

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

FRIEND JAMES MOTT



“NARRATIVE HISTORY” IS FABULATION, HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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1698

[Friend Joanna Slocomb Mott](#) came to [Nantucket Island](#) to preach.¹

1. She would be the ancestor of [Friend James Mott](#).



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1793

June: [Friend Elias Hicks](#) of Long Island visited the monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#).²

This was part of [Friend](#) Elias's 14th ministry journey. That summer he was traveling with the young [James Mott](#), Jr., future bridegroom of the newborn Lucretia Coffin.

LUCRETIA MOTT



On this long journey, he had gone from the Jericho meetinghouse on *Paumanok* Long Island (still extant, pictured above) across the sound to Port Chester meeting, up the Connecticut shore to Stamford meeting, on up the shore to Stonington meeting, into [Rhode Island](#) to the [Westerly](#) meeting, up to the meetings in and around [Providence](#) and Taunton, back down and round through the [Newport](#) meeting and the [New Bedford MA](#) meeting to the Falmouth meeting, and at this point out to the meeting on [Nantucket Island](#). He would continue back up across Cape Cod to the Sandwich meeting and on up along the South Shore to the Scituate meeting, and on to the [Boston](#) area and the Salem meeting, and north to the Newburyport MA and Hampton and Dover NH meetings, and on to the Portland ME meeting, and beyond that crossing the “great river Kennebeck” twice and reaching to the Fairfield and Winthrop meetings, and then the Pittsfield NH meeting, and then back down into Massachusetts and to [Boston](#), visiting again some meetings already preached at and attending New England [Yearly Meeting](#), and then striking west presumably through [Concord](#), over to the

2. Other famous-name visitors to [Nantucket Island](#): John Easton, former [Rhode Island](#) deputy governor, [Metacom](#), sachem of the [Wampanoag](#), Frederick Douglass, and [Henry Thoreau](#).



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North Adams meeting in the north-west corner of Massachusetts, and up through Vermont to the Sharon, Hanover, and Vergennes meetings, and up across Lake Champlain to the Grand Isle meeting, and then back down through Vergennes again to the meetings in Saratoga and Albany and Hudson NY, and then back home to Jericho by way of the Brooklyn meeting of New-York. Total mileage they would put on their horses during this traveling season: 2,283 miles. During this absence his child Sarah would be born, and the two traveling ministers by November had spoken at about 123 meetings.

It was at some point during this year that Friend Elias's young orphaned relative, [Edward Hicks](#) who had been taken into the Quaker household of David and Elizabeth Lewis Twining, having reached the age of 13, was being put out as an apprentice to the Tomlinson brothers, coachmakers in Attleborough.




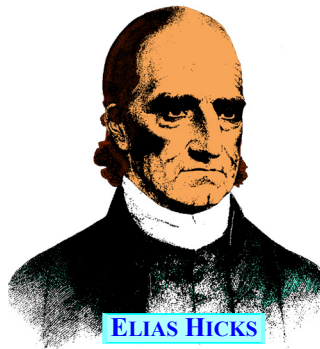
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1805

 [Friend Lucretia Coffin](#) began her career (first as student, then as teacher) at the coeducational boarding school³ at Nine Partners northeast of Poughkeepsie, New York, Friend Elias being one of the partners and a frequent visiting speaker,



ELIAS HICKS

and [Friend James Mott, Jr.](#) being one of the teachers.



3. Even as late as 1857, even as libertarian a person as Walt Whitman would be using his editorial privileges at the Brooklyn Daily Times to urge the parents of daughters to “Educate them at home” rather than in such schools, in order to avoid the “thousand evil influences” to which girls are inherently so much more susceptible.



Our father Walt Whitman, despite his self-advertisements and the dogmatic insistences of our contemporary gays, seems to have embraced only himself.



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At fourteen years of age I was placed with a younger sister, at the Friends' Boarding-School, in Dutchess County, State of New York; and continued there for more than two years without returning home. At fifteen, one of the teachers was leaving the school, I was chosen as an assistant, in her place. Pleased with the promotion, I strove hard to give satisfaction, and was gratified, on leaving the school, to have an offer of a situation as teacher, if I was disposed to remain, and informed that my services should entitle another sister to her education without charge. My father was, at that time, in successful business in Boston; but with his views of the importance of training a woman to usefulness, he and my mother gave their consent to another year being devoted to that institution.

LUCRETIA MOTT



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





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1809



Spring: [Friend Lucretia Coffin](#) completed her teaching period at the Nine Partners school in Dutchess County, New York State and went to join her family, which had recently moved from Boston to Philadelphia. Another of the teachers at the Nine Partners school, [Friend James Mott](#), either followed her to Philadelphia or came there with her, and they would be married:

In the spring of 1809, I joined our family in Philadelphia, after their removal there. At the early age of eighteen, I married James Mott, of New York – an attachment formed while at boarding-school. He came to Philadelphia and entered into business with my father. The fluctuation in the commercial world for several years following our marriage, owing to the embargo, and the war of 1812, the death of my father, and the support of a family of five children devolving on my mother, surrounded us with difficulties. We resorted to various modes of obtaining a comfortable living; at one time engaged in the retail dry goods business, then resuming the charge of a school, and for another year was engaged in teaching. These trials, in early life, were not without their good effect in disciplining the mind, and leading it to set a just estimate on worldly pleasures. I, however, always loved the good, in childhood desired to do the right, and had no faith in the generally received idea of human depravity. My sympathy was early enlisted for the poor slave, by the class-books read in our schools, and the pictures of the slave-ship, as published by Clarkson. The ministry of Elias Hicks and others, on the subject of the unrequited labor of slaves, and their example in refusing the products of slave labor, all had their effect in awakening a strong feeling in their behalf. The unequal condition of women in society also early impressed my mind. Learning, while at school, that the charge for the education of girls was the same as that for boys, and that when they became teachers, women received but half as much as men for their services, the injustice of this was so apparent, that I early resolved to claim for my sex all that an



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impartial Creator had bestowed.

LUCRETIA MOTT





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1811



Two teachers from the Nine Partners school, [Friend James Mott, Jr.](#) and [Friend Lucretia Coffin](#), were wed in the First Day Meeting for Worship at the Southern District Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at 2d and Pine Streets, Philadelphia.⁴

I, _____ take thee _____
to be my wife/husband promising with divine assistance
to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband/a true and
loving wife so long as we both shall live.

*"I, James Mott take thee Lucretia Coffin to be my wife
promising with divine assistance to be unto thee a
loving and faithful husband so long as we both shall
live."*

*"I, Lucretia Coffin take thee James Mott to be my
husband promising with divine assistance to be unto
thee a true and loving wife so long as we both shall
live."*

JAMES MOTT

LUCRETIA MOTT

At the early age of eighteen, I married James Mott, of New York – an attachment formed while at boarding-school. He came to Philadelphia and entered into business with my father. The fluctuation in the commercial world for several years following our marriage, owing to the embargo, and the [War of 1812](#), the death of my father, and the support of a family of five children devolving on my mother, surrounded us with difficulties. We resorted to various modes of obtaining a comfortable living; at one time engaged in the retail dry goods business, then resuming the charge of a school, and for another year was engaged in teaching. These trials, in early life, were not without their good effect in disciplining the mind, and leading it to set a just estimate on worldly pleasures. I, however, always loved the good, in childhood desired to do the right, and had no faith in the generally received idea of human depravity. My sympathy was

4. One need not wonder whether there was PC political correctness and true parallelism in the 19th Century between a phrase such as “loving and faithful” as applied to a male and a phrase such as “true and loving” as applied to a female, because the evidence of the lives speaks louder than any words. It is a fact that people sometimes spoke of [Friend James Mott](#) as “Mr. Lucretia Mott” in mockery of the obvious parallelism in their marriage (Hey, people would address Joe DiMaggio as Mr. Marilyn Monroe, so go figure), and it is a fact that there is on record no sort of response either from Lucretia or from James. I might mention also that [Friend Lucretia Mott](#)’s attitude toward marriage was that it was a sacred union having nothing whatever to do with any laws or scraps of paper that governments used in attempts to regulate it. She and James had a beautiful parchment wedding certificate, signed in the Quaker manner by all those present at the ceremony, but much later it was discovered that at one point in her married life Lucretia had needed a piece of tough paper to patch a child’s toy, so she had casually snipped off one of the corners of this certificate with her sewing scissors.



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early enlisted for the poor slave, by the class-books read in our schools, and the pictures of the slave-ship, as published by Clarkson. The ministry of [Elias Hicks](#) and others, on the subject of the unrequited labor of slaves, and their example in refusing the products of slave labor, all had their effect in awakening a strong feeling in their behalf. The unequal condition of women in society also early impressed my mind. Learning, while at school, that the charge for the education of girls was the same as that for boys, and that when they became teachers, women received but half as much as men for their services, the injustice of this was so apparent, that I early resolved to claim for my sex all that an impartial Creator had bestowed.



Between 1812 and 1828 Lucretia would bear six children, five of whom would survive to adulthood.



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1825



At some point during the early 1820s, which is to say, by this point in time, in Philadelphia, [Friend James Mott, Jr.](#), newly married to Lucretia, had been put in the Arch Street jail for failure to pay a fine for failing to have appeared to perform militia service. (Without his knowledge or consent, his fine of 50 cents had been paid for him by an unknown person.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.



FRIEND JAMES MOTT

JAMES MOTT

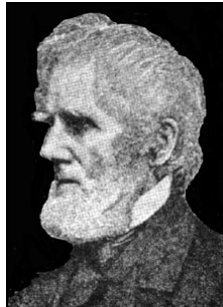
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1829



Late in the year: Early in this year, Abigail Ballou had died after giving birth to a daughter, Abbie. Later in the year the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) became so ill his life was at risk, but he was nursed back to health by Lucy Hunt (1810-1891), daughter of a prominent family in the Milford congregation. A few months after this recovery the two of them would wed, with the Reverend Hosea Ballou II officiating at the ceremony.

Earlier that fall William Lloyd Garrison had attacked a Newburyport MA slave trader by the name of Francis Todd, for transporting about 80 slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans. Having declared in print that such a person ought to be placed in solitary confinement for the remainder of his natural life, Garrison was sued for libel by the [State of Maryland](#) acting on behalf of Mr. Todd, and his sentence was a fine of \$100.⁰⁰ which he was unable to pay, and so he was thrown into prison and, his 4th failure as a newspaper editor, his newspaper ceased publication. However, the warden of the prison was allowing the former editor to have pencil and paper and to have visitors, so he used the last of his business's funds to have published a tract titled "A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison." After 49 days of incarceration Arthur Tappan paid Garrison's fine and



he went on the lecture circuit with an immediatist anti-colonization approach to the elimination of slavery. While lecturing in Philadelphia he was staying in the home of Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#).





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1833

➡ December: Abba Alcott, wife of [Bronson Alcott](#) and again-pregnant mommy of an infant author-to-be, helped Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and [Harriet Purvis](#), the wife of [Robert Purvis](#), form the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia.



Eventually Abba would be a member of three such antislavery societies, not only this one in Philadelphia but also the ones that would be formed in Boston and in Concord!

➡ December 4, Wednesday: The Calculational Engine project had soaked up to date some £17,000 in tax revenues, a truly enormous sum of money, and there was nothing whatever to show for it. Charles Babbage ordered his contractor Joseph Clement, as preparations for removal of the engine were completed: To move all parts of the engine except the large platform for the calculating end and the large columns; all the drawings, (the 27 still attached to drawing boards were not be taken off them, the contractor was to include cost of the boards if necessary); all the rough sketches, small notebook on contrivances determined upon and the several loose sheets of mechanical notations of the Calculational Engine; and all the patterns from which castings had been made and thus were no longer required. He was to oil and pack all steel parts to avoid rust, and list the parts remaining at his workshop that were the property of the Government (these materials would be removed in 1843 to King's College, London).

In Philadelphia, a group of black and white male abolitionists organized the American Anti-Slavery Society and Arthur Tappan became its 1st president. The Reverend Samuel Joseph May attended, and William Lloyd



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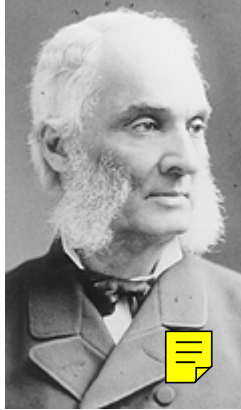
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Garrison, and also [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#), Lewis Tappan and Arthur Tappan, Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), etc. Of the about 60 people in attendance only 21 were members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), because conservative Quakers would have been keeping their distance from all involvement in outside organizations, even those such as this one whose aims they generally greatly respected. The Reverend [Daniel Starr Southmayd](#), not of Concord but “of Lowell, Massachusetts,” was a delegate. On the last day of the meeting, the new society urged that white females should also set up their own auxiliary anti-slavery societies. In that period the claim was being made, that True Womanhood would restrict itself to the home, and this claim was being hotly contested by women who would insist that the True Woman was merely following her natural True Womanly inclination, in seeking to succor the defenseless in such institutions as the Samaritan Asylum for Indigent Colored Children in Boston.

As wives and mothers, as sisters and daughters, we are bound to urge men to cease to do evil.

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There were three blacks present, including a Philadelphia barber and dentist named James McCrummill and the well-to-do [Robert Purvis](#) of Philadelphia — who although he appeared white:



was known locally to be actually not a white man at all.⁵ Purvis signed the Declaration of Sentiments.



5. This would be by way of contrast with Senator Daniel Webster, who was so dark-complected that once he was actually turned away by a commercial establishment that imagined it was dealing with a black American, but who was generally known to be, actually, a white man through and through.



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(Notice that although white men of this period generally feared social contamination by inferior blacks, even an intimate touching, as by a barber, could be permissible, as depicted here in a Virginia barbershop — so long as the relationship was one clearly marked as an intransitive one, between a superior or customer and an inferior or servant.)

There were two or three Unitarians. At one point during the convention a young man at the door was speaking of his desire to dip his hand in Garrison's blood but the Philadelphia police, rather than take such a person into detention, warned the convention organizers that the path of discretion would be for them to meet only during hours of daylight.



Garrison authored the broadside “Declaration of Sentiments” of the meeting (Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention), which under an image of Samson strangling the lion included a renunciation of “the use of carnal weapons” and a declaration that “doing evil that good may come” represented the antithesis of Christian ethics. At one point [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) rose to suggest from the back of the room that in the draft of this resolution, the mention of God be placed before rather than after the mention of the [Declaration of Independence](#). As a woman and a non-delegate she spoke with such diffidence that the chairman had to encourage her. This could very well have been the 1st time that many in the room had heard a woman speak in a public meeting.⁶

After silence in the [Quaker](#) manner, it was time for the actual delegates, that is, the menfolk, to file forward and affix their signatures to the declaration — this would be the signature that Whittier would later say he was more proud of, than of his signature on the title page of any of his books.

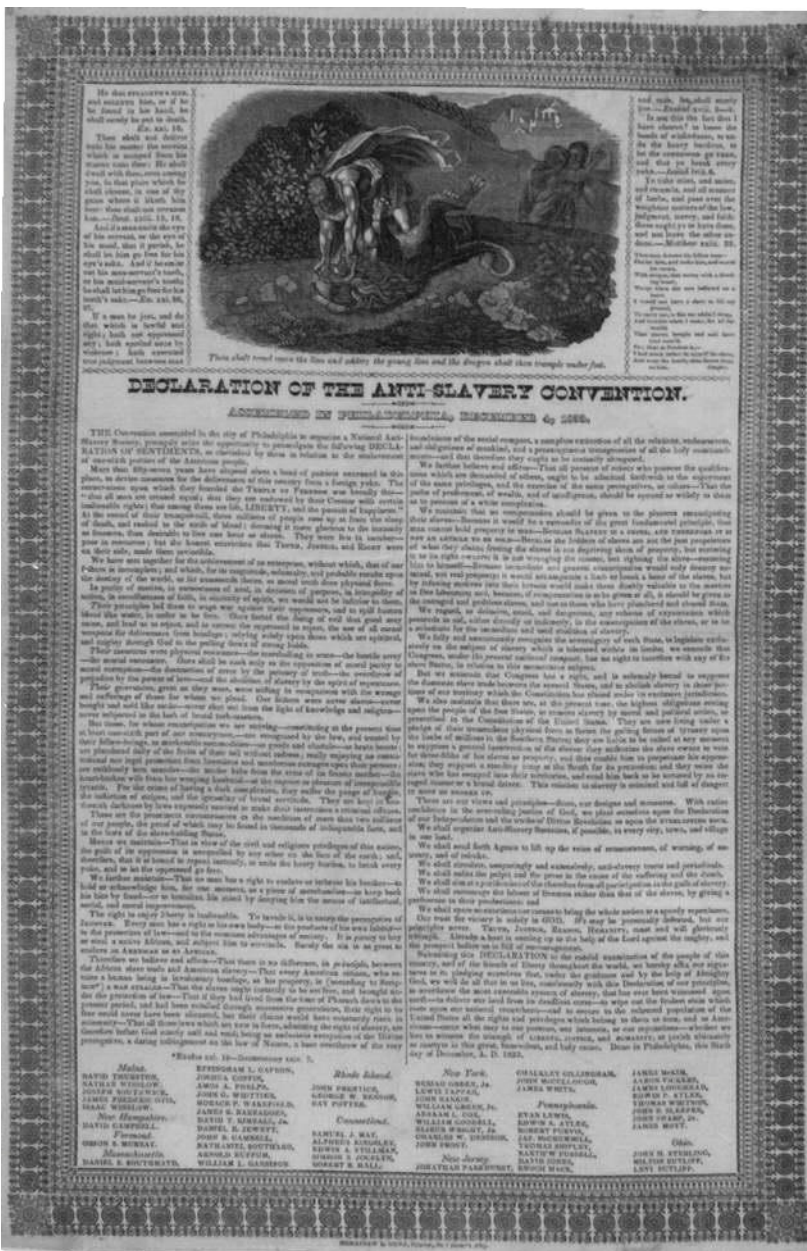
The broadside manifesto “Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention Assembled in Philadelphia, December 4, 1833,” as so nicely illustrated by Rueben S. Gilbert of Merrihew & Gunn (his work excerpted above), announced the reasons for formation of the society and enumerated its goals:

6. As a woman she would not of course have been officially a delegate to this convention, but a mere spectator accompanying her spouse. Of course no-one thought of the idea of having women as delegates, let alone to solicit the signatures of women, nor is it likely that any of the women even contemplated the possibility of a woman's adding her own signature. Such things were not just unheard-of, in this period, but also, very clearly, they went unthought as well. For a woman to have sported a signature would have been like for a woman to have sported a beard. During this month Abba Alcott, pregnant wife of [Bronson Alcott](#) and mother of an infant author-to-be [Louisa May Alcott](#), was helping [Lucretia Mott](#) form the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

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Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society

Whereas the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas, our National Existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the [Declaration of Independence](#), "that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God and the World, nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas, Slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union, and liberties of the States; and whereas, we believe it the duty and interest of the masters immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas, we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation that will be opposed to the continuance of Slavery in any part of the Republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of Slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas, we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of Slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following Constitution: —

ARTICLE I. — This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. — The objects of this Society are the entire abolition of Slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, in which Slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that Slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic Slave trade, and to abolish Slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, -- and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

ARTICLE III. — This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges;



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but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

ARTICLE IV. – Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a Slaveholder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings....

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



JAMES MOTT

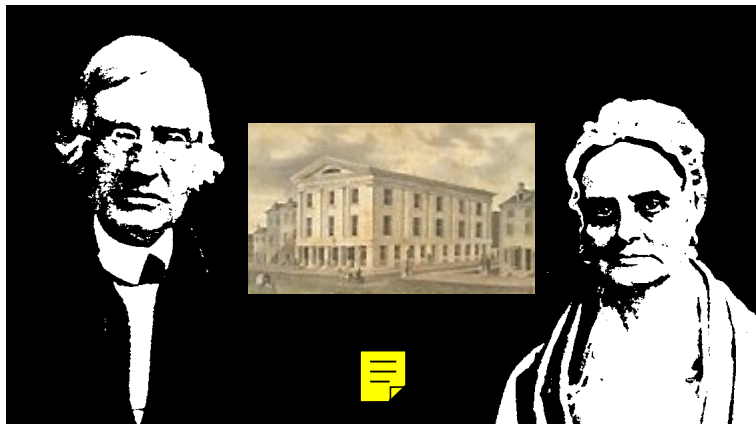
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1836



December: In Philadelphia, due to the general refusal to rent halls for politically unpopular meetings, Friends [James Mott](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) undertook to raise \$40,000.⁰⁰ for the construction of a large new "Pennsylvania Hall."



"I know of no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America."

— Alexis de Tocqueville





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Here the high-powered “executive committee” for Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society which was behind this important hall project center themselves around [Robert Purvis](#), in an 1851 image from the Sophia Smith Collection of Smith College:



In about this timeframe, [Robert Purvis](#) was being chosen by blacks in Philadelphia to deliver the formal eulogy at a memorial observance for Thomas Shipley, whose appearance before the courts had saved hundreds of blacks in Pennsylvania from slavery.



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1838

Friends [Lucretia Mott](#) and [James Mott](#) were living on Long Island.



May 17, Thursday: Dr. Daniel Neall was presiding at the antislavery meeting in Pennsylvania Hall –which had been newly constructed by the abolitionists at a cost of \$40,000.⁰⁰ because of refusal of other hall owners in Philadelphia to rent existing halls–and Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was standing nearby, when glass from the windows showered down, and rioters forced their way onto the platform to declare that the meeting was over:

I am here, the president of this meeting, and I will be torn in pieces before I leave my place at your dictation. Go back to

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those who sent you. I shall do my duty.



Some years after, while visiting in his native State of Delaware, the Doctor would be dragged from the home of some friends to be abused in the street. After these [slaveholders](#) were finished with him, he would tell them that he forgave them — for it was not they but Slavery which had done the wrong.⁷

He would suggest that if they should ever be in Philadelphia and in need of hospitality or aid, they should again call on him. Some years after that, on “6th, 6th month, 1846” to be specific, Friend John would celebrate this hero of gentlemanliness:

DANIEL NEALL.

I.

FRIEND of the Slave, and yet the friend of all;
Lover of peace, yet ever foremost when
The need of battling Freedom called for men
To plant the banner on the outer wall;
Gentle and kindly, ever at distress
Melted to more than woman's tenderness,
Yet firm and steadfast, at his duty's post
Fronting the violence of a maddened host,
Like some-gray rock from which the waves are tossed!
Knowing his deeds of love, men questioned not
The faith of one whose walk and word were right;
Who tranquilly in Life's great task-field wrought,
And, side by side with evil, scarcely caught
A stain upon his pilgrim garb of white:
Prompt to redress another's wrong, his own
Leaving to Time and Truth and Penitence alone.

II.

Such was our friend. Formed on the good old plan,
A true and brave and downright honest man!
He blew no trumpet in the market-place,
Nor in the church with hypocritic face
Supplied with cant the lack of Christian grace;
Loathing pretence, he did with cheerful will
What others talked of while their hands were still;
And, while “Lord, Lord!” the pious tyrants cried,
Who, in the poor, their Master crucified,

His daily prayer, far better understood.

7. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term “slaveholder” as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term “slaveholder” in preference to “slaveowner” not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term “slave.”



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In acts than words, was simply doing good.
So calm, so constant was his rectitude,
That by his loss alone we know its worth,
And feel how true a man has walked with us on earth.

As the delegates left Pennsylvania Hall after the mayor of Philadelphia had demanded the keys and canceled all meetings, at the suggestion of Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) the white women delegates took the arms of the black women delegates in order better to protect them from being grabbed as they passed through the pro-slavery mob of 17,000 Philadelphians outside the doors. Standing on the steps of the hall, the mayor gave his lightly coded instructions to the mob:

WE NEVER CALL OUT THE MILITARY. YOU ARE MY POLICE.

How hard was it for the Philadelphia citizens' mob to figure this? They gave their mayor three cheers and broke down the doors. In addition to piling the plush chairs and adding abolitionist books and papers to these piles, they turned on the illuminating gas to full on to help the building burn brightly.⁸

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was running the newspaper office of the [Pennsylvania Freeman](#)⁹ in the front of the building, on an upper story.

I took charge of the "Pennsylvania Freeman," an organ of the Anti-Slavery Society. My office was sacked and burned by a mob soon after, but I continued my paper until my health failed, when I returned to Massachusetts. The farm in Haverhill had, in the meantime, been sold, and my mother, aunt and youngest sister, had moved to Amesbury MA, near the [Friends](#) Meeting-house, and I took up my residence with them. All this time I had been actively engaged in writing for the anti-slavery cause.

8. About a decade later the Philadelphia County Commissioners would pay almost \$48,000.⁰⁰ in compensation for this torching of Pennsylvania Hall.

9. This is the periodical that, later, would publish UNCLE TOM'S CABIN as a serial.

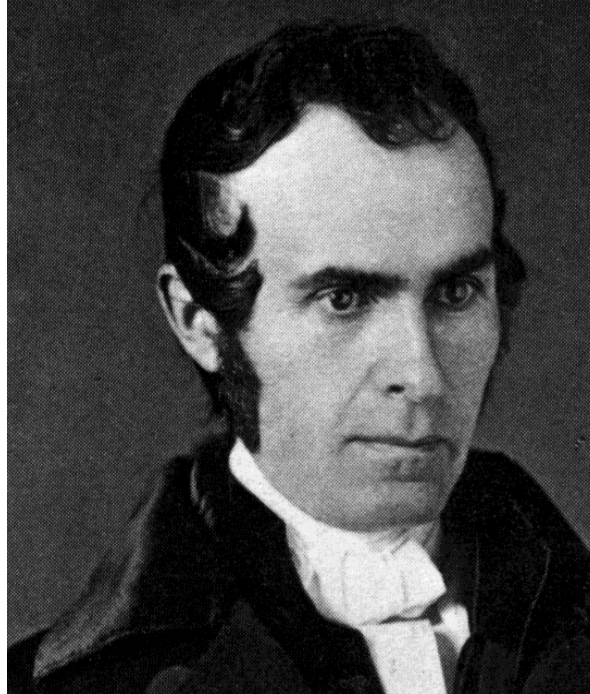


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As the hall burned, volunteer fire brigades pumped streams of water — upon the walls of the surrounding structures to keep them from igniting.



John Greenleaf¹⁰ Whittier

10. According to the [American Methodist Monthly](#), Volume II, page 229, [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was descended from a Fouillevert who had fled from Brittagne to England in the early states of the persecution of Huguenots by the French government.



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Whittier slapped on a wig and an overcoat and managed to get into and out of the building during the commotion, while the building was burning, to retrieve some writings he considered of importance. Some citizens then wanted to continue by torching the home of the Motts, but a friend ran in front of them shouting “On to the Motts!” — and of course led them down the wrong street. While Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) sat unarmed in the parlor of their home, which was on 9th Street between Race and Vine (this was before the Motts moved to 338 Arch Street), waiting the outcome, he led the mob on up Race Street and farther and farther away from their home until it dissipated.



The rioters instead turned to burn down Bethel Church (AME) and a nearby Quaker-founded Colored Orphan Asylum (a structure not yet occupied).

Mrs. Mary Merrick Brooks of Concord had taken her step-daughter Caroline Downes Brooks to Philadelphia to attend the women’s antislavery convention in this hall. Caroline wrote from Philadelphia to her friend Elizabeth Prichard to describe the burning. During the late 1830s, presumably during this period, since Caroline was a Sunday school student in [Lidian Emerson](#)’s class at the First Parish, presumably Lidian would have had a chance to hear all about this event.

Summer: This year’s annual convention of the New England Anti-Slavery Society was the 1st to be held in the Marlborough Chapel, dedicated to “the cause of humanity and free discussion.” Boston’s proslavery mob couldn’t burn this hall down because it stood too close to the Marlborough Hotel.

At the meeting, over the protests of a group of ministers of the gospel who were insisting that such a radical step would be “injurious to the cause of the slave,” through bringing their Society into general disrepute, it was decided to admit women to membership. Much of the convention’s time and attention would be consumed in infighting over whether these new female members would be permitted to participate on committees, in motions to dissolve committees that had a woman member, and in dealing with male members who found themselves unable to read aloud in public words that had been written by a female member.

A minister pointed to ISAIAH 3:12 to prove that having WOMEN RULE was the ultimate debasement which a Christian society could undergo, and alleged that since a woman had helped to write the convention’s declaration and that since women had cast ballots, therefore “Women ruled the convention.”



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[As for] my people, children [are] their oppressors, and women rule over them.
O my people, they which lead thee cause [thee] to err, and destroy the way of thy paths.

MISOGYNY



FEMINISM

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) sided with these ministers who considered women's rights to be "an irrelevant topic."

The Christian Mirror asked its male readers whether they would want their own wives to be shorn of their honor by allowing them to be "closeted in close consultation with two men, in the preparation of a public document?" Friend [James Mott](#), a husband not unreasonably afraid of his wife, reasonably commented that the overarching principle was "human rights" — and proceeded impolitely to draw the obvious parallel between, on the one hand, the northern gentleman abolitionist struggling for control over his wife, and, on the other, the southern slavemaster struggling to hold his slave property.

SLAVERY

WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF



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1842

February 25, Friday: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) wrote to Richard and Hannah Webb, whom she had met in London in 1840:

Philada. 2 Mo.
25th. 1842.

*My dear Richard & Hannah Webb
And our other dear friends in Dublin,*

For when writing to any one of our precious circle, I feel as if I were addressing all – C Corkran inclusive, in the yearnings of undiminished affection. As the result of our travel abroad, nothing affords more unmingled pleasure, than the reception of some 3 or 4 sheets of Richards "illegible scribblings." The very difficulty we have in deciphering seems to heighten the gratification for we know that when we have puzzled it out, we shall be paid for the effort. The last, to Sarah Pugh was the more interesting, from the fact of Sarah's hastening hither with it unopened, and letting us share the pleasure of the first reading with her. We often wish for Abby Kimber to enjoy with us the first impressions – but some of her notes to Sarah help to supply her absence. I wish Sarah would copy for you what she wrote at the close of the last year. It was so expressive of my feelings that the rapid flight of Time was placing our delightful visit in the more distant view; and so on, a heap of pretty sentiments just what I felt, but had not the ability to write out.

It happened soon after the reception of Richds. letter, that J. M. [her husband [James](#)] & self were meeting with the Indian Committee of the several Yearly Mgs. of our Frds. (of course). Philip E. Thomas was present – the author of the Balte. reply to J. J. Gurney.¹¹ After our business was concluded –, I read to them the ^Richds.^ comments, on the language used – "itinerant foreigner". I did not know that P.E. Thomas had written the book, till I perceived all eyes directed to him, with a smile – & he commenced a defence of the expressions used. He said, he could not call [him?] [[Joseph John Gurney](#)] – a "travelling Friend", for he did not consider him one – that there was nothing contemptuous in the term "itinerant" nor in that of "foreigner". He considered the man very much out of his place, in attempting to address them, without having mingled with them at all, or knowing their sentiments, save by ex-parte statements. His conduct he regarded as impudent, & if that term – would answer

11. In his pamphlet, *Review of Gurney's Attack on Friends of Baltimore, and of Their Defence* (Baltimore: Wm. Wooddy, 1841) Thomas criticized a lengthy letter Gurney had written to the [Hicksite](#) Friends in Baltimore declining to visit their Lombard Street Meeting. Thomas quoted passages from the Hicksites' answer to Gurney (their "Defence") in which they professed their belief "in the Scriptures concerning Christ, both as to his outward manifestation in the flesh, and in relation to that Divine Principle of Light and Truth in man, which in Scripture is called 'the Christ.'" Thomas concluded that a reading of Gurney's attack and the Defence showed "that the Spirit of Orthodoxy is every where the same, that of insolence, assumption, and denunciation, that it is impossible for the meekest to keep any terms with it, except those of base, unmanly submission." He criticized Gurney as possessing the "assumption and narrow-mindedness of a foreigner" (10-14, 17-19, 22).



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as a substitute, he would think it quite as expressive. He then offered to supply our Dublin friends, with some copies of the review of the work, with his additional remarks. We have since received a parcel of that & another production of his pen; which at his request we herewith send. I fear – you will not get it without having to pay more postage on it, than it will be worth to you. If Richard & Anne Allen¹² are not too orthodox to read what may be said by our side, please hand them one. I always feel rather more as if they belonged to English Friends, than I feel when writing to you. I cannot remember whether my husband wrote to Richard, after receiving his acceptable letter in 9 Mo last – or of that date; with a small addition from Anne. I shall take great pleasure in enclosing in this, for her, Whittier's autograph, at her request. Since I find she could bear our Anna's playful lines for her friend Sarah M'Kim, I should like to send her some others by the same author. We can hear with evident satisfaction, a little raillery at the expense of other sects, but few can bear to have [their?] own, made the subject of satire, or even pleasantry. Our veneration is trained to pay homage to ancient usage, rather than to truth, which is older than all. Else, why Church censure on marriages that are not of us? – on Parents conniving? on our members being present at such [&c? Oh] how our Discipline needs revising – & stripping of its objectionable features. I know not how fa[r yours] may differ from ours, but I know we have far too many disownable offences. Still with all our faults, I know of no religious association I would prefer to it. And I would rather hear of R. D. Webb laboring very faithfully, & with all Christian daring, in his society, than withdrawing from it. I felt so with regard to Wm. Bassett & hoped that his influence within the pale, might 'turn many to righteousness' [.]¹³ I have frequently noticed that persons who were once useful in our society, withdrawg from it, became rather contracted & selfish – shut themselves out from society at large, and grew censorious. Their children also havg no rallying point, as they grew older, like following their natural inclination for Association, connected themselves with sects far behind the intelligence & light of their parents. This has been remarkably the case with the families of those who were cruelly severed from our society some 20 years ago in New England – called New lights[.] A case has lately occurred in this region. A daughr. of enlightened Parents, who withdrew from us 15 years ago, has lately joined the Catholics, & has in view to become a 'sister of charity.' Job Scott's childn. are Swedenborgians. These remarks may not apply to all. Wm. L. Garrison never was attached to any sect. Sarah Pugh, from the time of the separation among us, never felt her interests enlisted with either side; I have no fear of her talents rusting for want of use. N. P. Rogers, bound as he was, with a set of bigots & superstitious

12. Richard Allen (1803-1886), abolitionist, an orthodox Quaker, and a cotton merchant, and his wife, Anne Webb Allen, cousin of Richard Webb (Mott to the Webbs, 28 May 1850, Boston Public Library). The Motts had first met the Allens in London. Frederick B. Tolles, ed., *Slavery and the "Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary* (Haverford: Friends Historical Association, 1952), 34.

13. Bassett (1803-71), originally an orthodox Quaker from Lynn, Mass., became a Unitarian and was ardently pro-Garrison. The quotation is from Daniel 12:3.



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devotees, may increase his usefulness by his severance from such a denomination. J. A. Collins, ditto. What a Radical, and ultra reformer he is! I did not know him, nor much of his sentiments till since his return from England. I told him, consistency required of him to wear coarser clothing. He would not admit this, as his efforts were not so much to level the rich, as to raise the poor – & furnish them with all the comforts & enjoyments of their wealthy neighbors. What has become of those queer separatists. – Jacobites, to whom we essayed to speak, but they would not? When you write, we should be glad to be informed how our aged friends, Dr. Hutton & wife are. Do they yet live? If from them our dear James Haughton could learn anything of their son Dr. Hutton & family of London, and impart it to us, it would be very acceptable. Dr. Drummond too.¹⁴ Is he yet alive? And have you prevailed with him, to unite his talents & labors with those, engaged in works of reform.

It has been gratifying to see Jas. Haughton's name so frequently in public Meetgs. for the good of the people, & the spread of sound principles. His letter recd. last summer is valued by us even tho' we have made no adequate return. I want to send him a heretical sermon, preached by [Theodore Parker](#) in Boston last year – The "Transient & Permanent in Christianity." It created a great stir in New-England & led some of the old Unitarians to tremble for their reputation as Christians. The Orthodox were out upon them in all quarters; which led some of them to issue their disclaimers; whereupon, the Evangelicals, catching at a straw, foresaw a strong counter-movement, and were cheered with the belief that "doctrines which of old were held, would begin to re-assert their former claims; and Truth, hallowed by time & reverend by Apostolic teaching, & holy, from its conformity to the blessed lessons of the Son of God would become & remain the only standard of the Christian Life". Thus wrote my nephew Thos. C. Yarnall, who is studying in College for the ministry in the Episcopal Church. But to my understanding & reading Parker is equally full of faith in the real ground-work of religion in all ages, on which the truths of Scripture are based: not on miracles, or inexplicable creeds. We shall not make much progress as Christians, until we dare to read & examine the Jewish Scriptures, as we would any other of the ancient records. By what authority do we set so high a value on every text that may be drawn from this volume? Certainly not by any command therein found. On the contrary, again & again is there an appeal to the inner sense, – "why even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?["]¹⁵ Parker's remarks on the BIBLE, in the Discourse above mentioned, I like very much – that its real & proper estimate will not be lessened by breaking through the Idolatry which is now paid to it. I read its pages ^I mean the scriptures^

14. The Jacobites were led in part by Joshua Jacob of Dublin, who publicly criticized those Quakers who did not adhere to their custom of extreme simplicity in dress and living habits; they wore nothing but white clothing and were often referred to as "White Quakers." See Isabel Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland, 1654-1900* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1927), 126-29. Dr. Joseph Hutton (1790-1860), Unitarian minister in London. The Motts had met his father and mother in Dublin 23 July. William Hamilton Drummond (1778-1865), Presbyterian preacher in Dublin. See Tolles, *Diary*, 27, 31, 62, 64.

15. LUKE 12:57.



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over & over again with a keen relish and encourage our childn. to do the same, but I cannot do, as we saw Friends in England & Ireland do – make the reading of that book a religious rite in the family – and adopt a peculiar tone & solemn style of pronunciation – all the old terminations full &c. Let us venerate the Good & the True, while we respect not prejudice & Superstition!

R. D. Webb thinks I am a Humanitarian. I have never given my faith a name. The distinctions among Christian professors are found on an analysis, to be but hair-breadth, and it is puzzling to bear in mind the distinctive points in their creeds. We give a more Orthodox hue to ours, by retaining some expressions which do not convey our real sentiments. I do not wonder that Richard asks, what we mean by our professions. If he should hear some of our preachers, he would understand us better. The hearers are often told that they are not called to rest their hopes of salvation on the "Sacrifice without the gates of Jerusalem". The Divinity of Christ is held – not by miraculous power – so much as his spiritual creation – "the son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness." We never attempt to draw or define the precise relation to the Father – nor is a trinity acknowledged in our galleries. We rather, urge obedience to manifested duty, as the means of acceptance with the Searches of hearts. This is the old-fashioned Quaker doctrine – "neither is there salvation as in any other."¹⁶ I have no doubt of the kindness & sincerity of the friend who warned you of the danger of association with some of us. Should she hear Richard say, how loosely society attachments rest upon him, she would feel as if there was a cause for her concern. He must be careful how he gives utterance to such sentiments. I have often felt the restraints & seen the [evils] of which he speaks; but after much consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the advantages preponderate – I mean of religious Associations. It requires constant watching and care that we yield no principle; but only concede minor points, for the sake of unity. If the bearing of a faithful testimony to the world subjects us to excommunication, why then let us seek another rallying point for our childns. sake – as well as for the preservation of ourselves. You will see by the Standard how the New York pseudo-Quakers are conducting towards I.T. Hopper, J.S. Gibbons, & C. Marriott. I bear my testimony against their intolerance in every circle. In our Indian Committee of the Yearly Meetgs united – C Marriott has been a faithful & active member. In a meeting of that Com. last week, I expressed the regret I felt that he should be so unjustly deprived of his right to labor with us in that cause – Some present thot. we should be careful how we judged another Mo. Mg. I told them we did not hesitate 15 years ago, to judge of the persecuting spirit of our Orthodox opposers, and I viewed the treatment of these frds. in N. York in the same light. We were then struggling for freedom of opinion. We are now claiming the right of practice in accordance with our convictions. I wish

16. "The son of God with power according to spirit of holiness," Romans 1:4; "neither is there salvation in any other," Acts 4:12.



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you could see a correspondence growing out of my going to Boston last Autumn, to attend the Non-Resistance Anniversary and attendg New York Mg. on my way home.¹⁷ The Elders & others there have been quite desirous to make me an offender for joining with those not in membership with us & accepting offices in these Societies. But our Friends here, know full well that such a position is neither contrary to our Discipline, to Scripture, to reason nor common sense. I was permitted to answer for myself & I found proof enough in the practice of Friends from the days of Wm. Penn to the present – of such "mixtures." They failed of bringing action against me. Richard says truly, – that "oil & water would unite as readily as G. F. White & L. M."¹⁸ I can only account for some things in his course, on the ground of insanity. Some months ago he sent in a kind of resignation of his right of Membership. The Mo. Mg. had the paper examined, by a few frds., who reported unfavorably to its being read. It was all hushed & not more than a dozen individuals knew what the paper contained The next month he obtained a minute to attend Indiana Yearly Mg. On his return, when appearances indicated the restoration of I.T. Hopper & J.S. Gibbons to their rights, G.F. White announced to his Mg. what he had done & that he then repeated it – calling at the same time on the young people present to be prepared to act in the approachg hour of trial in the Society. Since the Quarterly Mg. confirmed the judgment, they appear satisfied – but as the Yearly Meeting draws near, another threat will doubtless be held out – as is the practice with the politicians in our Southern States; – unless indeed we should do as the Mass[.] petitioners have done – ask, ourselves, for a dissolution of the Union. But I don't wish to fill my whole sheet with these matters. Have you taken an interest in our Congressional proceedings this winter? or rather will you – when you hear or read how bravely our veteran J.Q. Adams is acquitting himself in Washington.¹⁹ Before quite leaving the former subject, which Richard says fills his head from morning till night, I meant to tell you how Anne Knight in a letter to Margaretta Forten, & to M.W. Chapman, that to me I find was wholly on Woman's Rights, deploras my heresy. She says "Her forbearance of the wrongs encountered in Father-land would merit the term Christian, had [she] not so utterly disowned & insulted her Lord and Savior. The dreadful mistakes of her Theology have, I am sorry to say, excluded her from the hearts of many of our A. S. women; & their hospitality on that account was less warm. For my own part dearly as I love my savior – as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" &c – a half a page just as

17. At the New England Non-Resistance Meeting held in Boston 21 and 22 September 1841, Mott said that "the feeling among us seemed truer and deeper" than at the meeting she had attended in 1839, and "I would ever have it more felt than expressed. Whatever we do express, I hope will be in fewer words and to the point" (Liberator, 19 November 1841:188). An editorial in the Practical Christian (reprinted in the Liberator, 12 November 1841:184) criticized the organization for not recognizing the prominence of the Christian religion in its proceedings.

18. In a letter to her husband, Maria Davis described White's criticism of those persons "disturbing religious Congregations — that they had no more right to do so from a sense duty, than to go the wharf, load a dray with sugar & rice & send it to some benevolent society, under a sense of duty" (10 December 1843, Mott Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College).

19. In the House of Representatives, former president John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) continued to protest Congress's refusal to allow him to submit anti-slavery petitions.



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Orthodox writers express themselves, – she goes on to say "and knowing from Lucretia that she rejects her Lord, & turns with disgust from 'his hanging on a tree' his being slain, his blood shed, – that she recoils from what she calls so gross an idea, and desires not, what the angels desire to look into – the scheme of Redemption". – ["]Awfully as I regard this state of deep & hardened revolt, yet do I love L. M for her work's sake. – It was a joy to have the opportunity of offering those attentions which others neglected" &c. &c. – She then goes on to speak of the narrow-minded bigotry of those at the Convention, who excluded women – not seeing herself on another subject, equally a bigot. "Oh, wad some Power"²⁰ &c. I can truly say "Father forgive her," &c[.] I loved her for her courage in paying us so much attention & identifying herself with us. I shall write to her as soon as I finish this sheet, & try to convince her that altho' I do not interpret the "sacred text" precisely as she does, I am not on that count entitled to all the hard names, branded by a self-styled orthodoxy. She expresses a wish to have some of J. M.'s Books, wh. I shall take great pleasure in sending her – We have not sent one to England for we did not know but they would regard it an insult. I intend also to write & send one to Elizh. Pease. She wrote a kind letter to us last summer, which we have not yet acknowledged. I have little time to write – save a constant correspondence with my absent sister & a few friends in this land. I am travelling from home so much that, I have to be the more devoted to my family & domestic avocations when with them. And until I do [as?] Richard approves in Sarah Pugh – break off my attachment to our religious Society, I shall have frequent demand on my time & services in its behalf. An application has been made to our & Balte. Yearly Mg. for the establishment of a new Yearly-Mg. west of the Alleghany Mountains in this State. I visited the meetings to compose this Mg. this winter in co. with several of the Com. furnished also with a minute to appoint Meetings. We were absent 5 weeks, – travelled near 700 miles, and averaged nearly a Meeting a day during our absence. In some places where Orthodoxy pro-slavery had hitherto closed the door against us, access was now readily found. Elizh. Robson & companions preceded us & were not slow to represent the "Hicksites" as deniers of all that was sacred. We met with a gentleman in Mifflin County an entire stranger to Friends of either division. He told us what 'Mrs.' Robson & Co. had said & remarked this difference, that while they had much to say against us, we seemed to have nothing to say against them. He exerted himself to procure a house for a Mg. for us, & induced several who were opposed to Womens preaching to go & hear for themselves. He has since been in this City & took pains to come & see us & assure us, we should ever have a ready hearing at Lewistown.

You wish to hear all we can tell you of J. G. Whittier. Truly he is almost lost to us. Months & months pass without our hearing from him. New-Organizn. claims him and not without far too much

20. "Oh wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us/ To see oursels as others see us!" (Robert Burns, "To a Louse").



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reason. Maria Chapman wrote me, that he was in, a few moments, at the Boston Fair; adding, "he sins against the clearest light, & I may say – when I recall what our love for him was, before he destroyed it – – the truest love. He was in the Office a few months since, bemoaning to Garrison, that there should have been any divisions. 'Why could we not all go on together?' 'Why not indeed' said Garrison, 'we stand just where we did. I see no reason, why you cannot co-operate with the American Socy.' 'Oh,' replied Whittier, 'but the Am. Soc is not what it once was. It has the hat, & the coat & the waistcoat of the old Socy. but the life has passed out of it'. 'Are you not ashamed then,' said Garrison 'to come here, wondering why we cant go on together. No wonder you cant co-operate with a suit of old clothes'." Now I would far prefer to write something pleasant about him. He seemed to enjoy going from place to place with [Joseph Sturge](#), and we were glad of their little calls on us.²¹ I cant help loving Whittier & J. Sturge too, even tho' they have wronged us, in the course they have pursued. So long as they retain any sympathy for the suffering bondsman, I shall feel a tender regard for them, even tho' in other respects they go halting. This is especially my feeling toward each component part of that London Convention – with the very slight exception of N. Colver & one or two others. Even Jesus – "the son of the Blessed", treated hypocrites with severity. You will see in the Liberator that Colver was ready to make excuse for the Mg. houses being refused. "A work of Grace was going on," &c.²²

What an interesting account of the Mass. Meetg. & of J. C. Fuller N. P. Rogers gives in the Herald of Freedom and how characteristic of the man, are his leading editorials! You will be pleased, as we have been, to hear how well Remond has been received since his return from your land; laden with the praises of Ireland – and with the Irish Address.²³ Miller M'Kim says, there has been quite a run on the A. S. Office here by the Repealers since that Address has been re-printed for gratuitous distribution. The seed sown seems to be taking root in Irish hearts. We are cheered on by some late manifestations in that quarter.

You will see H. B. Stanton's name among the 3rd. party speakers in Boston. How sorry I am that he has thus sold himself! They might have had Colver, if we could have kept him – and Whittier – & T. D. Weld. You will see in the Standard ^Feb.[3]^ or Liberator, the Washington correspondence of the N. York

21. Sturge visited the U.S. in the spring of 1841 and traveled with Whittier meeting abolitionists. See Whittier to Moses Cartland, 12 May 1841, in John B. Pickard, ed., Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1975), 3 vols., 1:500.

22. In a letter signed "W.," the writer described the Liberty Party convention taking place in Boston on February 16th, where Rev. Nathaniel Colver declared that Boston churches were already occupied "in the work of grace going on in the city" and therefore unavailable for the next day's session (Liberator, 25 February 1842:31).

23. Two articles reprinted from the Herald of Freedom described an antislavery meeting at the Massachusetts State House where Wendell Phillips, [Abby Kelley](#) and [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke. About Irish Quaker James C. Fuller (1793?-1847), who had emigrated to New York in the 1830s, Rogers wrote, "we have never known him speak so well." See Liberator, 18 February 1842:26. Charles Lenox Remond (1810-73), black abolitionist from Salem, Mass. and a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, had stayed with the Webbs when visiting Ireland in December 1841. He returned to the U.S. with an address to the Irish-Americans written by Webb and Haughton, urging them to work to abolish slavery. See Liberator, 11 March 1842: 39; Richard S. Harrison, Richard Davis Webb: Quaker Printer, 1805-1872 (Dublin: Red Barn, 1993), 26.



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American, signed R.M.T.H. – giving an account of Adams's defence. It is supposed & with some reason, tho' yet a secret, that Theodore D. Weld is the writer of that & sundry other letters from Washn.²⁴ He has been there several months. Our New-Organ. Abolitionists are not idle. Let us give them credit for all the good they do. Elizabeth C. Stanton – noble soul! is at Johnstown N. Y. at her Father's; where they will remain while Henry is but a student at Law. The latest accot. of her is in a letter I lately recd. from C. C. Burleigh. I have half a mind to enclose it to Anne Allen, as another specimen of his familiar style; – only I fear it will give the impression, of a want of becoming reverence for institutions, regarded sacred. I will [send?] what Jas. says to it. E. Stanton writes to her frd. E. J. Neall, that she has lately made her debut in public, – in a Temperance speech, & was so eloquent in her appeals, as to affect not only her audience, but herself to tears – About 100 women were present. She infused into her speech a homoeopathic [sic] dose of Womans Rights, & does the same in many private conversations. She wishes as many copies of S. Grimkes Letter on the Equality of the Sexes, we can send her – for that little book does execution. In a letter to me some time ago she says – "The more I think on the present condition of woman, the more am I oppressed with the reality of her degradation. The laws of our Country, how unjust are they! – our customs how vicious! What God has made sinful, both in man & woman, – custom has made sinful in woman alone. In talking with many people I have been much struck with this fact." After saying much more wh. my limits forbid my copying – she adds, "I have commenced the study of medicine. Having a great horror of both medical & theological quacks, I have come to the conclusion to take care of my own soul & body. I am examining Homoeopathy [sic]." &c – She will probably become a Mother in a few weeks.²⁵ I can readily imagine your brother James a fond Father; from the little evidence I had of his affection in the conjugal relations. I was pleased with his nice wife – and the addition since made to their family, is all that seems necessary in their beautiful abode, to render their bliss complete. We are glad that he & Thomas, do not leave their br. Richd. 'to serve alone'. We notice their honorable names occasionally, in the proceedings of your meetings. Oh; that delightful day at the sea-side with Thos. & Mary & the 3 little ones! how is the little lame

24. In his letter of 25 January, "R. M. T. H." described in vivid language Adams's confrontation with the congressional Southern caucus: "in a tone of insulted majesty and reinvigorated spirit, [Adams] said, in reply to the audacious and atrocious charge of 'high treason,' — 'I call for the reading of the first paragraph of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE! Read it! READ IT! And see what THAT says of the right of a people to reform, to change, to dissolve their government'" National Anti-Slavery Standard, 3 February 1842:139. Weld had agreed to go to Washington to perform research on subjects such as colonization and the slave trade for a group of anti-slavery congressmen, including Adams. See Weld to Lewis Tappan, 14 December 1841, in Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight Dumond, eds., Weld-Grimké Letters, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934), 2: 879-80, 905.

25. No record of Stanton's speech has been recovered. Mott quotes from Stanton's letter of 26 November 1841. A son, Daniel, was born 2 March. Elisabeth Griffith, In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (NY: Oxford UP, 1984), 41; Ann D. Gordon, Ed., In the School of Anti-Slavery: Selected papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 34. Sarah Moore Grimké published Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman in 1838. For more on the impact of the Grimkés on moral reform in this period, see, "What Was the Appeal of Moral Reform to Antebellum Northern Women?" also on this website.



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daughter? The walk up Killiney hills – the prospect from the top – the addition to our company – all, all are remembered with dear delight. When, think you will come here? I cannot convey by expression how much I want to see you again. Why, we are far better acquainted now, than when we were with you. These dear, familiar letters to S. Pugh & A. Kimber & to ourselves – some of wh. are lying before me, bind you to our hearts, as bosom friends. Richd. takes pains to make us well acquainted with your valued friend R.R.R. Moore.²⁶ He forgets that we knew him so well in the 'Convention.' We were glad however of all he wrote about him. Among the scenes wh. made an indelible impression, was his very earnest speech & rapid utterance standing I think not far from the excluded women. Deleg[at]es. then – when we made a visit to you, at your lodgings – he was quite as earnest in protesting against some measure under discussion. I often smile when recurring to that visit. For I had scarcely learned where we were going – or to distinguish you from the numerous English Frds. who had been introduced. Hannah walked with me – took me thro' part of Covent Garden Market, which I had so oft read of when a child. Reaching your house, there were so many couples of the same name; beside Richd. & Anne Allen, that it was long before I could learn "who was who". Then your venerable Father sat there looking so grave as if he had some misgivings as to the propriety of his juxtaposition with heretics of the Hicksites order – his prudential silence when I ventured a little ultraism. – and withal the "Irish hospitality" with which we were entertained – each one doing so much to minister to our hungry appetites – and then crowning the eveg by R.D. Webb & R. Allen taking that long walk home with us – If I forget these things my memory will forget its office. Again, when in your social circle in Dublin, I presumed to read what I had written home, of your non-committal course in matters of Theology – suggesting as one reason, the fear of your Orthodox leaders – the earnestness & openness of countenance with which your brother Thomas ejaculated, "I'm not afraid," gave me a sensation of delight. It needs some to be "not afraid", in order to withstand the high-handed measures of the Quaker Hierarchy. I doubt whether the domination of any sect is more arbitrary. A handful of the distinct order in Rhode Island Yearly Mg placed their veto on the opening of Mg. houses for the lectures of the Abolitionists, and lo! they are nearly all closed. Hereaway the young people are kept from the benevolent efforts of the day – as if there would be defilement in the touch. I dont wonder that Richd. Webb feels the evils of these Sectarian organizations. Altho' I have written as I have on another page – I agree with him, (in the abstract,) that for those who are accustomed to reflect & come to conclusions for themselves, they are unnecessary.

When you have read the controversy between Paul & Amicus,²⁷ we

26. In addition to Richard and Hannah Webb, members of the Webb family were James Webb Sr. (1776-1854), his sons Thomas Webb (1806-1884) and James H. Webb Jr. (1810-1868), his wife Ann, all of whom attended the 1840 London convention. Mott described her visits with the Webb family in Dublin on 24-25 July in her diary. Robert Ross Rowan Moore (1811-1864) was active in antislavery and peace reform. See Tolles, Diary, 34, 63-64; Harrison, Richard Davis Webb, 23, 28.



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should like to have your opinion of the work. It was first published in the 'Berean',²⁸ a periodical, edited, in Wilmington Del. by Dr. Gibbons, Benjn. Ferris & a number more Friends of talent & worth – as well as of liberal views. 'Amicus' was Benjn. Ferris. He told us that every answer to Paul was written after his family had retired for the night – that frequently when he went to put his effusions into the Office, it was daylight. He never submitted one of them to the criticism of his friends, & never had any objection made to them. After the controversy was ended, the "Mg. for Sufferings" issued a kind of disclaimer of it – or protest against it – at the suggestion of Jonan. Evans – the Pope of that day, because it had not been submitted to their Orthodox tribunal, previously to its publication [']according to the 'good' order', prescribed in the Discipline. This occurred about a year or two before the 'Separation'. ^say 1823 or 4^ Our friends did not relish a reproof from that quarter – All the Editors of that paper, were on our side when the division took place. Not long after this Fanny Wright – R. D. Owen & some others of that school were at Wilmington, & some of these liberal writers & their childn. went to hear them lecture on 'knowledge' – 'education' & .c. This alarmed Dr. G. B. Ferris, & .c – & they came out with an "Expose of Modern Skepticism". Immediately another Paper was issued by B. Webb & .c – called the "Delaware Free Press". Whereupon Dr. G. & co. entered a complaint to the Mg. of their Ultraism, & about 5 or 6 were disowned.²⁹ They appealed in vain to our Yearly Mg. many thinking it were better these should suffer, than that our august body should be in any manner identified with the 'Infidel Owenites'. The childn. of these persecuted brethren withdrew & Wilmington Mg. has had 'Ichabod' on its walls from that time to the present. These disowned members were among their most active, benevolent citizens and have continued respected & beloved. Now such arbitrary measures I detest My husband & self came near "losing our place", by uttering our indignant protest against their intolerance. These are the evils of religious – or sectarian organizns. We cry out against assumption of power & oppression – But no sooner do we successfully resist their influence, than the same weapons are wielded by us against those who take one step in advance of ourselves. We can be mighty charitable to the poor weaklings we consider behind us – but let some go on before, – we are as ready to cry stop & to condemn, as were those at

27. In a long series of exchanges from May 1821 until November 1822 in the Christian Repository, Presbyterian clergyman Eliphalet Gilbert (1793-1853), writing as "Paul" attacked Friends for "the characteristic notions and conduct of your society," describing Quakers as "Deists" and "Infidels." Writing under the name of "Amicus," the pro-Hicksite Quakers, including William Gibbons (1781-1845), a Wilmington, Delaware, doctor, denounced "Paul" and repudiated the doctrine of the Trinity. Jonathan Evans (c. 1759-1839), was clerk of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, the body which received reports and grievances from local meetings. Larry Ingle, Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation (Wallingford: Pendle Hill, 1998), 17-18, 98-102.

28. James tells me I am mistaken – It was not published in the Berean – but in another Wilmington Paper – Paul is a Presbyterian Minister by the name of Gilbert.

29. According to Ingle, the Hicksite Wilmington meeting disowned Benjamin Webb for supporting the views of women's rights advocate and liberal reformer Fanny Wright (1795-1852) and the socialist and newspaper editor Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877). See Quakers in Conflict, pp. 61, 131.



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whose hands we suffered such abuse. Where is our confidence in the Truth, that we are so fearful to meet error without denunciation. I never felt any special interest in Owen or his followers, but desired to meet them in a Christian spirit – knowing they would not ultimately prevail, only as they were in the right. Our dear Elizh. Pease & some others quaked with fear when Owen called on Wm. L.G. & the other American frds. at Mark Moore's, lest it might give us a bad name, but I regarded not such fears. How could a common observer of heads & countenance tremble for the influence of such a man[?] The most successful refutation of his visionary scheme is to suffer him to be his own expositor.³⁰

I forgot to tell you when speaking of E. Robson, that she has lately met with a little 'damper', by the Mo. Mg. of the Southern district of this City, refusing to receive family visits from her. She had been thro' the two or (I believe) three other Meetgs. – What the obstruction was, we have not heard. Josh. J. Gurney knew better than to try to his strength at that Mg. They have the name of being opposed to him – but we had thot. E. Robson was Anti-Gurney too. Perhaps her frds. thot. she was staying here too long.

Your frd. Elizh. [Cosins?] I have not seen since I took her Richard's letter last summer. She was highly gratified to receive it – & may have acknowledged it before now. Neither have we seen for a year past, the Irish Friend or stranger against whom Richd. kindly warned us, with a graphic description of his appearance – "as if butter would not melt in his mouth" &c. We gave his partner a hint of his character – of wh. he appeared to be somewhat apprised; but hoped he would retrieve his good name[.]

The few lines from Hannah in your last letter to S. Pugh were much to my liking. The liberal Spirit breathed thro' it – and her remarks on Elisha Bates just suited me. It is truly astonishing that one who once occupied the place he did in the Society of Friends, should be a ranting, – 'Hellfire,' Methodist preacher – or indeed a preacher of any other Society – (unless it be Unitarian & not then for hire.)³¹ Several young Frds. of the Orthodox order have joined the church. This is not surprising, educated as they have been, these 10 years past, seeking "to be made perfect by the flesh".³² Not having the inspection of the Boston Bazaar boxes we had not the oppy. to see the Articles or Letters on Slavery – & find out which was written by Hannah. Wasn't that description of the Fair, by M[aria]. W[eston]. C[hapman]. good? When anything of interest appears in the Libr, Standard, or Herald of Freedom, I read it with the more zest, knowg. you will enjoy it too.

I have not told you what a nice visit we had from Lord Morpeth. It will do to place with yours from Father Mathew – the accot. of wh., & your remarks of him pleased us well. We felt some

30. When Mott met the Scottish socialist and textile manufacturer Robert Owen (1771-1858) in London on 30 June 1840, she described him as "altogether visionary — great benevolence." Tolles, Diary, 51.nT.

31. Elisha Bates (c.1779-1861), printer and orthodox Ohio Quaker, was disowned in 1837.

32. GALATIANS 3:3.



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hesitancy about calling on "his Lordship," thinking he would not remember us – but in a letter from Dr. Channing to his son who is passing the winter here, he expressed a hope that we would see him.³³ So we went to his lodgings, card in hand reducing him to a common man, on our Republican principles. He was not at home. He soon returned the call, made himself very agreeable, accepted an invitn. the day following to breakfast with us & came each time unattended, walking as any of our Citizens would. We were pleased with the ease with which he accommodated himself to our American & Quaker simplicity. We invited an intelligent few Abolitionists to meet him here and had a delightful time. He gives general satisfaction in passing thro' the country. His amiable disposition & manner are pleasing, 'tho' rather awkward at the graces. Elizh. J. Neall has since met him in Washington. I wish she had a correspondent in Dublin – so that she might give you a description of their meeting.

I began this letter as dated. It is now 3 Mo. 7th. I can only write a little each day – having many interruptions. Another Lion has just arrived in the City – Charles Dickens. Our childn. have a strong desire to see him. I too have admired the benevolent character of his writings – tho' I have read very little in them. I did not expect to seek an interview, nor to invite him here, as he was not quite one of our sort – but just now there was left at the door, his & his wife's card, with a kind & sweet letter from our dear friend E. J. Reid – London – introducing them & expressing a strong desire that we would make their acquaintance.³⁴ There is not a woman in London whose draft I would more gladly honor. So now I have a grand excuse to call on them, and our girls are in high glee. I regret that in Boston & New York, they have been so extravagant in their reception of the man.

I wonder if I could not keep on to the end of the year & find something to write you from day to day. I must stop so as to leave somewhat for Sarah Pugh & Abby Kimber to tell you. There may be much in this that they have already written – for Sarah filled & sent Abby's last to you, without my seeing it. Abby has lately made a short, but pleasant visit to the City. Her enjoyment in retrospect is fresh as ever – & when she comes, Sarah accompanies her hither, so that we may all talk over past scenes. E. Neall too comes in for her share. Elizh. Reid asks me in her letter recd today, if the report is true that E. J. N[eall]. & J. G. Whittier are married. How wide of the truth it is! Mary Grew has lived too far from us quite in the lower part of the City, to meet with us often, when our Friends are with us – but there is a strong binding tie of affection with the band of rejected Delegates. Isaac Winslow is now in France, attendg to his br. Jerreh's. business, while he is in this country. He was in the City last week with two of his sisters – but we had only a little share of their compy. E Neall was more

33. George William Frederick Howard (1802-64), then Lord Morpeth, later the 7th Earl of Carlisle, was on an extended tour of the U.S. Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856) was a Franciscan priest and an Irish temperance leader. William Francis Channing (1820-1901) was then a medical student at the University of Pennsylvania.

34. Elizabeth Jesser Reid (1795?-1866), Unitarian and close friend of Harriet Martineau's. Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 2:663.



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avored, having been at his house at Havre. Emily will probably return with her Father.³⁵ We yesterday attended the funeral of Jas. Forten.³⁶ You will see an accot. of his death in the Standard – an obituary written probably by Mary Grew.³⁷ It was a real amalgamation funeral – hundreds of white people & thousands of colored – Kindest remembrances to all thy loved circle. Will your Father come to America this season? – Remember us with much affection to C. Corkran when you write –

Yours truly Lucretia Mott

12th [March]. I have opened my envelope to say how rejoiced we are at the news of the safety of the Caledonia. Great anxiety has been felt. We have recd. several Dublin papers and the Irish Friend – all of which interested us & we are obliged by these continued marks of your attention. The article on Free Produce I rejoiced to see, for consistency calls loudly on us for this stand to be made – ask R. Allen to write on. His sympathy & appeals for the poor murderer Delahunt were grateful to my feelings.³⁸ How I felt that they were in vain! But the appeal will not be lost. Neither will Jas. Haughton's to his poor brethren on Peace – Slavery – &c – I liked his proposal to tax waste land. We called on Dickens – but he was [so? ??] that we could have but a few minutes interview We tried to engage a visit from him, but his stay in this City was only 3 or 4 days & was engaged all the time. 5 or 600 gentlemen called on him the mornng. we were there. Jas. Mott talked to him about his travels in the South and hoped he would not be deceived by the outside appearance – but try to get a peep behind the scenes – I too said a word or two on the same subject. – ³⁹

How gratifying is the decision of your Parliament on the Creole case – that & the Amistad are doing well for our cause – ⁴⁰

17th J.M. M'Kim's letter giving an account of Jas. Forten's funeral in todays Standard is good – & true – so was H.C. Wrights announcing his death⁴¹

35. Both Isaac (1787-1867) and Jeremiah Winslow lived in France for some years while engaged in whaling. Isaac Winslow's daughter Emily Annette (later Taylor) accompanied her father on his trip to the 1840 London convention. See Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 2:209; Tolles, Diary, 13.

36. The obituary of James Forten, who died 4 March, was published in the Standard, 10 March 1842:159.

37. No – that written by Mary Grew did not reach New York in time – the notice published was quite inferior to that written by Mary.

38. John Delahunt, who pleaded not guilty, was being tried in Dublin for the murder of a child. See The Times (London), 17 January 1842:6.

39. The visit of Charles Dickens (1812-70) to Philadelphia is briefly described in his American Notes, chapter 7. Theodore Cuyler reports that, on a visit to Dickens in London later in 1842, the latter told him, "If you see Mrs. Lucretia Mott tell her that I have not forgotten the slave." Letters of Charles Dickens, ed. Madeline House, Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1974), 3:357.

40. On a voyage from the U.S. in November 1841, slaves on the American ship the Creole mutinied and forced the vessel to dock at the British port of Nassau. When British officials there freed all the slaves except the mutineering crew, the U.S. demanded that all the crew be returned to the U.S. for criminal proceedings. The British, however, refused. In another slave mutiny off Long Island in June 1839 on the Amistad, the slaves were also freed, thanks to John Quincy Adams's defense before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1841. For more on this famous case, see the website, "Exploring Amistad."



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I have written my letter to Anne Knight[.] M.W. Chapman says "Poor, dear Anne Knight! how sorry she will be to see my name to the call for the Bible Convention actually thinking me as good as Orthodox!"⁴² I grieve to grieve her or any one else; but it would never do to be obliged to despise myself for a whole life-time, for neglecting an opport[unit]y. to do good, lest I should give offence". I was glad that C. Corkran withdrew from those Temperance bigots in London[.]

I have filled my sheets with out a word on Non-Resistance, Capital punishment, & other subjects, wh., tho' they do not "fill my head from mornng till night," yet occupy much of my thought. Thanks for the "Rhymes for the people" —, "[Hints?] about the Army" &c[.] Such appeals cannot fail to do good. I saw a lecture on Education I think, by the same author when in Lond[on] & have it somewhere among my papers. A parcel was just left at the door, containg 50 copies of "Four Letters to the Rev Jas. Caughey" — I turned to that from R. Allen wh. is all I have had time to read. I am glad he dealt so faithfully with the Priest.⁴³ We shall circulate them[.] Jas. Motts love he cant add

Jas. thinks it not best to send more than one of each of P. E. Thomas's books — If you would like to have more you can send for them.

41. James Miller McKim's obituary on James Forten appeared in the Standard on 17 March 1842:162. H.C. Wright's tribute and description of the funeral on 6 March was published in The Liberator, 11 March 1842:89. McKim, a noted abolitionist, went on to found The Nation in 1865. See Document 6 of "How Did White Women Aid Former Slaves during and after the Civil War and What Obstacles Did They Face," also on the website, "Exploring Amistad."

42. Chapman was one of four signers to a call for a Bible Convention for a "public discussion of the credibility and authority of the Scriptures" to be held in Boston 29 March (Liberator, 21 January 1842:11).

43. Rhymes for the people about battle, glory, and murder (Dublin: Webb and Chapman, n.d.); Four Letters to the Reverend James Caughey, Methodist Episcopal minister; on the participation of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in the sin of American slavery — three from Robert Johnston and one from Richard Allen (Dublin: S. J. Machen, 1841).



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Summer: Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) had their picture taken together.
They traveled through Virginia seeking meetings and conversations with slavemasters.





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THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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1843

January: You remember that when Friends [Lucretia Mott](#) and [James Mott](#) had wanted to attack slavery, they had actually gone into Virginia during the summer of 1842 [→](#) and visited slave plantations, and confronted and talked with slavemaster after slavemaster, themselves. At this point, wanting to lobby against slavery, they themselves went to Washington DC, [→](#) and addressed an assembly including 40 member of the national Congress. Then they walked up the hill and visited with John Tyler,





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which occasioned Tyler's rueful comment:

I would like to hand Mr. Calhoun over to you.



MR. CALHOUN
QUITE A PIECE OF WORK



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1848

July 19: The 1st Women's Rights convention in America began on this day, in Seneca Falls, chaired by Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The abolitionist Frederick Douglass was in attendance, supporting a Declaration of Sentiments based on the wording of the famous [Declaration of Independence](#). (This would pass, signed by 68 women and 32 men.)

Resolved, that all men and women are created equal.



CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE



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July 20: Continuation of the world's 1st convention for Women's Rights, at Seneca Falls NY, was organized by Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

Resolved, that all men and women are created equal.



Frederick Douglass was present.

At this first convention, even the organizers weren't sure of the appropriateness of having a female chair a public meeting, so the job fell to a couple of Quaker males, Friend [James Mott](#) and Friend Thomas M'Clintock. A Quaker female, Friend Mary Ann M'Clintock, Jr., was allowed to fill the function of Secretary.

This meeting would be satirized in [Harper's Magazine](#). It has been noted that in this illustration, several of the male figures appear to have horns, one of the female figures is exhibiting her stockinged legs, one of the female figures appears to be reclining, and in the balcony, a male audience is hooting and hollering, but which one of these figures is the solitary black man in attendance — might he be any other than the seated figure in the center front of the illustration, the male who has a slouching female outrageously leaning her elbow on his

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shoulder?





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1849

[Fanny Kemble Butler](#) gave [Shakespeare](#) readings to support herself during and after her divorce from her slaveowning and indolent American husband, in Boston, New-York, Chicago, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia,

slaveholding
and indolent
American
husband →



and used her savings after this divorce to purchase a cottage she named “Perch,” in Lenox, Massachusetts near the Hawthorne and Melville families. She would grow increasingly eccentric and would, for instance, be seen fishing locally while attired in a man’s shirt and hat.

(Presumably it would have been during this period that she, Gerrit Smith of the Secret “Six”, and Frederick Douglass would attend a dinner party at the home of Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) in Philadelphia.)



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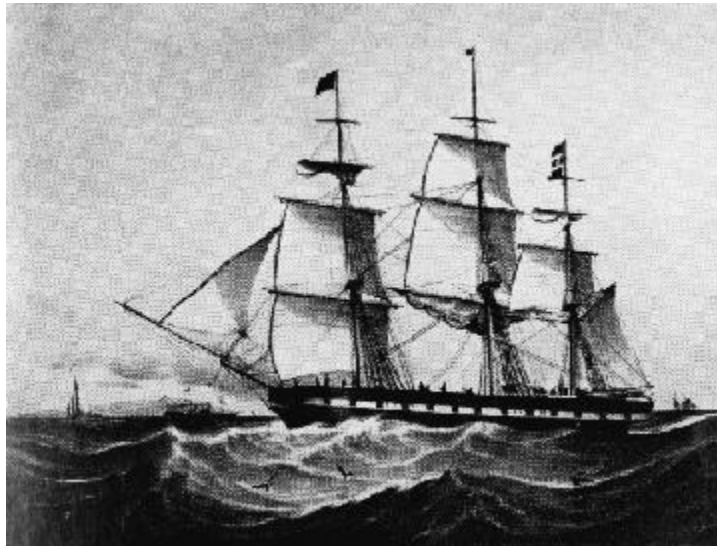
1850

April 13, Saturday: An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF APRIL 13

[Robert Collyer](#) and his bride Ann Longbottom Collyer set sail from Liverpool for New-York aboard the *Roscius* of the Dramatic Line. Robert's son Samuel by his previous marriage was left behind in the care of the child's grandmother, Harriet Norman Wells Collyer, in Leeds.



[Friend Lucretia Mott](#) wrote Sydney H. Gay, the husband of her friend Elizabeth Neall Gay, alluding to the differences between the Garrisonian abolitionists and those who supported the Liberty Party, and mentioning some concerns in regard to the influence of certain English ladies upon Frederick Douglass.

Philada. 4 Mo 13th. 50

My dear Sydney H. Gay

Bless Richard D. Webb & thy dear Self also, that letter from Liverpool, was answered long ago. It probably reached its destination, about the time that Richard sent his to thee. It is true, we delayed too long, for it is not the easiest thing in the world, to give advice on such an important matter. My husband willingly accepted the transfer of the task to himself, as being better acquainted with farming & the choice of land. But "come to the pinch", he too shrunk from saying, "I would come," or, "I wouldn't." When people are making a comfortable living in their own native land, it is a serious thing to "pull up stakes", and go to a strange country – especially for an



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Englishman, surrounded with the comforts & elegancies of life, as described by Emerson, Colman, and others, to come here & settle down in our Western Wilds, where such a contrast must be constantly presented. Let the starving millions, & the oppressed operatives come, and every thing here will compare favorably. We did however say all we could to encourage their making the experiment, with the more courage, or hope of their success too, because they contemplated joining Joseph Barker & other emigrants, & forming a neighborhood for themselves, on the Conn. Reserve in Ohio, which indeed is beginning to seem an old country, when compared with the Wisconsin & Iowas & Minnesotas. Our Correspondent – Suliot by name, ventured the hope that R. D. Webb & family might be induced to come with them.⁴⁴ We recd. a short letter from Richd. lately, wh. we intend to answer very soon. Sarah Pugh wrote him one of her prettiest, a short time since. Our subjects are so much in common, that it wont do to follow in too quick succession. I may however accept thy kind offer, & send a few lines to be enclosed in thine.

I am glad to be remembered by thy "Lizzie" in any way and the rebuke contained in the article sent, was so well deserved, I ought to feel it "a kindness", for never had a raft of "curious Quakeresses[]" less excuse for thrusting themselves into his clownish presence, "just to get a good look at" him.⁴⁵ He shewed himself at that time wanting in sympathy for the Slave, & since he now comes out a Negro hater, I feel less ashamed of our rudeness, in "boring" him thus.

Thy words of sympathy, dear Sydney, were grateful to us. Edward & Maria appreciated them, as coming from a heart, touched also with sorrow. Altho' human consolation cannot recal the dead, & therefore seems unavailing, yet it is so natural to crave sympathy, in distress "Have pity upon me, Oh ye my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me."⁴⁶ "Ye, who e'er lost an Angel, pity me!" and so natural too, to seek to alleviate grief & human suffering by kindly words, as well as deeds, that none need shrink from the heart's yearning in these directions. I confess however, to the feeling, to such a degree – that what I can offer, can be no alleviation, that I seldom attend a funeral, where expression seems to be called for. At such an hour, the inadequacy of words is paramount – & the inspiration to speak receives a check –

For thy great loss, in the removal of so loved a brother, I did

44. Apparently a Liverpool resident, Theodore E. Suliot, a teacher and cousin of the Webbs, wished to emigrate to the USA. See Mott to Richard and Hannah Webb, May 28, 1850, Boston Public Library; [Anti-Slavery Bugle](#), October 29, 1853, page 3. Drawing on his tour of Great Britain, [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured in Eastern cities in 1850, including six lectures in Philadelphia in April. After dining with Friend Lucretia on April 5th, Emerson described her as "a blessing & an ornament." See letter to Lidian Emerson, 6 April 1850, *LETTERS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (NY: Columbia UP, 1939), 4:194-95; see also Martha Coffin Wright to Mott, February 6, 1852, Garrison Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College. Henry Colman published many works on his European travels, including *EUROPEAN LIFE AND MANNERS: IN FAMILIAR LETTERS TO FRIENDS* (Boston: Little & Brown, 1849).

45. Possibly a reference to Father Theobald Mathew. The Irish temperance leader arrived in the USA in July 1849 and toured the Northeast throughout the fall. His refusal to condemn slavery provoked Garrison and other abolitionists. See Reverend Father Augustin, *FOOTPRINTS OF FATHER THEOBALD MATHEW O. F. M. CAP.* (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1947), pages 494-500; Ruchames and Merrill, *LETTERS*, Volume 3:640-76.

46. Mott's grandson, Charles Davis, died March 3rd. The quote is from *JOB* 19:21.



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indeed feel keenly – & more than once essayed to express it to thee – but failed.⁴⁷ I cannot offer the kind of consolation, which many do, & which thou alludes to – "the ways of Providence", &c – because so firm a believer in the natural laws, that when such useful & beautiful lives, as thy dear br's. & our precious Charlie's are cut off – I can ascribe it to no other cause, than our ignorance of these laws, or our failure to observe them –

This may appear cold unbelief – but commending itself as it does, to my reason it lessens in no wise all veneration for "Him who doeth all things well." equally in the universal operation of his alwise laws as could be by any special act or Providence[.] Yes, you will probably see the old Quakeress again at the Annual Mg.⁴⁸ but if she shd. tell thee she felt "moved to speak at the Tabernacle – the very utterance of it, would withdraw the "motion" – Thanks for the invitatn. to repeat a visit so pleasant to me – If possible it will give me great pleasure – Elizh. must not let [ms. damaged] dear boy keep her at home that week – in fulness of love
yrs. L Mott

I took but a scrap of paper, not expecting to say so much – After filling that, it occurs to me, that I have never acknowledged thine kindly sent in reply to my inquiries relative to the Syracuse Convention & the notable English ladies – the Griffeths. Thy explanatn. was altogether satisfactory & in my heart I thanked thee for it. We have our fears for Fredk. [Douglass] through the influence of these women – but hope that his strong good sense will preserve him from estrangement. Thy suggestion relative to employg. S. May Jr. as gen. Agt. – inducg. him to settle in New York, &c – havg. Quarry. Mgs. – & all that reads well, if we could only bring it about.⁴⁹ What Penna. would do toward it, we are not able to say; but judgg. from the past, we cannot hope the abolitionists hereaway wd. "shell out" any more liberally. I did not feel qualified to give an opinion, & that is one reason of my not answering thy letter sooner – We must talk the Cause well over when the Society comes together in New York – James Mott expects to be there next week or the week after. If he could see thee at that time, & talk over affairs of the Slave's interest, he could then report to our Ex. Com. before the Annual Mg. & at least strengthen the interest we all ought to feel, in the American Society's arrangements.

It was fully my intention to go to Syracuse – & Miller M'Kim wd. have gone if I had, but our family were so opposed to the winter-journey – that I had to give it up – But that Convenn. was such a Lib. Party affair, that we did not so much regret our absence

47. The physician and analytical chemist Dr. Martin Gay (born 1803) died on January 12th.

48. The annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was to be held May 7-9th at the Broadway Tabernacle in New-York. Mott did not attend this meeting, which was disrupted by rioters. New-York Tribune, May 10, 1850, page 2; Ruchames and Merrill, LETTERS, Volume 4, pages 6-15.

49. The Reverend Samuel May Jr. (1810-1999), a Unitarian minister and cousin of Samuel J. May, was then general agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and a strong Garrisonian.



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*from it.⁵⁰ Moreover Miller wd. not then have gone to Boston, and
he did & received good there –
again affecy L M*



50. Abolitionists meeting in Syracuse on January 15th had discussed the primacy of the American Anti-Slavery Society and heard a speech by Gerrit Smith supporting the Constitution and the Liberty Party. See page 18 of the Liberator for February 1, 1850.



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1855

According to pages 126-7 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), although Walt Whitman would in his old age imply that during his youth he had been an abolitionist, "this was simply not the case":

In his editorials for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle during the late 1840s, he attacked the abolitionists and blamed them for retarding the end of slavery by their fanaticism. He did disapprove of slavery, of course, but mainly because of its inconsistency with American ideals. He held a low opinion of Negroes, as his Civil War correspondence with his mother reveals, and his sympathy for them was limited. It was the revolutionaries in Europe, not abolitionism, that inspired him to become a poet of liberty, one whose attitude, as he described it in the 1855 preface, was "to cheer up slaves and horrify despots."... As a young boy, Whitman learned to place a high value on political revolt. From his grandmother he heard stories about the Revolutionary War, told from a patriot's point of view, and these formed a valued part of his education. Washington, naturally, became one of his heroes, and from his father, as is well known, he acquired a love of radical democrats. Whitman's father knew personally and admired Thomas Paine and Frances Wright (an ardent Scottish-born democrat and freethinker), and these two gained young Walt's reverence. Whitman became familiar with the writings of both, and *LEAVES OF GRASS*, as Justin Kaplan has pointed out, "borrowed the insurgent and questioning spirit of these mentors along with literal quotations from their writings."

During this year Whitman would be self-publishing the 1st edition of his *LEAVES OF GRASS*, containing "Song of Myself," proclaiming the ever-crowdpleasing American Exceptionalist attitude that these United States of America was the venue for the redemption of the human race and destined to give birth to a new world order:

This is what you shall do: Love the earth and sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to every one that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote your income and labor to others, hate tyrants, argue not concerning God, have patience and indulgence toward the people, take off your hat to nothing known or unknown or to any man or number of men, go freely with powerful uneducated persons and with the young and with the mothers of families, read these leaves in the open air every season of every year of your life, re-examine all you have been told at school or church or in any book, dismiss whatever insults your own soul, and your very flesh shall be a great poem and have the richest fluency not only in its words but in the silent lines of its lips and face and between the lashes of your eyes and in every motion and joint of your body....

So far as we know (according to Anne Lyon Haight's and Chandler B. Grannis's *BANNED BOOKS* 387 B.C. TO 1978 A.D., R.R. Bowker Co, 1978) the Library Company of Philadelphia would be the only American library to procure a copy of the 1st edition of *LEAVES OF GRASS*.⁵¹ In Philadelphia in this year, this volume was being read aloud in the home of [Friends James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), and a relative became so enthusiastic

51. Henry Thoreau's copy of *LEAVES OF GRASS* would be knocked down on auction at Sotheby's in 2002 or 2003, evidently to a Whitman collector, for US\$119,500.

REVOLUTION

FANNY WRIGHT

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that he went out and purchased a copy specially for his 17-year-old daughter.



"Specimen Days"

THROUGH EIGHT YEARS

In 1848, '49, I was occupied as editor of the "daily Eagle" newspaper, in Brooklyn. The latter year went off on a leisurely journey and working expedition (my brother Jeff with me) through all the middle States, and down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Lived awhile in New Orleans, and work'd there on the editorial staff of "daily Crescent" newspaper. After a time plodded back northward, up the Mississippi, and around to, and by way of the great lakes, Michigan, Huron, and Erie, to Niagara falls and lower Canada, finally returning through central New York and down the Hudson; traveling altogether probably 8000 miles this trip, to and fro. '51, '53, occupied in house-building in Brooklyn. (For a little of the first part of that time in printing a daily and weekly paper, "the Freeman.") '55, lost my dear father this year by death. Commenced putting LEAVES OF GRASS to press for good, at the job printing office of my friends, the brothers Rome, in Brooklyn, after many MS. doings and undings - (I had great trouble in leaving out the stock "poetical" touches, but succeeded at last.) I am now (1856-'7) passing through my 37th year.



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As the poet would report in the Camden Post for April 16, 1891:

“Memoranda”

Lost my dear father this year by death.... Commenced putting LEAVES OF GRASS to press, for good – after many MSS. doings and undoings – (I had great trouble in leaving out the stock “poetical” touches – but succeeded at last.) The book has since had some eight hitches or stages of growth, with one annex, (and another to come out in 1891, which will complete it.)

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[Abby Kelley Foster](#) had all her teeth pulled in Massachusetts, under [nitrous oxide](#), and replaced with full dentures, although in her case the sequence of operations took months. She then visited [Friends James](#) and



[Lucretia Mott](#) at their new home “Roadside” outside Philadelphia, and Friend Lucretia wrote



Her throat far from well & she is quite hoarse. All her teeth have been extracted & a temp set in – she is fine lookg yet. [sic]

Then, on her way back from Philadelphia to New-York, Abby Kelley Foster stopped by [Eagleswood](#) in [New](#)



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Jersey.





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1859

October: Mrs. Mary Ann Day Brown –who had just lost two sons, unceremoniously dumped at midnight into an



unmarked pit courtesy of the US Army, and was due to lose a husband as well– took shelter at “Roadside,” the home of [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) in Cheltenham Hills outside Philadelphia (America’s city of brotherly love).





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November 1, Tuesday: John Brown wrote from his cell to a [Quaker](#):

*"You know that Christ once armed Peter;
so also in my case I think he put a sword in my hand."*



← **It had been George Washington's sword
that he had had in his hand.**



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[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston to make arrangements: "I will come to Boston as desired. My subject will be 'Capt. John Brown'...." He delivered "A Plea for Captain John Brown" that evening to a crowd of 2,500 at the Boston Music Hall, and the lecture would be widely reported in the newspapers.

The following is a description of the site of the lecture from a guide book published in 1856, starting on page 47:



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This spacious edifice stands opposite the Tremont House, Tremont Street. Of a rich and warm brown tint, produced by a coating of mastic, it presents a peculiarly substantial and elegant frontage. It is seventy-five feet in height, and, with the exception of ten feet by sixty-eight which is left open on the north side for light, the building covers an area of thirteen thousand feet.

Passing through the great central doorway, we find ourselves in the spacious entrance hall. On the first floor we observe on our right and left hand two ticket offices, and a broad flight of stairs also on either hand, each of which at their summit terminates in a landing, from whence to right and left diverge two flights of similar staircases, one landing you in the centre of the main hall, and the other to the rear part and the gallery.

The MAIN HALL is a magnificent apartment. The utter absence of gilding and coloring on its walls renders it far more imposing and grand in appearance than if it had been elaborately ornamented with auriferous and chromatic splendors. It is one hundred and twenty-four feet long, seventy-two feet wide, and fifty feet high. Around the sides of it runs a gallery supported on trusses, so that no pillars intervene between the spectators and the platform, to obstruct the view. The front of this gallery is balustraded, and by this means a very neat and uniform effect is secured. The side galleries project over the seats below about seven feet. They are fitted with rows of nicely-cushioned and comfortable seats, and are not so high as to render the ascent to them wearisome in the least degree. The front gallery, though it projects into the hall only ten feet, extends back far enough to give it more than three times that depth.

Directly opposite this gallery is the platform, with its gracefully-panelled, semicircular front. This platform, covered with a neat oil cloth, communicates with the side galleries by a few steps, for-the convenience of large choirs. There are also several avenues of communication from the platform to the apartments, dressing rooms, &c., behind, which are exceedingly convenient, and are far superior to the places of exit and entrance from and to any other place of the kind that we have ever seen.

From the front of the platform the floor of the hall gradually rises so as to afford every person in the hall a full and unobstructed view of the speakers or vocalists, as the case may be. The seats in the galleries rise in like manner. The seats on the hall floor are admirably arranged in a semicircular form from the front of the platform, so that every face is directed towards the speaker or singer. They are each one numbered, have iron ends, are capped with mahogany, and are completely cushioned with a



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drab-colored material. Each slip is capable of containing ten or twelve persons, with an aisle at each extremity, and open from end to end.

The side walls of the hall are very beautifully ornamented in panels, arched and decorated with circular ornaments, which would be difficult properly to describe without the aid of accompanying drawings; but as views of the interior of the Temple will soon be common enough, the omission here will be of little consequence. As was intimated, there is no fancy coloring; it is a decorated and relieved surface of dead white, and the effect, lighted as it is from above by large panes of rough plate glass, is beautifully chaste. The only color observable in the hall is the purple screen behind the diamond open work at the back of the platform, and which forms a screen in front of the organ.

The ceiling is very finely designed in squares, at all intersections of which are twenty-eight gas burners, with strong reflectors, and a chandelier over the orchestra, shedding a mellow but ample light over the hall. By this arrangement the air heated by innumerable jets of gas is got rid of, and the lights themselves act as most, efficient ventilators. The eyes are likewise protected from glare; and should an escape of gas take place, from its levity it passes up through shafts to the outside, and does not contaminate the atmosphere below. Under the galleries are common burners. There are for day illumination twelve immense plates of glass, ten feet long, four feet wide, placed in the ceiling, in the spring of the arch, and open directly to the outer light, and by sixteen smaller ones under the galleries.

The whole of the flooring of the hall, in the galleries, the body of it, and of the platform, consists of two layers of boards, with the interstices between them filled by a thick bed of mortar. The advantages of this in an acoustical point of view must be obvious to all. Another advantage is, that the applause made by the audience in this great hall does not disturb the people who may at the same time be holding a meeting in the other hall below -- a very important consideration.

There are eight flights of stairs leading from the floors of the main hall, and four from the galleries, the aggregate width of which is over fifty feet.

The Boston Young Men's Christian Association occupy several beautiful rooms up one flight of stairs, which are admirably adapted for their present uses and occupants, and are rented by the Association for twelve hundred dollars per annum, though it is estimated that they are worth at least fifteen hundred dollars; but the Temple is owned by a church who were very desirous that a religious association should occupy them.



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The great organ, built by the Messrs. Hook, is one of the finest instruments ever constructed in this country. Its bellows is worked by steam.

The Tremont Temple, besides the great hall, contains a lesser one, called THE MEIONAON, the main entrance to which is through the northerly passage way, opposite the doors of the Tremont House; this avenue is about seven feet wide. The southerly passage way serves as an outlet from this lesser temple.

Perhaps the reader, who may not have been initiated into the mysteries of Greek literature, may thank us a definition of this strange-looking word, "Meionaon." It is so called from two Greek words — meion, signifying *less*, *smaller*, and naon, *temple* — Lesser Temple. It is pronounced Mi-o-na-on. This lesser temple is situated back from the street, and directly under the great hall. It is seventy-two feet long by fifty-two feet wide, and about twenty-five and a half feet high. Not so elaborately adorned as its neighbor overhead, this hall is remarkably chastely and beautifully fitted up, and within its walls the religious society of Tremont Street Baptist Church worship. Its walls are relieved by pilasters supporting arches. The seats are similarly arranged to those in the hall above and are equally comfortable and commodious in all respects. At one end is a platform, on which, on Sabbath days, stands a beautiful little pulpit, of dark walnut, and cushioned with crimson velvet. At the other extremity of the hall is a gallery for a choir; back of it stands a neat little organ. The place is beautifully adapted for sound, and competent judges say from their own experience that it is a remarkably easy place to speak in. From the hall to the outer door the way is through a broad passage way covered with Manilla matting let into the floor, so that little dirt can be brought in from the street; and as the doors swing on noiseless hinges, no interruption from scuffling of feet or slammings can ever occur.

THE CUPOLA.—In making our way thither we travel over the ceiling of the great hall, dropping our heads as we pass beneath roof and rafter, to save our hat and skull, and beholding beneath our feet a great network of gas-piping connected with the burners of the hall under us. In long rows are square ventilators, which discharge their streams of vitiated air on the outside.

The cupola forms a spacious observatory, glazed all round, and from every window is obtained a charming view, the whole forming one of the most superb panoramas that we ever witnessed. From this elevated spot may be seen the adjacent villages and towns, the harbor and its islands, the city institutions, churches, houses, and shipping. In short, the whole city and vicinity lies at our feet.



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While the speeches were going on, after losing two of her sons –their mutilated bodies unceremoniously dumped into an unmarked pit at midnight by the US Army– Mary Ann Day Brown was still waiting at “Roadside” in Cheltenham Hills outside Philadelphia, the home of Friends [Lucretia](#) and [James Mott](#), to lose her



husband as well.



The Staunton [Spectator](#) contained a report from Chambersburg PA, detailing the capture of John E. Cook and providing a biographical sketch. Their West Augusta Guard would be called up to keep the peace during the



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trials at Charles Town.



We find a note in Bronson Alcott's journal about Thoreau reading this lecture on John Brown at the Boston Music Hall on this evening — and again in Worcester on Monday, November 3rd. In addition, the Boston Journal included a notice that, the scheduled speaker, Frederick Douglass, being unable to attend, it would be Thoreau who would deliver the fifth lecture, on John Brown, in the Fraternity Lectures series.

[THERE ARE NO ENTRIES IN THOREAU'S JOURNAL FOR 1-4 NOVEMBER]



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1863

January 1, Thursday: The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered the annual election sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature.

Major General John B. Magruder, who had become the Confederate commander of military forces in Texas on November 29, 1862, gave the recapture of Galveston top priority. At 3AM four Confederate gunboats appeared, coming down the bay toward Galveston. Soon afterward, the Rebels commenced a land attack. The Union forces in Galveston were three companies of the 42d Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment under the command of Colonel Isaac S. Burrell. The Confederates captured or killed all of them except for the regiment's adjutant. They also took the *Harriet Lane*, by boarding her, and two barks and a schooner. Commander W.B. Renshaw's flagship, the USS *Westfield*, ran aground when trying to help the *Harriet Lane* and, at 10AM, she was blown up to prevent her capture. Galveston was in Confederate hands again although the Union blockade would limit commerce in and out of the harbor. Soon afterward, the Rebels would be commencing a land attack upon the port city.

Congress had enacted in 1861 that all slaves employed against the Union were to be considered free, and in 1862 that all slaves of men who supported the Confederacy were to be considered free. At this point President Abraham Lincoln, who had been dragging his feet, more or less got on board this onrushing train. Having made a preliminary proclamation on September 22, 1862 that [emancipation](#) from [slavery](#) would become effective, at the turn of the year, in those states which had not renounced their rebelliousness, at this point he made good on his threat by issuing a proclamation of emancipation that had been drafted by a bunch of Washington lawyers.

READ THE FULL TEXT

A devout man, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Portland Chase read the BIBLE daily and sought comfort in God for the loss of so many of his wives and so many of his children. When Chase had called to the President's attention that there was no mention of the Deity in the draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had allowed as a new last line "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of all mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

At the clock tick which began this year he, as a martial law measure, offered to "emancipate" all those slaves he did not have the power physically to touch, without offering anything at all to any slave whom he did have the power physically to touch. It was a neat trick, especially since we have no reason to suspect that he would have been willing to touch any black person whom he did have the power physically to touch. Although to all appearances he grandly was declaring to be free all slaves residing in territories in rebellion against the federal government, his "Emancipation Proclamation," so called, would turn out to be actually only a temporary martial-law proclamation, which in accordance with the deliberate intention of its careful drafters would free precious few. (I don't know that a head count has ever been conducted, and here suggest that such a count would prove to be alarming if not nauseating.) The proclamation explicitly stated that it did not apply at all to any of the slaves in border states fighting on the Union side; nor would it be of any applicability to slaves in



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A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the executive will on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-In-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual arm rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing [*sic*??] said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and in accordance with purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the first day above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Palquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebone, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northhampton [*sic*??], Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all case when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.



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The federal government's temporary instrument of war allowed that, while human slavery would continue to be tolerated everywhere within its sphere of influence, it would no longer tolerate this practice in any area **not** within said sphere of influence.

Nevertheless, before a black audience in Tremont Temple in Boston, this governmental declaration was read aloud and Frederick Douglass led in the singing of the hymn "Blow ye the trumpet, blow!" [William Cooper Nell](#), President of the sponsoring Union Progressive Association, addressed the group. For this occasion [Waldo Emerson](#) composed "Boston Hymn," a poem in which he neatly cut the Gordian Knot of compensation:

Pay ransom to the owner
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is the owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

We may imagine that on this occasion hands were shaken all around, with no distinction of color. Imagine then, if you will, the author of this Emancipation Proclamation, President Abraham Lincoln, during one of his many electoral campaigns, reaching down from the stump and grasping the hand of a black man. Do you fancy that this ever happened?

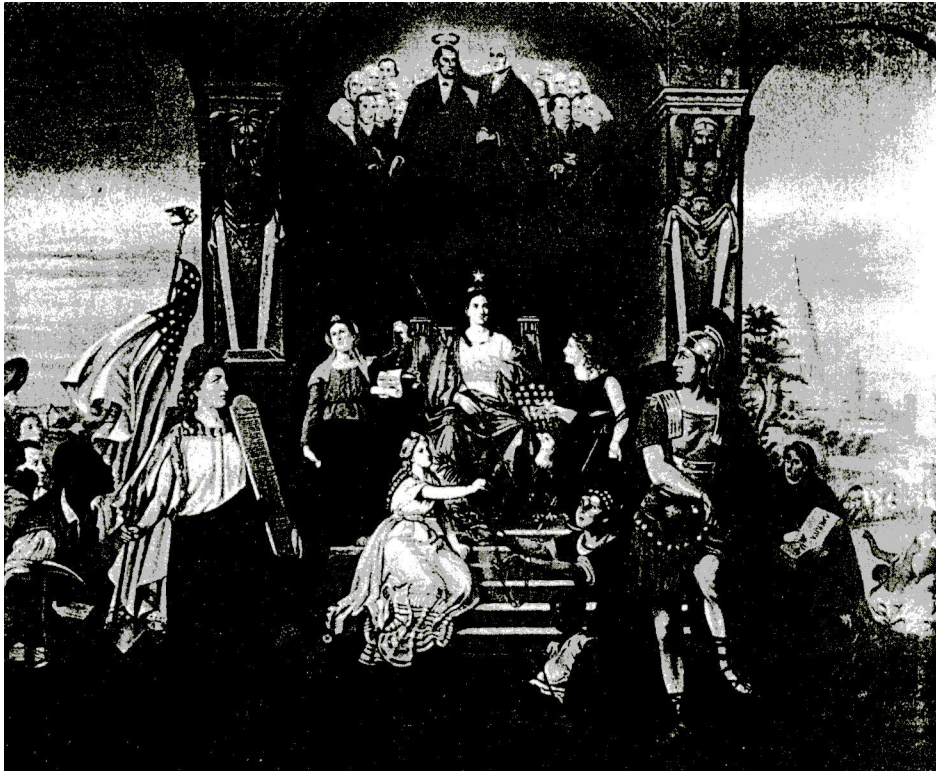
The word "[emancipation](#)," after all, comes to us from the Latin *manus*, meaning "hand," and *capio*, meaning "take." When a Roman purchased something, it was considered that the act of purchasing was not complete, either conventionally or legally, until he had grasped it with his hand. If he was purchasing land, he picked up a handful of soil and thereby took title. If he was purchasing a slave, he took hold of the slave and thereby took title.

The power of this *paterfamilias* over his son was, in fact, the same as the power of this man over his slave –

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he could execute either one— but there was a legal ceremony by which, when his son became of age, his son could be set free to form his own *familias*. In that ceremony the father took the son by the hand, as if he were taking possession of a slave, but then dropped his son's hand. After he had done this three times in succession, his son was *emancipio*. Emancipation, therefore, had a lot to do with shaking hands. Except during the US Civil War.

I am leading up to saying that Abraham Lincoln “emancipated” all those slaves he did not have the power physically to touch, but did not emancipate any slave he did have the power physically to touch. It was a neat trick. Here, in this painting, we can see how it was done:



The Emancipation Proclamation was an offer to place names on a list, which persons, should they fulfil the preconditions, would, at the end of the period of hostilities, be granted papers of [manumission](#) by the Federal Government. This was a very formal matter. It required prior registration. Whose names were actually so registered? Who actually received such papers of manumission? There should be such a list somewhere, if anyone did initiate or complete this process and if anyone did actually get freedom through this vehicle. Where is that list? How long is it? Does it exist? No, my friend, you've been conned. After a long and bloody civil war which was fought over whether we were going to be one nation state or two rather than over racial issues, we got ourselves out of this holiday from the Commandments in part by a carefully worded temporary martial law measure denominated the Emancipation Proclamation, which had been created by a team of white Washington DC lawyers. Under the terms of that martial law measure, which lapsed as soon as martial law lapsed, if a Southern slave could make it across the battle lines intact, and then perform labor for the Northern armies, and if that Southern slave could arrange to have his or her name recorded as part of the indicated program, as one of its beneficiaries, **then**, and **only** then, could he or she hope that at the successful conclusion



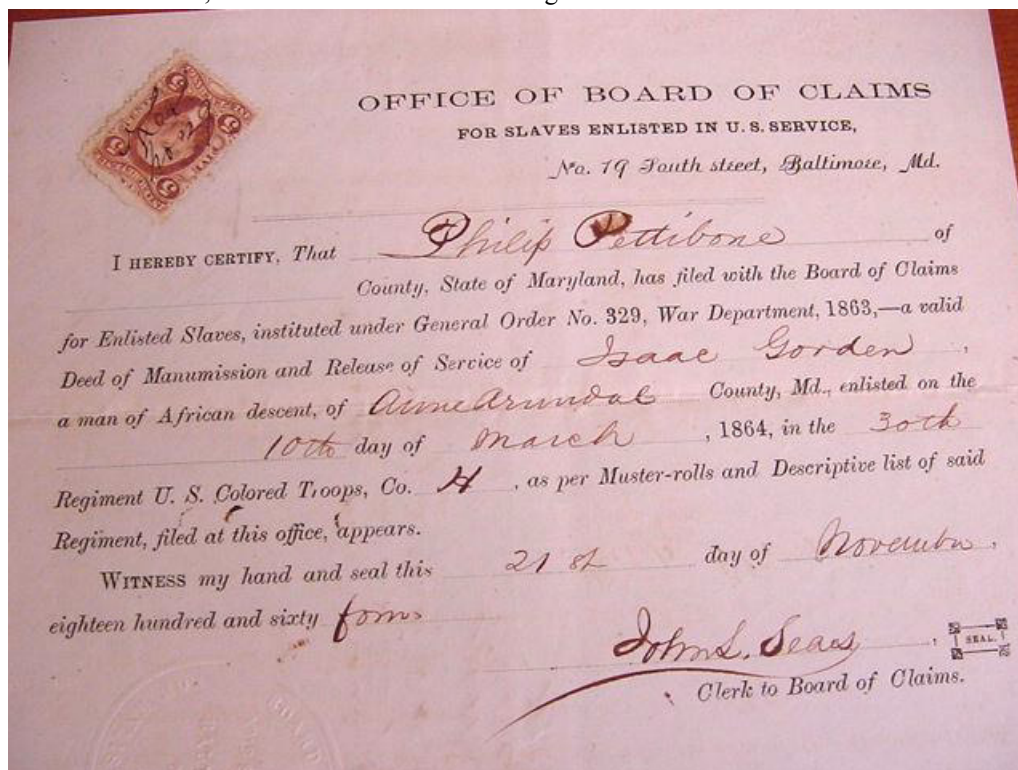
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of the war he or she would receive freebie manumission papers from the federal government. Read the fine print, and weep. I don't know how few people managed to avail themselves of this very restricted opportunity, but I do know it must have been very few, and I suspect in fact that it was zero. Perhaps one reason why we don't have a list of the names of people who obtained freedom in this way is embarrassment, at how short or null such a list would prove to be. We don't want to know about such things.

I have come across one such actual named military emancipation from this period. This emancipation did not, however, relate in any way to the Emancipation Proclamation. It related, instead, to a military Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves which was instituted under General Order No. 329 of the War Department during 1863. Here is the original certification of manumission document, from this Office of the Board of Claims, and it seems to be based on military service that had been rendered by the slave Isaac Gorden as a member of H Company, 30th Regiment. of the U.S. Colored Troops. It includes an order to reimburse the owner of this soldier Isaac Gordon, a man named N. Hammond Esgless. The document reads as follows: "OFFICE OF



BOARD OF CLAIMS for slaves enlisted in U.S. Service, No. 19 South Street, Baltimore, [Maryland](#). I HEREBY CERTIFY, That Philip Pettibone of [blank] county, State of Maryland, has filed with the Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves, instituted under General Order No. 329, War Department, 1863, - a valid Deed of Manumission and Release of service of Isaac Gorden a man of African decent, of Anne Arundel county, Md., enlisted on the 10th day of March, 1864, in the 30th Regiment U.S. Colored Troops, Co. H, as per Muster-rolls and descriptive list of said Regiment, filed at this office, appears. Witness my hand and seal this 21st. day of November, eighteen hundred and sixty four [signed] John S. Sears, Clerk to Board of Claims." There is an impress seal that says: Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves No. 19 South St. Baltimore, Md. At the bottom of the document the following appears: "\$100.00 Annapolis Md. Nov. 29, 1864. The Treasurer of the State of Maryland, Pay to N. Hammond Esgless, or Order, the sum of One Hundred Dollars, being the sum appropriated for my slave Isaac Gorden, of Anne arundel County, Md. enlisted as described in the above

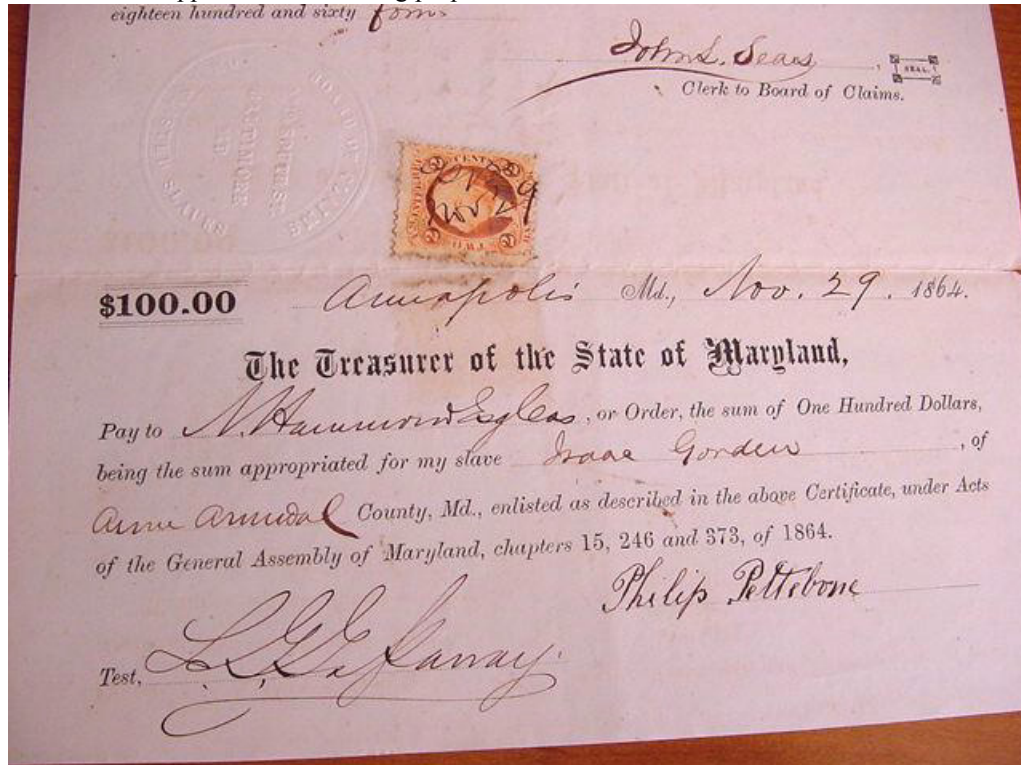



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Certificate, under Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, chapter 15, 246 and 373, of 1864. [signed] Philip Pettibone Test, [signature illegible] There are two Revenue stamps, a 5-cent and 2-cent, attached to the document and they are dated "Nov 29." The document has two folds. There is writing on the back of the document which appears to be for filing purposes.

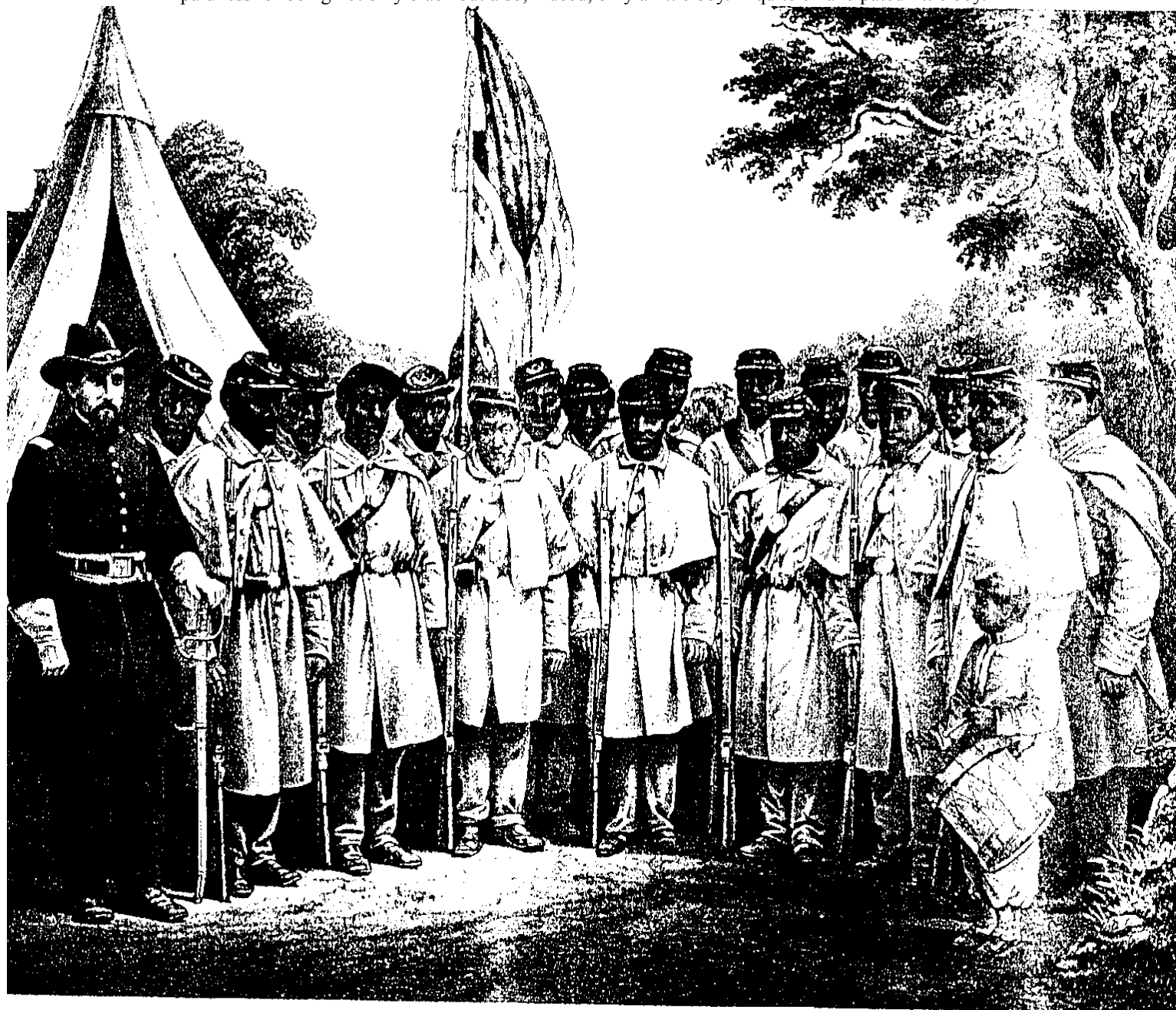


After the Emancipation Proclamation, however, Headman Seattle (See-Ahth of the Susquamish) of the Susquamish, the same "Chief Seattle" who is famous for an environmentalist speech in the manner in which we all should be famous for our environmental speeches, that is, famous for an environmental speech which in fact wasn't made (his actual speech seems to have been about the deep spiritual differences between peoples of widely differing cultures), **did** free his eight Native American slaves. 

In this year, the Union army would begin to enlist black soldiers, to serve of course under white officers, of course at a lower rate of pay than white soldiers. Notice this unit's drummer, who was paid at a lower rate still,

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paid less for being not only black but also, indeed, only a little boy. A quite emancipated little boy.



COME AND JOIN US BROTHERS.

PUBLISHED BY THE SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE FOR RECRUITING COLORED REGIMENTS

1210 CHESTNUT ST. PHILADELPHIA.

The lithograph which pictured this little drummer was based on a daguerreotype made indoors, next door to

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“Roadside”, the country home of Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) near Philadelphia.



This was a military training camp, on which people were preparing for the task of killing other people, and it was named “Camp [William Penn](#),” after a [Quaker](#) pacifist who was being alleged to have given up the wearing



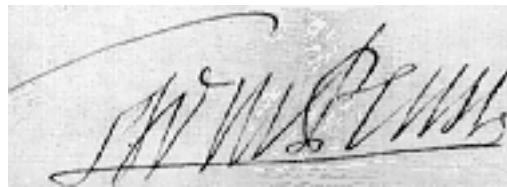
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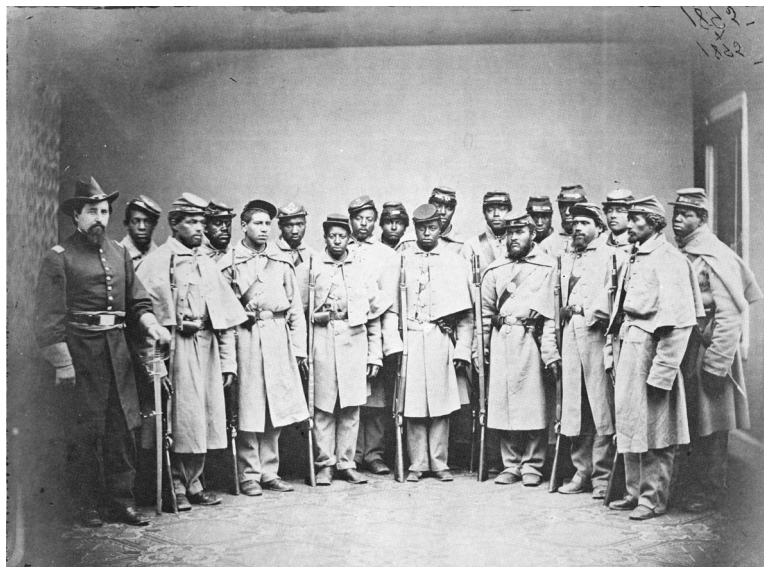
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of the sword of nobility, whose favorite punch line went:

It is not our ends that justify our means.



The image is a fraud. In the original, there is no flag waving bravely in the background. There is no tent. There is no greenery. There is no little drummer boy flanking to the right. Looking carefully at the fraud, we can see that the countenances of the black men have been sketched on, exaggerating their negroid features in such manner as to emphasize, that the important thing which we are to grasp about these Union soldiers, is their ethnicity.



Here is a real photograph of Camp [William Penn](#). As you can clearly see, a waving flag looks quite a bit

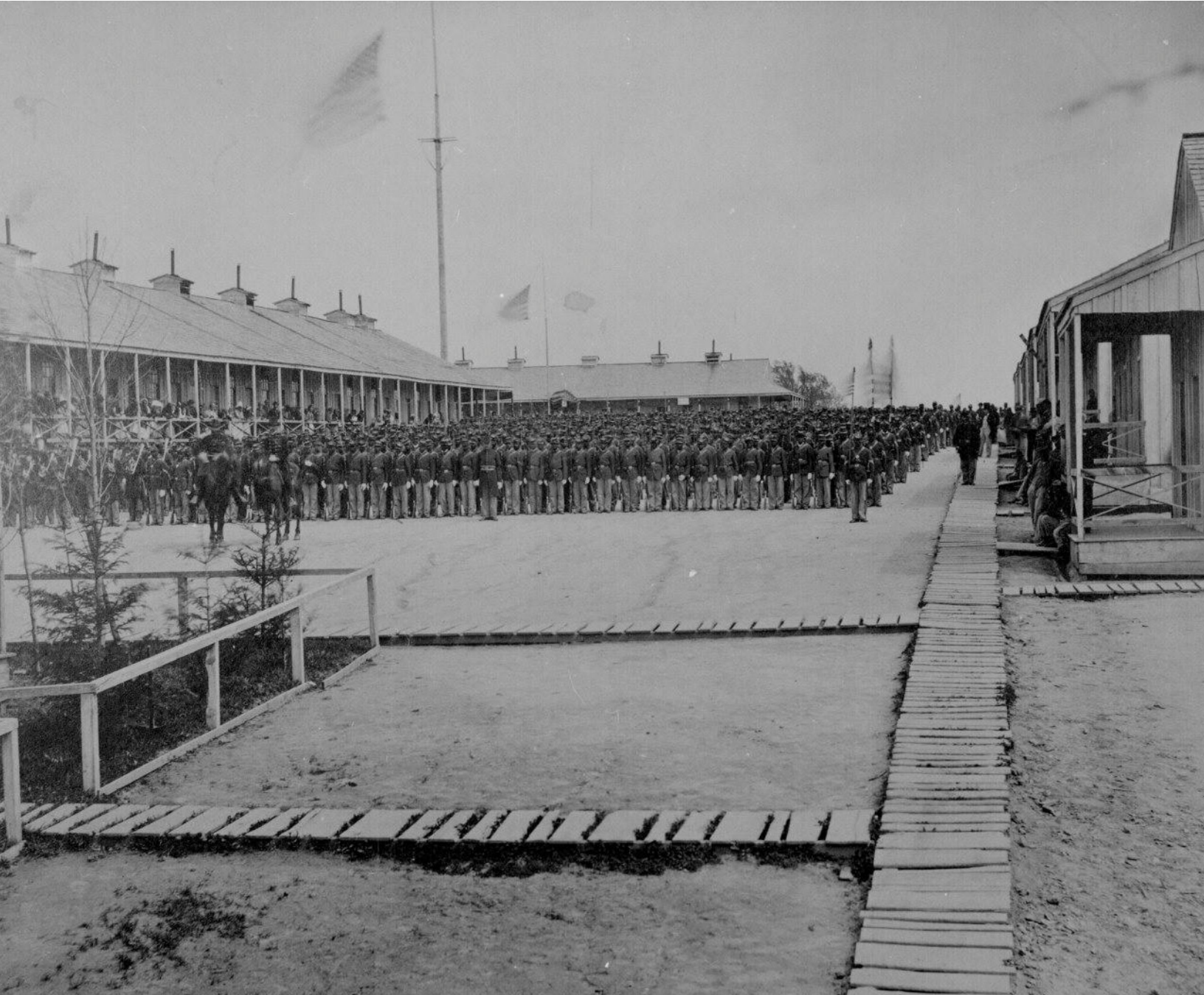


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different in a real photograph of the period!



The irony of this seems rather heavy. [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) wrote, as his contribution to the recruitment campaign for the war (what if they gave a war and nobody came?), the immortal patriotic doggerel

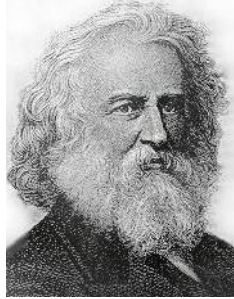


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“one if by day, and two if by night.”⁵³



Frederick Douglass traveled through the cities of the North, recruiting black men to serve the Union Army. His son Lewis, age 22, and his son Charles Remond, age 19, were among the first to enlist. But the Union armies were routinely returning runaways to their owners. General McClellan ordered that slave rebellions were to be put down “with an iron hand.” But there were **so many** runaways. Finally, in Virginia, a Union general who believed in slavery, Benjamin Butler, began to declare them “contraband of war” and put them to work. Although Abraham Lincoln had twice disciplined Union generals who had freed slaves, putting slaves to work was something the President could accept, and the result was the Confiscation Act.

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson described a celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation at Camp Saxton on one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, that had been occupied by Northern black

53. Well, at least that was the way Gerald Ford’s teleprompter had it, when he gave the keynote address at the Concord Bicentennial Celebration of April 19, 1975 at the Old North Bridge. And perhaps no poet has been parodied more: it’s all because, while he was at Bowdoin College in 1822 with author-to-be [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) (still [Hathorne](#)) and president-to-be [Franklin Pierce](#), he was accustomed to play whist without a helmet.

[Acting on a news story about ex-Presidents selling their autographs, I have sent a copy of this page to ex-President Gerald Rudolph Ford, along with a \$1.⁰⁰ bill and a reminder that in the era in question a dollar bill was worth almost precisely what a C-note is worth today, and asked if he could in good humor initial below:

X _____]

Longfellow’s thing about “one if by land, and two if by sea” was of course inaccurate in that the Atlantic Ocean didn’t ever get involved. The militia’s concern was whether the regular troops stabled in Boston were going to march down the Neck and through Roxbury, or first row themselves across the Charles River so they could march through Cambridge. In quoting Longfellow before the Concordians on April 19, 1975 as having said “one if by day, and two if by night,” Former President Gerald Rudolph Ford, Jr., seems to me to have been saying something very Thoreauvian to these people, he was almost saying:

Look, this history stuff you have been passing off is drivelt, and besides, you aren’t at all like your ancestors. For one thing your ancestors didn’t worship themselves, the way you worship yourselves through your ancestors. For another thing, it’s way past time you people got busy and did something for others, rather than wanting other people to come around and make your bacon for you. Would you look at this dump, you’re turning Concord into a damned tourist trap! By creatively “misquoting” this poem, I’m going to show you how little it, and you, are worth in the great scheme of things.



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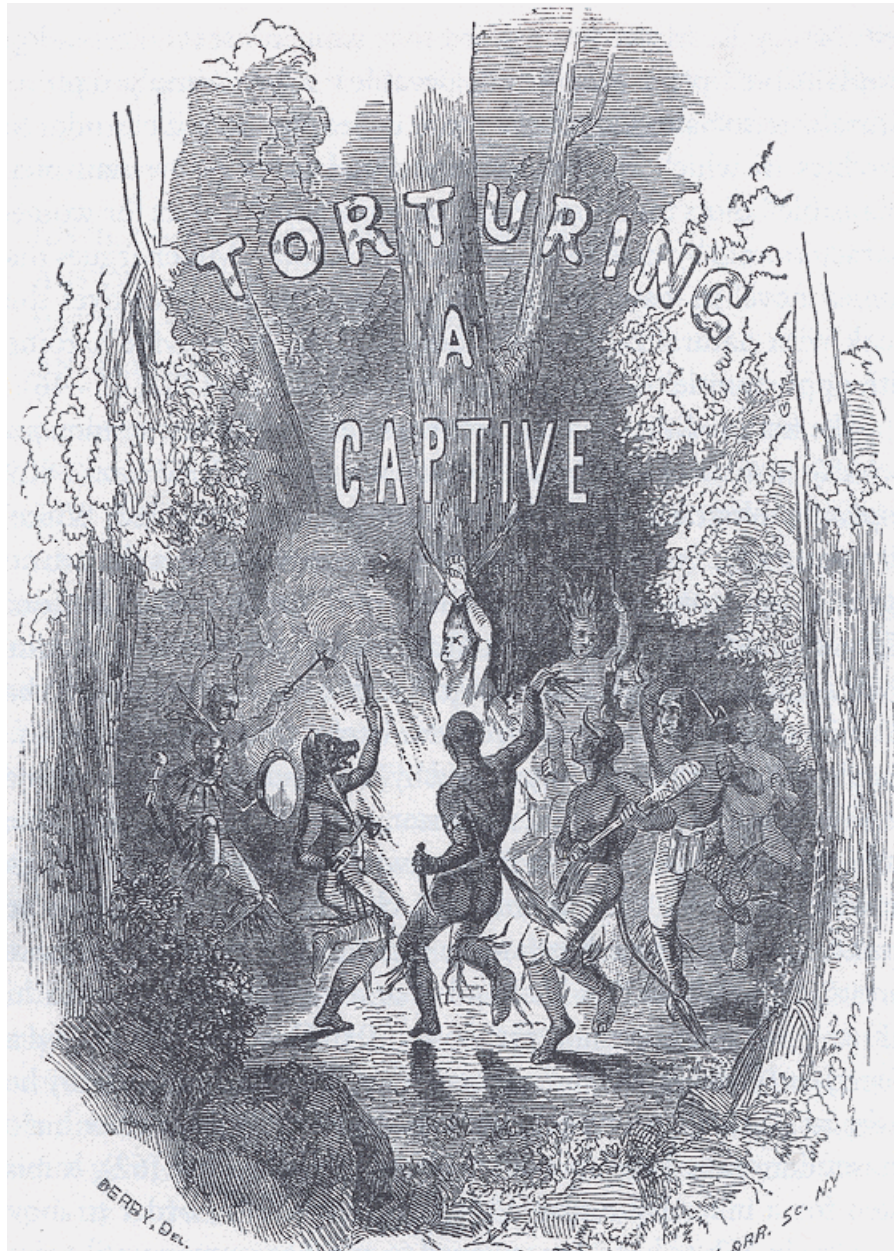
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troops and were being protected by the ships of the US Navy.

The services began at half past eleven o'clock, with a prayer.... Then the President's Proclamation was read.... Then the colors were presented.... Then followed an incident so touching, so utterly unexpected and startling, that I can scarcely believe it on recalling, though it gave the keynote to the whole day. The very moment the speaker had ceased, and just as I took and waved the flag, which now for the first time meant anything to these poor people, there suddenly arose, close beside the platform, a strong male voice (but rather cracked and elderly), into which two women's voices instantly blended, singing as if by an impulse that could no more be repressed than the morning note of the song-sparrow. —

My Country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing!

After the ceremony the white officers visited a nearby plantation and viewed the instruments of torture still lying in the local slave-jail.

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In Beaufort, South Carolina, the Reverend Dr. [William Henry Brisbane](#), the Union officer in charge of auctioning off the lands and structures of the former slave plantations of the district, read the Emancipation Proclamation aloud to thousands of freedmen.

General John Pope sent General Henry Hastings Sibley and General Alfred Sully onto the Dakota reservation in Minnesota, to hunt down the remaining tribespeople and get them off their land so it could be divided into

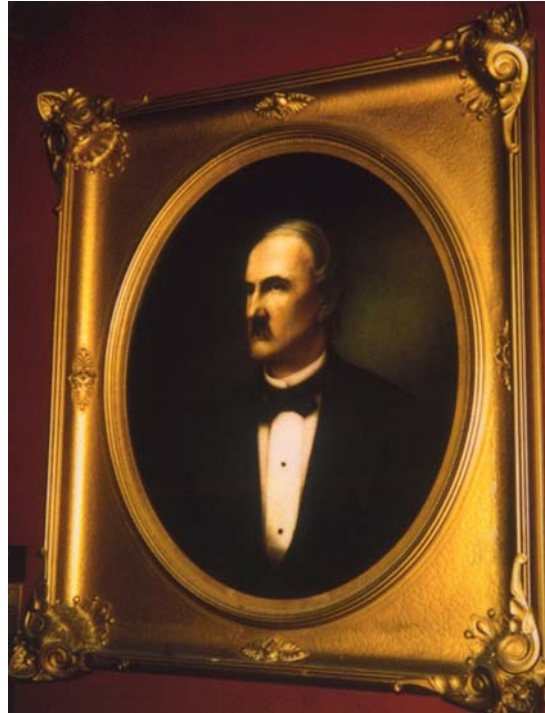


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farm acreage for white people.



(Early in this year, [Stephen Grover Cleveland](#), a future president, was 26 years of age and it was time to serve his country — so he hired a man to serve in his stead. He was just as much a draft dodger, in his era, as [William J. Clinton](#) and [George W. Bush](#), in our own era!)

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: January 14, 2014



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.