therefore, by the time she met abolitionists in Minnesota, she knew about freedom and was ready to be freed.

Childhood

“My name is Eliza Winston, am 30 years old,” she introduced herself to the court. But she was approximately 13 years older than that. The “Macklemo” in Winston's statement was John Christmas McLemore of Nashville, Tennessee, and he indeed enslaved her during her childhood. In 1834 the sheriff of Davidson County, Tennessee, where McLemore lived at the time, seized all of his property—including Winston—and listed the captive “Eliza” as “17 years old” in the deed for her sale. A man named Lucius Polk—a cousin of future pres-



Lucius J. Polk



Andrew Jackson and Rachel Donelson Jackson, about 1829

ident James K. Polk—bought her but only to keep her in trust until McLemore's daughter Catherine married, which she did in 1841. The following year Polk brought "One negro woman named Eliza" to the newlywed, according to the deed. Therefore, when Winston claimed, "When Mr. Gholson married Mr. Macklemo's daughter, I went with my young mistress," it was after an eight-year period of captivity by the Polks.⁴

Another document suggesting Winston's birth year as 1817 also mentioned a previous enslaver of hers. She had belonged to Thomas Hopkins of Warren County, Tennessee. He hired some free African Americans to work on his plantation, thus giving Winston very early exposure to people who looked like her but were not enslaved. She lived there with her

mother, Molly, grandmother Judah, siblings George and Matilda, Uncle Burgis, and Aunt Phebe; and she and her family were enslaved. When McLemore bought her in January 1822, he purchased her entire family and took them to his home in Nashville. A deed recording the sale listed her as "Eliza a negro girl about five years of age." Thus, McLemore was not her "first master," as she had declared.⁵

In Nashville Winston belonged to the city's most powerful family because of McLemore's marriage. His wife, Betsy Donelson, came from a family of wealthy planters, and many Donelsons enslaved dozens of people at a time. Betsy's aunt Rachel Donelson was the wife of politician Andrew Jackson. She died shortly before his first term as US president, and he subsequently enlisted Rachel's

great-nieces—including McLemore's daughter Mary—to serve as First Ladies in the White House over the next eight years. McLemore himself visited Jackson at the White House on at least one occasion, and he entertained Betsy and her children when they visited him at his home near Nashville in 1832. "Mrs. McLemore is up with her little ones," the president wrote to a family member. Therefore, Eliza served a family that had some direct influence on how a sitting president governed the country.⁶

Living in urban Nashville, the McLemores were not rich planters, but they still held some local prominence. John McLemore was a surveyor, and he invested heavily in new cities like Memphis and Fort Pickering. He lived as a yeoman enslaver, never enslaving more than 10 people

at a time in Nashville. On the other hand, his slave community was fluid. Between 1820 and 1830, McLemore lost all of his enslaved people who were older than 35 years of age, such as Winston's grandmother Judah. By July 1834 he held only five captives, and Winston was the sole remaining one from the 1822 sale from Hopkins.⁷

After the mid-1820s the McLemores perpetually suffered heavy financial losses. McLemore overinvested in real estate, and he generously loaned money to several acquaintances who failed to fully repay him. As a newspaper in Mississippi put it, "This gentleman is known to be laboring under pecuniary embarrassments, from having lost largely as security for others." He subsequently defaulted on his own investments, and he began

Like Hopkins, the Polks also housed some free African Americans, thus reintroducing to Winston the possibility of becoming free despite her skin color.

selling off the real estate he owned all over Tennessee. But even those sales could not stop the bleeding.⁸

"I was never sold," Winston claimed in her affidavit. However, in July 1834, she was. She may have been too young to remember McLemore having bought her at age five, but she was 17 when the sale of McLemore's property took place. Davidson County's sheriff auctioned her and the rest of McLemore's belongings at the family estate instead of a public auction

block. Lucius Polk bought all of the items at the auction, thus keeping the five remaining McLemore captives together. One of the people was "Eliza 17 years old," and the others were Gabriel (age 25), Harriet (22), Malinda (10) and Julius (8). Perhaps because of the auction taking place at her childhood home and the absence of any traumatic separations of her loved ones by sale, Winston did not consider herself "sold" in the traditional sense.⁹



Rattle and Snap, the Polk family's plantation, 1936

The sale to Polk kept Winston in the Donelson family. Polk's wife—Mary Ann Eastin-Polk—was the orphaned daughter of William Eastin and Rachel Donelson-Eastin, who was Betsy's older sister. Jackson and his wife took in Mary Ann at their plantation, the Hermitage, after her mother's death in the early 1820s. Mary Ann was the first of Jackson's great-nieces to serve with her aunt Emily Donelson in the White House as a co-First Lady. After marrying Polk in 1832 in a grand wedding in the White House, she left Washington, DC, for Hamilton Place.¹⁰

Mary Ann Polk was one of President Jackson's favorite great-nieces. He paid for her wedding, and he continued to care for and visit her during her marriage. He gave Lucius the money to buy Winston and the others. Thus, she and the children were among several people whose purchase Jackson either funded or directly executed during his eight years in office. Also, July 1834 was the month of Mary Ann's twenty-fourth birthday, and the president helped Lucius buy Winston, the children, and the furniture as elaborate birthday presents for his wife.¹¹

Jackson provided a stipulation for the purchases. The Polks could keep the furniture and captives only on a temporary basis. They would have to give the furniture and the enslaved children to Catherine McLemore's older sister Mary and transfer Winston to Catherine when both sisters reached adulthood or marriage. As John McLemore's debt grew in the 1830s, the president made sure that his McLemore great-nieces received some of their parents' wealth as adults. Many planter parents conducted this rite of passage for their daughters during the antebellum era, but McLemore's poverty forced Jackson to assist. At the time of the president's transaction, Catherine



St. John's Church, built near Hamilton Place by the Polk family in 1842

was unmarried and only 12 years old. Consequently, Winston remained the property of the Polks—and President Jackson, by extension—for the foreseeable future.¹²

Life at Hamilton Place

Lucius Polk transferred Winston and the four other captives out of Nashville and to his massive plantation Hamilton Place in the town of Mount Pleasant—about 60 miles southwest of Nashville. He was not a yeoman like John McLemore but rather a planter, and his holdings of enslaved people grew from 30 in 1836 to over 50 in 1840. Hamilton Place's unfree laborers lived in small buildings apart from the grand mansion. Field hands resided in one-story wooden cabins,

but the domestic servants lived in a two-story brick kitchen at the rear of the house. Like Hopkins, the Polks also housed some free African Americans, thus reintroducing to Winston the possibility of becoming free despite her skin color.¹³

The Polks surrounded themselves with notable personalities in religious and political circles. Mary Ann Polk kept in touch with her great-uncle, writing letters to him on occasion. In addition, she and her husband frequently welcomed luminaries at Hamilton Place, forcing Winston and the other enslaved laborers to serve the country's most powerful advocates of slavery. President Jackson visited there often, and for one appearance he brought renowned novelist James Kirke Paulding with him. Lucius Polk's

brother Leonidas—a future Episcopal bishop—resided at Hamilton Place during Winston’s first three years there. When the minister built his own house next door, he held church services there, and his extended family and their captives attended. The Polks also occasionally traveled to meet with prominent people; they visited Lucius’s cousin James K. Polk at his home in 1837.¹⁴

On September 16, 1841, McLemore’s daughter Catherine married Thomas Yates Gholson in Memphis. McLemore moved the family there after Betsy’s death in 1836, but he remained in debt and without captives. As a result, he did not have any wealth to pass along to Catherine on her wedding day. However, Polk kept his promise to Jackson to transfer McLemore’s captives to her and her sister. By then only three of the five enslaved people from the McLemore estate remained at Hamilton Place, but Winston was one of them. On September 17, 1842, Polk transferred her to the Gholsons in Memphis, and Malinda and Julius and the furniture went to Mary, who lived with her husband on the plantation Villa Rose just outside Memphis.¹⁵

Jackson had taken a further step to keep Winston with his great-niece. He stipulated that the sisters had “separate use” of their new property, as the deed put it, without regard to the debts of their husbands. For as long as Catherine lived, Thomas could not legally sell Winston to pay anyone he owed. Therefore, Catherine would not lose the servant because of any faulty financial decisions from her own husband. Many antebellum parents made such stipulations when passing down captives to their daughters but did so with a specific agenda. For the president, the agenda may have simply been for Catherine to avoid the impoverishment her Donelson mother had faced. Regardless, Polk’s

In the midst of the upheaval, Winston found solace in church.

fulfillment of his vow ended Jackson’s indirect ownership of the captive. She was 25 years of age at the time of her transfer to 20-year-old Catherine, marking the first time that the servant was older than her enslaver.¹⁶

Winston in Memphis

In Memphis, Winston was once again an urban captive. Thomas did not own any plantations, nor did he enslave multiple people. Rather, Winston alone comprised the Gholsons’ human holdings for most of the time they held her. Moreover, her relocation to Memphis separated her from the slave community that had followed her from Nashville to Hamilton Place. Malinda and Julius were at least in the same county but still miles away at Villa Rose.

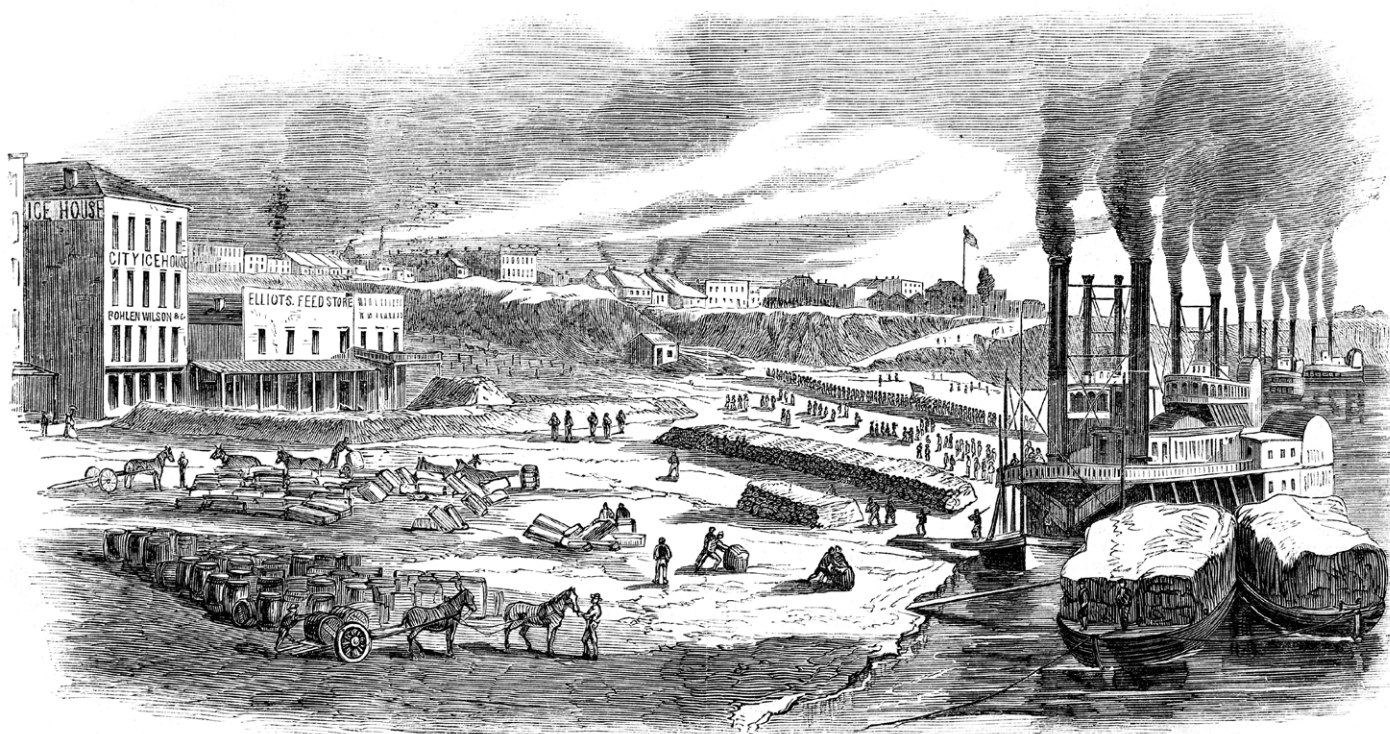
Winston’s laboring life largely centered around Catherine in Memphis, but the “young mistress,” as Winston called her, was different from the previous mistresses. A sheriff removed all of her parents’ captives when Catherine was 12 years old, and she grew up without learning how to live as an enslaver. Also, in Memphis, gone were the days of Winston’s laboring for glitzy house parties. The Gholsons hosted no such affairs, and no major luminaries visited their home. Catherine never served as a First Lady for her great-uncle; she was only 15 years old when he vacated the White House at the end of his second term in 1837. Therefore, she did not have the connections to power that her parents and older sister had developed. Also, in contrast to both Mistress McLemore and Mistress Polk giving birth to a child every other year, Catherine

had only one child—a daughter, Josephine, born in 1844.

Catherine’s husband tried his hand at several occupations, in contrast to her steady presence. He ran a law practice with Catherine’s brother Andrew at the time he acquired Winston. Within months Andrew moved to Nashville, but Thomas found another partner in Memphis. By August 1846, however, the lawyers gravitated toward technological interests, and they moved to Louisville, Kentucky, to invest in the construction of multiple telegraph lines. However, the partnership dissolved the following year, and Samuel Morse replaced Thomas with another investor in the development of the telegraph. Defeated and defunded, Thomas returned to Tennessee.¹⁷

In the midst of the upheaval, Winston found solace in church. She attended First Presbyterian Church in Memphis, independently of the Gholsons. Many fellow members were enslaved, but the remaining members were free. Moreover, a few of the free members were African Americans. By becoming a member in February 1844, she had the agency to develop relationships with European Americans who were not invested in her enslavement and with African Americans who could model lives of freedom for her. The church listed her as “Eliza (Gholson)”; the parentheses noted her enslaver. Free African American members such as Jefferson Brown were listed with surnames without parentheses, just as European Americans were.¹⁸

When Thomas Gholson returned to Tennessee from Kentucky in November 1847, he moved the family to Nashville. Winston barely had time



The bustling levee at Memphis, Tennessee, in 1862

to adjust to the loss of her church community when Catherine died of consumption on July 3, 1848, at only 26. For the first time in Winston's life, she did not belong to a Donelson. Moreover, none of the previous Donelson enslavers were alive to claim her or to direct her to her next owner. Catherine's mother passed away years earlier in 1836, and even Mary Ann Eastin-Polk died in 1847 at age 37. Before Andrew Jackson succumbed to illness in 1845, he did not determine who should inherit Winston in case of his great-niece's demise. Catherine's failure to do the same meant that Winston belonged fully to Catherine's widowed husband.¹⁹

After the Donelsons

Within a year after Catherine's death, her widower returned to Memphis with Winston. He sent Josephine to live with his married half brother George Freeman in Holly Springs, Mississippi, where she could at least

be raised by a maternal figure. Winston's sole focus of forced labor was Thomas, but he continued his late wife's encouragement of Winston's socialization beyond the household. She met and married one of the very few free African American men in Memphis, but the state of Tennessee did not legally recognize the union because of Winston's enslavement. The couple gave Thomas their savings to buy a house for them; he put only his name on the deed. In addition, he arranged for the husband to pay him for the time they spent together as a couple. The arrangement was a variation on the common practice by enslavers of hiring out their unfree laborers in the antebellum era. The renters were usually other enslavers or yeoman businessmen—not freedmen borrowing their own wives.²⁰

Winston negotiated her freedom with her enslaver, but unforeseen circumstances kept the terms from coming to fruition. Thomas agreed to manumit her (release from slav-

ery) if the couple paid him \$1,000. Her husband traveled to Liberia and vowed to return in two years with the money to free his wife, but he died while abroad. Meanwhile, in November 1852 Thomas suddenly took on a job as a correspondent for the local newspaper, *Memphis Eagle and Enquirer*, reporting news from New Orleans. He likely took Winston with him to Louisiana, for he was suffering the ravages of consumption and probably needed a nurse. Winston's relocation to a major city in the Deep South and a major slave market made her more likely to be sold than to be manumitted.²¹

"Mr. Gholson got badly broken up in money matters and . . . pawned me to Col. Christmas," Winston said in her affidavit, and she recalled the date as March 1853. Col. Christmas and Thomas most likely met when Christmas and his new wife, Mary Phillips-Christmas, arrived in New Orleans in February 1853, while Thomas still worked there. He gave

the newlyweds a standard price for Winston, because \$800 was the average value for an African American enslaved woman in Memphis in 1853, and at age 36 that year she had several remaining productive years as a laborer. The transaction provided Thomas some quick income, and that summer he used the money to buy land in trust for his daughter.²²

The Christmases took Winston to their plantation, Shiloh, in Tallula, Mississippi. Thomas tried to earn the money to retrieve her, but the consumption continued to weaken him. Indeed, he “died before he could redeem me,” as Winston recalled, but he had moved to his half brother’s residence in Holly Springs, where he could at least reunite with his daughter, Josephine, before succumbing on December 1, 1855. Winston’s removal from her family, her settlement in the Deep South, and her enslavement at Shiloh became permanent with Thomas’s passing.²³

The transition to the Christmases meant the removal of the semi-freedom that Winston had enjoyed in Memphis. Instead, she regressed into the kind of enslavement that she had experienced for most of her adult life. She had yet another new bride for a mistress, and that mistress became a mother by giving birth to Norma Christmas within months of

The transition to the Christmases meant the removal of the semi-freedom that Winston had enjoyed in Memphis.

acquiring Winston. The servant was on yet another large plantation, but she labored exclusively as a domestic servant to nurse her constantly ill mistress. As a result, she became isolated from over 100 fellow slaves at Shiloh.²⁴

In addition, Winston made heavy personal and financial sacrifices in Mississippi. She remained separated from her family and her church community, and she continued to mourn the loss of her husband. As an enslaved person, she could not claim the land that she and her late husband had purchased in Thomas’s name. In addition, the Christmases did not permit her to marry another freedman; she could either marry an enslaved man of Shiloh or stay uncoupled. Therefore, she refrained from marriage.²⁵

The Christmases made their fateful trip to the free state of Minnesota in August 1860 in order for the mistress to improve her health, but Winston jumped at the chance to liberate herself there. She initiated the process by telling Emily Grey—a free African American resident of

St. Anthony—about her enslavement. Having socialized with free African Americans in Memphis, she knew how to talk to Grey. Also, Winston allowed abolitionist locals to lead her to the courthouse, partly because she had learned from observing European Americans at First Presbyterian that some people in that ethnic group did not want slavery. The activists saw her with the Christmases at a lake house by the southwest corner of Lake Harriet on August 20th, and the next day her allies accompanied Hennepin County Sheriff Richard Strout to bring her to St. Anthony for her freedom hearing. Judge Vanderburgh’s ruling in her favor enabled her to redirect her life from the paths imposed upon her by not only the Christmases but also Hopkins, the Donelsons, Gholson, and the White House. At age 43, she was finally free.²⁶ □

Author’s note: No photographs of Eliza Winston appear in the article because none of the books, articles and archives comprising the research for this article provided any photographs of her.

Lake Harriet, 1852



Notes

1. "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," *St. Cloud Democrat*, Sept. 6, 1860, 1; William D. Green, "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota, 1854–60," *Minnesota History* 57, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 116.
2. Green, "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota," 116; William D. Green, *A Peculiar Imbalance: The Fall and Rise of Racial Equality in Early Minnesota* (St. Paul: MNHS Press, 2007), 97–98.
3. "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1.
4. *Davidson County, Tennessee Deeds Book W*, 600–601; *Shelby County, Tennessee Deeds Book N*, 342; "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1. Multiple reports about Eliza Winston in 1860 describe her as elderly: see "Another Nigger Excitement," *Red Wing Sentinel*, Sept. 5, 1860, 1, and "Outrage Upon Southerners," *New Orleans Daily Delta*, Sept. 15, 1860, 1.
5. *Warren County, Tennessee Deeds Book D*, 215; "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1.
6. "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1; will of John Donelson, Oct. 10, 1828, *Davidson County, Tennessee Will Book 9*, 420; W. W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis, 1880), 73; US 1820 Census, Davidson County, Tennessee, 128–29; Jon Meacham, *American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House* (New York: Random House, 2009), 5–7, 51, 86; Andrew Jackson, letter to Andrew Jackson Donelson, Aug. 17, 1832, in *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, digital ed., ed. Daniel Feller (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, Rotunda, 2015–), 459, <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JKSN>.
7. Marvin Downing, "John Christmas McLemore: 19th Century Tennessee Land Speculator," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 42 (Fall 1983): 264; *Davidson County, Tennessee Deeds Book W*, 600–601.
8. Downing, "John Christmas McLemore," 265; *Mississippian*, Apr. 19, 1834, quoted in *Nashville National Banner and Daily Advertiser*, May 3, 1834, 3.
9. *Davidson County, Tennessee Deeds Book W*, 600; *Shelby County, Tennessee Deeds Book N*, 342; "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1.
10. Paul H. Bergeron, "My Brother's Keeper: William H. Polk Goes to School," *North Carolina Historical Review* (1967): 191; Meacham, *American Lion*, 202.
11. Meacham, *American Lion*, 202, 302; *Daily Nashville Union*, Aug. 9, 1847, 2; *Shelby County, Tennessee Deeds Book N*, 342.
12. *Shelby County, Tennessee Deeds Book N*, 342; Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2019), 17–18.
13. Richard D. Battery, "St. John's Episcopal Churchyard: Material Culture and Antebellum Class Distinction," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1994): 97; Richard Quinn et al., "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Ashwood Rural Historic District" (US Department of the Interior, National Park Service), sec. 7, 12, 59.
14. Reid Smith, *Majestic Middle Tennessee* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 1982), 18; Jill K. Garrett, "St. John's Church, Ashwood," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1970): 5; Mary Polk Branch, *Memoirs of a Southern Woman: Within the Lines* (Chicago: Joseph G. Branch, 1912), 9; Andrew Jackson, letter to James K. Polk, May 22, 1837, in *Correspondence of James K. Polk: Volume IV, 1837–1838*, ed. Herbert Weaver and Wayne Cutler (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1977), 123; James K. Polk, letter to Andrew Jackson, June 14, 1837, in *Correspondence of James K. Polk: Volume IV, 1837–1838*, 143.
15. "Died," *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, July 11, 1836, 3; *Nashville Tennessean*, Sept. 24, 1841, 3; *West Tennessean*, Sept. 19, 1835, 4; *Weekly Arkansas Gazette*, Apr. 29, 1840, 3; US Census 1840, Shelby County, Tennessee, 200; *Shelby County, Tennessee Deeds Book N*, 342; *Davidson County, Tennessee Deeds Book W*, 600.
16. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property*, 19.
17. *Nashville Union*, June 9, 1843, 3; *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Jan. 1, 1847, 4; *Tennessee Baptist*, Aug. 28, 1847, 1; "Morse's Telegraph," *Louisville Daily Courier*, Oct. 9, 1847, 2; *Daily Nashville Union*, Jan. 1, 1848, 2.
18. *Ansearchin' News* (Fall 1969): 123.
19. *Louisville Daily Courier*, Nov. 25, 1847, 2; *Nashville Christian Advocate*, July 21, 1848.
20. US Census 1850, Northern Division, Marshall County, Mississippi, 154; *Richmond Whig*, Nov. 6, 1849; "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1; Jonathan D. Martin, *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 1–2. In February 1853 the Memphis post office held a letter addressed to "Gholson, Eliza colored." No other Gholson besides Thomas had recently resided in the city. Thus, "Eliza Gholson" was probably Eliza Winston. See "List of Letters," *Memphis Eagle and Enquirer*, Feb. 16, 1853, 3; Stephen V. Ash, *A Massacre in Memphis: The Race Riot That Shook the Nation One Year After the Civil War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013), 70.
21. "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1; *Memphis Eagle and Enquirer*, Nov. 10, 1852, 2; Green, "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota," 116. I do not identify Winston's husband as "Jim Winston," as sources since 1934 have. Winston's affidavit did not name him. Harry Remington's 1934 article on Winston—the first to refer to the husband by that name—is an admitted dramatization of Winston's emancipation, and no free people with the surname Winston resided in Memphis in the late 1840s or early 1850s. See Harry Remington, "In the Days of Abolitionism . . . How Eliza Winston Was Freed in Minneapolis," *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune*, Nov. 18, 1934, 54–55; and an advertisement, *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune*, Nov. 11, 1934, 60.
22. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, Feb. 16, 1853, 2; *Memphis Eagle and Enquirer*, Feb. 22, 1853, 2; *Davidson County, Tennessee Deeds Book W*, 600; Claude H. Nolen, *African American Southerners in Slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001), 47–48; Green, "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota," 116; "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1.
23. "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1; "Died," *Memphis Eagle and Enquirer*, Dec. 6, 1855, 3; Green, "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota," 116.
24. "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1; US 1850 Slave Schedule, Issaquena County, Mississippi, 20; Green, "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota," 21.
25. "The Minneapolis 'Slave' Case," 1.
26. Green, "Eliza Winston and the Politics of Freedom in Minnesota," 107–8, 118–19.

Images on pp. 301, 302, and 305 are from Library of Congress; photographs on pp. 300 and 303 courtesy Maury County Archives; image on p. 306 from MNHS collections.

Christopher P. Lehman's book, *It Took Courage: Eliza Winston's Quest for Freedom*, will be published in April by the Minnesota Historical Society Press.