

# **Lawn Jockeys: Reimagining a Controversial Symbol**

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*You are bone tired. You've been walking all night, scuttling from shadow to shadow, trying not to be spotted. Heading northward, ever northward, toward the dream of Canada, of freedom. But you heard a rooster crow a minute ago, and the safety of night is starting to give way to the prying eyes of dawn. You need to hide. Now. The next stop on the Underground Railroad is a quiet house just ahead. The conductor described it for you -- along this dirt road on the outskirts of town, barn out back, and a lawn jockey tucked into the front garden. But the conductor called this stop a "sometimes house," meaning it was only sometimes available and other times extended family was in town that firmly believed in slavery and would alert authorities. The signal of safety is a thin, green ribbon tied around the lawn jockey's wrist. If the green ribbon is here, you can head to the barn, get some desperately needed sleep and a hot meal the next day. If the ribbon is red, then you have to march on. You creep into the front garden as quietly as you can, ducking beneath the front windows, and kneel next to the lawn jockey. With the first bit of light the day has to offer, you see a glint of green on the lawn jockey's wrist and silently rejoice.*

A symbol is often a material object that stands for an abstract idea. The lawn jockey is one such symbol, although the idea it stands for can be interpreted in a multitude of ways. Through time, the lawn jockey has been a symbol both tragic and triumphant with its remarkable history of representing racial oppression and then being used to upend that oppression and help defeat slavery. The lawn jockey is a lawn ornament or hitching post resembling a horse jockey.<sup>1</sup> The lawn jockey's origins are shrouded in mystery, but there is no doubt that the typical black lawn jockey's appearance reflects racist stereotypes. With jet-black skin and large, red lips, the statue has often been a symbol of people of color's previous position of servitude. However,

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<sup>1</sup> Sherrod, Pamela. "The Secret Life of the Black Lawn Jockey." *Chicago Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1998, [www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html](http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html). 19 Jan. 2019.

during the operation of the Underground Railroad – a secret network of people and safe houses used to ferry runaway slaves from southern plantations all the way to the free soil of Canada – many scholars think that lawn jockeys were used to carry secret signals to escaping slaves and conductors. Through this role, the lawn jockey also became a symbol of hope, and of the power of the human spirit to fight oppression even through the markers of that oppression. Today, the lawn jockey is a controversial symbol that can be interpreted as a remnant of the tragedy of slavery and oppression or a triumphant reminder of the perseverance demonstrated through the Underground Railroad.

### **Origins of the Lawn Jockey**

The origins of the lawn jockey are mysterious and unknown, but there is a myth that could be the answer.<sup>2</sup> The story begins on Christmas Eve 1776. General George Washington had requested reinforcements for a battle with the British across the Delaware River. Tom Graves, a free black man, and his young son Jocko Graves were among those who answered the General's call. Jocko was only twelve years old, and George Washington declared him too young to fight. However, the general was awed by the boy's passion, so asked him to keep watch over their horses and hold a lit lantern so that the soldiers could find their way back once the battle was over. Over the next two days there was a terrible blizzard. When Washington and his army returned on December 26<sup>th</sup>, they found young, courageous Jocko frozen to death with the lantern still in his hand. General Washington was so humbled by this boy's sacrifice that he made a commemorative statue entitled, "The Faithful Groomsman."<sup>3</sup> This statue was supposedly kept in the yard of George Washington's estate, Mount Vernon. Although there is no firm evidence of

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<sup>2</sup> Nielsen, Euell A. "Graves, Jocko (1764-1776)." *Black Past*, 28 Apr. 2017, [www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/](http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/). 3 Feb. 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Nielsen, Euell A. "Graves, Jocko (1764-1776)." *Black Past*, 28 Apr. 2017, [www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/](http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/). 3 Feb. 2019.

this tale being fact, no one can fully write the legend off as fiction either.<sup>4</sup> This heroic tale gives the lawn jockey a new life of courage and makes it an image of pride for the African-American community.

### **The Lawn Jockey as a Symbol of the Tragedy of Racial Oppression**

The tragic element of the lawn jockey is evident in every bit of its demeanor. Between the dark black skin, protruding lips, and frankly dumb expression, this small statue shows the place people of color were forced into during slavery. In addition, the jockey holds out its hand as if it cannot wait to take the reins of its master's tired horse. This statue was also used as a piece of lawn décor by the upper white class, which was simply a display of their power over their beaten slaves.<sup>5</sup>

Many commentators see this racist stereotyping as the primary, and perhaps the only, meaning of the lawn jockey's symbolism. "I cannot go more than five minutes in any direction without seeing a waist high, black lawn statue, dressed in jockey's clothing, holding one hand waiting for the reins of a horse, with blood red lips, wild darting eyes, a large flat nose, and a stooped back" (Pilgrim). Wrote David Pilgrim, curator of the Jim Crow Museum, which catalogs and collects racist imagery from America's past. Mr. Pilgrim has unsuccessfully attempted to find the designer of the lawn jockey or the company that first received a patent, and ultimately concluded that the origins no longer matter. "They may not have started out with a racist meaning – or always had that meaning – but that is the meaning they have today . . . it

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<sup>4</sup> Pilgrim, David "Lawn Jockeys." *Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Ferris State University, Jul. 2018, [www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm](http://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm). 22 Jan. 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Nielsen, Euell A. "Graves, Jocko (1764-1776)." *Black Past*, 28 Apr. 2017, [www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/](http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/). 3 Feb. 2019.

would be hard for an adult American to claim that he or she does not know that many African Americans find lawn jockeys racially offensive”(Pilgrim).

But others disagree. Marchel’le Barber is an African American who sells lawn jockeys and other African-American collectibles in the Chicago area.<sup>6</sup> “The best way to understand our history and our images is to educate ourselves about it” (Sherrod), said Barber, who keeps a lawn jockey in her office as a reminder of African-Americans’ survival and perseverance.

### **The Lawn Jockey as a Symbol of the Triumph of the Underground Railroad**

Fortunately, the lawn jockey’s tale ends in triumph, not tragedy. Unbeknownst to most people, the lawn jockey may have played a significant role in the Underground Railroad. The Underground Railroad was a secret network of people who assisted escaped slaves to freedom in Canada (or other free areas) by ushering them from house to house and providing necessities along the way.<sup>7</sup> These were courageous people, “who refused to believe that human slavery and human decency could exist together in the same land” (Blockson, *National Geographic*, 9). These agents of the Underground Railroad used lawn jockeys as a lookout or signal of sorts.

The leading historian exploring the role of the lawn jockey on the Underground Railroad is Charles L. Blockson, curator of the Afro-American Collection at Temple University in Philadelphia. Mr. Blockson is the great-grandson of a slave who escaped to Canada on the Underground Railroad, and traced his ancestor’s route in the early 1980s. During the course of his research, Mr. Blockson discovered that a lawn jockey had played a key role. The wife of U.S. District Judge Benjamin Piatt had tied a flag to a lawn jockey at her home to signal a safe stop on

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<sup>6</sup> Sherrod, Pamela. “The Secret Life of the Black Lawn Jockey.” *Chicago Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1998, [www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html](http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html). 19 Jan. 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Malaspina, Ann. *The Underground Railroad*. Chelsea House Publishers, C. 2010.

the Railroad that once housed his great-grandfather.<sup>8</sup> “If the manikin held a flag, runaways were welcomed; if the flag was missing, the judge was at home and fugitives must pass on” (Blockson, *National Geographic*, 15). After Mr. Blockson’s surprising discovery, other researchers have delved into the role the lawn jockey played on the Underground Railroad, marking safety and hope instead of denigration and oppression. It is said that, at some stops on the Railroad, if the lawn jockey had a green ribbon tied around its wrist, then the house was safe to enter; however, if the lawn jockey had a red ribbon tied round its wrist, the house was not safe or possibly full.<sup>9</sup> There were other signals, too. For example, if the jockey was holding an American flag it could indicate safety or if the statue was dressed in a striped shirt the escapee could get a horse.<sup>10</sup> Historians have had to piece together this evidence bit by bit because of the secret nature of the Underground Railroad while it was running and the scant written record of how it operated.

This new understanding completely upset the role and symbolism of the lawn jockey. What once was a belittling symbol to all people of color now became a sign of hope for slaves or for those later battling racial oppression. Many, like Blockson and Barber, have embraced the lawn jockey as a symbol of pride for African-Americans, representing perseverance and the strength of the human spirit to overcome oppression, even by using the very tools of the oppressor.

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<sup>8</sup> Kunkle, Fredrick. “In a Simple Lawn Ornament, Echoes of Slavery, Revolution.” *The Washington Post*, 17 Sep. 2006, [www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2006/09/17/in-a-simple-lawn-ornament-echoes-of-slavery-revolution/b8471bf9-704e-4fda-b3d2-37b8d6c4d8f3/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.622cc74289c6](http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2006/09/17/in-a-simple-lawn-ornament-echoes-of-slavery-revolution/b8471bf9-704e-4fda-b3d2-37b8d6c4d8f3/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.622cc74289c6). Accessed 18 Jan. 2019; Blockson, Charles. “Escape from Slavery: The Underground Railroad.” *National Geographic*, Vol. 166, No. 1, July 1984, pp. 14-15.

<sup>9</sup> Nielsen, Euell A. “Graves, Jocko (1764-1776).” *Black Past*, 28 Apr. 2017, [www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/](http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/). 3 Feb. 2019.

<sup>10</sup> Nielsen, Euell A. “Graves, Jocko (1764-1776).” *Black Past*, 28 Apr. 2017, [www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/](http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/). 3 Feb. 2019.

“There’s a spirituality about the path that was taken to bring African-Americans to freedom. When you visit the stops along the way of the Underground Railroad you still feel it. It’s there. It’s not the kind of thing you can show somebody. It’s the kind of thing either you feel or you don’t” (Sherrod).

### **The Controversial Legacy of the Lawn Jockey**

Views on lawn jockeys teeter totter between seeing a symbol of racist denigration and a symbol of the triumph of the human spirit over oppression. It’s remarkable that a small lawn ornament could carry so much meaning on its back. The tragedy and the triumph woven through the history of the lawn jockey color the way people today view these statues today and reverberate in the continuing dialogue on race relations in America.

People legitimately disagree on how the lawn jockey should be viewed. Some strongly believe that the lawn jockey is simply a tragic reminder of the slavery present in pre-Civil War America and the legacy of racism. They believe that lawn jockeys are highly offensive to any person of color. And they doubt whether the lawn jockey had any significant role in the Underground Railroad.<sup>11</sup> Others see the lawn jockey as a source of pride for the African-American community and a reminder of the perseverance of the human spirit. These people often admire young Jocko for his heroic sacrifice and also remember those on the Underground Railroad who risked their lives to find freedom or to gain freedom for others.<sup>12</sup> No matter the view, there is no denying that the lawn jockey has a subtle and often overlooked impact on

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<sup>11</sup> Pilgrim, David “Lawn Jockeys.” *Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Ferris State University, Jul. 2018, [www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm](http://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm). 22 Jan. 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Sherrod, Pamela. “The Secret Life of the Black Lawn Jockey.” *Chicago Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1998, [www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html](http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html). 19 Jan. 2019.

society in America today, as people see these symbols and draw silent conclusions about their meaning.

Mr. Blockson has a lawn jockey in his collection at Temple University, greeting visitors at Sullivan Hall. The statue sometimes shocks visitors, but “their look of confusion begins to change when they read the description at its base” (Sherrod). Likewise, reading the historical twists and turns of this complicated symbol might leave people with a conclusion different from their first impression. For a growing number, the lawn jockey now serves as a triumphant reminder of the resilience of the human spirit, showing how people can overcome their oppressors in the subtlest of ways. By taking a symbol often intended to antagonize and put slaves in their place and making it a new sign of hope for those escaping servitude, the brave souls on the Underground Railroad re-defined the meaning of the lawn jockey while re-defining their lives.

In a way, the story of the lawn jockey has come full circle. It reputedly began with the courage and sacrifice shown by young Jocko Graves whose passion and hope for change overruled any fear for his own well being. Over time the lawn jockey became a tool of humiliation that many whites intended with its grotesque features. Then the lawn jockey played a remarkable role as a sentinel on the Underground Railroad, helping torn down slaves overcome their set fates of work, pain, and death to achieve the life of freedom they had long deserved. Today, people must choose which chapter of the lawn jockey’s story they embrace.



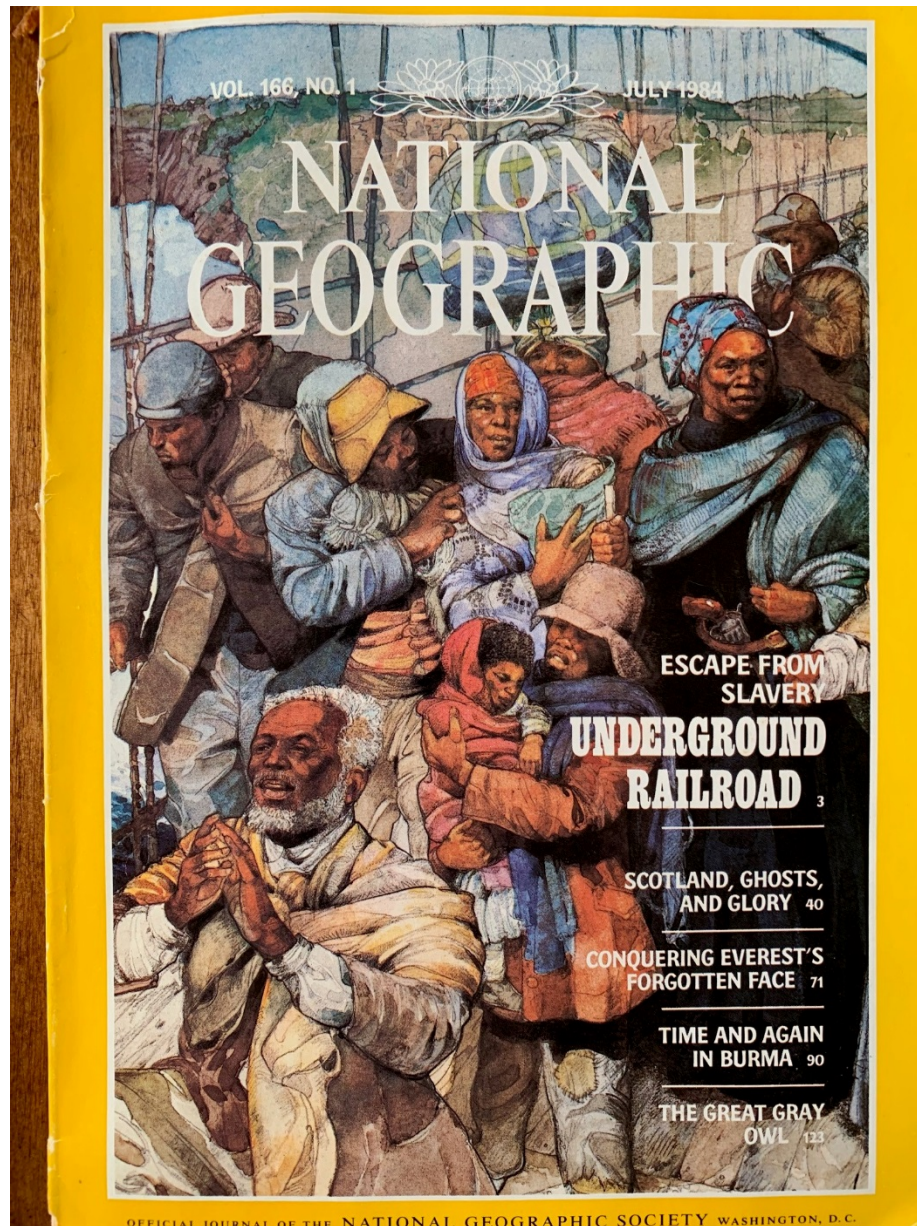
## Appendix A:



This image from the Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia at Ferris State University displays the typical black lawn jockey style of exaggerated, stereotypical features – very dark skin, protruding red lips, wide eyes and outstretched arm. This lawn jockey holds a lantern, possibly as a reference to the Jocko Graves story.

Pilgrim, David. “Lawn Jockeys.” *Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Ferris State University, Jul. 2018, [www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm](http://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm). 22 Jan. 2019.

Appendix B:



This is the cover of the National Geographic issue in which Charles Blockson recounts tracing his ancestors' journey on the Underground Railroad. In this article he details his discovery that the lawn jockey played an unlikely but pivotal role as a signal at one station along his great-grandfather, James Blockson's, journey.

Blockson, Charles. "Escape from Slavery: The Underground Railroad." *National Geographic*, Vol. 166, No. 1, July 1984, pp. 3-39.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources:

**Eglin, Harriet. "A Letter from Harriet Eglin to William Still." *The African-American Experience*, Primary Source Media, 1999. American Journey. U.S. History in Context, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/EJ2152000550/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHC&id=3ac0b113>. Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.**

This primary source document is a letter written by a former slave, Harriet Eglin, to one of the conductors on the Underground Railroad, William Still, who had assisted her through the railroad to Canada. In the letter she tells Mr. Still that she is now safe, free, and that another family with whom she was travelling has reached freedom with her. In addition, she asks about some friends who she knew were in trouble for helping her, and she asks about another slave who was in this conductor's house while she was there. This source was incredible in showing that, although spread out, the people who were involved in the Underground Railroad were a tight-knit community who truly cared about one another's well-being. This letter was extremely inspiring and full of gratitude, and gave me a better understanding of the close relationships formed on the Underground Railroad.

**"From Old Kentucky." *The Liberator*, 19 Aug. 1853, Page 1. [www.newspapers.com/clip/23289783/various\\_accounts\\_of\\_slaves\\_escaping\\_to/](http://www.newspapers.com/clip/23289783/various_accounts_of_slaves_escaping_to/). Accessed 31 Jan. 2019.**

This anti-slavery article is written by *The Liberator*, one of the most influential newspapers of the time. This is a true success story of the Underground Railroad. Eight women were able to safely escape to Canada. The family, a mother and seven daughters including one infant, were able to stay together through their escape and all were kept safe. In addition,

this article mentions another four people who were able to escape from Kentucky and make their way safely to Canada. This article gave me insight into how many people the Underground Railroad could help, and the article also assisted me in realizing what a big impact this could make for slaves all through the South.

**“Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.” *Lillian Goldman Law Library*, Yale Law School, 18 Sep. 1850, [avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/fugitive.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/fugitive.asp). Accessed 8 Jan. 2019.**

This source is the original *Fugitive Slave Act of 1850*. This law made it possible for owners to retrieve their slaves even when they had escaped to a state that did not allow slavery. When this act was established it made it much more challenging for escaping slaves because their only option now to become truly free was to get all the way to Canada. This document gave me insight into the government mentality at this time and explained why slaves had to journey all the way to Canada.

**Jones, Louisa F. "A Letter from Louisa F. Jones to William Still." *The African-American Experience*, Primary Source Media, 1999. American Journey. U.S. History in Context, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/EJ2152000553/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHIC&xid=a7d0b859>. Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.**

This is another letter written by an escaped slave, Louisa F. Jones, also to William Still, a conductor on the Underground Railroad. She tells Mr. Still of her travels through the Underground Railroad and that she has not yet reached Canada. She talks very highly of all the people who have helped her and names them all, showing a lack of fear at being discovered. Also, she tells him that she accidentally left with one of his wife's

handkerchiefs and that she will keep it as a treasure to remember them by. This letter showed me how loyal and thankful these escaped slaves were to all who helped them.

**Pipkins, Jefferson. "A Letter from Jefferson Pipkins to William Still." *The African-American Experience*, Primary Source Media, 1999. American Journey. U.S. History in Context, [link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/EJ2152000549/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHIC&xid=24a79d38](http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/EJ2152000549/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHIC&xid=24a79d38). Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.**

This is another letter written by an escaped slave, Jefferson Pipkins, to William Still. He is safe in Canada, but was separated from his children during his slavery and is determined to find them and be reunited. He notes the location where his children are in slavery and asks that they are brought to him as soon as possible. This letter helped me to recognize that families were constantly separated and the determination they felt to be reunited.

**"The 'Underground Railroad.'" *The Raleigh Register*, 14 May 1853, Page 2.**

***Newspapers.com*, [www.newspapers.com/clip/23285316/negative\\_opinion\\_of\\_the\\_underground/](http://www.newspapers.com/clip/23285316/negative_opinion_of_the_underground/). Accessed 13 Jan. 2019.**

This is a newspaper article written at the time of the Underground Railroad by a pro-slavery newspaper. It states that slaves simply did not know what was in their best interest. It frames the Underground Railroad as a group of crazy radicals who must be stopped. This article was very helpful in giving me both sides of the story.

**“Through Train from Old Virginia.” *The Liberator*, 19 Aug. 1853, Page 1. [www.newspapers.com/clip/23289783/various\\_accounts\\_of\\_slaves\\_escaping\\_to/](http://www.newspapers.com/clip/23289783/various_accounts_of_slaves_escaping_to/).**

**Accessed 31 Jan. 2019.**

This is a newspaper article from *The Liberator* which was one of the most popular anti-slavery newspapers during the Underground Railroad. It tells of a mother who has used the Underground Railroad to escape from her plantation. She was re-united with her infant child when she escaped and it speaks of the joy she experienced as a result. In addition, she successfully escaped to Canada, where she is free, and sent a message to her previous master through this newspaper that she did not enjoy her time on his plantation. This enabled me to have perspective into the ability the Underground Railroad had to reunite desperate families who were in terrible circumstances.

**“Underground Railroad.” *The Liberator*, 1 Oct. 1852, Page 3. *Newspapers.com*, [www.newspapers.com/clip/23293249/family\\_of\\_15\\_slaves\\_is\\_helped\\_to/](http://www.newspapers.com/clip/23293249/family_of_15_slaves_is_helped_to/). Accessed 13 Jan. 2019.**

This newspaper article, also from the time of the Underground Railroad, speaks very highly of the Underground Railroad. It tells of fifteen slaves who were successfully brought into Canada. It also mentions the rarity of any problem or capture once a slave is on the railroad. This was helpful for me to see the mentality of those supporting the Underground Railroad, and that they had little fear or worry about the functionality of the line.

Secondary Sources:

**Blockson, Charles. “Escape from Slavery: The Underground Railroad.” *National Geographic*, Vol. 166, No. 1, July 1984, pp. 3-39.**

This source is the National Geographic article that Charles Blockson published regarding his research. The article discusses the Underground Railroad in extensive detail. In the article, Blockson shares details of his great-grandfather’s journey on the Underground Railroad. He includes the key role that the lawn jockey played as a signal for his great-grandfather at one station on his way to freedom. This article informed my understanding of the important role of the lawn jockey on the Underground Railroad.

**Blockson, Charles. *The Underground Railroad*. Prentice Hall Press, 1987.**

This is Charles Blockson’s book on the Underground Railroad. It includes first-hand accounts from many different escaped slaves, including his great-grandfather’s cousin, Jacob Blockson. William Still recorded Jacob Blockson’s thoughts on escape: “I made up my mind that I did not want to be sold like a horse . . . so when I started I resolved to die sooner than I would be taken back.” Reading these courageous slaves’ recollections was humbling. These accounts gave me understanding that these people were so beaten down that they wished for death or freedom. This perspective assisted me in understanding that when people were in such a desperate situation they were driven to take extraordinary risks to escape.

**Chalakoski, Martin. “The controversial lawn jockey: A memory of the American Revolution, the Underground Railroad, or something else entirely.” *The Vintage***

**News, 25 Feb. 2018, [www.thevintagenews.com/2018/02/25/lawn-jockey/](http://www.thevintagenews.com/2018/02/25/lawn-jockey/). Accessed 22 Jan. 2019.**

This is an article written about the modern day views of the lawn jockey. This source discusses positive and negative views of the lawn jockey in depth and gives the pros and cons of both views. It also uses quotes and statements from many experts on the topic. This article assisted me in my understanding of both opinions.

**Cobb, James C. "One of America's Worst Laws Was Passed 165 Years Ago." *Time*, 18 Sep. 2015, [time.com/4039140/fugitive-slave-act-165/](http://time.com/4039140/fugitive-slave-act-165/). Accessed 8 Jan. 2019.**

This article is about the *Fugitive Slave Act of 1850*. It expresses how instead of decreasing the amount of escaped slaves the Act sparked rebellion and outrage in the North, ultimately fueling the Underground Railroad and Civil War. This article helped point out to me the desperate measures paranoid slave owners took which ultimately backfired on them.

**Hillstrom, Kevin, and Laurie Collier Hillstrom. "Frederick Douglass." *American Civil War Reference Library*, edited by Lawrence W. Baker, vol. 4: Primary Sources, UXL, 2000, pp. 29-36. U.S. History in Context, [link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/CX3410500114/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHIC&xid=5e805d6c](http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/CX3410500114/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHIC&xid=5e805d6c). Accessed 29 Nov. 2018.**

This article tells a very abbreviated history of Frederick Douglas and focuses on his speech, "The American Apocalypse." The speech pleads for the government to abolish slavery in order to preserve humanity. This showed me the bravery of the slaves who escaped and refused to have their voices silenced.



**History.com Editors. "Underground Railroad." *HISTORY*, A&E Television Networks, 29 Oct. 2009, [www.history.com/topics/black-history/underground-railroad](http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/underground-railroad). Accessed 29 Nov. 2018.**

This article gives a broad overview of the Underground Railroad and its effects. It also focuses in on certain figures who were extremely important to the success of the Underground Railroad, like Harriet Tubman. This article helped me understand the context and time period.

**Kunkle, Fredrick. "In a Simple Lawn Ornament, Echoes of Slavery, Revolution." *The Washington Post*, 17 Sep. 2006, [www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2006/09/17/in-a-simple-lawn-ornament-echoes-of-slavery-revolution/b8471bf9-704e-4fda-b3d2-37b8d6c4d8f3/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.622cc74289c6](http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2006/09/17/in-a-simple-lawn-ornament-echoes-of-slavery-revolution/b8471bf9-704e-4fda-b3d2-37b8d6c4d8f3/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.622cc74289c6). Accessed 18 Jan. 2019.**

This article from the Washington Post discusses the background of Charles Blockson, the first researcher to discover the connection between lawn jockeys and the Underground Railroad, and the way people react to Mr. Blockson's inclusion of lawn jockeys in his collection of African-American historical artifacts. I used this article for its discussion of Mr. Blockson and the current debate on the meaning of the lawn jockey.

**Malaspina, Ann. *The Underground Railroad*. Chelsea House Publishers, C. 2010.**

This book covers many topics of the Underground Railroad in depth, although the true treasures are the pictures and timeline. It includes an in-depth timeline of slavery in America, pictures of slaves who had been mistreated, and pictures of the houses and hiding places for escaped slaves. This source allowed me to appreciate the terrible lives slaves led, leading them to be desperate for freedom, and the context and overall story of the Underground Railroad. I used this source for the general historical context in my paper.

**Nielsen, Euell A. "Graves, Jocko (1764-1776)." *Black Past*, 28 Apr. 2017, [www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/](http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/graves-jocko-1764-1776/). Accessed 3 Feb. 2019.**

This source told the story of Jocko Graves, the boy who inspired the original lawn jockey. It gives great detail and is very specific about the events that occurred leading up to Jocko's death. This source helped me to see the immense history hidden behind the small lawn jockey. I used this source in my paper to re-tell the story of Jocko Graves.

**Obama, Barack. "Presidential Proclamation – Harriet Tubman Underground Railroad National Monument." *The White House: President Barack Obama*, 25 Mar. 2013, [obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/03/25/presidential-proclamation-harriet-tubman-underground-railroad-national-m](http://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/03/25/presidential-proclamation-harriet-tubman-underground-railroad-national-m). Accessed 16 Jan. 2019.**

This is a presidential proclamation made by Barack Obama. In this statement, he speaks of Harriet Tubman, her background, her life, her effect on the Underground Railroad and the United States. He dedicated a monument to her, her life's work, and in remembrance of

the Underground Railroad. This proclamation assisted me in seeing the impact the Underground Railroad has had even to this day.

**Pilgrim, David. "Lawn Jockeys." *Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Ferris State University, Jul. 2018, [www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm](http://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2008/july.htm). Accessed 22 Jan. 2019.**

This article focuses on the modern day views of the lawn jockey, viewing the lawn jockey as a singularly racist symbol. Mr. Pilgrim gives an articulate explanation by someone who sees the lawn jockey as a derogatory symbol in the African-American community. This article helped me to understand the perspective of someone who is inherently offended by the sight of a lawn jockey. I used this article to represent the perspective of those who view the lawn jockey as a symbol of tragedy that is not redeemed by the more positive aspects of its history.

**Sherrod, Pamela. "The Secret Life of the Black Lawn Jockey." *Chicago Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1998, [www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html](http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-02-08-9802080499-story.html). Accessed 19 Jan. 2019.**

This article discusses the use of the lawn jockey on the Underground Railroad and mentions some original lawn jockeys people can see today. The article discusses specific signals that could be used on the Underground Railroad through lawn jockeys. It has a very positive view and looks at lawn jockeys as a reminder of how far humanity has come. This article also helped me realize the complexity of the systems of the Underground

Railroad. I used this article extensively for its discussion of specific ways lawn jockeys were used on the Underground Railroad.

**Sugrue, Seana. "Civil Disobedience." *American Governance*, edited by Stephen Schechter, et al., vol. 1, Macmillan Reference USA, 2016, pp. 283-286. U.S. History in Context, [link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/CX3629100116/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHIC&xid=9678c270](http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/CX3629100116/UHIC?u=pike&sid=UHIC&xid=9678c270). Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.**

This source defined civil disobedience and related it to the Underground Railroad, discussing the choice between abiding by the law versus doing what is morally correct. This source gave me insight into the danger people put themselves in to do what they believed to be morally correct.

**"The Underground Railroad." *National Underground Railroad Freedom Center*, [freedomcenter.org/enabling-freedom/history](http://freedomcenter.org/enabling-freedom/history). Accessed 16 Jan. 2019.**

This source gave a broad overview of the Underground Railroad, weighing the risk conductors and fugitive slaves were taking to the possible reward. This source helped me see the big picture and understand overall how the Underground Railroad functioned.

**Walters, Kerry. *A Reference Guide: The Underground Railroad*. ABC-CLIO, 2012.**

This book was extremely detailed and carefully written. It included numerous photographs and maps. The maps were extremely helpful in my research. They enabled me to see how widespread the Underground Railroad was throughout its life.