

Weddings of Santa Clara County pioneers at Trinity Cathedral in San Jose: Sarah Massey–Jacob Overton (1869)

by Jean Libby

Second in a series ¹

The union of Sarah Massey (1850-1914) and Jacob Overton (1846-1922) at Trinity Church on December 30, 1869 was a promise to build an African American community within the bustling post-Civil War city of San Jose. The couple were of disparate backgrounds: Sarah Massey from a free family in Massachusetts who settled in Watsonville ca. 1863, Jacob Overton brought in slavery from Kentucky to the gold fields of Calaveras County ca. 1849. The life they made together was one of civic advancement that began with Sarah's enrolment at the secondary school for children of color named St. Philip's Academy established by Peter Williams Cassey in 1862.

Peter Cassey, called a "founding father of black San Jose" by Herbert G. Ruffin in *Uninvited Neighbors; African Americans in Silicon Valley 1769-1990*² was ordained a deacon into the Episcopal clergy at Trinity Church in 1866 by the Bishop of California William Kip. He officiated the marriage of Sarah and Jacob Overton designated in church records as "Rev. P. W. Cassey." Trinity's Rector, Rev. E. S. Peake, is listed as officiant as well. In the Episcopal Church deacons are allowed to use the title "Reverend" but not allowed to perform sacraments.

Rev. Cassey came from a most distinguished family. His great grandfather Peter Williams bought his freedom in 1785 from the St. John Methodist church in Manhattan. Ten years later he split from St. John and founded the first African-American Methodist church in New York [AME Zion]. His son Peter Williams, Jr. became an Episcopalian and was ordained a deacon in the Diocese of New York in 1820 and the first Black priest in New York 1826, founding St. Philip's church in Harlem which celebrated its 200th anniversary last year.

Rev. Peter Williams Jr.'s daughter, Amy, married Joseph Cassey, a free West Indian who emigrated to Philadelphia. They became leaders with Robert Purvis and James Forten to form the black abolitionist movement and a strong entrepreneurial upper class. Peter Williams Cassey was born in 1831. He was raised in a family culture where a rigorous classical education was expected of the children. Frequent visits by prominent abolitionists to his home shaped Peter in ways that would unfold in California. The Cassey house in Philadelphia resides on the National Registry of Historical sites.

Joseph Cassey died in 1848; Peter's mother married Charles Lenox Remond and moved to Salem, Massachusetts in 1850. Her four sons and daughter grown, Amy Williams Cassey Remond accepted the responsibility of caring for Charlotte Forten of Philadelphia in 1853 so she could attend the superior schools in Massachusetts. It is from Charlotte's journals that we learn of the culture of education and abolition activism in the Cassey/Remond household. Sarah Cassey Smith was an inspiration for learning classical music, which Charlotte greatly appreciated. She did not appreciate the discipline of daily two-hour piano practice as much, but the education provided at home by Amy complemented that of the all-white public school that Charlotte attended and graduated as valedictorian. Amy passed away in 1856, very poignantly remembered by her ward Charlotte Forten, who became an author and teacher of liberated slaves on the Sea Islands of South Carolina during the Civil War.³

Sarah Massey was thirteen when her parents brought her from Gilroy to attend St. Philip's School at the onset of the Civil War. Sarah was literate from her Massachusetts childhood and quickly became accomplished in speaking and political action. She travelled to northern California and even Nevada locations to encourage the end of racial segregation which was codified in the Constitution of California. The secondary academy filled the needs of free emigrant families like the Masseys in San Jose with substantial education in many fields, including music and science. The closest school for black students was in San Francisco, in the basement of St. Cyprian A.M.E. Church, operating from 1854 to 1864.⁴

St. Philip's Academy, soon renamed the Phoenixian Institute, had an average of twenty students at any given time during the ten-year period the Academy was functioning, with a aggregate total of 200. In 1867 Cassey reported to the Diocese that the Academy—known then as Phoenixian Institute—was renting the large Bascom residence which had been a secondary school for European-origin girls. He asked for help to purchase the two-story dwelling on six *vara* lots at the southern edge of San Jose. African American entrepreneur W. A. White came to Cassey's aid and purchased the Bascom school property between Reed and William in 1867.⁵ In 1869 there were 1,532 students between 5 and 15 years of age in San Jose, and 965 children counted who were under 5 years. The school census reports there are "30 negro children, of which 14 are boys."⁶

The City of San Jose School Board began funding the segregated population with small monthly grants beginning in 1863. This continued until children of color were allowed to attend public schools in 1874. Students boarded at the Cassey home at 625 S. 4th Street, which is no longer extant. Future community leader Sarah Massey was encouraged in civic activism to end

racial segregation in public schools by the Casseys, at the same time raising funds for the education provided for her there.⁷

Anna Besant Cassey passed away on September 3, 1875 and is buried at Oak Hill Memorial Park. Rev. Peter Williams Cassey went to Oakland, serving Episcopal congregations there until 1881, when he was called to North Carolina. He remarried a much-younger schoolteacher, Ella M., in 1885. They had six children, some of whose descendants were honored at Trinity Cathedral in San Jose on April 19, 2015.⁸ Finally ordained into the priesthood, Rev. Peter Williams Cassey and his family went to Jacksonville and St. Augustine, Florida, parishes, where he passed away in August 1917. He is buried in St. Augustine.

First AME Zion, the earliest black congregation in San Jose, was established at 4th and San Antonio by Rev. A. G. Smith of San Francisco with the help of Peter Cassey in 1864. First A.M.E. Zion Church is noted in the 1870 San Jose Directory as “the only religious organization among the colored people of the city the church is in a prosperous condition, the attendance on Sunday always being sufficient to fill the church” which moved to 95 S. 20th Street in 1954.⁹ Sources differ that Sarah and Jacob Overton may have attended First AME Zion after Rev. Cassey left San Jose in 1881, or if they continued to attend Christ Church Episcopal Mission, which first held services on Market St. and San Salvador, later moving to Druids Hall at 157 S. First St. (1894) and Third and William Streets in 1905. which moved to 4th and William Streets in 1905.¹⁰

Sarah and Jacob Overton lived most of their lives at 456/460 S. Eighth Street in San Jose, dividing and adding to the home when their son Charles (born in 1875) married Augusta Hawley. The Overton home was next door to a large Victorian (432 S. Eighth) that was the residence of poet Edwin Markham in 1868 and 1869. Most of the even-numbered side of the block was acquired by San Jose State University. The Overton home site today is a Child Development Center for the Associated Students at SJSU. The Markham home was preserved, according to a plaque near the sidewalk that was placed there in 1937 by the Edwin Markham Poetry Society. In 2002 the Markham Home was moved to History Park on Senter Road, where it is the Poetry Center for San Jose.

Sarah Overton is known for her strong support in the Political Equality Club, for women’s suffrage, and as a founder of the Garden City Women’s Club in San Jose. Sarah Massey Overton’s obituary at her death August 24, 1914, was written by Sarah Severance, a founder of the Women’s Press Association and activist for women’s suffrage.¹¹

Her modern chronicler is journalist Loretta Green, a now-retired columnist from the *San Jose Mercury News* who was chosen as Woman of the Year for the 21st Assembly District by Joe Simitian in 2004. The Sarah Massey Overton essay is part of the feature "12 Who Dared" by Tracie Cone, about local women who made a difference.¹²

San Jose Mercury-News July 12, 1998 page 22A

by Loretta Green

SARAH MASSEY OVERTON

Boosting chances for African-Americans

Though many African-American women managed notable acts in the 19th century, they often toiled outside the notice of the mainstream press and historians.

But Sarah Massey Overton did leave a footprint on the landscape of local history. Overton spoke for the plight of African-American children barred from California public schools — years before *Brown vs. Board of Education* ended school segregation.

When interested citizens planned to open a private school for the excluded students called the Phoenixonian Institute in San Jose, Overton canvassed California and Nevada to raise support.

"Probably through the sentiment she aroused, the California legislators passed a law giving the Negro children the right to attend the public schools," said Overton's 1914 obituary in the *San Jose Mercury Herald*. That law was passed in 1880.

1850-1914

Delilah Beasley described her as "a distinguished citizen of that city and one of the distinguished women of the race in California" in her book, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California*.

Overton was born in Lenox, Mass., the year that the Compromise of 1850 admitted California as the 31st state and forbade slavery in it, and 13 years before Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation declared that her people could not be bought and sold like mules. She traveled with her parents to Gilroy, then to San Jose.

Describing her as a model homemaker for her husband, Jacob, and children, Charles and Harriet, the obituary noted that she was "gifted in household arts," and "cared for all good things such as peace and temperance."

But Sarah Overton apparently recognized the importance of connecting to the system. She was a member of the Political Equality Club of San Jose and traveled the state to interest African-Americans in voting.

Overton was second vice president of the San Jose Suffrage Amendment League and president of the Victoria Earle Matthews Club. Its mission was to "protect imperiled girls from those who prowl for their destruction."

Overton lived when opportunities were limited for the few African-Americans in the Santa Clara Valley. She made the most of those she had.

— Loretta Green

When San Jose Was Young,

A SERIES OF INTERESTING ARTICLES OF AN HISTORICAL NATURE PREPARED ESPECIALLY FOR THE NEWS BY A WELL KNOWN AUTHOR AND JOURNALIST

NO. 302 OLDEST JANITOR IN SAN JOSE

For nearly half a century Jacob Overton has been janitor of the Knox block. As a boy of seven years he came across the plains with Dr. C. T. Overton of Kentucky, medical partner of the late Dr. Knox of San Jose. Dr. Overton practiced medicine in Colfax. In the Overton party in crossing the plains was Dr. Caldwell of Santa Clara, father of Dr. "Bob" Caldwell.

When Jacob Overton was a small boy in Kentucky Dr. Overton adopted him and gave him his name. The little colored lad was the play-fellow of Dr. Overton's son. All the way across the plains they wrestled in boyish fashion, but when they were tired of fighting they made peace over a piece of bread and 'lasses.

"These were great days," said Jacob Overton, tenderly, as he recently recalled to me the joys of crossing the plains behind an ox team and wallowing in the sand with his play-fellow.

During the last days of Dr. Knox on a business trip he visited Colfax, where lived Dr. Overton. With Dr. Knox were Mrs. Knox and his daughter, Miss Jennie Knox. Dr. Knox was ill and wanted to come back to San Jose and asked Overton to bring him.

"You'll like it in San Jose," he said. Jacob Overton started with him, but already the doctor was very weak. At the Lick House in San Francisco he died. Jacob Overton brought the remains of Dr. Knox to San Jose. On November 14, 1867, Dr. Knox was buried. The next day Jacob Overton took charge of the Knox block.

"I have never been away since," said

Overton. "It was fifty years ago next month I swept the mortar out of the building." Just at that moment Attorney J. C. Black passed with a pleasant word. "Mr. Black is the only man that was here when I came. He was just about the first person to move into the building, he and Judge Payne. The judge is dead. Nearly everybody of that time is dead. It was the best office building in town. In the rooms now occupied by Wallace and Reynolds, the real estate and insurance men, were the offices of Judge Peckham. Levi Goodrich was the architect of this building. He afterwards married Mrs. Knox. The builder of the Knox block was B. F. Graham."

Mrs. Knox-Goodrich, Mr. Overton explained to me, was very good to him. To please him she bought two bronze figures called "Asleep" and "Awake" by Miss Edmonia Lewis, the famous colored and Indian sculptress of Boston and Paris. Miss Lewis was exhibiting her work in San Jose. She came here through the influence of J. J. Owen, who was a great friend of the negro. Mrs. Knox-Goodrich paid Miss Lewis \$500 for the bronzes. They are still in the home of Mrs. Knox-Goodrich which is now owned by her niece, Mrs. Schroder. Miss Lewis was so pleased with the sale that she gave Overton a fine head of John Brown, which is his greatest treasure.

Mr. Overton has two children. One is Hattie Overton, the kindergarten teacher, and the other is Charles Overton, the photographer, who has been for years with Bushnell.

The entire series of 340 interviews is published online, transcribed by Claire Martin for the Santa Clara County CAGenWeb Project <http://cagenweb.com/santaclara/WSJWY/wsjwy.html> Mrs.

Fremont Older is attributed as the “well-known author and journalist” who wrote the series “When San Jose Was Young” in 1916-1917.¹³ Number 302 was published on October 16, 1917.

Cora Baggerly Older is as remarkable in her own right as the subjects of her interviews in the San Jose *Evening News*. Her husband Fremont Older was the editor of the San Francisco *Call* during the period. “Oldest Janitor in San Jose,” the interview of Jacob Overton, is examined with the fresh information about the author Cora Baggerly Older. Although the historical opinion is quite certain, the story as presented must be considered that Jacob was freed—or considered free when the Overton party entered Territorial California in 1853 (Jacob says he was seven years old). There is a census record of Robert Overton, age 50, a physician born in Kentucky, living in Township 6, Calaveras County in 1860. He is in a community of miners with no one else listed in his household. There is a Henry S. Overton, age 31 born in North Carolina living in Nevada City, Yuba County, in 1850. Jacob Overton stated in another source that the name of his father was Henry Overton and his mother Alice Lane, both born in Kentucky as he was. There are no children on either census record, all nearby are miners. It should be remembered that only free people were counted in the United States Census.

A new blog publication called “The History Bandits” portrays the series as a study in historical representation:¹⁴ The author, Etta Place, believes that the interviews were written by a group of writers for the *Evening News*.

There is no question that *When San Jose Was Young* served the sensational and the romantic. The column’s female characters, who range from being cowering followers to respected innovators, serve as just one example that many venues of historical discussion were packed with the treatment of marginalized groups long before it became a matter of concern for today’s revisionist critics. The *Evening News* writers viewed history as an intoxicating wine, but were unable to realize that they themselves were intoxicated by their own biases and limitations, especially in their failure to separate non-white women from the exotic. The result was a hodgepodge of stories that do not meet modern, scholarly standards of historical revisionism, but may represent its crude, organic roots. Those who debate about the new AP framework should understand that the issue is not a matter of under- or over- representation, but of misrepresentation, which only time and responsibility can put right.

Slavery in San Jose

Earlier in the series, number 155 is entitled “Slavery in San Jose.”¹⁵ The interview subject is Mrs. Mattie Reed Lewis, the daughter of James Frazier Reed and the resource interview for many of “When San Jose was Young” articles. The Reed family were survivors of the Donner Party Expedition of 1846/1847. Mrs. Fremont Older (her preferred byline) describes the purchase of people—African Americans, Native Americans, and Asians (Malayans)—by the Reed family even after California was admitted as a free state in 1850. Cora Older did not identify the Reeds other than by name in “Slavery in San Jose” because the Donner Party expedition was the subject of the preceding weeks’ publications.

Historians Rudolph Lapp and Herbert Ruffin picked up the Reed-Lewis interview and wrote about them; but as it was separated from the others they did not recognize the slaveholders as founding pioneers of San Jose and the namesake for Reed Street and *Reed* Literary Magazine at SJSU. The Judge of the First Instance in San Jose, William M. Kincaid, brought enslaved people from Missouri and sold them to Virginia Reed Murphy (Mattie’s stepsister) and her husband John Murphy, the son of famed pioneer Martin Murphy in the early 1850s.

Historical methodology correctly requires that if something is presented as factual, it must be corroborated with evidence in at least one other independent primary source. The experiences of Mattie (Patty) Reed Lewis and Virginia Reed Murphy in their California emigration are the foundation of two modern books.¹⁶ Neither discuss the issue of slavery after their safe arrival in San Jose in 1847, whereupon James Frazier Reed (according to his daughter’s interviews) rented the orchard land of both Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara and successfully planted and harvested the fruits after purchasing people from a Peruvian warship in the San Francisco Bay. Mattie (Patty) Reed told Cora Older that “Mr. Fergurson [sic] brought from Kentucky a negro slave known as Joe. Joe Fergurson was sold to James Frazier Reed, for whom he worked several years.”¹⁷ This is addressed by Margaret Koch in the Santa Cruz County Historical Journal in 1995. The endnotes by Stanley D. Stevens state that the interpretation of the name “Joe” in Reed’s letters is interpreted “Jas,” (Reed’s teenage son) but that the History Museum of Santa Cruz County is open to evidence that there was another person named Joe mining gold in the Felton area with Reed in 1856.¹⁸

Jacob Overton and Sarah Knox-Goodrich

“Oldest Janitor in San Jose,” is examined with the fresh information about the author Cora Baggerly Older. Although the historical opinion is quite certain that Jacob was enslaved, the story as presented must acknowledge that Jacob was freed—or considered free—when the Overton party entered California in 1853. There is a census record of Robert Overton, age 50, a physician born in Kentucky, living in Township 6, Calaveras County in 1860. He is in a community of miners with no one else listed in his household. There is a Henry S. Overton, age 31 born in North Carolina living in Nevada City, Yuba County, in 1850. Jacob Overton stated in another source that the name of his father was Henry Overton and his mother Alice Lane, both born in Kentucky as he was. There are no children on either census record, all nearby are miners. It should be remembered that only free people were counted in the United States Census.

Jacob Overton was his own man when he left Colfax for San Jose with Dr. William Knox, Mrs. Sarah Knox and their daughter Jennie (Virginia) in 1867. The 13th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution was law that slavery was forever abolished. Emigrants from St. Louis (born in Kentucky and Virginia), Dr. William and Sarah Browning Knox had settled in Nevada City in the early 1850s. He made a fortune from the South Yuba Canal, over 400 miles long and the principal source of water for the gold mines of Nevada County. The Knox family moved to San Francisco in 1861, then to San Jose in January 1864. The Knox Block, which replaced an elegant and well-constructed adobe on the northwest corner of First and Santa Clara Streets, was constructed in 1866 (demolished in 1945).¹⁹ Dr. Knox entered the banking business with T. Ellard Beans, his brother-in-law, which became the First Bank of San Jose.

On the fateful trip which Jacob Overton was engaged to drive the family, the very ill Dr. Knox died at the Lick House in San Francisco on November 13, 1867. Jacob drove the widow and her daughter to their elegant home on Second Street, Dr. Knox’s body to the Oak Hill Cemetery, then to the recently constructed but still empty brick structure and found it in great disorder. As Jacob told Cora Older, he cleared the debris and made it habitable—and rentable: “That was fifty years ago and I have been here ever since.”

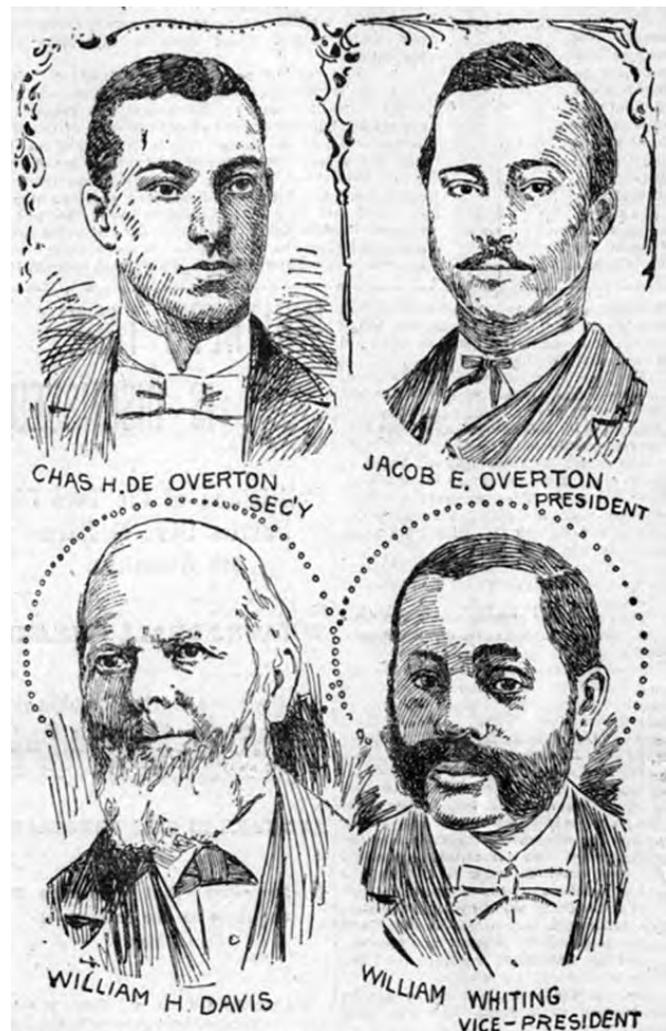
Sarah Knox (who married architect Levi Goodrich in 1879) did reciprocate the care and competence that Jacob Overton exhibited in their journey. Already known as an advocate for women’s suffrage (for which her late husband Dr. Knox had initiated a resolution he was a senator from Santa Clara County in 1865) Sarah was a racial liberal. In 1873 she purchased two sculptures by the African American artist Edmonia Lewis from an exhibition that moved from

San Francisco to San Jose. Achieving better results for the artist. Jacob remarks that Sarah Knox’s support was at his request. The artists’ gift of the John Brown bust which was his “most prized possession” is not extant. The artist made a number of small busts of the abolitionist, one has made its way into the Smithsonian Institute Collection.²⁰

“Asleep” and “Awake” were given to the San Jose Public Library by Mrs. Schroeder, the niece of Sarah Knox-Goodrich at an unknown date. The marble bust of Abraham Lincoln by Lewis that is in the California Room with “Asleep” and “Awake” was acquired through public subscription mounted by the San Jose Mercury (abolitionist J. J. Owen, publisher) in 1873. There is a collection of literature about the artist and the San Jose exhibition at the location of the sculptures at the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Library. The San Jose Chapter of Links, Inc. honored the sculptor Edmondia Lewis on February 3, 1991. Mary Parks Washington, Art Chair, has curated the collection currently in the California Room.

Herbert Ruffin II, in *Uninvited Neighbors*, writes of the significance of Owen regarding the 1863 repeal of the ban on testimony in court by people of color who were born in the United States and could speak English: “The repeal of the testimony ban allowed African Americans to sue and contest white claims in California courts over such issues as slavery, exclusion from streetcars, segregation in public education, and suffrage. . . . Because of this refocus, San Jose became a major player in community building and African American politics in the second half of the nineteenth century through the efforts of such leaders as . . . [Peter Williams] Cassey, Sarah Massey Overton, and Jacob Overton.”²¹

Jacob Overton’s civic activities were cross-cultural. He organized black male voters to register with the passage of the 15th Amendment in 1870. As previously noted he asked his white mentor to purchase the artwork of Edmondia Lewis. In 1877 he



OFFICERS OF THE SAN JOSE AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUE. This Organization, which Wields a Strong Influence Among the 300 Colored Voters of Santa Clara County, Has Passed Strong Resolutions Indorsing the Platform and Nominees of the Republican National Convention.

served on an all-City committee to commemorate the Centennial of the American Revolution, representing Emancipation with a permit request for a gunfire salute on the Market Street Plaza at sunrise and sunset on January 1, 1878.

His successful catering business regularly served events of the California Society of Pioneers. He joined the elite group himself. In 1912 he was reported in the San Jose Mercury as serving on a committee for visiting the sick of the California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, with such notables as Mrs. Virginia Reed Murphy and S. M. Lawrence.

He was an agent for the *Pacific Appeal*, an African American newspaper published in San Francisco. Jacob and his son Charles were officers in the Prince Hall Masons, the local Grand Lodge forming in California in 1856. When he fell from a ladder while doing outside maintenance on April 28, 1922 he was 75 years old. Brought inside the home instead of to a hospital “because he was talking,” Jacob Overton succumbed quickly to internal injuries.

Family Burials at Oak Hill Memorial Park

Harriet Massey, Sarah’s mother, passed away at age 43 in Gilroy in 1866. She is the first interment of the Massey Family Plot, Section C Block 7, Lot 3 at Oak Hill Memorial Park. Francis Massey died in Watsonville in 1878; Sarah Massey Overton on August 24, 1914 and Jacob on April 28, 1922. Their son Charles Henry Overton (1875-1938) and his wife Augusta Hawley Overton (1871-1940) are in the Massey Family Plot as well. The burials and family were researched by the Garden City Women’s Club of San Jose in 1978 for *History of Black Americans in Santa Clara Valley* prepared through Santa Clara Valley Employment & Training Board under CETA, Title VI, June 1, 1977 to September 30, 1978. The graves are unmarked.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

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California Room of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Library is an enthusiastic resource and found the attributed authorship of Mrs. Fremont Older for this publication.

Jean Libby is a local historian who is a member of the Santa Clara County Historical and Genealogical Society and of Trinity Cathedral, San Jose. This is her second article about Pioneers married at Trinity Church for *Connections*.

Endnotes

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- ¹ The story of Inez Pacheco and James R. Lowe, Jr. whose historic nuptials on May 22, 1861 merged the San Jose Pioneers with Spanish Californios, was published in *Santa Clara County Connections* Vol. 51, No. 2, Fall 2014. .
- ² Volume 7 in the Race and Culture in the American West series by the University of Oklahoma Press, 2014:35.
- ³ *The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimke*. The Schomburg library of nineteenth century black women writers. Brenda Stevenson, editor. Oxford University Press, 1988.
- ⁴ “Churches and schools,” Chapter 7 in Rudolph Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (1977:158-185; notes 295-298).
- ⁵ Lionel U. Ridout, “The Church, The Chinese, and The Negroes in California 1849-1893.” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, June 1959:133.
- ⁶ Frederic Hall, *History of San Jose and Surroundings* (1871)
- ⁷ “Origins of Santa Clara Valley’s Black Community,” Chapter 1 in Herbert G. Ruffin II, *Uninvited Neighbors; African Americans in Silicon Valley 1769-1990* (2014:27-47, notes 239-246.
- ⁸ Standing Witness: 150th Anniversary of the End of the Civil War; Pioneers of Color in the Santa Clara Valley with an emphasis on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, www.alliesforfreedom.org/Symposium.
- ⁹ 1870 Directory quoted in History of the First A.M.E. Zion Church, San Jose, www.firstamezionsj.org .
- ¹⁰ A remarkable document was discovered in the Christ Church Episcopal record-book at Trinity Cathedral in April 2015 by Janice Paull and Jean Libby. It is a handwritten “Chronicles of Christ Church San Jose 1904-1911” by Rev. George H.B. Wright, Rector of St. Stephens Church in San Francisco, who was a divinity student assisting at Christ Church in San Jose.
- ¹¹ “Death of Mrs. Sarah M. Overton is Loss to the Community” *San Jose Mercury Herald* 08-30-1914; Volume LXXXVI, Issue 61, page 5.
- ¹² Tracie Cone, “12 Who Dared.” *San Jose Mercury News (CA)* 12 July 1998 Morning Final, page 1A.
- ¹³ Acknowledgement to Episcopal priest The Rev. Jerry Drino for finding “Slavery in San Jose.” Acknowledgement to Erin Herzog, the archivist at the California Room of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Library for finding the author.
- ¹⁴ [Etta Place] “When San Jose Was Young:” a study in historical representation. The History Bandits, Jan. 15, 2015. <http://thehistorybandits.com/2015/01/15/when-san-jose-was-young-a-study-in-historical-representation/>
- ¹⁵ <http://www.cagenweb.com/santaclara/>
- ¹⁶ James D. Houston, *Snow Mountain Passage, a novel* (Knopf, 2001); *Across the Plains in the Donner Party* by Virginia Reed Murphy with Letters by James Reed, edited by Karen Zeinert (Linnet Books, 1996).
- ¹⁷ [Mrs. Fremont Older] “Slavery in San Jose,” Number 155 in When San Jose Was Young,” 1917-04-14.
- ¹⁸ “The Gold Gulch Letters of James Frazier Reed to his wife Margaret, 1856” in Santa Cruz County History Journal Issue Number 2, 1995:25-30.

¹⁹ Linda Larson, “A Short Biography of Sarah Louise Browning Knox-Goodrich Motto ‘Equal Rights and Justice for All’ typescript in the California Room, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Library, n.d. .

²⁰ Louis A. DeCaro, Jr. “A Memorial Bust of John Brown/Reception to the Sculptress Miss Edmonia Lewis...” at the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New in 1878. Posted on John Brown the Abolitionist—A biographer’s blog on October 8, 2010. <http://abolitionist-john-brown.blogspot.com/2010/10/memorial-bust-of-john-brown-reception.html>

²¹ Ruffin, op. cit., 33-34.