

“TRUTH FOR AUTHORITY, NOT AUTHORITY FOR TRUTH”¹

Lucretia Mott.



[\[JOIN THE LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT PROJECT AT HTTP://WWW.MOTT.POMONA.EDU\]](http://www.mott.pomona.edu)

1. Class, for extra credit, you can write a short essay on the issue, Who was it who insisted that “The Great Spirit of the Indian, the Quaker’s ‘Inward Light’ of George Fox, the ‘Blessed Mary, Mother of Jesus’ of the Catholics, or Brahma, the Hindoo’s God — they will all be one, and there will come to be such faith and such liberty as shall redeem the world” — was it Henry David Thoreau or was it [Friend Lucretia Mott](#)?

Mott was related to [Benjamin Franklin John Greenleaf Whittier](#), Henry Adams, and Octavius Brooks Frothingham.



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1793

January 3, Thursday: On [Nantucket Island](#), [Friend](#) Lucretia Coffin received her membership in the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (that is, she was born on this date as a “birthright” member of a [Quaker](#) family).

A native of the Island of Nantucket, – of the Coffins and Macys on the father’s side, and of the Folgers on the mother’s; through them related to Dr. Franklin.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Born in 1793. During childhood was made actively useful to my mother, who, in the absence of my father, on a long voyage, was engaged in mercantile business, often going to Boston and purchasing goods in exchange for oil and candles, the staple of the island. The exercise of women’s talents in this line, as well as the general care which devolved upon them in the absence of their husbands, tended to develop their intellectual powers and strengthen them mentally and physically.

LUCRETIA MOTT

AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY



FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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, Massachusetts](#) 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, Massachusetts and Hampton and Dover, New Hampshire 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, New Hampshire 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 North Adams meeting in the north-west corner of

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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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.




FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

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1804


 The Coffin family of [Friends](#) relocated from [Nantucket Island](#) to Boston:

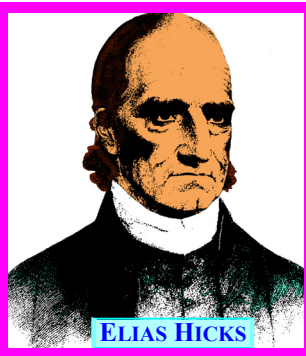
In 1804 my father's family removed to Boston, and in the public and private schools of that city I mingled with all classes without distinction. My parents were of the Religious Society of Friends, and endeavored to preserve in their children the peculiarities of that sect, as well as to instill its more important principles. My father had a desire to make his daughters useful.



LUCRETIA MOTT

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 [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,



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.



FRIEND LUCRETIA

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1807

 From Long Island, the daughters of [Friend Elias Hicks](#), Elizabeth, age 16, and Sarah, age 14, went to Nine Partners school and there became friends with Friend Lucretia Coffin, age 15.

LUCRETIA MOTT

At this point in his spiritual journey, Hicks was being



led, in a clear manner, to show the ground from whence all darkness and unbelief proceeded; that it was from a want of due attention to, and right belief in, the **inward manifestation of divine light**, which reveals itself in the heart of man against sin and uncleanness; and at the same time shows what is right, and justifies for right doing. Therefore while men disregard this inward divine principle, of grace and truth, and do not believe in it, as **essential** and **sufficient** to **salvation**; they are in danger of becoming ... so blinded as not to believe in ... the very essential doctrines of perfection, as contained in the clear, rational, and positive injunction of our dear Lord; Be ye therefore perfect.... **It is by obedience to this inward light only**, that we are prepared for an admittance into the heavenly kingdom.

Friend Lucretia's take on these youthful years would be:



FRIEND LUCRETIA

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1808



Schoolmaster Benjamin Tappan beat a student so severely that he was obliged to summon a physician.

In upstate New York, [Friend](#) Lucretia Coffin became an assistant teacher at the Nine Partners school.

LUCRETIA MOTT





FRIEND LUCRETIA

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1809



Friend Lucretia Coffin became one of the regular teachers at Nine Partners.

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



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

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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 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 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

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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Between 1812 and 1828 Lucretia would bear six children, five of whom would survive to adulthood. But, she didn't know that yet.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





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1812



[Lucretia Mott](#) gave birth to her first child.



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1813



[Ann Preston](#) was born as a birthright [Quaker](#) in West Grove, Pennsylvania, the oldest daughter and 2d of nine children of Friend Amos Preston, a recorded minister of the West Grove Meeting, and Margaret Smith Preston. The family, which was intimate with Public Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), was abolitionist and supported the women's rights movement. Friend Ann would attend a Friends school in West Grove and later a Friends boarding school in West Chester.






FRIEND LUCRETIA

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1818

 [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) began to prepare herself for a career as a public minister for the [Religious Society of Friends](#), at least initially with the support of her monthly meeting:

At twenty-five years of age, surrounded with a little family and many cares, I felt called to a more public life of devotion to duty, and engaged in the ministry in our Society, receiving every encouragement from those in authority, until a separation among us, in 1827, when my convictions led me to adhere to the sufficiency of the light within us, resting on truth as authority, rather than "taking authority for truth." The popular doctrine of human depravity never commended itself to my reason or conscience. I "searched the Scriptures daily," finding a construction of the text wholly different from that which was pressed upon our acceptance. The highest evidence of a sound faith being the practical life of the Christian, I have felt a far greater interest in the moral movements of our age than in any theological discussion. The temperance reform early engaged my attention, and for more than twenty years I have practised total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. The cause of peace has had a share of my efforts, leading to the ultra nonresistance ground – that no Christian can consistently uphold, and actively engage in and support a government based on the sword, or relying on that as an ultimate resort. The oppression of the working-classes by existing monopolies, and the lowness of wages, often engaged my attention; and I have held many meetings with them, and heard their appeals with compassion, and a great desire for a radical change in the system which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. The various associations and communities tending to greater quality of condition have had from me a hearty God-speed. But the millions of down-trodden slaves in our land being the greatest sufferers, the most oppressed class, I have felt bound to plead their cause, in season and out of season, to endeavor to put my soul in their souls' stead, and to aid, all in my power, in every right effort for their immediate emancipation. This duty was impressed upon me at the time I consecrated myself to that gospel which anoints "to preach deliverance to the captive," "to set at liberty them that are bruised." From that time the duty of abstinence as far as possible from slave-grown products was so clear, that I resolved to make the effort "to provide things honest" in this respect. Since then our family has been supplied with free-labor groceries, and, to some extent, with cotton goods unstained by slavery. The labors of the devoted Benjamin Lundy, and his "Genius of Universal Emancipation" published in [Baltimore](#), added to the extra exertions of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others in England, including Elizabeth Heyrick, whose work on slavery

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*aroused them to a change in their mode of action, and of William Lloyd Garrison, in Boston, prepared the way for a convention in Philadelphia, in 1833, to take the ground of immediate, not gradual, emancipation, and to impress the duty of unconditional liberty, without expatriation. In 1834 the Philadelphia A.S. [Anti-Slavery] Society was formed, and, being actively associated in the efforts for the slaves' redemption, I have travelled thousands of miles in this country, holding meetings in some of the slave states, have been in the midst of mobs and violence, and have shared abundantly in the odium attached to the name of an uncompromising **modern** abolitionist, as well as partaken richly of the sweet return of peace attendant on those who would "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke."*






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1821

 January: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) was formally recognized as a “Public Friend,” that is, as a traveling Quaker minister, in spite of the fact that one of her favorite messages was to the effect that we ought to be evaluating people on the basis of their likeness to Jesus rather than on the basis of their notions about him.⁵



5. When eldred by evangelical Quakers for saying such an impious thing, Friend [Lucretia](#) would pin the tale on friend [William Penn](#), claiming that she was merely citing a rap by that authoritative Founding Father!



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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





FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1827



Matters came to a head, between [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) serving as a Public Friend, and the elders of her home meeting:

At twenty-five years of age, surrounded with a little family and many cares, I felt called to a more public life of devotion to duty, and engaged in the ministry in our Society, receiving every encouragement from those in authority, until a separation among us, in 1827, when my convictions led me to adhere to the sufficiency of the light within us, resting on truth as authority, rather than "taking authority for truth." The popular doctrine of human depravity never commended itself to my reason or conscience. I "searched the Scriptures daily," finding a construction of the text wholly different from that which was pressed upon our acceptance. The highest evidence of a sound faith being the practical life of the Christian, I have felt a far greater interest in the moral movements of our age than in any theological discussion. The temperance reform early engaged my attention, and for more than twenty years I have practised total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. The cause of peace has had a share of my efforts, leading to the ultra nonresistance ground – that no Christian can consistently uphold, and actively engage in and support a government based on the sword, or relying on that as an ultimate resort. The oppression of the working-classes by existing monopolies, and the lowness of wages, often engaged my attention; and I have held many meetings with them, and heard their appeals with compassion, and a great desire for a radical change in the system which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. The various associations and communities tending to greater quality of condition have had from me a hearty God-speed. But the millions of down-trodden slaves in our land being the greatest sufferers, the most oppressed class, I have felt bound to plead their cause, in season and out of season, to endeavor to put my soul in their souls' stead, and to aid, all in my power, in every right effort for their immediate emancipation. This duty was impressed upon me at the time I consecrated myself to that gospel which anoints "to preach deliverance to the captive," "to set at liberty them that are bruised." From that time the duty of abstinence as far as possible from slave-grown products was so clear, that I resolved to make the effort "to provide things honest" in this respect. Since then our family has been supplied with free-labor groceries, and, to some extent, with cotton goods unstained by slavery. The labors of the devoted Benjamin Lundy, and his "Genius of Universal [Emancipation](#)" published in [Baltimore](#), added to the extra exertions of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others in England, including Elizabeth Heyrick, whose work on slavery



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Meanwhile the state supreme court of North Carolina was declaring illegal the local [Friends](#) tactic, of transferring ownership of the [slaves](#) of individual Quakers to their monthly meeting and then paying wages to these erstwhile slaves in order to avoid the illegality of [manumission](#), and the Quakers were needing to seek out some other coping mechanism:

Though Friends in other states also resettled, the experience of [North Carolina](#) Friends was perhaps the most profound. From an early point, the yearly meeting had argued against enslavement. In a 1779 petition to the state assembly protesting legislation that curbed the rights of people of African descent, the yearly meeting declared not only that such acts violated the nation's founding documents but called into question the assembly's authority to govern. "Being fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all mankind," the petition stated, "we fully believe [them] to be a contradiction of the Declaration and Bill of Rights on which depends your authority to make laws." North Carolinians generally accused the Quakers of inciting ill feeling and action: in 1791 a grand jury declared that the "great peril and danger" of insurrection was a consequence of Quakers" who "corrupt" the enslaved, turn them against the enslavers, and protect fugitives. Once North Carolina Friends began to manumit those they enslaved, they



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encountered several significant impediments. First, until 1830 anyone freed could be seized legally and resold. Second, enslavers who manumitted people were required to post a high bond: in 1830 it stood at one thousand dollars, and only the wealthier enslavers could afford such action. As a consequence of these restrictions, William Gaston, a sympathetic Catholic European American judge, suggested that Friends begin to record ownership of the people they wanted to free in the name of the yearly meeting. Thus, enslaved people could be protected from kidnapping, and the need to post a bond was obviated. The idea of the meeting assuming ownership for this purpose was well received; even some non-Quakers asked Friends to act similarly on their behalf. In 1803 the yearly meeting appointed the former enslavers as guardians, while North Carolina Friends continued to petition the legislature to allow manumission. When granted, those people the yearly meeting held would legally be free. Even as it followed this course, North Carolina Yearly Meeting became convinced that manumitted people had to be moved from the southern states. In 1808 it established a committee of seven to act as its agents in managing the care of the newly freed and an "African Fund" to help with resettlement costs. By 1814 North Carolina Yearly Meeting technically held 350 enslaved people, almost all of those whom its members then enslaved. To counter the Friends actions, the state's courts offered a reward to anyone bringing in a "Quaker Free Negro," the description for those who had been turned over to the yearly meeting. The meeting hired lawyers to defend those who had been seized. This "cat and mouse game" continued for years. In 1827 North Carolina's Supreme Court declared the Friends tactic illegal on the grounds that because wages were being paid to people of African descent held by the meeting, they must have been freed; therefore Friends had acted illegally. In the meantime the yearly meeting committee had studied the laws of the new territories to find potential resettlement locations. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were deemed to be the most suitable. Meeting members devoted most of their time to writing letters, consulting with agents of the various meetings, negotiating with Friends who lived in potential destinations, and appearing in court. Even before the 1827 court ruling, the committee had removed some African Americans to the Midwest, but afterward the committee moved more speedily. By 1828, the Africa Fund contained \$13,500. The yearly meeting sent 1,700 formerly enslaved people to various locations in the 1820s and early 1830s; by 1836, the meeting held only 18 people. Not all of the enslaved people held by North Carolina Yearly Meeting wished to emigrate. In 1826, when 600 were technically the meeting's property, 99 wished to remain in North Carolina, 316 stated another state, and 101 said they were willing to go to the West. When some decided not to leave, at least some Friends stayed behind to protect them, as did about twenty families of Core Sound Meeting in 1825. Stephen Grellet, a French Quaker who traveled widely in North America as a



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missionary, wrote:

I felt tenderly for the few members of our Society who continue in this corner. Some of them think it is their religious duty to remain, to protect many of the people of colour, who formerly belonged to those Friends who moved away; and who, unprotected by them, might be reduced again to slavery.

The task of resettlement was a formidable one for North Carolina Quakers; European American Friend Nathan Mendenhall described it as "expensive, troublesome and hard." Friends had to identify and enroll those who wished to move, raise money, make certain that each had the proper documents, find means of transport, outfit them with appropriate equipment, utensils, and clothing (often made by Quaker women) and ultimately move them. They also provided religious tracts, Bibles, and school books. In the move of 135 African Americans to the Midwest in 1835, Friends paid most of the costs for 13 wagons and carts and for warm clothing. That trip alone cost \$2,490 (about \$60,000 in 2007 dollars). By 1830 the yearly meeting had helped 652 African Americans resettle in the free states, and its expenses grew from between one and two thousand to \$13,000. Friends from Rhode Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and London responded to requests for financial assistance, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was especially supportive, sending some \$7,500 in 1826 and 1827. The settlers received mixed receptions in their new Midwestern homes. In 1826 Friends in North Carolina learned that some Friends of European ancestry in Indiana "were resentful toward North Caroline Friends for sending so many blacks there." European American William Parker, who had moved to Indiana from North Carolina, wrote in 1826 that African Americans "are not wanted here. Friends do not want them and they fear they will be brought into difficulties whereby the ... people do threaten to have it a slave state if blacks do continue to flood in." Persons who had brought African Americans into the state, Parker held, should be willing to move them out. Parker stated that another Friend in the area declared that "he would give \$20 to get them out of Wayne County." The clerk of the meeting for sufferings in Indiana wondered privately if, "in view of the attitudes" of European Americans in Indiana, it might perhaps be better to start "a colony for blacks somewhere in the Southwest." Yet European American Friend David White "mete with no opposition" when he arrived in Ohio and Indiana from the South with fifty-three African Americans in 1835. Farmers there, he found, were quite willing "to have the coloured people settle on their lands." Drawn by the prospect of lands free of enslavement, southern Quakers themselves also moved to the Midwest. The trek for Virginians and North Carolinians usually ran over the Appalachians and could last seven weeks or more. If Friends were traveling with people of African descent they were compelled to take more difficult



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routes to avoid the slave state of Tennessee. A “fringe” of this westward migration spread into Upper Canada. Southerners arriving in the Midwest joined Friends who had already moved there from New England and Pennsylvania. By 1835 Quakers had moved in such numbers that more Friends lived west of the Alleghenies than east. The new settlers had created a yearly meeting in Ohio in 1813 and in Indiana by 1821. By 1843 Ohio Yearly Meeting had 18,000 members and Indiana, 30,000; the two made up 57 percent of all Quakers in the United States. By 1850 the Orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting was the largest Quaker meeting in the world. African Americans relocated to the Midwest, probably aware of Friends’ efforts to resettle those they had enslaved, often chose to settle near Quaker communities in the belief that doing so would enhance their chances of comfortable existence on the frontier. Nearly all the early settlers of Calvin Township in Cass County in southwestern Michigan were Friends who had migrated from the South in the 1820s and 1830s, and their presence attracted African American settlement there. In the 1840s North Carolina Friends helped freed people settle near Newport, Now Fountain City, Indiana, home at that time to well-known abolitionist Friend Levi Coffin. As many as one hundred African American families lived just over the border in Ohio, not far from the Greenville Settlement and its integrated school in Indiana, the Union Literary Institute. Family groups, many of whom were racially mixed, settled by 1830 in Rush County, Indiana, near the Quaker villages of Carthage and Ripley, in what became known as the Beech settlement. By 1835 a group of these settlers moved again to the Roberts settlement in Jackson, Hamilton County, Indiana. Formerly enslaved people threatened with recapture also sought refuge with Friends in Salem, Iowa. A recent study of these African American communities found that the settlers were drawn by the presence of Quakers because of Friends “well-deserved reputation among free blacks as a people who were far more empathetic and tolerant than most other whites.”⁶

6. Pages 114-118 in Donna McDaniel’s and Vanessa Julye’s *FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE* (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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1828

 Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) bore her last child. (Five of her six children would survive into adulthood.)



AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY

 September 30, Tuesday: An attitude was being expressed on this day by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#). I am so horrified by that attitude, which we might characterize as a “quietist” attitude, that I will attempt to characterize it here as follows: “Watch out for those violent Quakers who are the deluded followers of [Friend Elias Hicks](#)! We Quakers are neither black slaves nor white slaveholders (well, at least, not now, not any longer), so whatever it is that these black slaves and these white slaveholders have got going on between them, it’s in some other universe, not in the ‘Quaker Close’ universe which we inhabit! It ain’t none of our freaking religious business! Be nonviolent! –Don’t impose yourself! –Leave it alone at the jeopardy of your soul!” Here is what Friend Gould expressed precisely as he expressed it:

3rd day 30th of 9 M / Last eveng I recd a letter from my valued friend Wm Jenkins now at Mount Pleasant Ohio, whither he went to attend the Meeting of the Committees from the yearly Meetings & the Yearly Meeting of Ohio. – he gives me a sad detail of events that have taken place The [Hixites](#) were violent, to a



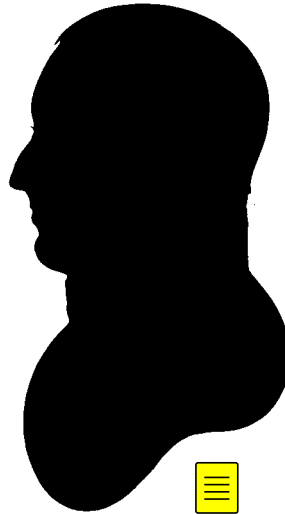
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degree unknown in civil much more religious society. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



It strikes me that the attitude exemplified above by our “quietist” Friend Stephen is precisely the attitude toward human enslavement that [Henry David Thoreau](#) criticized (and the attitude exemplified by Friend Elias and his “Hixites” is precisely the attitude that Henry embraced, by way of the influence on him of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)). Here is how Henry would take a flying dig at this not-so-Friendly “quietist” aberration, in his lecture “A Plea for Captain John Brown”:

What sort of violence is that which is encouraged, not by soldiers but by peaceable citizens, not so much by laymen as by ministers of the gospel, not so much by the fighting sects as by the Quakers, and not so much by the Quaker men as by the Quaker women?



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

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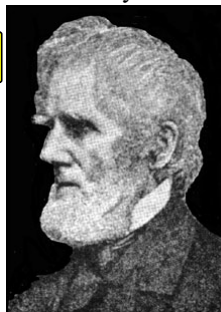
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1829



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](#).





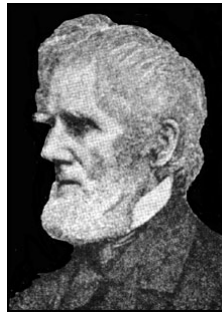
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Fall: [William Lloyd Garrison](#) attacked a Newburyport slave trader by the name of Francis Todd, for transporting about 80 slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans. He declared in print that such a man should be placed in solitary confinement for life, and so he was sued for libel, by the [State of Maryland](#) 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, the newspaper ceased publication. However, the warden of the prison allowed 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 his fine, he was freed, and he went on the lecture circuit with an



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1833

 The Female Anti-Slavery Society was founded at [Boston](#) by [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and others.

From this year until about 1838, Frederick Goddard Tuckerman would be attending the Boston Latin School.

[Charles Henry Appleton Dall](#) graduated from the Boston Latin School at the head of his class with honors in Latin, Greek, and mathematics.

S V M M V S P R I M I

While a student at [Harvard College](#) and divinity school, he would be directing the Sunday School at the Hollis Street Church in [Boston](#).

F.W.P. Greenwood's A HISTORY OF [KING'S CHAPEL](#) IN [BOSTON](#).



[Francis Joseph Grund](#)'s EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC ([Boston](#)).

EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC



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[Grund](#)'s POPULAR LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY ON A NEW PLAN: IN WHICH SOME OF THE LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THE SCIENCE ARE ILLUSTRATED BY ACTUAL COMPARISONS, INDEPENDENT OF THE USE OF NUMBERS ([Boston](#): Carter, Hendee & Co. 33 pages).

LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY

[Grund](#)'s ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY, WITH PRACTICAL EXERCISES, ILLUSTRATED BY ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD. FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS ([Boston](#): Carter, Hendee and Co.).

ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY

(The above volume would be in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#).)

 Spring: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) began her travels as a “Public Friend” by making a speaking trip through the Quaker meetings of New York State, then took a boat to [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) with a stop-over at her original home on [Nantucket Island](#), then traveled up through Bedford, Lynn, and Salem speaking in the various monthly meetings.⁷



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

(I don't have a record that [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) was at all interested in Mott's visit to Salem. In June, however, when President Jackson also visited Salem, Hawthorne would be present in the crowd, and cheering.)

7. I do not know whether she made it to Boston or to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know.

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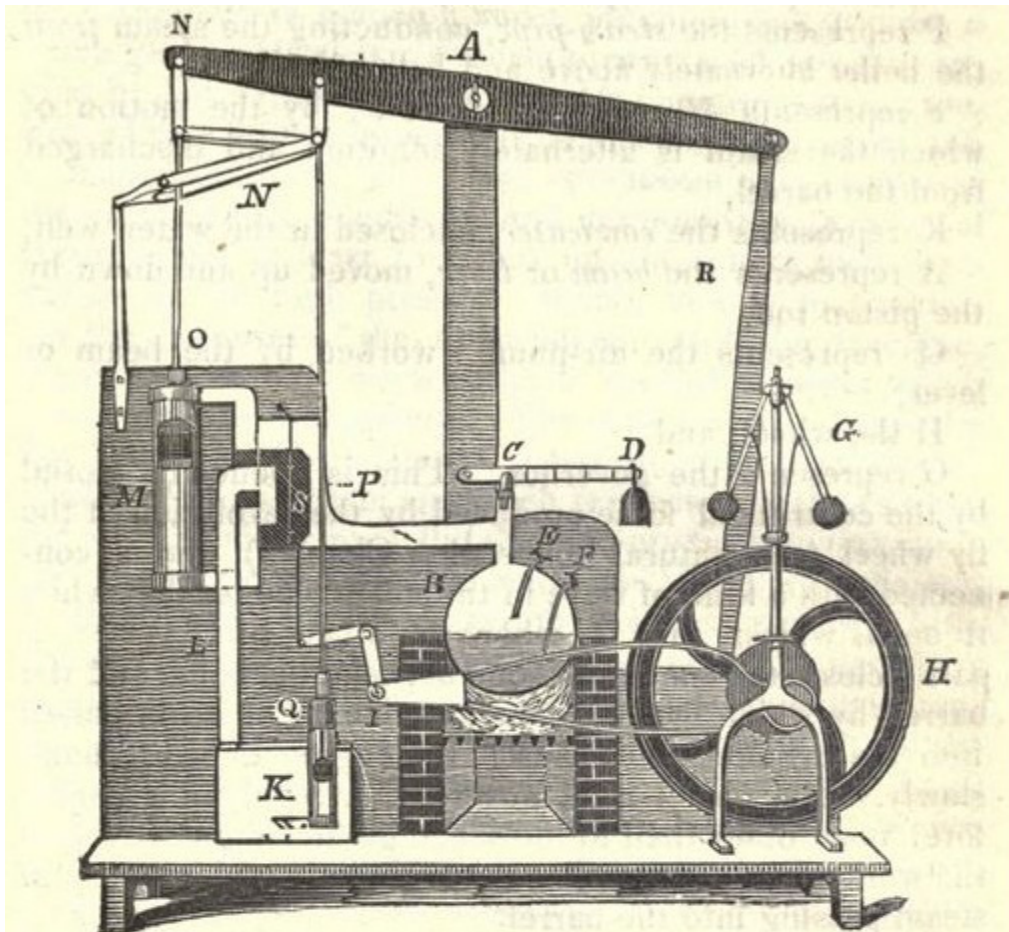


Fig. CXLI represents the connexion between the different parts of the engine we have just described.

B represents the *boiler*.

C represents the *safety valve*.

F, E are what mechanics call *steam* and *water gauges* respectively. They consist of hollow tubes provided with stop-cocks. The gauge F, as may be seen from the figure, has its lower end immersed in the water; but the gauge E, does not communicate with the surface of the liquid. When the stop-cock of the gauge E is opened, nothing but steam must rush forth, otherwise it is a sign that there is too much water in the boiler; but when the stop-cock of the gauge F is opened, no steam must pass, else it is a sign that the water is too high.

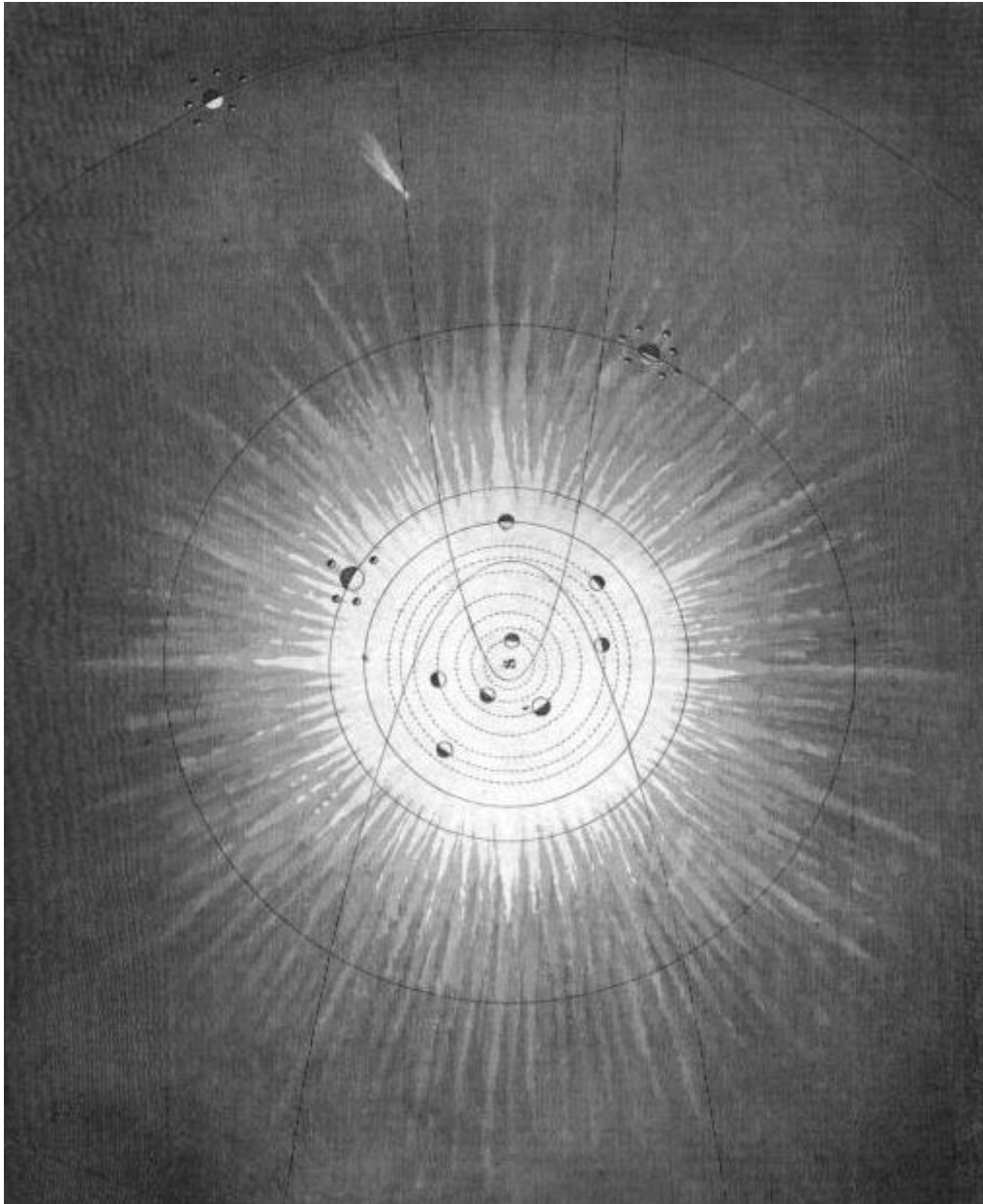
M represents the *cylinder or barrel*.



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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 to 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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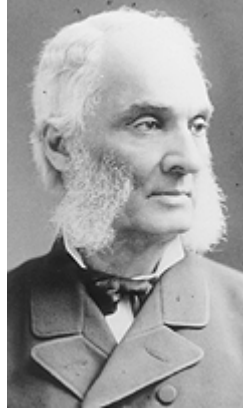
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[Garrison](#), and also [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#), Lewis Tappan and Arthur Tappan, Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), etc. Of the about 60 people in attendance only 21 were members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), because 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.⁸ Purvis signed the Declaration of Sentiments.





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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.

8. 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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This could very well have been the 1st time that many in the room had heard a woman speak in a public meeting.⁹

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:

9. 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.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY



FRIEND LUCRETIA

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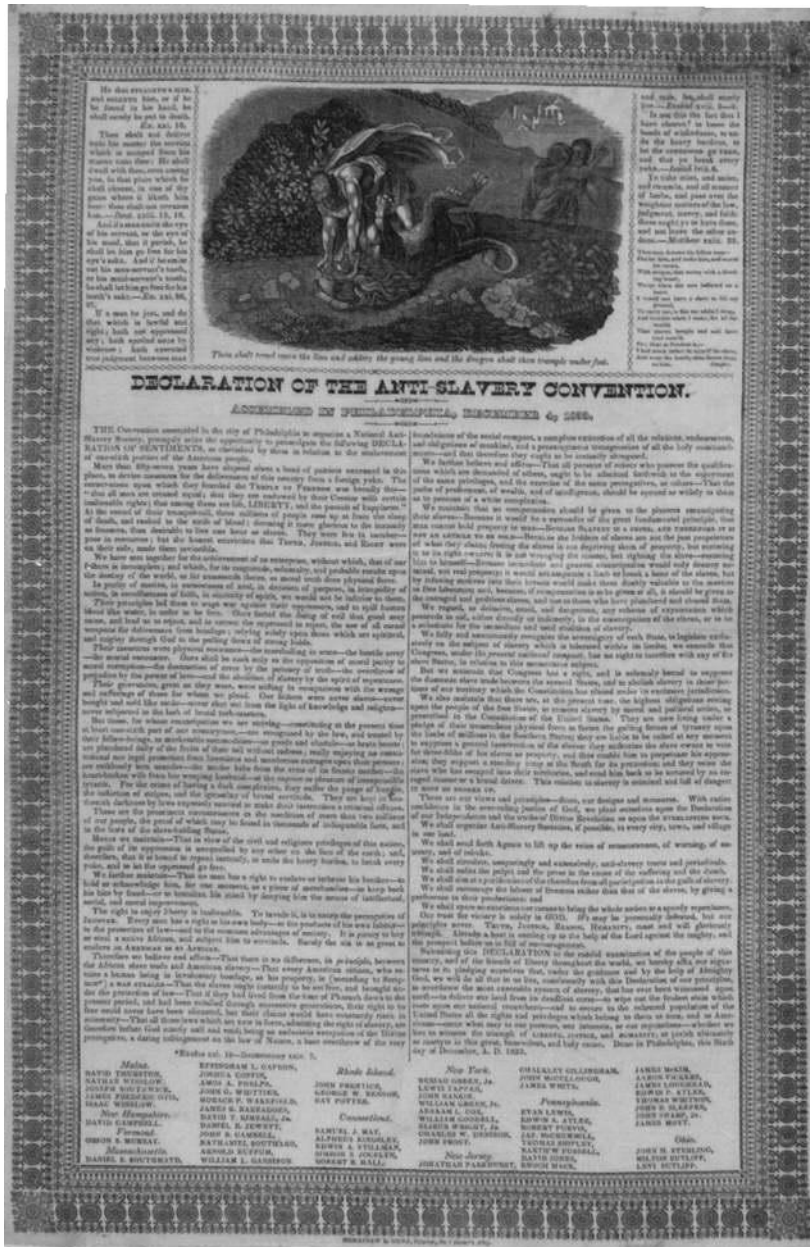
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Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society

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,



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that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; 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....




FRIEND LUCRETIA

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1835

 [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), who had been born a Coffin on [Nantucket Island](#), held four appointed meetings and two meetings for worship on the island. For one of these appointed meetings, all island blacks were specifically invited to attend.



[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was elected to the Massachusetts legislature.

THE YANKEE GIRL, BY [WHITTIER](#)

SHE sings by her wheel at that low cottage-door,
Which the long evening shadow is stretching before,
With a music as sweet as the music which seems
Breathed softly and faint in the ear of our dreams!

How brilliant and mirthful the light of her eye,
Like a star glancing out from the blue of the sky!

And lightly and freely her dark tresses play
O'er a brow and a bosom as lovely as they!

Who comes in his pride to that low cottage-door,
The haughty and rich to the humble and poor?
'T is the great Southern planter, the master who waves
His whip of dominion o'er hundreds of slaves.

"Nay, Ellen, for shame! Let those Yankee fools spin,
Who would pass for our slaves with a change of their skin;
Let them toil as they will at the loom or the wheel,
Too stupid for shame, and too vulgar to feel!

"But thou art too lovely and precious a gem
To be bound to their burdens and sullied by them;



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For shame, Ellen, shame, cast thy bondage aside,
And away to the South, as my blessing and pride.

“Oh, come where no winter thy footsteps can wrong,
But where flowers are blossoming all the year long,
Where the shade of the palm-tree is over my home,
And the lemon and orange are white in their bloom!

“Oh, come to my home, where my servants shall all
Depart at thy bidding and come at thy call;

They shall heed thee as mistress with trembling and awe,
And each wish of thy heart shall be felt as a law.”

Oh, could ye have seen her — that pride of our girls —
Arise and cast back the dark wealth of her curls,
With a scorn in her eye which the gazer could feel,
And a glance like the sunshine that flashes on steel!

“Go back, haughty Southron! thy treasures of gold
Are dim with the blood of the hearts thou hast sold;
Thy home may be lovely, but round it I hear
The crack of the whip and the footsteps of fear!

“And the sky of thy South may be brighter than ours,
And greener thy landscapes, and fairer thy flowers;
But dearer the blast round our mountains which raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyr which breathes over slaves!

“Full low at thy bidding thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
Yet know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them, than in freedom with thee!”



FRIEND LUCRETIA

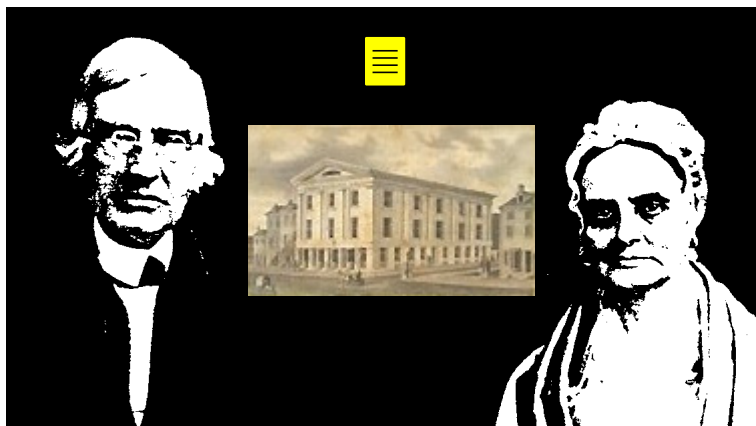
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1836



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.




FRIEND LUCRETIA

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1837

 May 9, Tuesday: Franz Liszt and Marie d'Agoult departed from Paris, heading generally in the direction of [Italy](#).

1st day of the 1st national Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. [Friend Abby Kelley](#), [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#), [Friend Lucretia Coffin Mott](#), Mary Parker, Mary Clark, the Balls, the Westons, the Childs, and Maria Weston Chapman attended, and Abby served on the committee to prepare the Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States. When a fund-raising issue arose, she would suggest that in order to increase their donations the ladies might cut their personal expenses. (Also among the seated delegates was Miss [Anna Jane Dunbar](#) of New-York.)

DUNBAR FAMILY



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1838



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





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May 14, Monday: Friend [Abby Kelley](#) and four other delegates from the Lynn Female Society had come to Philadelphia to attend the 2nd Women's meeting, along with William Lloyd Garrison, Henry B. Stanton, [Henry C. Wright](#), and women from the Boston and New-York female societies. It would be at this meeting that Abby would address her first promiscuous audience, amid the shouts and stones shattering the glass windows from the pro-slavery mobs. On that basis Theodore Weld would decide to invite Abby to join the speaking circuit.

Although some had expected her to marry "a great strapping nigger" if she married at all, [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#) married [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), an emphatic white abolitionist unsympathetic to the "non-resistance" cause, on the evening before the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women was to meet at the grand new Pennsylvania Hall.¹⁰



One of Angelina's woman friends had said to her face that "no man would wish to have such a wife." (Surely, with friends like that, these people didn't need their enemies.) [Friend](#) Angelina omitted "obey" from her vow! For marrying a man who was not a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), she was of course disowned by her worship group. [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and other Quakers decided not to be present at this wedding because had they been in attendance they likely would also have been disowned. Whittier solved the problem by waiting outside the door until the official part of the event was complete, so he could truthfully say he was not present for such a wedding ceremony. [Friend Abby](#), however, as always afraid of nothing, defied the discipline of her worship group, openly attending the entire ceremony, and in fact made herself the 1st woman to sign the traditional parchment certificate.

ABOLITIONISM

Though the Grimké sisters at first felt they had found their home in Quakerism, they later found there was "no openness among Friends" on the issue of working against enslavement. Biographer Gerda Lerner says that their "blind loyalty to the Quakers had turned into bitter disappointment." Their reception at meetings was increasingly "chilly" and they were no longer welcome in the homes of Quaker Friends. At the yearly meeting in 1836, presiding elder Jonathan Edwards stopped Sarah as she rose to speak. Sarah elected to use the incident as a "means of releasing" her "from those bonds which almost destroyed my mind." As the sisters expected, Angelina Grimké's 1838 marriage to Theodore Weld provided the pretext for disowning her, and her sister's membership was revoked for attending the ceremony.¹¹

10. This expensive new building dedicated to the right of freedom of speech had a pillared marble entry facing 6th Street, and provided offices and a "free produce" store from which vegetables grown by slave labor were excluded, in addition to its "great saloon" containing blue plush seating for 3,000 people and a platform with a blue damask sofa. The auditorium and offices and store were brilliantly lit with gas, a new innovation.

11. Page 91 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) presented a “humorous” poem in which he protested that his buddy Theodore was abandoning him “alone at the desolate shrine,” for he and Weld had once, apparently in bachelor playfulness, taken a joint solemn vow that they would never marry. It would certainly be unsubstantiated, however, and would probably be incorrect, that they had had a homosexual relationship. What is very much more probable is that Whittier, like [Henry Thoreau](#), never experienced sexual congress, even with members of the opposite sex. Thoreau was, we must admit, both small and unhandsome, and, although he confessed to abundant libido, may never really have had significant opportunity. Whittier, on the other hand, although he was tall and slender and striking and attracted many friends both male and female, in his private correspondence gives no particular indication of libido: “my heart is untouched — cold and motionless as a Jutland lake lighted up by the moonlight. I know that they are beautiful — very, but they are nothing to me.”


Soon after the marriage [Weld](#) would withdraw to private life on a farm in Belleville, New Jersey. The couple would spend the remainder of their lives directing schools and teaching in New Jersey and Massachusetts.



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 May 17, Thursday: Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord, prince de Benevent died at his Paris home.

Franz Liszt performed for the Empress of Austria at court in Vienna.

When the abolitionists had found it difficult to secure a building to hold their meetings, [Stephen Smith](#) secured Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia for their use (it is unclear whether he himself constructed it, or merely converted an existing structure). On this evening a racist mob torched that hall. Taking advantage of a little-known Pennsylvania statute by which a municipality could be held liable for mob damage, Smith would file a lawsuit in Philadelphia, obtaining a judgment for damages in excess of what the structure had cost: \$75,000.



Refer to S. Webb's HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA HALL WHICH WAS DESTROYED BY A MOB, ON THE 17TH OF MAY, 1838 (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, Printers).

Dr. Daniel Neall was presiding at the [antislavery](#) meeting in Pennsylvania Hall –which had been newly provided to 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 those who sent you. I shall do my duty.





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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.¹²

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.
In acts than words, was simply doing good.
So calm, so constant was his rectitude,
That by his loss alone we know its worth,

12. 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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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.¹³

ABOLITIONISM

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was running the newspaper office of the Pennsylvania Freeman¹⁴ 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.

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

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

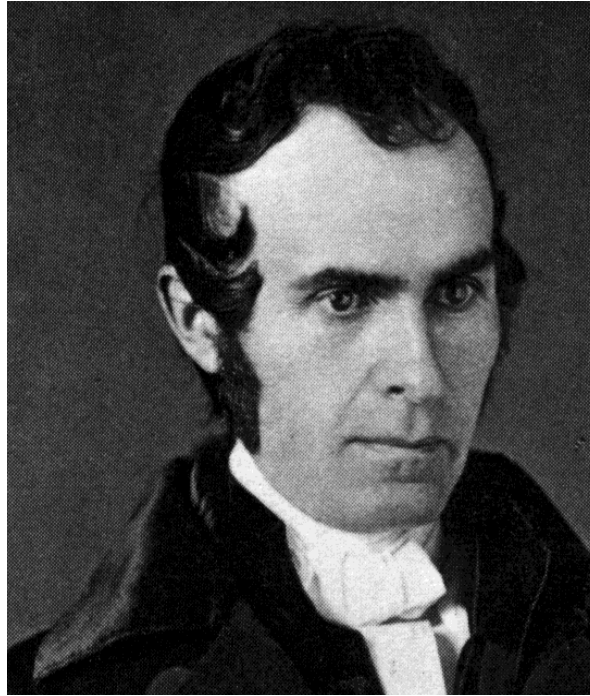


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As the hall burned, volunteer fire brigades pumped streams of water — upon the walls of the surrounding structures to keep them from igniting.



John Greenleaf¹⁵ Whittier

15. According to the American Methodist Monthly, Volume II, page 229, John Greenleaf Whittier was descended from a Fouillevert who had fled from Bretagne 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.




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1839

 Arthur Tappan was having a difficult time saving himself from bankruptcy. As the Eastern financial agent for [Oberlin College](#), collections made in England were being cleared through his institution. Something more than \$2,000 of the college's debt had been paid off through subscription when in this year –grabbing at straws to save himself– Tappan misappropriated a draft for \$4,752 sent from England, applying it at least temporarily against his business debt. He needed to do this, but it would cause financial crisis at the college.

The issue of refusing to vote was coming to the forefront among abolitionists. Maria W. Chapman estimated, however, that only 1 in 100 of the members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society were refusing on principle to cooperate with the government in the manner of [Henry Thoreau](#), to the extent of declining to cast their ballot.

In this year she published RIGHT AND WRONG IN MASSACHUSETTS, a pamphlet that argued the divisions in the Anti-Slavery Society that were being created over the issue of woman's rights. She and two other women, Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and [Lydia Maria Child](#), were elected to the executive committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, and this upset some members of the society. Lewis Tappan, the brother of the president of the society, Arthur Tappan, argued that "To put a woman on the committee with men is contrary to the usages of civilized society."



FEMINISM

(Well, yeah, don't you know?)

From this year until 1842, Mrs. Chapman would be editor of the abolitionist journal, Non-Resistant.



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Anonymous publication of [Elizur Wright, Junior](#)'s small volume [LA FONTAINE](#); A PRESENT FOR THE YOUNG.

In this year in which in England [Friend Joseph Sturge](#) was founding the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and in which in America John A. Collins was becoming general agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, for some reason abolitionism simply was not prospering. Those whites who had an economic investment in or social interest in or libidinal involvement in human enslavement were proving to be quite immune to, merely hardened and angered by, all the relentless propaganda. The initial idea, that first the abolitionists would convince the institutions of the North to be righteous, and then the North would bring righteous pressure on the South, had proved in application to be utterly disconnected from the reality of our condition. For instance, in eight years of agitation not a single one of the white religious denominations had separated into a northern sect opposed to human enslavement and a southern sect in favor of human enslavement, despite the standoff between their northern white congregations and their southern white congregations over this issue. Although there had been a few anti-enslavement advocates positioned in the US House of Representatives, there had also been enacted a very specific gag rule to silence them on this one central topic. The ideological and emotional commitment of a number of leaders in the struggle against practices of human enslavement, however, the ones whom I am here terming “pragmatics,” was that American democracy was basically sound, and that the flaws in American character that had led to this enslavement situation were minor and isolated flaws. A few agreements, a few insights, a few changes in the rules, and the institutions supporting the practice of human enslavement would crumble. There was no need to tamper with anyone's soul.

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Examples of this attitude were:

- [Elizur Wright, Jr.](#)
- Henry Brewster Stanton
- James Gillespie Birney (who wanted to establish a third political party, the “Liberty” party, which would be antislavery, and compete directly in the political process, making deals and peddling influence like the Republicans/Democrats of that era)





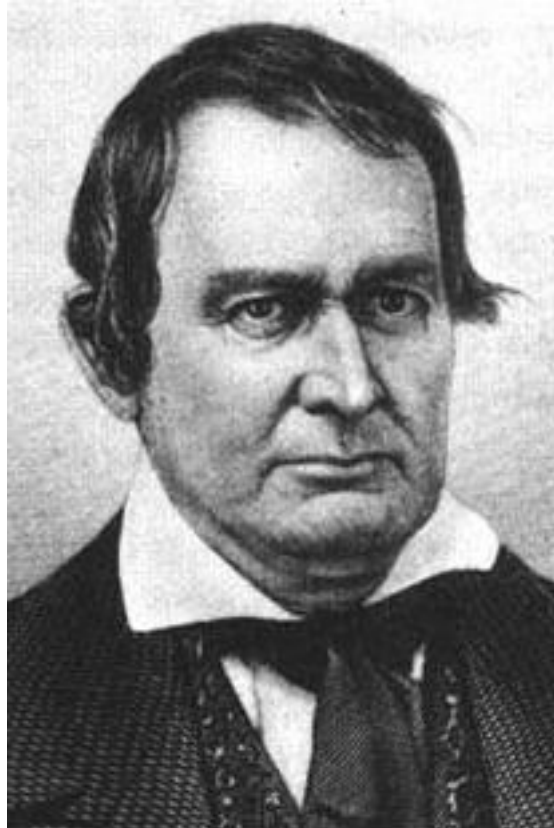
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In this year [Gerrit Smith](#) condemned his denomination, Presbyterianism, for its failure to denounce slavery, yet when it was proposed to him that young black men be trained in [Canada](#) and Mexico and sent into the slave states to lead revolts, he rejected that plan.

SERVILE INSURRECTION



Then there were the Garrisonians. The struggle between the two abolitionist psychologies, like the struggle between the Orthodox or Evangelical [Quakers](#) and the [Hicksites](#), was a struggle that can readily be described in terms of a binary split over a single issue. Previous analyzers of the split have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who wanted to mix anti-slavery with the “confounded woman question” and those who wanted to keep such issues in separate compartments, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis, or have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who embraced the principle of non-resistance to evil and those who regarded this principle as the pinnacle of wickedness, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis. Some have suggested that the split was not binary, that the



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struggle was between those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “pragmatics,” and those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “strugglers” and as “Come-outers.”

COME-OUTISM

These are not the analyses that I favor. In this “Kouroo” contexture, you will find, the analysis that I have favored is that of a binary split between, on the one hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of racial integration, “amalgamation” as it was then called, in which all God’s children could live together on God’s holy mountain (these people known as “Hicksites,” a type case of this being Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)), and, on the other hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of apartheid, of racial segregation, of Jim Crow, in which we were equal, more or less, but existed separately (these people known as “Quietist Friends,” and as “Orthodox Friends,” and as “Evangelical Friends,” a type case of this being Friend [Moses Brown](#)).



Spring: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) visited Boston for the 1st anniversary meeting of the Non-Resistance Society.

AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY



April: During this month, at a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, the struggle between the black pragmatist wing and the white Garrisonian wing of the antislavery movement –those who believed the changing the laws of enslavement would correct the situation, almost all black women, versus those who believed that enslavement was engraved in the American soul and that only the most diligent long-term soul searching and self-rectification could correct such baseness, almost all white women– came to the flash point. The black pragmatist forces took control of the society by a series of protested close votes in which it is quite clear that they were falsifying vote counts. When a white member called out from the floor “I doubt the vote,” the pragmatist who had just been “elected” commented “Then you may doubt it till the day of your death.” They announced that they had won and then adjourned, and the Garrisonians were reduced to publishing lists of membership names and affidavits of voting in order to demonstrate to the general public that the vote counts had been falsified. For instance, to refute the claim of the pragmatists that only 65 had opposed their slate of candidates, [The Liberator](#) printed a statement signed by 78 members, that they had voted against the pragmatists. But the pragmatists were firmly in control, and at the next meeting the “duly elected” officials simply ruled in their own favor. Then, at the April 1840 meeting, at which they referred to the white Garrisonians as “the ladies of the minority,” they moved and seconded a motion that their society be dissolved, held a quick poll which they claimed to be in the affirmative, and the presiding officer immediately declared “I pronounce the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society dissolved.” Better there be no antislavery society, than that it be run by a bunch of white people who were going to struggle with their souls. Nevertheless, three days later the Garrisonians met and reconstituted the society. “We go forward joyfully in the holy work of abolishing slavery,” the white women declared. The pragmatists issued appeals for support to Philadelphia and to England, but the reply from Philadelphia was signed by [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and she gave them precious little credibility, referring to them as “high-handed.” This whole history is of great interest because it is clear that Thoreau’s attitude toward the antislavery issue, that like charity the task of correcting souls was a task that always began at home, was in line with the Garrisonians and in opposition to the pragmatists, despite the fact that the great majority of the pragmatists were black¹⁶ and virtually all the Garrisonians white. As one interesting aside, in the publications of the day no mention whatever was made of the fact that the split in the



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society was fundamentally a split between black and white. As another interesting aside, the black pragmatists who attempted to ruin the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society did not have the support of their own community in Boston, which overwhelmingly supported [William Lloyd Garrison](#) —that man who so frequently heard the taunting shout “white nigger” on the street— and in fact had used a “pocket veto” on 26 applications for membership from black women in the Boston community who would probably have supported the white Garrisonian wing in this controversy rather than settle for a pragmatic “win” that would, because it did not try anyone’s soul, have merely perpetuated the problems of racial discrimination and racial prejudice.

Also, at this April 1839 annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Henry Brewster Stanton confronted [Garrison](#) with

“Mr. Garrison! do you or do you not believe it is a sin to go to the polls?”

to which Garrison responded:

“Sin for me.”



A general vote of the society, including the women members, produced 180 votes that abolitionists would not be required to take part in the political process and to vote in political elections, versus 24 that abolitionists could not be members unless they were willing to vote in political elections. Stanton, James Gillespie Birney,

16. Well, two of these people were identifying themselves as black women at that point, although later in their lives they identified themselves as white women — and I do subscribe to the principle that it is up to the person directly implicated, rather than to the official personages of and dominant strangers of a society, to create the definition of what that person is. I don’t, myself, want to “sex or second-guess” anyone.



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etc., defeated, then resigned from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.





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September 26, Thursday: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) addressed the 1st Anniversary meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society in Boston.¹⁷



Salmon Portland Chase married for a 2d time, to Eliza Ann Smith. Of the three daughters that would be born to this union only Catherine Jane (Kate) would survive. Kate would marry Senator William Sprague of [Rhode Island](#), textile manufacturer and former Governor of that state, and Sprague money would be made available to finance Chase's political ambitions.

Jose Lucio Travassos Valdez, conde e barao de Bomfim replaced Rodrigo Pinto Pizarro Pimentel de Almeida Carvalhais, barao da Ribeira de Sabrosa as Prime Minister of Portugal.

17. I do not know whether Lucretia Mott made it to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know, if anyone can advise me.



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1840

May: [William Lloyd Garrison](#), [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), [Wendell Phillips](#), Maria Weston Chapman, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, Ann Greene Phillips, and Charles Lenox Remond sailed for [London](#) and the World Anti-Slavery Convention. On the first day of the convention, however, the vote was that the female delegates would not be permitted to vote, whereupon all the Garrisonian immediatists boycotted the convention.



While Mr. Rogers was in London, in attendance upon the "World's Anti-Slavery Convention," in 1840, he was careful to go upon the ground at Smithfield, -now a cattle market- that was sanctified, in his sight, and that of all men who know where true greatness lies, by the martyrdom of his illustrious ancestor [John Rogers].

In 1840, a World's Anti-slavery Convention was called in London. Women from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, were delegates to that convention. I was one of the number; but, on our arrival in England, our credentials were not accepted because we were women. We were, however, treated with great courtesy and attention, as strangers, and as women, were admitted to chosen seats as spectators and listeners, while our right of membership was denied - we were voted out. This brought the Woman question more into view, and an increase of interest in the subject has been the result. In this work, too, I have engaged heart and hand, as my labors, travels, and public discourses evince. The misrepresentation, ridicule, and abuse heaped upon this, as well as other reforms, do not, in the least, deter me from my duty. To those, whose name is cast out as evil for the truth's sake, it is a small thing to be judged of man's judgement.

SEXISM

FEMINISM



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In a speech to the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) would charge that a woman had been denied membership in the Society of Friends in Philadelphia because she was black, and it would seem that in all likelihood he was making reference to Sarah Douglass's account of how her mother had been encouraged not to apply for membership. In this speech Friend Arnold indicated that the practice of asking blacks to sit aside, in special seats, still was continuing among American Friends.)

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

June 27, Saturday: William Howitt wrote to [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) to offer that the female delegates to the World's Convention in London may not have been rejected solely on account of their gender, but may have been rejected instead with that as a mere subterfuge, on account of their affiliation with the heretical [Hicksites](#):

LONDON, June 27th, 1840.

DEAR FRIEND,— I snatch the few last minutes of a very hurried time before embarking for Germany, to express to you and your fellow-delegates the sense I have of your unworthy reception in this country, which has grown on me for the last week, extremely; even amid the overwhelming pressure of arrangements, inevitable on quitting London for a considerable stay abroad. Mary [Mrs. Mary Howitt, 1799-1888] and myself greatly regret that we had left our home before we had the opportunity of seeing you, or we should have had the sincerest pleasure in welcoming you there to spend at least one day of quiet, as pleasant as that which we spent with you at our worthy friend, Mr. Ashurst's, at Muswell Hill. I regret still more that my unavoidable absence from town prevented my making part of the Convention, as nothing should have hindered me from stating there, in the plainest terms, my opinion of the real grounds on which you were excluded. It is pitiable that you were excluded on the plea of being women; but it is outrageous that, under that plea, you were actually excluded as heretics. That is the real ground of your exclusion, and it ought to have been at once proclaimed and exposed by the liberal members of the Convention; but I believe they were not aware of the fact. I heard of the circumstance of your exclusion at a distance, and immediately said, "Excluded on the ground that they are women? No, that is not the real cause, — there is something behind. Who and what are these female delegates? Are they orthodox in religion?" The answer was, "No, they are

Lucretia Coffin Mott

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



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considered to be of the [Hicksite](#) party of Friends." My reply was, "That is enough, — there lies the real cause, and there needs no other; the influential Friends in the Convention would never for a moment tolerate their presence there, if they could prevent it. They hate them, because they have dared to call in question their sectarian dogmas and assumed authority; and they have taken care to brand them in the eyes of the Calvinistic Dissenters, who form another large and influential portion of the Convention, as Unitarians, — in their eyes the most odious of heretics." But what a miserable spectacle is this! The "World's Convention" converting itself into the fag-end of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. That Convention, met from various countries and climates to consider how it shall best advance the sacred cause of humanity, — of the freedom of the race, independent of caste or color, — immediately falls the victim of bigotry, and one of its first acts is, to establish a caste of sectarian opinion, and to introduce color into the very soul! Had I not seen, of late years, a good deal of the spirit which now rules the Society of Friends, my surprise would have been unbounded at seeing them argue for the exclusion of women from a public body, as women. But nothing which they do now surprises me. They have in this case, to gratify their wretched spirit of intolerance, at once abandoned one of the most noble and most philosophical of the established principles of their own Society. That Society claims, and claims justly, to be the first Christian body which has recognized the great Christian doctrine, that THERE IS NO SEX IN SOULS; that male and female are all one in Christ Jesus. They were [Friend George] Fox and [Friend William] Penn, and the first giants of the Society, who dared, in the face of the whole world's prejudices, to place women in her first rank, — to recognize and maintain her moral and intellectual equality. It was this Society which thus gave to woman her inalienable rights — her true liberty; which restored to her the exercise of mind, and the capacity to exhibit before man, her assumed lord and master, the highest qualities of the human heart and understanding: discretion, sound counsel, sure sagacity, mingled with feminine delicacy, and that beautiful, innate modesty which avails more to restrain its possessor within the bounds of prudence and usefulness, than all the laws and customs of corrupt society. It was this Society which, at once fearless in its confidence in woman's goodness and sense of propriety, gave to its female portion its own Meetings of Discipline, meetings of civil discussion, and transaction of actual and various business. It was this Society which did more; which permitted its women, in the face of a great apostolic injunction, to stand forth in its churches and preach the gospel. It has in fact sent them out, armed with the authority of its certificates, to the very ends of the earth, to preach in public; to visit and persuade in private. And what has been the consequence? Have the women put their faith and



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philosophy to shame? Have they disgraced themselves or the Society which has confided in them? Have they proved by their follies, their extravagances, their unwomanly boldness and want of a just sense of decorum, that these great men were wrong? On the contrary, I will venture to say, and I have seen something of all classes, that there is not in the whole civilized world a body of women to be found, of the same numbers, who exhibit more modesty of manner and delicacy of mind than the ladies of the Society of Friends; and few who equal them in sound sense and dignity of character.... And here have gone the little men of the present day, and have knocked down, in the face of the world, all that their mighty ancestors, "in this respect, had built up." If they are at all consistent, they must carry out their new principle, and sweep with it through the ancient constitution of their own Society. They must at once put down meetings of discipline amongst their women; they must call home such as are in distant countries or are traversing this, preaching and visiting families. There must be no more appointments of women to meet committees of men, to deliberate on matters of great importance to the Society. But the fact is, my dear friend, that bigotry is never consistent, except that it is always narrow, always ungracious, and always, under plea of uniting God's people, scattering them one from another, and rendering them weak as water.... The Convention has not merely insulted you, but those who sent you. It has testified that the men of America are at least far ahead of us in their opinion of the discretion and usefulness of women. But above all, this act of exclusion has shown how far the Society of Friends is fallen from its ancient state of greatness and catholic nobleness of spirit.... I have heard the noble [William Lloyd] Garrison blamed that he has not taken his place in the Convention, because you, his fellow delegates, were excluded. I, on the contrary, honor him for his conduct. In mere worldly wisdom he might have entered the Convention, and there entered his protest against the decision, — but in at once refusing to enter where you, his fellow-delegates, were shut out, he has entered a far nobler protest, not in the mere Convention, but in the world at large. I honor the lofty principle of that true champion of humanity, and shall always recollect with delight the day Mary and I spent with him. I must apologize for this most hasty, and, I fear, illegible scrawl, and with our kind regards, and best wishes for your safe return to your native country, and for many years of honorable labor there, for the truth and freedom, I beg to subscribe myself,

Most sincerely your friend, WILLIAM HOWITT.



June 27. I am living this 27th of June, 1810, a (hill, cloudy day and no sun shining. The clink of the smith's hammer sounds feebly over the roofs, and the wind is sighing gently, as if dreaming of cheerfulest days. The farmer is plowing in yonder field, craftsmen are busy in the shops, the trader stands behind the counter, and all works go steadily forward. But I will have nothing to do; I will tell fortune that I play do game with her,



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and she may reach me in my Asia of serenity and indolence if she can.

For an impenetrable shield, stand inside yourself!

He was no artist, but an artisan, who first made shields of brass.

Unless we meet religiously, we prophane one another.

What was the consecrated ground round the temple, we have used as no better than a domestic court.

Our friend's is as holy a shrine as any God's, to be approached with sacred love and awe. Veneration is the measure of Love. Our friend answers ambiguously, and sometimes before the question is propounded, like the oracle of Delphi. He forbears to ask explanation, but doubts and surmises darkly with full faith, as we silently ponder our fates.

In no presence are we so susceptible to shame. Our hour is a sabbath, our abode a temple, our gifts peace offerings, our conversation a communion, our silence a prayer. In prophanity we are absent, in holiness near, in sin estranged, in innocence reconciled.



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

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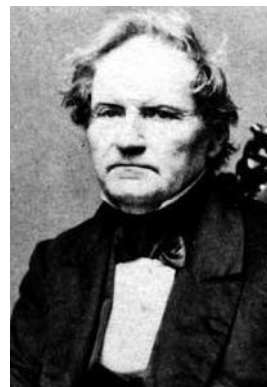
1841

September 23, Thursday: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) preached at Marlboro Chapel in Boston as part of the New England Non-Resistance Society's annual meeting.¹⁸



Lucretia Coffin Mott in 1841

The opening prayer at the funeral of the [Reverend Ezra Ripley](#) was offered by the [Reverend Convers Francis](#) of Watertown.



18. I do not know whether Thoreau came into Boston to hear her, or whether Mott made it to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know.



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Since the First Parish Church structure was at this time undergoing restoration, his funeral had needed to be scheduled for the Trinitarian Congregational Church which stood across the brook. This ceremony would occasion "A Sermon Delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. Ezra Ripley," by the Reverend Barzillai Frost, and "Death of the Aged," by the [Reverend Francis](#).

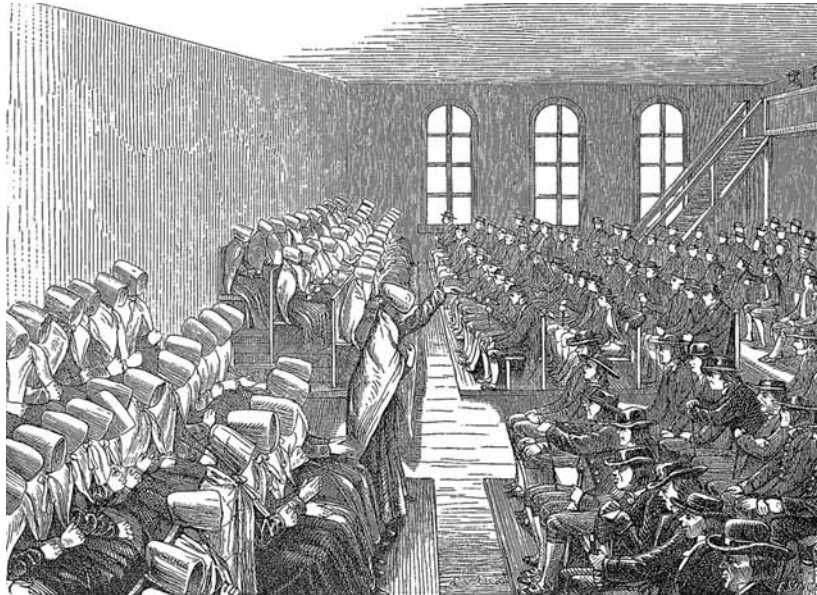
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October: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) traveled through the state of New York preaching at [Quaker](#) meetings without the benefit of a traveling minute from her own meeting.



She found that the New York Quakers were in a state of evangelical turmoil due to a minister George White who was proclaiming that it would obviously be better for one's soul, to be a slave such as [Frederick Douglass](#) had been, than to be an abolitionist such as he had become, and that therefore the antislavery movement must be an abomination in the sight of God, to whom the state of one's soul is of more significance than the state of



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one's mere corporeality.



Lucretia Coffin Mott in 1841



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1842

February 25, Friday: [The Liberator](#).

[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.¹⁹ 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

19. In his pamphlet, Review of Gurney's Attack on Friends of Baltimore, and of Their Defence (Baltimore: Wm. Woody, 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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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 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 Allen²⁰ 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' [.]²¹ 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

20. 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.

21. 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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'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 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.²² 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

22. 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.



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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?”²³ 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^ 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 pronounciation – 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.”²⁴ 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

23. LUKE 12:57.

24. “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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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 you could see a correspondence growing out of my going to Boston last Autumn, to attend the Non-Resistance Anniversary and attending New York Mg. on my way home.²⁵ 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.”²⁶ 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 approaching 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.²⁷ 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, deplores 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

25. 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.

26. 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).

27. 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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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 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 oppority 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”²⁸ &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-stiled 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 denyers 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

28. “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.²⁹ 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.³⁰

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.³¹ 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

29. 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.

30. 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).

31. 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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— & T. D. Weld. You will see in the Standard ^Feb.[3]^ or Liberator, the Washington correspondence of the N. York 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.³² 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.³³ 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

32. 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.

33. 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.³⁴ 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 eve 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

34. 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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unnecessary.

When you have read the controversy between Paul & Amicus,³⁵ we should like to have your opinion of the work. It was first published in the 'Berean',³⁶ 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.³⁷ 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

35. 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.

36. 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.

37. 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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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 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.³⁸

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.)³⁹ 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".⁴⁰ 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

38. 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.

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

40. GALATIANS 3:3.



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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 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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.

41. 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.

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



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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 favored, having been at his house at Havre. Emily will probably return with her Father.⁴³ We yesterday attended the funeral of Jas. Forten.⁴⁴ You will see an accot. of his death in the Standard – an obituary written probably by Mary Grew.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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. – ⁴⁷

How gratifying is the decision of your Parliament on the Creole

43. 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.

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

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

46. 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.

47. 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.



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case — that & the Amistad are doing well for our cause — ⁴⁸

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 death⁴⁹

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!"⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ 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.

48. 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."

49. 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."

50. 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).

51. 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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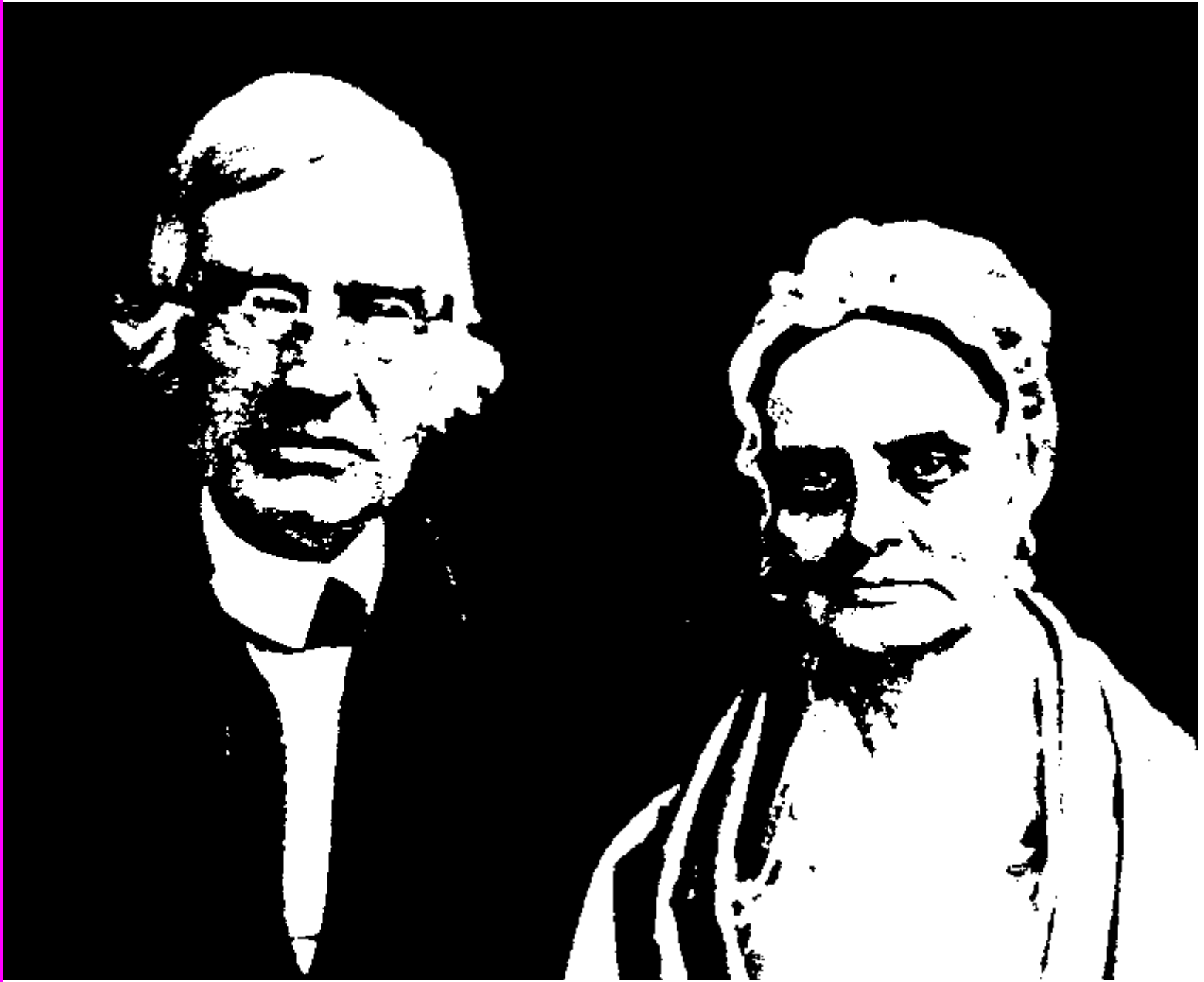
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January: You remember that when Friends [Lucretia Mott](#) and [James Mott](#) had wanted to attack slavery, they had actually gone into Virginia during the summer of 1842 [→](#) and visited slave plantations, and confronted and talked with slavemaster 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**

January 21, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#) visited [Lucretia Mott](#), in whom at that point he was interested primarily because she was a relative of his friend and hostess [Mary Rotch](#) of [New Bedford](#), the "New Light" leader. He was alarmed to discover that [Friend Lucretia](#)'s interest in him was likewise limited because of "an ordinance sometime somewhere" which he had opposed.



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[Waldo Emerson](#)[Washington DC](#)[Lucretia Mott](#)[John Quincy Adams](#)[Waldo Emerson](#)[JOHN TYLER](#)[Henry](#)

THE LIST OF LECTURES



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

[Thoreau](#)[Concord](#)[Mrs. Lucy Jackson Brown](#)

Shortly before July 7: [Henry Thoreau](#) attended Quaker worship at the Hester Street meeting house in Brooklyn and heard Friend [Lucretia Mott](#).



For Thoreau's description of the event, refer to his letter to his sister Helen of July 21st.



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July 21, Friday: [The Liberator](#).

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to his sister [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#) in Roxbury MA from [Staten Island](#), mentioning that [tomatoes](#) were being raised by the acre on this island on which [Huguenots](#) had settled,

*Dear Helen,
I am not in such haste to write home when I remember that I make my readers pay the postage— But I believe I have not taxed you before.— I have pretty much explored this island — inland and along the shore — finding my health inclined me to the peripatetic philosophy— I have visited Telegraph Stations — Sailor's Snug Harbors — Seaman's Retreats — Old Elm Trees, where the Hugonots landed — Brittons Mills — and all the villages on the island. Last Sunday I walked over to Lake Island Farm — 8 or 9 miles from here — where Moses Prichard lived, and found the present occupant, one Mr Davenport formerly from Mass. — with 3 or four men to help him — raising sweet potatoes and tomatoes by the acre. It seemed a cool and pleasant retreat, but a hungry soil. As I was coming away I took my toll out of the soil in the shape of arrow-heads — which may after all be the surest crop — certainly not affected by drought.*



and also describing immigrants he had seen on the streets of [New-York](#), and speaking of the [Quaker](#) meeting shortly before July 7th, in the Hester Street meetinghouse in Brooklyn on *Paumanok* Long Island at which

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[Lucretia Mott](#) had spoken:

I liked all the proceedings very well -their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat- has a history, and comes from house to a house. The women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and handkerchiefs, looking all like sisters and so many chick-a-dees- At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, Mrs Mott rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say, if all else failed - but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the BIBLE -and thence she straightway digressed to slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech -[transcendentalism](#) in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways, and the plainness of their meeting house. It looked as if it was indeed made for service.



The biographer Henry Seidel Canby has commented, about this worship service, that “Already, and long before [Emerson](#), [[Henry Thoreau](#)] sensed the dangerous quietism of the [Quakers](#), which was to be content with solidity and reform, and let the spirit speak too mildly. Indeed, his final conclusion as to all these idealists is a distrust of reformers.” Canby seems not to have been aware that Quakerism had torn itself apart, and that the very person and presence of this [Hicksite](#) traveling minister, Mott, was a reproach to these evangelical Quakers Canby so rightly here contemns for their dangerous self-righteous and self-satisfied quietism. With an understanding of what was going on within Quakerism at that point, we must place quite a different interpretation on that particular worship. Clearly Thoreau had no inclination to mouth his favorite gibe at those

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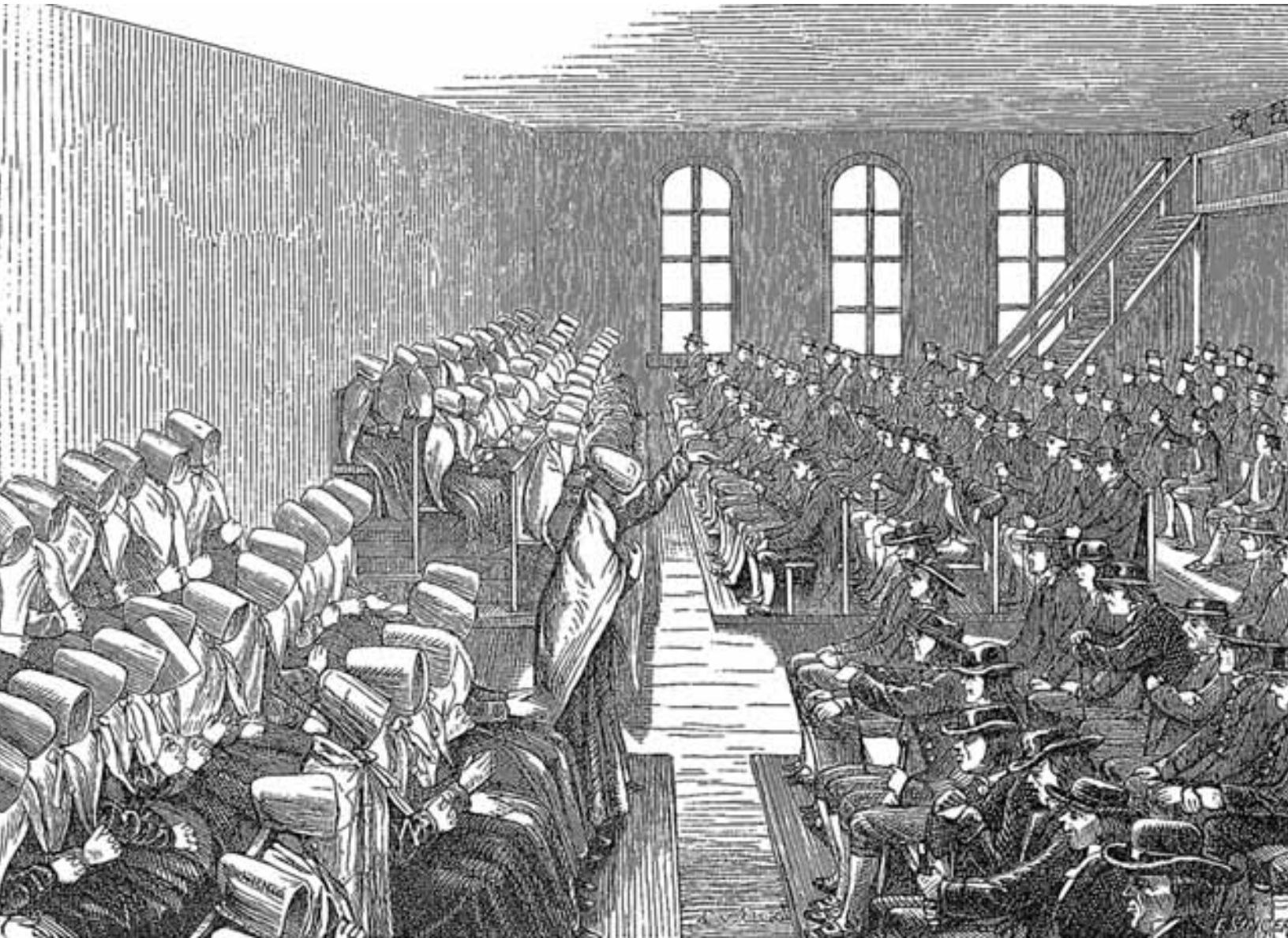
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who replace faith in deity with membership in community,

*"Why do all your prayers begin
'Now I lay me down to sleep'?"*



What precisely was it that Friend Lucretia said? The Herald incorrectly asserted that she handed her bonnet to



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another woman before beginning to speak and incorrectly asserted that a handkerchief was laid over the



railing, so there is little in its report that we can accept as reliable. Those who wish to learn how she spoke to the condition of a [Henry Thoreau](#) she somehow knew, must consult representative sermons that we know were accurately transcribed, such as “Abuses and Uses of the BIBLE,” “Likeness to Christ,” and “Keep Yourself from Idols.”⁵² One of the things she might have urged was:

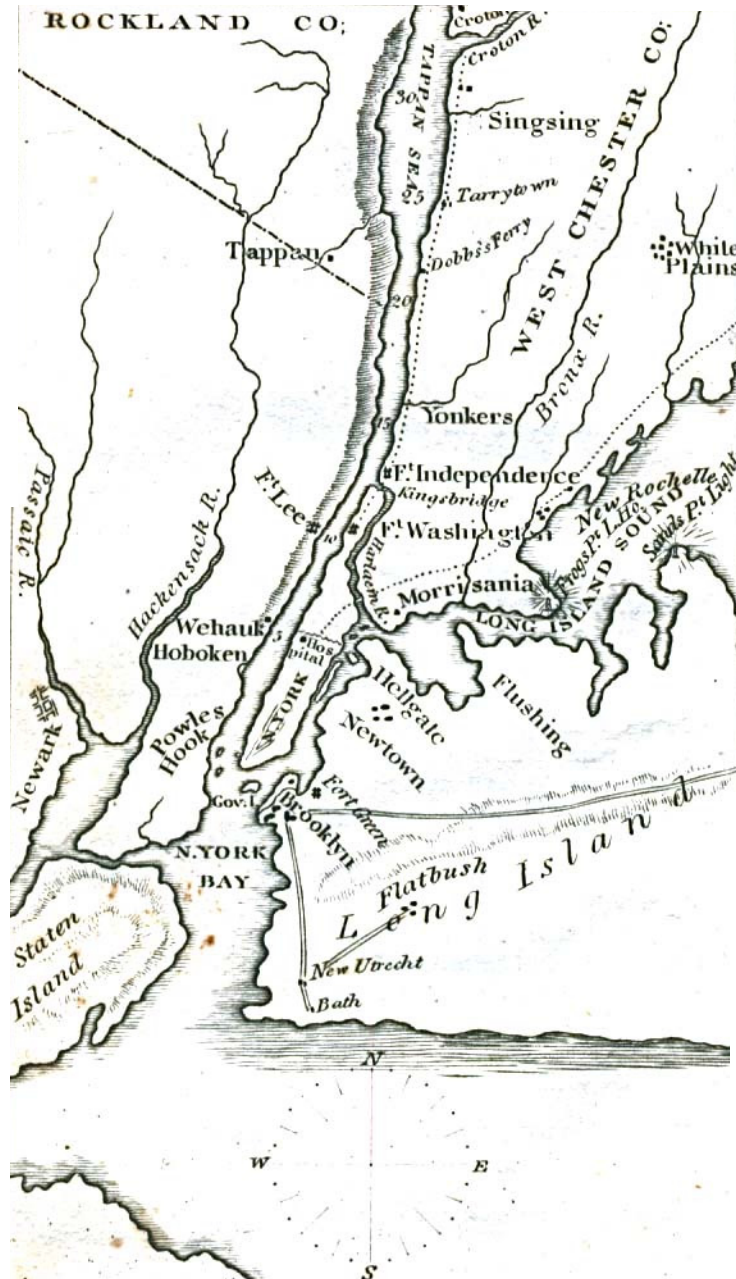
“First that which is natural, afterwards that which is spiritual.” It is theology, not the Scriptures, that has degraded the natural ... skepticism has become a religious duty -skepticism as to the scheme of salvation, the plans of redemption, that are abounding in the religious world ... this kind of doubt, and unbelief are coming to be a real belief, and ... a better theology will follow -has followed. ... We need non-conformity in our age, and I believe it will come.

Another agenda she might have urged:

That while we are applying our principles to civil government we will not be unmindful of their application to ourselves in the regulation of our own tempers and in the government of our families, leading to the substitution of the law of peace and love.

Whatever. In that meeting at the [Religious Society of Friends](#) meeting-house on Hester Street in New York City shortly before July 7, 1843, despite the sectarian turmoil of the split between [Hicksite](#) and non-[Hicksite](#) Quakers, clearly Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) succeeded in putting a defensive 26-year-old man more or less at ease.

52. Mott 279-80. The volume does not, however, include a transcript of what she said at the Hester Street meeting in 1843 (which indicates there is more research that needs to be done, than I have as yet been able to do).

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In this letter he characterized [Horace Greeley](#) as “cheerfully in earnest” and contrasted this with the “sadly in earnest” Reverend [William Henry Channing](#) with his Fourierist fantasies of resolving all human frictions. He mentioned obliquely that Greeley was at that point deeply involved in the creation of the [Eagleswood](#) intentional community — the [New Jersey](#) grounds of which, incidentally, he would one day, upon its failure and dissolution, be surveying into individual house lots:



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Staten Island July 21st 43

Dear Helen,

*I am not in such haste to write home when I remember that I make my readers pay the postage— But I believe I have not taxed you before.— I have pretty much explored this island – inland and along the shore – finding my health inclined me to the peripatetic philosophy— I have visited Telegraph Stations – Sailor’s Snug Harbors – Seaman’s Retreats – Old Elm Trees, where the Hugonots landed – Brittons Mills – and all the villages on the island. Last Sunday I walked over to Lake Island Farm –8 or 9 miles from here– where Moses Prichard lived, and found the present occupant, one Mr Dav-
enport formerly from Mass.— with 3 or four men to help him – rais-
ing sweet potatoes and tomatoes by the acre. It seemed a cool and
pleasant retreat, but a hungry soil. As I was coming away I took my
toll out of the soil in the shape of arrow-heads – which may after all
be the surest crop – certainly not affected by drought.*

*I am well enough situated here to observe one aspect of the modern
world at least – I mean the migratory – the western movement. Six-
teen hundred imigrants arrived at quarrantine ground on the fourth
of July, and more or less every day since I have been here. I see them
occasionally washing their persons and clothes, or men women and
children gathered on an isolated quay near the shore, stretching
their limbs and taking the air, the children running races and swing-
ing – on this artificial piece of the land of liberty – while their vessels
are undergoing purification. They are detained but a day or two, and
then go up to the city, for the most part without having landed here.
In the city I have seen since I wrote last – WH Channing – at whose
house in 15th St. I spent a few pleasant hours, discussing the all ab-
sorbing question – What to do for the race. (He is sadly in earnest –
— About going up the river to rusticate for six weeks— And issues
a new periodical called *The Present* in September.)— Also Horace
Greeley Editor of the Tribune – who is cheerfully in earnest. – at his
office of all work – a hearty New Hampshire boy as one would wish
to meet. And says “now be neighborly” – and believes only or main-
ly, first, in the Sylvania Association somewhere in Pennsylvania –
and secondly and most of all, in a new association to go into opera-
tion soon in New Jersey, with which he is connected.— Edward
Palmer came down to see me Sunday before last— As for Waldo
and Tappan we have strangely dodged one another and have not met
for some weeks.*



FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

I believe I have not told you anything about Lucretia Motte. It was a good while ago that I heard her at the Quaker church in Hester St. She is a preacher, and it was advertised that she would be present on that day. I liked all the proceedings very well – their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat – has a history, and comes from a house to a house. The women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and handkerchiefs looking all like sisters and so many chic-a-dees— At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, M{MS torn} Motte rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say if all else failed – but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the Bible – and thence she straightway digressed to Slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech – transcendentalism in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways and the plainness of their meeting-house— It looked as if it was indeed made for service. I think that Stearns Wheeler has left a gap in the community not easy to be filled. Though he did not exhibit the highest qualities of the scholar, he possessed in a remarkable degree many of the essential and rarer ones – and his patient industry and energy – his reverent love of letters – and his proverbial accuracy – will cause him to be associated in my memory even with many venerable names of former days— It was not wholly unfit that so pure a lover of books should have ended his pilgrimage at the great book-mart of the world. I think of him as healthy and brave, and am confident that if he had lived he would have proved useful in more ways than I can describe— He would have been authority on all matters of fact – and a sort of connecting link between men and scholars of different walks and tastes. The literary enterprises he was planning for himself and friends remind me of an older and more studious time— So much then remains for us to do who survive.

Tell mother that there is no Ann Jones in the Directory. Love to all—

Tell all my friends in Concord that I do not send m{sealing wax}e to them but retain it still. yr affectionate Brother H.D.T.



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

October: After this point Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) was in such trouble with her local Quaker meeting in Philadelphia that she would never again receive a traveling minute to legitimate her preaching, and would be forced to preach without such legitimation.



AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY



FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1844

[Harriet Martineau](#)'s general health somewhat improved, and she authored LIFE IN THE SICKROOM.



In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the "Friends of Freedom":



- Moore, R. R. R. "The Liberty Bell"
- Spooner, Allen C. "Words to the Wavering"
- [James Russell Lowell](#). "A Chippewa Legend"
- Haughton, James. "A Word of Encouragement"
- Burleigh, George S. "Our First Ten Years in the Struggle for Liberty"
- Hildreth, Richard. "Complaint and Reproach"
- Pierpont, John. "Nebuchadnezzar"
- Adam, William. "Reminiscences"
- Bowring, John. "To America"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "The Melancholy Boy"

This story has recently been interpreted as evidence of feminist-abolitionists' need to "erase" the blackness of the black body (Sanchez-Eppler), however, it could be interpreted



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

much differently, as an indictment of racism's power to induce self-loathing.

- Madden, R. R. "Our Reliance"
- Cabot, Susan C. "Letter to a Friend"
- Howitt, William. "The Harvest Moon"
- Howitt, Mary. "The Blind King"
- Walker, Amasa. "Pater Noster"
- Taylor, Emily. "To a Friend, Who Asked the Author's Aid and Prayers for the Slave"
- Webb, Richard D. "Random Reflections"
- Poole, Elizabeth. "The Slave-Boy's Death"

This poem dramatizes an account from THE LIFE OF [MOSES GRANDY](#), LATE A [SLAVE](#) IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (London: Charles Gilpin, 1843).

- Quincy, Edmund. "Lewis Herbert: An Incident of New-England Slavery"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnet: Written After Seeing the Picture, 'Christus Consolator'"
- Mott, Lucretia. "Diversities"

This essay argues in favor of pluralism in the anti-slavery movement; a plea to avoid destructive in-fighting by accepting "diversities" of approach.

LUCRETIA MOTT

- Sutherland, Harriet (Duchess). "Extract of a Letter"
- [Harriet Martineau](#). "Pity the Slave"
- Whipple, Charles K. "The Church and the Clergy"
- Wilson, Susan. "The Fugitives in Boston"
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "No Compromise with Slavery"
- Chapman, Maria Weston. "Sonnet: Conversing With His Soul"
- Rogers, Nathaniel P. "Blind Guides"
- Poole, Elizabeth. "The Soul's Freedom"
- Hilton, John T. "To the Abolitionists"



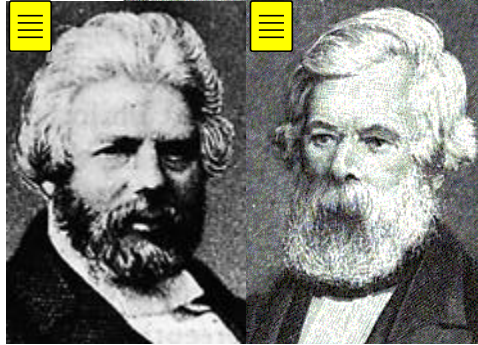


FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

October 20, Sunday: [George Combe](#) the noted [phrenologist](#) wrote to Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) about a new work that displayed great scientific learning, that he had just recommended to his friend [Robert Chambers](#), titled [VESTIGES OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CREATION](#), which she should read as “another battery erected against superstition.”



The crowd-pleasing heresy offered by this book was that since species had evolved over time directed by divine intervention, to superior forms, we the perusers of this literature must be superior beings and greatly entitled, and authorized to do whatever we want. Although this is of course an ever popular conceit, it was inevitable that some would be wise enough to recognize it as what it is, and so the crowd-pleasing pseudoscientist who had authored it would need to keep his identity secret until his death 27 years later.

THE SCIENCE OF 1844

VESTIGES offered enticing opportunities.... [Various cited passages] struck just the right note of tasteful solemnity. Fashionable readers, both women and men, scanned the reviews for such passages ... opening up possibilities for talk.... VESTIGES had the advantage of making an orthodox subject into something just dangerous enough to be attractive.... [Divine creation had been given] a topical frisson for the first time in years.... All in all, VESTIGES offered wonderful opportunities for displaying conversational skill.





LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1845

August 6, Wednesday: [Eli Thayer](#) got married with [Caroline Maria Capron](#) of Millville, Massachusetts, daughter of Collins Capron and Caroline Capron. Officiating at the ceremony was the Reverend Willard Holbrook.

[Waldo Emerson](#) delivered "Discourse" at the commencement exercises of Connecticut Wesleyan University in Middletown. The president of the university was so alarmed by some of the things that were said that he begged Emerson not to repeat them and thus alienate the institution's financial backers. Emerson promised. From Middletown Emerson went on to Staten Island, to visit his brother.



The Thoreaus had removed from Whitwell's house on Pinckney Street in Boston to "Brick House, Concord,

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to spring of 1826,” and from that point forward had remained in the town of [Concord](#).



Playing the [flute](#) at his cabin on Walden Pond at some point in time subsequent to August 6th, 1845, [Henry Thoreau](#) recollected that the Thoreau family, [John Thoreau, Sr.](#) and [Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau](#) with their little David Henry, as well as the two older two siblings [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#) and [John Thoreau, Jr.](#) and the younger [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#), with their grandmother the widow [Mary Jones Dunbar Minot](#), had spent a pic nic day on Walden Pond. When at this point in time he wrote this into his [WALDEN](#) manuscript, as below, he was recollecting it as his having been at the age of four, but later he would correct this to his having already



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turned five:



WALDEN: When I was four years old, as I well remember, I was brought from Boston to this my native town, through these very woods and this field, to the pond. It is one of the oldest scenes stamped on my memory. And now to-night my flute has waked the echoes over that very water. The pines still stand here older than I; or, if some have fallen, I have cooked my supper with their stumps, and a new growth is rising all around, preparing another aspect for new infant eyes. Almost the same johnswort springs from the same perennial root in this pasture, and even I have at length helped to clothe that fabulous landscape of my infant dreams, and one of the results of my presence and influence is seen in these bean leaves, corn blades, and potato vines.

The remark about the [flute](#) at this point in [WALDEN](#) may remind us that Thoreau's intent was, importantly, to see with "new infant eyes."



After August 6, 1845: ... Well now to-night my flute awakes the echoes over this very water, but one generation of pines has fallen and with their stumps I have cooked my supper, And a lusty growth of oaks and pines is rising all around its brim and preparing its wilder aspect for new infant eyes. ...

WALDEN: In warm evenings I frequently sat in the boat playing the flute, and saw the perch, which I seemed to have charmed, hovering around me, and the moon travelling over the ribbed bottom, which was strewn with the wrecks of the forest. Formerly I had come to this pond adventurously, from time to time, in dark summer nights, with a companion, and making a fire close to the water's edge, which we thought attracted the fishes, we caught pouts with a bunch of worms strung on a thread; and when we had done, far in the night, threw the burning brands high into the air like skyrockets, which, coming down into the pond, were quenched with a loud hissing, and we were suddenly groping in total darkness. Through this, whistling a tune, we took our way to the haunts of men again. But now I had made my home by the shore.

At this point in Thoreau's life, was the cloth pouch with drawstrings in which he carried his [flute](#) already made from a piece of one of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)'s old gray-lady Quaker dresses? For we know from a letter he had written to his sister that by this point Thoreau had already encountered Friend Lucretia, at a [Quaker](#) silent worship:



I liked all the proceedings very well –their plainly greater harmony and sincerity than elsewhere. They do nothing in a hurry. Every one that walks up the aisle in his square coat and expansive hat– has a history,



FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

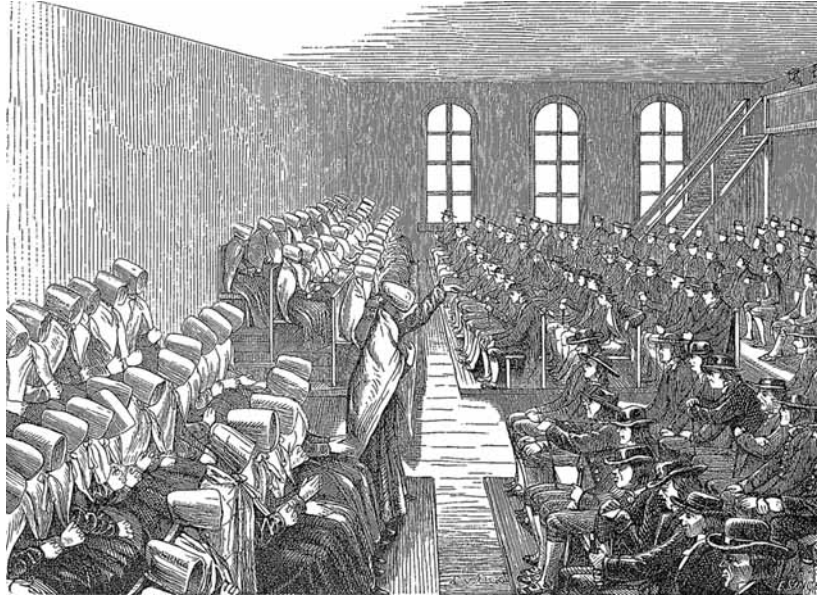
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT****FRIEND LUCRETIA****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

and comes from house to a house. The women come in one after another in their Quaker bonnets and handkerchiefs, looking all like sisters and so many chick-a-dees— At length, after a long silence, waiting for the spirit, Mrs Mott rose, took off her bonnet, and began to utter very deliberately what the spirit suggested. Her self-possession was something to say, if all else failed—but it did not. Her subject was the abuse of the BIBLE—and thence she straightway digressed to slavery and the degradation of woman. It was a good speech—transcendentalism in its mildest form. She sat down at length and after a long and decorous silence in which some seemed to be really digesting her words, the elders shook hands and the meeting dispersed. On the whole I liked their ways, and the plainness of their meeting house. It looked as if it was indeed made for service.



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Aug 6, 1845: I have just been reading a book called "The Crescent & the Cross" till now I am somewhat ashamed of myself. Am I sick, or idle –that I can sacrifice my energy –America –and to-day – to this mans ill remembered and indolent story– Carnac and Luxor are but names, and still more desert sand and at length a wave of the great ocean itself are needed to wash away the filth that attaches to their grandeur. Carnac –Carnac –this is carnac for me and I behold the columns of a larger and a purer temple. May our childish and fickle aspirations be divine, while we descend to this mean intercourse. Our reading should be heroic –in an unknown tongue –a dialect always but imperfectly learned –through which we stammer line by line, catching but a glimmering of the sense –and still afterward admiring its unexhausted hieroglyphics –its untranslated columns.

Here grow around me nameless trees and shrubs each morning freshly sculptured –rising new stories day by day –instead of hideous ruins– their myriad-handed worker –uncompelled as un compelling This is my carnac –that its unmeasured dome –the measuring art man has invented flourishes and dies upon this temples floor nor ever dreams to reach that ceilings height. Carnac & Luxor crumble underneath – their shadowy roofs let in the light once more reflected from the ceiling of the sky Behold these flowers –let us be up with Time not dreaming of 3000 years ago. Erect ourselves



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and let those columns lie –not stoop to raise a foil against the sky– Where is the *spirit* of that time but in this present day –this present line 3000 years ago are not agone –they are still lingering here aye every one,

And [Memnon](#)'s mother sprightly greets us now
Wears still her youthful blushes on her brow
And Carnac's columns why stand they on the plain?
T'enjoy our Opportunities they would fain remain

This is my Carnac whose unmeasured dome
Shelters the measuring art & measurer's home
Whose propylaeum is the system nigh
And sculptured facade the visible sky



Where there is memory which compelleth time the muse's mother and the muses nine –there are all ages– past and future time unwearied memory that does not forget the actions of the past –that does not forego –to stamp them freshly– That old mortality industrious to retouch the monuments of time, in the world's cemetery through out every clime

The student may read [Homer](#) or AEschylus in the original Greek –for to do so implies to emulate their heroes –the consecration of morning hours to their page–

The heroic books though printed in the character of our mother tongue –are always written in a foreign language dead to idle & degenerate times, and we must laboriously seek the meaning of each word and line, conjecturing a larger sense than the text renders us at last out of our own valor and generosity.

A man must find his own occasions in himself. The natural day is very calm, and will hardly reprove our indolence. If there is no elevation in our spirits –the pond will not seem elevated like a mountain tarn, but a low pool a silent muddy water –a place for fishermen.

I sit here at my window like a priest of Isis –and observe the phenomena of 3000 years ago, yet unimpaired. The tantivy of wild pigeons [[American Passenger Pigeon](#), [Ectopistes migratorius](#)], an ancient race of birds – gives a voice to the air –flying by twos and threes athwart my view or perching restless on the white pine boughs occasionally –a fish-hawk dimples the glassy surface of the pond and brings up a fish And for the last half hour I have heard the rattle of rail-road cars conveying travellers from Boston to the country.

After the evening train has gone by and left the world to silence and to me The Whippoorwill chants her vespers for half an hour– And when all is still at night the owls take up the strain like mourning women their ancient ululu. Their most dismal scream is truly Ben-Jonsonian –wise midnight hags It is no honest and blunt Tu whit Tu who of the poets but without jesting a most solemn graveyard ditty –but the mutual consolation of suicide lovers remembering the pangs and the delights of supernal love –in the infernal groves.

And yet I love to hear their wailing their doleful responses trilled along the wood side reminding me sometimes of music and singing birds as if it were the dark and tearful side of music –the regrets and sighs that would fain



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be sung The spirits –the low spirits –and melancholy forebodings –of fallen spirits –who once in human shape night-walked the earth and did the deeds of darkness now expiating with their wailing hymns –threnodia their sins in the very scenery of their transgressions. They give me a new sense of the vastness and mystery of that nature which is the common dwelling of us both.

Oh-o-o-o-o –that I never had been bor-or-or-or-orn –sighs one on this side of the pond and circles in the restlessness of despair to some new perch in the grey oaks. “That I never had been bor-or-or-or-orn” echoes one on the farther side with a tremulous sincerity –and “born or-or-or-orn” comes faintly from far in the Lincoln woods.

And then the frogs –bull Frogs– They are the more sturdy spirits of ancient wine bibbers and wassailers still unrepentant –trying to sing a catch in their stygian lakes. They would fain keep up the hilarious good fellowship and all the rules of their old round tables –but they have waxed hoarse and solemnly grave and serious their voices mocking at mirth –and their wine has lost its flavor and is only liquor to distend their paunches –and never comes sweet intoxication to drown the memory of the past but mere saturation and waterlogged dulness and distension– Still the most Aldermanic with his chin upon a pad, which answers for a napkin to his drooling chaps under the eastern shore quafs a deep draught of the once scorned water– And passes round the cup — with the ejaculation –tr-r-r-r-r-oonk –tr-r-r-r-r-oonk –tr-r-r-r-r-oonk. And straightway comes over the water from some distant cove the self-same pass word where the next in seniority and girth has gulped down to his mark– And when the strain has made the circuit of the shores –then ejaculates the master of ceremonies with satisfaction Tr-r-r-r-oonk –and each in turn repeats the sound –down to the least distended, leakiest –flabbiest paunched –that their be no mistake–

And the bowl goes round again until the sun dispels the mornings mist and only the Patriarch is not under –the pond –but vainly bellowing –Troonk from time to time –pausing for a reply.



After August 6: All nature is classic and akin to art– The sumack and pine and hickory which surround my house remind me of the most graceful sculpture. Some times the trees do not make merely a vague impression — but their tops or a single limb or leaf seems to have grown to a distinct expression and invites my life to a like distinctness and emphasis.

Poetry Painting Sculpture claim at once and associate with themselves those perfect pieces of art –leaves –vines acorns– The critic must at last stand as mute though contented before a true poem — as before an acorn or a vine leaf. The perfect work of art is received again into the bosom of nature whence its material proceeded — and that criticism which can only detect its unnaturalness has no longer any office to fulfill.

The choicest maxims that have come down to us are more beautiful or integrally wise –that they are wise to our understandings– This wisdom which we are inclined to pluck from their stalk is the fruit only of a single association. Every natural form –palm leaves and acorns –oak-leaves and sumack and dodder –are untranslatable aphorisms

I love to gaze at the opposite or south side of the pond which has a foreign shore –low hills skirted with oaks and pines which seem but the front rank of a forest beyond which stretches a level country, the earth I read of, as far as Tartary and the empire of the Grand Khan –where tribes of men dwell in tents.

The struggle of the hero Ajax are thus forcibly described in the 16th book of the Iliad. He endeavors to ward off



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fire from the ships while Patroclus is interceding with Achilles for his armor and his Myrmidons.

“Thus *they* spoke such things to oneanother.

But Ajax no longer stood fast; for he was forced by javelins;

Both the will of Zeus overcame him & the illustrious Trojans,

Hurling (their darts); and his bright helmet being struck

Had a terrible clanging about his temples; and he was struck incessantly

Upon his well-made armor. he was disabled in his left shoulder

Always holding firm his variegated shield; –nor were they able

(Around him to make an impression), striving with their weapons.

But all the while he was breathing hard, and the sweat

And much sweat ran down from him on every side from his limbs, nor ever had he

To breathe; and on every side misfortune succeeded surely to misfortune.

or better

Thus they were speaking such words to oneanother.

i.e. (Patroclus & Achilles)

But Ajax no longer stood his ground; for he was compelled by weapons;

The will of Zeus subdued him, and the illustrious Trojans,

Hurling (their javelins); and his bright helmet being struck

Had a terrible clang about his temples, & he was struck incessantly

Upon his well-made armor; he was wounded in his left shoulder

Always holding firm his variegated shield; nor were they able

Around to stagger him, striving with their weapons.

But constantly he breathed with difficulty; and much sweat

Ran down on every side from his limbs, nor ever had he

(A chance) to breathe; And on every side misfortune was riveted to misfortune

Twenty three years since when I was 5 years old, I was brought from Boston to this pond, away in the country which was then but another name for the extended world for me –one of the most ancient scenes stamped on the tablets of my memory –the oriental asiatic valley of my world –whence so many races and inventions have gone forth in recent times. That woodland vision for a long time made the drapery of my dreams. That sweet solitude my spirit seemed so early to require that I might have room to entertain my thronging guests, and that speaking silence that my ears might distinguish the significant sounds. Some how or other it at once gave the preference to this recess among the pines where almost sunshine & shadow were the only inhabitants that varied the scene, over that tumultuous and varied city –as if it had found its proper nursery.

Well now to-night my *flute* awakes the echoes over this very water, but one generation of pines has fallen and with their stumps I have cooked my supper, And a lusty growth of oaks and pines is rising all around its brim and preparing its wilder aspect for new infant eyes.

Almost the same johnswort springs from the same perennial root in this pasture.–

Even I have at length helped to clothe that fabulous landscape of my imagination – – and one result of my presence and influence is seen in the bean leaves and corn blades and potatoes vines.

Seek to preserve the tenderness of your nature as you would the bloom upon a peach.

Most men are so taken up with the cares and rude practice of life — that its finer fruits can not be plucked by them. Literally the laboring man has not leisure for a strict and lofty integrity day by day – he cannot afford to sustain the fairest and noblest relations. His labor will depreciate in the market.

How can he remember well his ignorance who has so often to use his knowledge

**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE AUGUST 6TH, 1845 AT ALL ONE
MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW,
IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).**



FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

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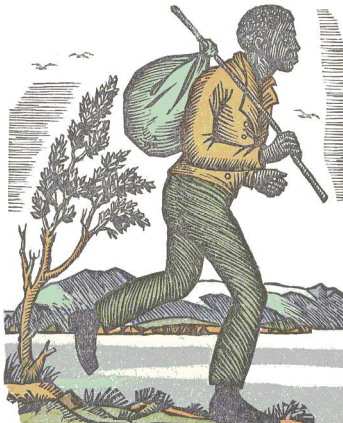
1846

The propagating fissure in the [Liberty Bell](#) had by this point gotten too bad to permit ringing it any more, unless something was done to stop this propagation and to stop the rough edges of the hairline fissure from rubbing together.

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the “Friends of Freedom”:



- Thompson, George. “A Fragment, Verbatim et Literatim From my Journal in Upper India”
- Howitt, William. “Onward! Right Onward!”
- Atkinson, William P. “The True Reformer”
- Higginson, J.W. “Sonnet to [William Lloyd Garrison](#)” [presumably this was a typo for [T.W. Higginson](#)]
- Parker, Theodore. “A Parable”
- Longfellow, Henry W. “The Poet of Miletus”
- Joshua Reed Giddings. “Fugitive Slaves in Northern Ohio”



- Anonymous. “Our Country”
- Cabot, Susan C. “Thought”
- Anonymous. “Interference: On Reading a Paper, In Defence [sic] of Slavery, Written by a Clergyman”
- Hitchcock, Jane Elizabeth. “All are Needed”



FRIEND LUCRETIA

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

- Parker, Theodore. "Jesus There is No Name So Dear as Thine"
- ---. "Oh Thou Great Friend to All the Sons of Men"
- ---. "Dear Jesus Were Thy Spirit Now on Earth"
- Clarkson, Thomas. "Letter"
- Follen, Eliza Lee. "Song, for the Friends of Freedom"
- [Harriet Martineau](#). "A Communication"
- Jones, Benjamin S. "Our Duty"
- [Samuel Joseph May](#). "Extract From a Speech at the Anti-Texan Meeting in Faneuil Hall, 1845"
- Thompson, George. "Early Morning"
- ---. "Sonnet: To Blanche"
- [Fuller, S. Margaret](#). "The Liberty Bell"
- Hornblower, Jane E. "A Fragment"
- Haughton, James. "Pro-Slavery Appeal To the World for Sympathy, Answered from Old Ireland"
- Spooner, Allen C. "Jubilee"
- ---. "Discouragements and Incentives"
- Ross, Georgiana Fanny. "Stanzas On Reading J. H. Wiffen's Translation of Tasso"
- Browne, John W. "A Vision of the Fathers"
- Watts, Alaric A. "A Remonstrance"
- Lee, E [probably Eliza Buckminster]. "The Dream within a Dream"
- Bowring, John. "Think of the Slave"
- Furness, William H. "Self-Denial"
- [William Lloyd Garrison](#). "Fight On!"
- Howitt, Mary. "Some Passages from the Poetry of Life"
- [William Lloyd Garrison](#). "Sonnet . . . Character"
- [Wendell Phillips](#). "The Church"
- [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#). "Lines to the Trans-Atlantic Friends of the Slave"
- Kirkland, Caroline M. "Recollections of Anti-Slavery at the West"

This familiar essay reveals the same lively, ironic style that made the author's *A New Home: Who'll Follow?* popular.

- Quincy, Edmund. "Phoebe Mallory; the Last of the Slaves"

A narrative of the life of Phoebe Mallory, the last living person to have been enslaved in Massachusetts. Mallory died in 1845.

- Lowell, James Russell. "The Falconer"
- The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#). "Is there any Friend?"
- Lowell, Maria. "The Slave-Mother"
- [Lucretia Mott](#). "What is Anti-Slavery Work?"
- Clay, Cassius M. "God and Liberty"
- Lissant. "Influence de l'emigration Europeenne Sur le Sort de la Race Africaine aux Etats Unis d'Amerique"
- Weston, Anne Warren. "Sonnet in Memory of [Elizabeth Fry](#)"



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

- Howitt, William. "The Worst Evil of Slavery"



MDCCCXLVI

ONE COULD BE ELSEWHERE, AS ELSEWHERE DOES EXIST.
ONE CANNOT BE ELSEWHEN SINCE ELSEWHEN DOES NOT.
(TO THE WILLING MANY THINGS CAN BE EXPLAINED,
THAT FOR THE UNWILLING WILL REMAIN FOREVER MYSTERIOUS.)

April 28, Tuesday: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) wrote Elizabeth Pease in England to express her sympathy on the death of Elizabeth's father and to share her own feelings on the recent death of her own mother, Friend Anna Coffin, incidentally mentioning [Frederick Douglass](#), James N. Buffum, and citing without any undue deference [Henry C. Wright](#) (who had, while recovering recently from an illness at her home, fallen in love with Elizabeth):

You have Douglass & Buffum with you -good men & true- H.C. Wright also -still stirring the muddy waters of sect- and preachg. humanity. How much need is there of his labors of love, while your National cry is, "Blessed are the War makers" - rather than the peace-makers! What dreadful battles on the plains of India! a monstrous sacrifice of human life, by a professedly Christian



FRIEND LUCRETIA

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

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Nation!



Here is Friend Lucretia's letter in full:

Philada. 4 Mo. 28th, 1846.

My dear Elizh. Pease

More than two years have passed, since the reception of thy truly acceptable letter. During that time I have not written to any of our dear English or Irish friends – for after the severe illness which so greatly affected my nervous system I was advised to avoid much reading or writing. Edwd. M. Davis' prospect of again visiting your country & seeing some of our friends revived the desire to communicate with you again. More especially do I wish to convey a line to thee dear Elizh., expressive of the sympathy I feel with thee, in thy late bereavement.⁵³ Thy long-continued devotion to thy dear Father, doubtless renders this stroke doubly trying to thee. In many ways we feel such a loss! Your feelings & sentiments were congenial upon many points. You could travel together & were each other's helper in the truth. The tear will then naturally flow at the severance of such a tie. And far be it from me to seek to stay it. I know full well the keenness of the separation between Parent & child. My dear Mother was taken from us, when I could illly bear such a shock to my nature. She was companionable in every way. Her Grandchildn. as well as her childn. delighted in her society. She was vigorous in constitution of both body & mind, and promised a longer life than 73 – But we had to yield her – and resignation to the event has been a hard lesson. I therefore feel less able to preach it to others. The thought has already occurred to us, now, that thou hast no longer that tender tie to home, whether a visit to this Country may not be effected by thee – gladdening the hearts of many here, and perhaps cheering for the time some lonely hours for thyself. We need not say such a visit would be very pleasant to us, and a hearty welcome would await thee as a guest, under which of our roofs thou might choose to abide.

53. Joseph Pease died 16 March 1846. Dictionary of Quaker Biography, Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London.



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The contents of thy last letter may not, after so long silence on my part in reply, be familiar to thee now. Thou alluded to our intercourse together, in England – and thy remarks to H.C. Wright respectg some little restraint that thou afterward thought existed between us.⁵⁴ As to thy fear of engrossing too much of our time, & thy regardg us, as among the 'lions of the Convention' the thought I believe never occurred to us – We felt truly grateful for thy prompt attention to us, while some from Sectarian bigotry were standing aloof. As to the lion part, we felt much more, that we were "counted as sheep for the slaughter." That feeling added to the knowledge that many among you were greatly shocked at our supposed heresies, did cause a little restraint in our mingling with you. I remember Sarah Pugh reproved me after our first call or visit at your lodgings, because I did not go forward more cordially & offer the hand, in takg. leave of thy Father & Mother. When I was restrained by the feeling, that they would not care to give me the "right hand of fellowship" in any respect. Again, when we met accidentally at Meeting, at the Devonshire house I think, I felt quite a pity for thee, that thou would be brought into a strait after Meeting, whether to speak cordially to us, & thus identify thyself with those, who were "despised & rejected of Men;" or to "cut" us, and thus do violence to the promptings of thy kind nature. So, thy after feelings were not without some foundation. But, the more intercourse we had, the more these fears & restraints vanished – and our latter interviews – specially the last, at Liverpool were "free & easy" as any could desire. Since that time, our firm adherence to the great cause, which first bound us together, and the freedom of correspondence have knit us together 'as the heart of one man', and we can greet one another as very friends. As to differences in points of faith sundering us, if that be sufficient cause of division, "oh Lord, who shall stand?"⁵⁵ Have not those, who at that time, formed a strong & united phalanx of opposition to "Hicksism," now become divided among themselves, on little hair-splitting points of Theology? Let us rather look, as the truth-loving Jesus recommended, for the fruits which proceed from a good heart – for about these there is no controversy. There is a response in every heart to the exhibition of justice – mercy – love – peace – & Charity, which goes far to convince prove that God has created man upright; and that the counter doctrine of human depravity, has done much to make the heart wicked, and to produce the giant sins that afflict mankind. But I wish not to provoke discussion. A similar feeling to that I have endeavored to express, prevented my calling on thy cousin John Pease, when in

54. Sponsored by the New England Non-Resistance Society, Henry C. Wright toured Britain from 1842 to 1847. According to Walter Merrill, Wright fell in love with Pease while recovering from an illness at her home. See Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 3:16, 126. In her diary Mott described frequent meetings with the Pease family in 1840, including a farewell breakfast in Liverpool. See Tolles, Diary, 23-25, 32, 35, 41, 44, 47-49, 53, 56-58, 77.

55. "Sheep for the slaughter," Psalms 44:22; "despised and rejected," Isaiah 53:3. Possibly a variation of "who then is able to stand before me?" (Job 41:10) or "who shall stand in his holy place?" (Psalms 24:3).



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this City, & trying to influence him in accordance with thy wish, for the Slave. He did not identify himself with any Anti-Slavery Socy. here. Neither have your pseudo-Abolitionists – the Forsters, Stacey &c –⁵⁶ Have they not shamefully betrayed the cause of the Slave, for their love of sect? Thy letter mentioned a concern to write an out-door Epistle of sympathy for the Indiana Seceders – Now, that 2 years have passed since the concern arose, has it not ripened into completion? It would doubtless cheer their disappointed hearts, after such a visit from the English bigots – or sectarians – (for I dont want to use hard words –) – and is it not a duty, to do what we can to strengthen one another in this great work. I am ready at any time to sign such an Epistle to our Green Plain Friends – who are set at naught by their rulers. Genessee Yy. Mg. ^Anti. S. Frds. met in conference last year^ did so – and others will likely follow their example.⁵⁷ We still have much opposition to encounter in our several Meetings, as the accompanyg. documents will shew. But of this, as well as of our progress in the great cause, so constant a reader as thyself of our Liberators & Standard, needs not to be informed. You have Douglass & Buffum with you – good men & true – H. C. Wright also – still stirring the muddy waters of sect – and preachg. humanity. How much need is there of his labors of love, while your National cry is, “Blessed are the War makers” – rather than the peace-makers!’ What dreadful battles on the plains of India! a monstrous sacrifice of human life, by a professedly Christian Nation!⁵⁸ And your poor starved people at home too – overworked & underpaid until driven to desperation. What is to be done, in view of all these evils? The remedy looks at times so hopeless, that I am ready to choose death rather than life, if I must feel as I have done for these classes. There was an extensive Strike of the hand-loom weavers, in this City last winter. They were a month or more idle about twelve hundred – until reduced almost to starvation – depriving themselves of some 25 or \$30.000, wh. they might have recd. even at their all-too low wages. I could not but sympathise with them, in their demand for a better recompense to their early & late toil. But it was most unfortunate for them, for they did not gain the added wages

56. Probably George Stacey (1786-1857), clerk of the London Yearly Meeting and an anti-[Hicksite](#). Tolles, Diary, 30.

57. In 1845 a delegation from the London Yearly Meeting went to Indiana to try to resolve differences between the two branches after the 1842-43 split. The anti-slavery branch, the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, protested that the London delegation had sided with the anti-abolitionist stand of the Indiana Yearly Meeting. Further evidence of discord was the rejection by the Ohio Yearly Meeting of the May 1845 epistle from the Green Plain Friends Quarterly Meeting asking for acceptance. In New York some Friends of Genesee Yearly Meeting signed an epistle in June 1845 expressing support to the Green Plain Quarterly Meeting and other meetings which had been disowned by Indiana Yearly Meeting. The epistle criticized the proscriptive spirit which “impugns the actions of brethren and sisters, in their efforts to relieve suffering humanity” and urged Friends to “Hold all your meetings in the Power of God.” Pennsylvania Freeman 6 November 1845:3; [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#), 14 August:42; 21 August:46; 9 October 1845:74; see also Thomas Hamm, *God’s Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 63, 67-68.

58. James N. Buffum (1807-1887), abolitionist and vice-president of the Friends of Social Reform, was touring Britain with [Douglass](#), then an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. See Ruchames and Merrill, Letters, 3:138. The British continued their conquest of India with a February 1846 victory over the Sikhs in Kashmir.



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claimed – for “with the Oppressor there is power.”⁵⁹ I have written thus far, without telling thee, how much we have felt for Elizh. J. (Neall) Gay during the two or three weeks past, in the extreme illness & death of her Father. She came on from New York soon after he was confined to his bed, and ministered constantly to his wants during his ten days suffering[.] He will be much missed as a friend to the poor – as a liberal-minded overseer of our Meeting, and such are needed, and as the Slave’s friend. The Obituary in the Freeman & Standard is a just tribute to his worth – Poor Elizh. feels it deeply. It will be the breaking up of the pleasant home here, for many of our Anti-Slavery lecturers & friends. He had paid Sydney & Elizh. a very pleasant visit, only a short time before he was taken ill.⁶⁰ I must refer thee to our E.M. Davis for any further particulars of our doings. We shall miss him much from the Mgs. of our Ex. Com. as well as from our family circle. They are settled next door to us, & it has added much to our enjoyment to have them so near us. An added son to their family, prevented Maria’s accompanyg. him to England, as was their first plan – when it would not have taken much persuasion to induce J. Mott & self to cross the Atlantic again. Our childn. are all married save one – and all settled in this City. We are lookg. for S.S. Foster & his Abby (Kelly)⁶¹ next week accomp’d. by 2 of their frds. from Ohio. Abby Kimber is now in the City. Her company is ever pleasant to us. She & Sarah Pugh – Isaac Winslow & Emily visited us last week. We talked over our visit abroad as we ever do when we meet. We go to Sarah’s this eveg. to the Ex. Com. where we always find something interesting to engage us. I dont know whether Sarah & Abby are writing to thee by Edward – Mary Grew will meet with us this evening. She is putting her talents to good use as editor of the Freeman – Let me hear from thee soon & please write on thicker paper – so that my old eyes may more easily decipher it. My J. Mott desires most affectionate remembrances –

Thine – L. Mott –

Thy contributn. to our Fair was gratefully recd. as S. Pugh says she wrote thee.

59. Most weavers worked at home and in February 1846 in Moyamensing struck unsuccessfully for higher wages. Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-50* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1980), 159. The final quote comes from Ecclesiastes 4:1.

60. Elizabeth Neall had married Sydney Howard Gay 7 November 1845. Daniel Neall died 15 April 1846. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 23 April 1846:3.

61. [Stephen S. Foster](#) (1809-81), antislavery lecturer, had married [Abby Kelley](#) on December 21, 1845.



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Fall: The Hicksite Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) addressed a [Unitarian](#) assembly.⁶² Some Unitarians were outraged at this, and sought assurances from their church that they would never again be addressed by a woman. Some Quakers were outraged by this, and raised issues such as whether Lucretia had misrepresented herself as an “accredited agent” of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Suggestions were being made in Quaker circles that whatever it was she thought she was, this woman was “really a Unitarian.”



62. Incidentally, she used the same voice on such occasions as she used in Quaker meetings for worship, as she did not use the Quaker singsong that [Elias Hicks](#) had used — nor did she kneel during public prayers, nor did she engage in any intercessory prayer.



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
1847

May: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) attended the New England Anti-Slavery meetings in Boston.



July: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) spoke in Worcester.⁶³



The [Reverend Frederick Llewellyn Hovey Willis](#) would belatedly lay claim, posthumously in 1915,  to be able to remember having visited [Henry Thoreau](#) with [the Alcott family](#) during this month, on pages 91-94 of his *ALCOTT MEMOIRS* (Boston: Badger). When this “keen recollection” of his, of St. Francis Thoreau and the animules, allegedly was formed, he was at the age of 17 or 18, which is definitely enough to know better!

I have a keen recollection of the first time I met Henry David Thoreau. It was upon a beautiful day in July, 1847, that Mrs. Alcott told us we were to visit Walden. We started merrily a party of seven, Mr. and Mrs. Alcott, the four girls and myself,

63. Bear in mind that in America at that time, under the frightening rubric “female greatness,” every attempt was made to prevent women from having a public voice. Quakerism was the sole exception. One of the tactics typically used when it was known that a woman intended to address a reforming society—but only one of them, there were other tactics as well for employment prior to such an encounter, and then there were tactics for use afterward such as light cartooning—was for male members to arrive early and bolt the doors from the inside.



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for the woods of oak and pine that encircled the picturesque little lake called Walden Pond. We found Thoreau in his cabin, a plain little house of one room containing a wood stove.

He gave us gracious welcome, asking us within. For a time he talked with Mr. Alcott in a voice and with a manner in which, boy as I was, I detected a something akin with Emerson. He was a tall and rugged-looking man, straight as a pine tree. His nose was strong, dominating his face, and his eyes as keen as an eagle's. He seemed to speak with them, to take in all about him in one vigorous glance. His brows were shaggy as in people who observe rather than see.

He was talking to Mr. Alcott of the wild flowers in Walden woods when, suddenly stopping, he said: "Keep very still and I will show you my family." Stepping quickly outside the cabin door, he gave a low and curious whistle; immediately a woodchuck came running towards him from a nearby burrow. With varying note, yet still low and strange, a pair of gray squirrels were summoned and approached him fearlessly. With still another note several birds, in two crows, flew towards him, one of the crows nestling upon his shoulder. I remember it was the crow resting close to his head that made the most vivid impression upon me, knowing how fearful of man this bird is. He fed them all from his hand, taking food from his pocket, and petted them gently before our delighted gaze; and then dismissed them by different whistling, always strange and low and short, each little wild thing departing instantly at hearing its special signal.

Then he took us five children upon the pond in his boat, ceasing his oars after a little distance from the shore and playing the flute he had brought with him, its music echoing over the still and beautifully clear water. He suddenly laid the flute down and told us stories of the Indians that "long ago" had lived about Walden and Concord; delighting us with simple, clear explanations of the wonders of Walden woods. Again he interrupted himself suddenly, speaking of the various kinds of lilies growing about Walden and calling the wood lilies, stately wild things. It was pond lily time and from the boat we gathered quantities of their pure white flowers and buds; upon our return to the shore he helped us gather other flowers and laden with many sweet blossoms, we wended our way homewards rejoicingly. As we were going he said to me: "Boy, you look tired and sleepy; remember, sleep is half a dinner."

I saw him afterwards very many times in the company of his most intimate friends, Mr. Emerson and Mr. Alcott. He often came to our home; indeed, aside from visits to his father, mother, sisters, and Mr. Emerson, he visited no one else. Upon some of these occasions I remember him saying "that he had a great deal of company in the morning when nobody called;" and "I have never found the companion who is so companionable as solitude." I also remember, "in Walden Woods I hunt with a glass; for a gun gives you but the body while a glass gives you the bird." He possessed to an uncanny degree a knowledge of flowers, plants, and trees. He kept a careful calendar of the shrubs and flora about Walden and showed it me in explanation many times.



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The land upon which his cabin was built had been given him by Emerson; the cabin he built himself at a cost of less than thirty dollars and for the first nine months of his life in it his expenses amounted to sixty-two dollars. He thus proved that most of us waste our time and substance upon superficialities, that one hundred dollars per year will suffice for one's living expenses, and that, best of all, one could really live and still have two-thirds of one's time to one's self....

This is but a record of youthful memory; its aim is to compass nothing else. During the nearly sixty years since Thoreau's death I have read, I think, all that has been said about him. But among it nothing has, nor do I believe ever will, be better said than a paragraph from Emerson's funeral tribute to his dead friend: "He has in a short life exhausted the capabilities of this world; wherever there is knowledge, wherever there is virtue, wherever there is beauty, he will find a home."

I do not remember ever seeing him laugh outright, but he was ever ready to smile at anything that pleased him; and I never knew him to betray any tender emotion except on one occasion, when he was narrating to me the death of his only brother, John Thoreau, from lockjaw, strong symptoms of which, from his sympathy with the sufferer, he himself experienced. At this time his voice was choked, and he shed tears, and went to the door for air. The subject was of course dropped, and never recurred to again. [his friend Daniel Ricketson, quoted in Harding, THOREAU AS SEEN, page 103]

REVEREND F.L.H. WILLIS

During February 2016, John M. Marzluff <corvid@uw.edu>, James W. Ridgeway Professor of Forest Sciences, College of The Environment, University of Washington, Seattle communicated to me that if this actually happened, the bird could not have been a random wild **American Crow**  *Corvus brachyrhynchos* but instead must have been one that had been raised outdoors in this locale by some human who had taken it from a tree nest while it was a fledgling: "My guess is that this was a crow that Henry had raised from a nestling. This was very common up through the mid 1900s. Certainly a crow like that would have come right down to him and gotten a crumb. Very cool!!" "Wild crows do occasionally land on people. I reported one that landed on a person and gave her a bead. It was probably a once hand raised bird that lived outside. So it is possible but the bird would have likely been raised by a person if not Henry in the past. Could have been raised by Henry a year earlier or more. If he habituated the birds to his presence at cabin it is possible. He would have to have interacted regularly with the bird training it in essence to do this."

Clearly, we cannot simply reject this minister's report as a belated fantasy. Instead we should ask ourselves why, if this happened, we have not recovered by now a record of some fledgling crow being raised in Concord by someone, and why, if this happened, Thoreau made no mention of it in his journal or in his published



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writings, and why, if this happened, no member of the journalizing, letter-writing Alcott family saw fit to post a record of any such unique and charming incident involving their intimate friend Henry.

I choose, myself, to err on the side of skepticism. As a general rule noticed by historians, interesting material such as this (if it actually happens and if it actually happens to the named well-known individual) does not wait many decades before it belatedly surface as a nonce attestation. Such tales, when they are true, almost inevitably gain multiple attestations within a brief timespan. The span of time, alone, or single attestation, alone, would mark this as merely another just-so story, something that maybe more or less happened to a non-famous person that has been shifted and attached to the name of a famous person and then perhaps somewhat exaggerated or elaborated.



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1848

July 19, Wednesday: 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

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



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[Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke on “The Law of Progress” in New-York, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.



In this year Friend Lucretia became ill while attending a meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in Indiana. A medical doctor who was a member of that meeting, in disagreement with her views, refused to treat her. Did he suppose that it would be a good thing, if Friend Lucretia were to die due to lack of medical attention?⁶⁴ Later, in justification of this unseemly and one might almost be tempted to say “un-Christian” conduct,⁶⁵ this physician sponsored a resolution to condemn those who were “running to and fro in the earth ... babbling of temperance, and non-resistance, and slavery, and benevolence, and communities ... and women’s rights.” In this resolution Friend Lucretia and those like here were characterized as

...the thieves that cannot abide the way of humility and the cross, but climb up some other way, and steal the testimonies of Jesus, and are lifted up in their self-sufficiency...

Was this merely a case of one solitary physician in Indiana, who needed most of all to heal himself? Evidently not, for in fact that man’s intemperate diatribe was **adopted** by his branch of the Indiana Quakers — and his branch was the [Hicksite](#) branch! Perhaps it was a temporary plague of the *Boobus Hoosieranus* virus? –Go figure.⁶⁶

64. I am here, of course, pretending to accept the consensus platitude that what people die of is lack of medical attention, when we now know perfectly well that statistically a larger %age of the Americans who were receiving medical attention in the 19th Century were dying of it, than were dying of lack of it. If you were wounded on a Civil War battlefield, for instance, crawl, crawl, to get away from the male nurses who would take you to the surgeons!

65. Or, might one be tempted to say that this sort of conduct is all too typical of types who consider themselves Christians?

66. Time would tell that this man really did have something to worry about. According to statistics of the Civil War period, quite as great a %age of the Quaker young men of Indiana marched off to kill their brothers during this period of national insanity, as of other Indiana young men not anointed by contact with the Peace Testimony.



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March 23-24: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) addressed an “Anti-Sabbath” convention in Boston.⁶⁷



July 9, Sunday: Elizabeth Cady Stanton met with her friends Martha Wright and Mariane McClintock at the Seneca Falls, [New York](#), home of Jane Hunt, for a tea in honor of Philadelphia [Quaker](#) minister [Lucretia Mott](#). They decided to hold a woman’s rights convention in that town.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

67. I do not know whether Thoreau came into Boston to hear her, or whether [Lucretia Mott](#) made it to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know. Incidentally, an “Anti-Sabbath” movement is anti Blue Laws. Since every day can be (and should be) equally a day of worship, activity on the Sabbath day need not be unduly restricted by law as it was in New England at that time. Lucretia explained that although she sewed on the Sabbath, she kept her materials ready to be hidden away should anyone visit her. She would no longer put her sewing away, and she raised the question “why it is regarded a greater crime to do an innocent thing on the first day of the week — to use the needle for instance — than to put a human being on the auction block on the second day.” (She was attacked for this as one of the “spouters of heresy.”)



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July 19, Wednesday: 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

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

July 20, Thursday: In Berlin, [Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the "Swiss Thoreau," made a 2d entry in his [JOURNAL INTIME](#): "It gives liberty and breadth to thought, to learn to judge our own epoch from the point of view of universal history, history from the point of view of geological periods, geology from the point of view of astronomy. When the duration of a man's life or of a people's life appears to us as microscopic as that of a fly and inversely, the life of a gnat as infinite as that of a celestial body, with all its dust of nations, we feel ourselves at once very small and very great, and we are able, as it were, to survey from the height of the spheres our own existence, and the little whirlwinds which agitate our little Europe. At bottom there is but one subject of study: the forms and metamorphoses of mind. All other subjects may be reduced to that; all other studies bring us back to this study."

Continuation of the world's 1st convention for Women's Rights, at Seneca Falls, [New York](#), was organized by



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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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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.)

By this point the business of the firm of Smith and Whipper in Columbia, Pennsylvania was being attended to by [William Whipper](#), while the Reverend [Stephen Smith](#)’s principal business activity in Philadelphia had become real estate speculation, and the purchase of good negotiable business notes. Notes issued by the firm of Smith and Whipper were accepted at face value wherever they were circulating. The firm had in Columbia, Pennsylvania a stockpile of several thousand bushels of coal, and 2,250,000 board feet of lumber, and owned

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22 of the finest merchantmen cars on the rails from Columbia to Philadelphia and Baltimore. It owned \$9,000 worth of stock in the Columbia Bridge company and \$18,000 of the stock of the Columbia bank. Smith was reputed to personally own 52 good brick houses of various dimensions in Philadelphia, and a large number of houses and lots in Columbia and a few in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. An ordained preacher (not a pastor) of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Smith was donating generously to charities such as the Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (oldest of that denomination in Philadelphia). He created "Smith's Beneficial Hall" as a venue for meetings of black citizens (this hall would be torched during the race riots of August 1842, along with a number of African American homes).

[Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) gave a highly successful lecture series in Philadelphia.





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February 11: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) addressed medical students at the Cherry Street Meeting House in Philadelphia:

I must confess to you, my friends, that I am a worshiper after the way called heresy, a believer after the manner that many deem infidel.... God is the teacher of his people himself.



AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY

September 30, Sunday: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) delivered the following at the Cherry Street Meeting in Philadelphia:

It is time that Christians were judged more by their likeness to Christ than their notions of Christ. Were this sentiment generally admitted we should not see such tenacious adherence to what men deem the opinions and doctrines of Christ while at the same time in every day practise is exhibited anything but a likeness to Christ. My reflections in this meeting have been upon the origin, parentage, and character of Jesus. I have thought we might profitably dwell upon the facts connected with his life, his precepts, and his practise in his walks among men. Humble as was his birth, obscure as was his parentage, little known as he seemed to be in his neighborhood and country, he has astonished the world and brought a response from all mankind by the purity of his precepts, the excellence of his example. Wherever that inimitable sermon on the mount is read, let it be translated into any language and spread before the people, there is an acknowledgement of its truth. When we come to judge the sectarian professors of his name by the true test, how widely do their lives differ from his?

Instead of going about doing good as was his wont, instead of being constantly in the exercise of benevolence and love as was his practice, we find the disposition too generally to measure the Christian by his assent to a creed which had not its sign with him nor indeed in his day. Instead of engaging in the



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exercise of peace, justice, and mercy, how many of the professors are arrayed against him in opposition to those great principles even as were his opposers in his day. Instead of being the bold nonconformist (if I may so speak) that he was, they are adhering to old church usages, and worn-out forms and exhibiting little of a Christ like disposition and character. Instead of uttering the earnest protests against the spirit of proselytism and sectarianism as did the blessed Jesus – the divine, the holy, the born of God, there is the servile accommodation to this sectarian spirit and an observance of those forms even long after there is any claim of virtue in them; a disposition to use language which shall convey belief that in the inmost heart of many they reject.

Is this honest, is this Christ like? Should Jesus again appear and preach as he did round about Judea and Jerusalem and Galilee, these high professors would be among the first to set him at naught, if not to resort to the extremes which were resorted to in his day. There is no danger of this now, however, because the customs of the age will not bear the bigot out in it, but the spirit is manifest, which led martyrs to the stake, Jesus to the cross, [Mary Dyer](#) to the gallows. This spirit is now showing itself in casting out the name one of another, as evil, in brother delivering up brother unto sectarian death. We say if Jesus should again appear – He **IS** here; he **HAS** appeared, from generation to generation and his spirit is now as manifest, in the humble, the meek, the bold reformers, even among some of obscure parentage.

His spirit is now going up and down among men seeking their good, and endeavoring to promote the benign and holy principles of peace, justice, and love. And blessing to the merciful, to the peacemaker, to the pure in heart, and the poor in spirit, to the just, the upright, to those who desire righteousness is earnestly proclaimed, by these messengers of the Highest who are now in our midst. These, the preachers of righteousness, are no more acknowledged by the same class of people than was the messiah to the Jews. They are the anointed of God, the inspired preachers and writers and believers of the present time. In the pure example which they exhibit to the nations, they are emphatically the beloved sons of God. It is, my friends, my mission to declare these things among you at the hazard of shocking many prejudices. The testimony of the chosen servants of the Highest in our day is equally divine inspiration with the inspired teaching of those in former times. It is evidence of the superstition of our age, that we can adhere to, Yea that, we can bow with profound veneration to the records of an Abraham, the sensualist Solomon, and the war-like David, inspired though they many have been, and I am not disposed to doubt it, more than to the equal inspiration of the writers of the present age. Why not acknowledge the inspiration of many of the poets of



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succeeding ages, as well as of Deborah and Miriam in their songs of victory of Job and David in their beautiful poetry and psalms, or of Isaiah and Jeremiah in their scorching rebukes and mournful lamentations? These are beautifully instructive but ought they to command our veneration more than the divine poetic language of many, very many, since their day, who have uttered truth equally precious? Truth speaks the same language in every age of the world and is equally valuable to us. Are we so blindly superstitious as to reject the one and adhere to the other? How much does this society lose by this undue veneration to ancient authorities, a want of equal respect to the living inspired testimonies of latter time? Christianity requires that we bring into view the apostles of succeeding generations, that we acknowledge their apostleship and give the right hand of fellowship to those who have been and who are sent forth of God with Great truths to declare before the people; and also to practice lives of righteousness, exceeding the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, and even of the chosen ones of former times. The people in their childish and dark state, just emerging out of barbarism, were not prepared to exhibit all those great principles in the near approach to fullness, to the perfection that is called for at our hands. There is this continued advance toward perfection from age to age. The records of our predecessors give evidence of such progress. When I quote the language of [William Penn](#), "it is time for Christians to be judged more by their likeness to Christ than their notions of Christ," I offer the sentiment of one who is justly held in great regard if not veneration by this people, and whose writings may be referred to with as much profit as those of the servants of God in former ages; and we may well respect the memory of him and his contemporaries as well as of many not limited to our religious society, who have borne testimony to the truth.

It is of importance to us, also, to speak of those whom we know, those whose characters we have fuller acquaintance with, than we can have with such as lived in ages past, that we should bring into view the lives of the faithful of our generation.

Jesus bore his testimony — doing always the things which pleased his Father. He lived his meek, his humble and useful life — drawing his disciples around him, and declaring great truths to the people who gathered to hear him.

His apostles and their successors were faithful in their day — going out into the world, and shaking the nations around them. Reformers since their time have done their work in exposing error and wrong, and calling for priests of righteousness in place of vain forms. The bold utterances of [Elias Hicks](#) and his contemporaries aroused the sectarian and theological world in our day. Their demand for a higher righteousness was not in vain. Their examples of self-denials and faithfulness to duty should be held up for imitation. We overestimate those who have lived



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and labored in days long past, while we value not sufficiently the labors of those around us, who may have as high a commission as had their predecessors.

Let us not hesitate to regard the utterance of truth in our age, as of equal value with that which is recorded in the scriptures. None can reverse more than I do the truths of the **BIBLE**. I have read it perhaps as much as any one present, and, I trust, with profit. It has at times been more to me than my daily food. When an attempt was made some twenty years ago to engraft some church dogmas upon this society, claiming this book for authority, it led me to examine, and compare text with the content. In so doing I became so much interested that I scarcely noted the passage of time. Even to this day, when I open this volume, so familiar is almost every chapter that I can sometimes scarcely lay it aside from the interest I feel in its beautiful pages. But I should be recreant to the principle, did I not say, the great error in Christendom is in regarding these scriptures taken as a whole as the plenary inspiration of God, and their authority as supreme. I consider this as Elias Hicks did one of the greatest drawbacks, one of the greatest barriers to human progress that there is in the religious world, for while this volume is held as it is, and, by a resort to it, war, and slavery, wine drinking, and other cruel, oppressive, and degrading evils are sustained, pleading the example of the ancients as authority it serves as a check to human progress, as an obstacle in the way of these great and glorious reformers that are now upon the field. Well did that servant of God, Elias Hicks, warn the people against an undue veneration of the **BIBLE**, or of any human authority, any written record or outward testimony. The tendency of his ministry was to lead the mind to the divine teacher, the sublime ruler, that all would find within themselves, which was above men's teaching, human records, or outward authorities. Highly as he valued these ancient testimonies, they were not to take the place of the higher law inwardly revealed, which was and should be, the governing principle of our lives. One of our early friends, Richard Davies, attended a meeting of the independents, and heard the preacher express the sentiment that the time would come when Christians would have no more need of the **BIBLE** than of any other book. He remarked on this saying of the preacher, "Hast thou not experienced that time already come." Does not this imply, or may we not infer from this, that our worthy friend has experienced that time already come; was it a greater heresy, than that uttered by the apostle Paul, when he declared that those who had known a birth into the gospel, had no more need of the law? that they were under a higher dispensation than were they who were bound by their statutes and ceremonies? Let us also not hesitate to declare it, and to speak the truth plainly as it is in Jesus, that we believe the time is come when this undue adherence to outward authorities, or to any forms of



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baptism or of communion of church or sabbath worship, should give place to more practical goodness among men, more love manifested one unto another in our every day life, doing good and ministering to the wants and interests of our fellow beings the world over. If we fully believe this, should we be most honest, did we so far seek to please men, more than to please God, as to fail to utter in our meetings, and whenever we feel called upon to do so in our conversation, in our writings, and to exhibit by example, by a life of non-conformity, in accordance with these views, that we have faith and confidence in our convictions? It needs, my friends, in this day that one should go forth saying neither baptism profiteth anything nor non-baptism, but faith which worketh by love, neither the ordinance of the communion table profiteth anything, nor the absence from the same, but faith which worketh by love. These things should never be regarded as the test of the worshipper. Neither your sabbath observance profiteth anything, nor the non-observance of the day, but faith with worketh by love. Let all these subjects be held up in their true light. Let them be plainly spoken of – and let our lives be in accordance with our convictions of right, each striving to carry out our principles. Then obscure though we may be, lost sight of almost, in the great and pompous religious associations of the day, we yet shall have our influence and it will be felt. Why do we wish it to be felt? Because we believe it is the testimony of truth, and our duty to spread it far and wide. Because the healthful growth of the people requires that they should come away from their vain oblations, and settle upon the ground of obedience to the requirings of truth.



I desire to speak so as to be understood, and trust there are among you ears blessed that they hear, and that these principles shall be received as the Gospel of the blessed son of God. Happy shall they be, who by observing these, shall come to be divested of the traditions and superstitions which have been clinging to them, leading them to erect an altar "to the unknown God."

In the place of this shall an altar be raised where on may be



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oblations of God's own preparing. Thus may these approach our Father in Heaven and hold communion with him — entering his courts with thanksgiving, and his gates with praise, even though there may be no oral expression. He may unite in prayer and in praise, which will ascend as sweet incense, and the blessing will come which we can scarcely contain.



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1850

April 5, Friday: [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke at an Anti-Fugitive-Slave-Bill meeting in Rochester NY.

[Waldo Emerson](#), who was in Philadelphia this month delivering a series of six lectures, dined with [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) before his lecture on "Eloquence." A newspaper reporter would decide that this lecturer could utter "some of the most original as well as some of the most unintelligible things of any man in the United States."

Lucretia Mott is the flower of Quakerism. That woman has a unity of sense, virtue, & good-meaning perfectly impressed on her countenance which are a guarantee of victory in all the fights to which her Quaker faith & connection lead her. She told exceedingly well the story of her contest with the mob at Dover & Smyrna in Delaware, she and the wife of Mr _____ attending him down to the place where the mob were to tar & feather him, & it was perfectly easy to see that she might safely go & would surely defend herself & him. No mob could remain a mob where she went. She brings domesticity & common sense, & that propriety which every man loves, directly into this hurly-burly, & makes every bully ashamed. Her courage is no merit, one almost says, where triumph is so sure.





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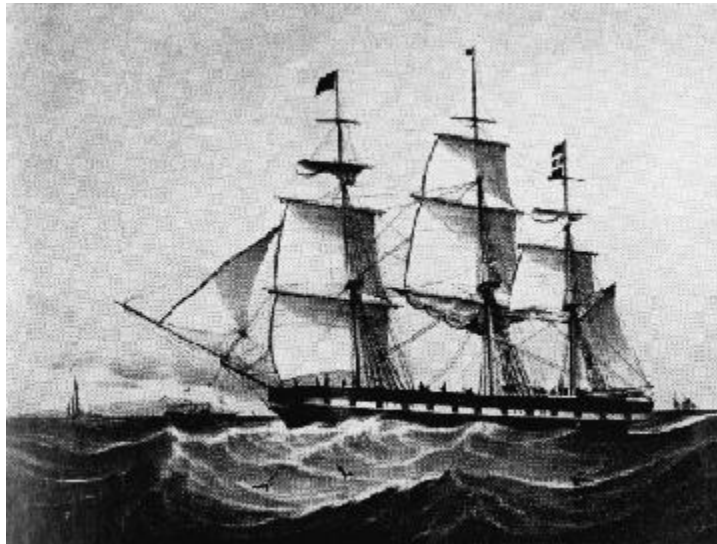
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April 13, Saturday: An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

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 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*



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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 – Sulist by name, ventured the hope that R. D. Webb & family might be induced to come with them.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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."⁷⁰ "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 indeed feel keenly – & more than once essayed to express it to

68. Apparently a Liverpool resident, Theodore E. Sulist, 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).

69. 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.

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



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thee – but failed.⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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

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

72. 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.

73. 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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a Lib. Party affair, that we did not so much regret our absence from it.⁷⁴ Moreover Miller wd. not then have gone to Boston, and he did & received good there – again affecy L M



74. 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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October 23, Wednesday: According to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, speaking retrospectively in 1870, “The movement in England, as in America, may be dated from the first National Convention, held at Worcester, Mass., October, 1850.”

[FEMINISM](#)

Although [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) was elected to be a member for this vital convention, it would turn out that she would be unable to attend.

Why was it that Stanton, and also Susan B. Anthony, [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), and other pioneers regarded this 1850 Convention in Worcester as the beginning of the crusade for woman's equality? Why had it not been the 1848 meeting at Seneca Falls for which Stanton had drafted the celebrated Declaration of Sentiments and in which Mott had played such a leading role?

- The gathering at Seneca Falls had been largely a local affair as would be several others that followed, whereas by way of radical contrast this Worcester convention had attracted delegates from most of the northern states.
- Seneca Falls had sparked discussion but it was not clear in its aftermath that there was a national constituency ready to take up the cause. The attendance in response to this Worcester meeting's Call of those who wanted to see a woman's rights movement, and the positive reaction to its published proceedings both here and in Europe, showed that a sufficient number of women, and some men, were indeed ready.
- This 1850 convention eventuated in a set of standing committees which marked the beginnings of organized work for woman's rights.



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The records of the convention may be studied at:

<http://www.wwhp.org/Resources/WomensRights/proceedings.html>

[Waldo Emerson](#) declined to address this convention, and continued to decline such invitations until the 1855 convention in [Boston](#), saying “I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs,” meaning of course “I do not think it yet appears that we wish to grant women this equal share in public affairs.”



Were I in a sarcastic mood, I would characterize this attitude by inventing a news clipping something like the following:

His Excellency, Hon. Ralph W. Emerson, Representative of the Human Race, treated with the woman, Mrs. James Mott, for purposes of pacification and common decency.

At the beginning of the meeting a Quaker male, [Friend](#) Joseph C. Hathaway of Farmington, New York, was appointed President *pro tem*. As the meeting was getting itself properly organized, however, [Paulina Wright Davis](#) was selected as President, with [Friend](#) Joseph sitting down instead as Secretary for the meeting. At least three New York Quakers were on the body's Central Committee — Hathaway, [Friend](#) Pliny Sexton and [Friend](#) Sarah H. Hallock, and we immediately note that although this Central Committee was by and large female, two of the three Quakers in this committee were male.

During the course of this convention [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) had occasion to straighten out [Wendell Phillips](#), and he later commented that “she put, as she well knows how, the silken snapper on her whiplash,” that it had been “beautifully done, so the victim himself could enjoy the artistic perfection of his punishment.”



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Now here is a news clipping from this period, equally legitimately offensive, which I **didn't** make up.⁷⁵

His Excellency, Gov. Ramsey and Hon. Richard W. Thompson, have been appointed Commissioners, to treat with the Sioux for the lands west of the Mississippi.

The list of the “members” of this Convention is of interest in that it includes [Sophia Foord](#) of Dedham MA, [Sojourner Truth](#) of [Northampton](#), [Elizabeth Oakes Smith](#) the lyceum lecturer, etc. The newspaper report described Truth’s appearance as dark and “uncomely.” [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), a leader at the convention, described Truth more charitably as “the poor woman who had grown up under the curse of Slavery.” Those on the list, those who officially registered as “members” of the Convention, some 267 in all, were only a fraction of the thousands who attended one or more of the sessions. As J.G. Forman reported in the [New-York Daily Tribune](#) for October 24, 1850, “it was voted that all present be invited to take part in the discussions of the Convention, but that only those who signed the roll of membership be allowed to vote.” The process of signing probably meant that people who arrived together or sat together would have adjacent numbers in the sequence that appears in the Proceedings. This would explain the clustering of people by region and by family name:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| • 1 | Hannah M. Darlington | Kennett Square, Pennsylvania |
| • 2 | T.B. Elliot | Boston |
| • 3 | Antoinette L. Brown | Henrietta NY |
| • 4 | Sarah Pillsbury | Concord NH |
| • 5 | Eliza J. Kenney | Salem MA |
| • 6 | M.S. Firth | Leicester MA |
| • 7 | Oliver Dennett | Portland ME |
| • 8 | Julia A. McIntyre | Charlton MA |
| • 9 | Emily Sanford | Oxford MA |
| • 10 | H.M. Sanford | Oxford MA |
| • 11 | C.D.M. Lane | Worcester |
| • 12 | Elizabeth Firth | Leicester MA |
| • 13 | S.C. Sargent | Boston |
| • 14 | C.A.K. Ball | Worcester |
| • 15 | M.A. Thompson | Worcester |
| • 16 | Lucinda Safford | Worcester |
| • 17 | S.E. Hall | Worcester |
| • 18 | S.D. Holmes | Kingston MA |
| • 19 | Z.W. Harlow | Plymouth MA |
| • 20 | N.B. Spooner | Plymouth MA |
| • 21 | Ignatius Sargent | Boston |
| • 22 | A.B. Humphrey | Hopedale |
| • 23 | M.R. Hadwen | Worcester |
| • 24 | J.H. Shaw | Nantucket Island |
| • 25 | Diana W. Ballou | Cumberland RI |
| • 26 | Olive Darling | Millville MA |
| • 27 | M.A. Walden | Hopedale |
| • 28 | C.M. Collins | Brooklyn CT |

75. From the [Dakota Tawaxitku Kin](#), or [The Dakota Friend](#), St. Paul, Minnesota, November 1850. This word “Sioux,” incidentally, is a hopelessly offensive and alienating term, for it is short for the Ojibwa term “*nadouessioux*” or “enemy.” A better term would be “Dakota,” which in the Dakota language means “union” or “ally.” It tells you a lot about the patronizing attitude of these missionaries, that they would be willing to use an offputting term like “Sioux” in this newspaper.





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• 29	A.H. Metcalf	Worcester
• 30	P.B. Cogswell	Concord NH
• 31	Sarah Tyndale	Philadelphia
• 32	A.P.B. Rawson	Worcester
• 33	Nathaniel Barney	Nantucket Island
• 34	Sarah H. Earle	Worcester MA
• 35	Parker Pillsbury	Concord NH
• 36	Lewis Ford	Abington MA
• 37	J.T. Everett	Princeton MA
• 38	Loring Moody	Harwich MA
• 39	Sojourner Truth	Northampton
• 40	Friend Pliny Sexton	Palmyra NY
• 41	Rev. J.G. Forman	W. Bridgewater MA
• 42	Andrew Stone M.D.	Worcester
• 43	Samuel May, Jr.	Leicester MA
• 44	Sarah R. May	Leicester MA
• 45	Frederick Douglass	Rochester NY
• 46	Charles Bigham	Feltonville MA
• 47	J.T. Partridge	Worcester
• 48	Eliza C. Clapp	Leicester MA
• 49	Daniel Steward	East Line MA
• 50	E.B. Chase	Valley Falls MA
• 51	Sophia Foord	Dedham MA
• 52	E.A. Clark	Worcester
• 53	E.H. Taft	Dedham MA
• 54	Olive W. Hastings	Lancaster, Pennsylvania
• 55	Rebecca Plumly	Philadelphia
• 56	S.L. Hastings	Lancaster, Pennsylvania
• 57	Sophia Taft	
• 58	Anna E. Ruggles	Worcester
• 59	Mrs. A.E. Brown	Brattleboro VT
• 60	Janette Jackson	Philadelphia
• 61	Anna R. Cox	Philadelphia
• 62	Cynthia P. Bliss	Pawtucket , Rhode Island
• 63	R.M.C. Capron	Providence
• 64	M.H. Mowry	Providence
• 65	Mary Eddy	Providence
• 66	Mary Abbott	Hopedale
• 67	Anna E. Fish	Hopedale
• 68	C.G. Munyan	Hopedale
• 69	Maria L. Southwick	Worcester
• 70	Anna Cornell	Plainfield CT
• 71	S. Monroe	Plainfield CT
• 72	Anna E. Price	Plainfield CT
• 73	M.C. Monroe	Plainfield CT
• 74	F.C. Johnson	Sturbridge MA
• 75	Thomas Hill	Webster MA
• 76	Elizabeth Frail	Hopkinton MA
• 77	Eli Belknap	Hopkinton MA
• 78	M.M. Frail	Hopkinton MA
• 79	Valentine Belknap	Hopkinton MA
• 80	Phebe Goodwin	West Chester, Pennsylvania
• 81	Edgar Hicks	Brooklyn NY
• 82	Ira Foster	Canterbury NH



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- 83 Effingham L. Capron Worcester
- 84 Frances H. Drake Leominster MA
- 85 Calvin Fairbanks Leominster MA
- 86 E.M. Dodge Worcester
- 87 Eliza Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 88 Lydia Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 89 Alice Jackson Avondale, Pennsylvania
- 90 G.D. Williams Leicester MA
- 91 Marian Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 92 Elizabeth Earle Worcester
- 93 [Friend](#) Joseph C. Hathaway Farmington NY
- 94 E. Jane Alden Lowell MA
- 95 Elizabeth Dayton Lowell MA
- 96 Lima H. Ober [Boston](#)
- 97 Mrs. Lucy N. Colman Saratoga Springs NY
- 98 Dorothy Whiting Clintonville MA
- 99 Emily Whiting Clintonville MA
- 100 Abigail Morgan Clinton MA
- 101 Julia Worcester Milton NH
- 102 Mary R. Metcalf Worcester
- 103 R.H. Ober [Boston](#)
- 104 D.A. Mundy [Hopedale](#)
- 105 Dr. S. Rogers Worcester
- 106 Jacob Pierce PA
- 107 Mrs. E.J. Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 108 Edward Southwick Worcester
- 109 E.A. Merrick Princeton MA
- 110 Mrs. C. Merrick Princeton MA
- 111 Lewis E. Capen PA
- 112 Joseph Carpenter [New-York](#)
- 113 Martha Smith Plainfield CT
- 114 Lucius Holmes Thompson CT
- 115 Benj. Segur Thompson CT
- 116 C.S. Dow Worcester
- 117 S.L. Miller PA
- 118 Isaac L. Miller PA
- 119 Buel Pickett Sherman CT
- 120 Josiah Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 121 Andrew Wellington Lexington MA
- 122 Louisa Gleason Worcester
- 123 Paulina Gerry Stoneham MA
- 124 [Lucy Stone](#) West Brookfield MA
- 125 Ellen Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 126 Mrs. Chickery Worcester
- 127 Mrs. F.A. Pierce Worcester
- 128 C.M. Trenor Worcester
- 129 R.C. Capron Worcester
- 130 Wm. Lloyd Garrison [Boston](#)
- 131 Emily Loveland Worcester
- 132 Mrs. S. Worcester Worcester



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- 133 Phebe Worcester Worcester
- 134 Adeline Worcester Worcester
- 135 Joanna R. Ballou MA
- 136 Abby H. Price [Hopedale](#)
- 137 B. Willard MA
- 138 T. Poole Abington MA
- 139 M.B. Kent [Boston](#)
- 140 D.H. Knowlton
- 141 E.H. Knowlton Grafton MA
- 142 G. Valentine MA
- 143 A. Prince Worcester
- 144 Lydia Wilmarth Worcester
- 145 J.G. Warren Worcester
- 146 Mrs. E.A. Stowell Worcester
- 147 Martin Stowell Worcester
- 148 Mrs. E. Stamp Worcester
- 149 C. M. Barbour Worcester
- 150 Daniel Mitchell [Pawtucket](#), Rhode Island
- 151 Alice H. Easton
- 152 Anna Q.T. Parsons [Boston](#)
- 153 C.D. McLane Worcester
- 154 W.H. Channing [Boston](#)
- 155 Wendell Phillips [Boston](#)
- 156 Abby K. Foster Worcester
- 157 S. S. Foster Worcester
- 158 [Paulina Wright Davis](#) [Providence](#)
- 159 Wm. D. Cady Warren MA
- 160 Ernestine L. Rose [New-York](#)
- 161 Mrs. J. G. Hodgden Roxbury MA
- 162 C.M. Shaw [Boston](#)
- 163 Ophelia D. Hill Worcester
- 164 Mrs. P. Allen Millbury MA
- 165 Lucy C. Dike Thompson CT
- 166 E. Goddard Worcester
- 167 M.F. Gilbert West Brookfield MA
- 168 G. Davis [Providence](#)
- 169 A.H. Johnson Worcester
- 170 W.H. Harrington Worcester
- 171 E.B. Briggs Worcester
- 172 A.C. Lackey Upton MA
- 173 Ora Ober Worcester
- 174 A. Barnes Princeton RI
- 175 Thomas Provan [Hopedale](#)
- 176 Rebecca Provan [Hopedale](#)
- 177 A.W. Thayer Worcester
- 178 M.M. Munyan Millbury MA
- 179 W.H. Johnson Worcester
- 180 Dr. S. Mowry [Chepachet](#) RI
- 181 [George W. Benson](#) [Northampton](#)
- 182 Mrs. C.M. Carter Worcester



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- 183 H.S. Brigham Bolton MA
- 184 E.A. Welsh Feltonville MA
- 185 Mrs. J.H. Moore Charlton MA
- 186 Margaret S. Merrit Charlton MA
- 187 Martha Willard Charlton MA
- 188 A.N. Lamb Charlton MA
- 189 Mrs. Chaplin Worcester
- 190 Caroline Farnum
- 191 N.B. Hill Blackstone MA
- 192 K. Parsons Worcester
- 193 Jillson Worcester
- 194 E.W.K. Thompson
- 195 L. Wait [Boston](#)
- 196 Mrs. Mary G. Wright CA
- 197 F.H. Underwood Webster MA
- 198 Asa Cutler CT
- 199 J.B. Willard Westford MA
- 200 Perry Joslin Worcester
- 201 [Friend](#) Sarah H. Hallock Milton NY
- 202 Elizabeth Johnson Worcester
- 203 Seneth Smith Oxford MA
- 204 Marian Hill Webster MA
- 205 Wm. Coe Worcester
- 206 E.T. Smith Leominster MA
- 207 Mary R. Hubbard
- 208 S. Aldrich Hopkinton MA
- 209 M.A. Maynard Feltonville MA
- 210 S.P.R. Feltonville MA
- 211 Anna R. Blake Monmouth ME
- 212 Ellen M. Prescott Monmouth ME
- 213 J.M. Cummings Worcester
- 214 Nancy Fay Upton MA
- 215 M. Jane Davis Worcester
- 216 D.R. Crandell Worcester
- 217 E.M. Burleigh Oxford MA
- 218 Sarah Chafee Leominster MA
- 219 Adeline Perry Worcester
- 220 Lydia E. Chase Worcester
- 221 J.A. Fuller Worcester
- 222 Sarah Prentice Worcester
- 223 Emily Prentice Worcester
- 224 H.N. Fairbanks Worcester
- 225 Mrs. A. Crowl Worcester
- 226 Dwight Tracy Worcester
- 227 J.S. Perry Worcester
- 228 Isaac Norcross Worcester
- 229 M.A.W. Johnson Salem OH
- 230 Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols Brattleboro VT
- 231 Charles Calistus Burleigh Plainfield CT
- 232 E.A. Parrington Worcester



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• 233	Mrs. Parrington	Worcester
• 234	Harriet F. Hunt	Boston
• 235	Chas F. Hovey	Boston
• 236	Friend Lucretia Mott	Philadelphia
• 237	Susan Fuller	Worcester
• 238	Thomas Earle	Worcester
• 239	Alice Earle	Worcester
• 240	Martha B. Earle	Worcester
• 241	Anne H. Southwick	Worcester
• 242	Joseph A. Howland	Worcester
• 243	Adeline H. Howland	Worcester
• 244	O.T. Harris	Worcester
• 245	Julia T. Harris	Worcester
• 246	John M. Spear	Boston
• 247	E.J. Alden	
• 248	E.D. Draper	Hopedale
• 249	D.R.P. Hewitt	Salem MA
• 250	L.G. Wilkins	Salem MA
• 251	J.H. Binney	Worcester
• 252	Mary Adams	Worcester
• 253	Anna T. Draper	
• 254	Josephine Reglar	
• 255	Anna Goulding	Worcester
• 256	Adeline S. Greene	
• 257	Silence Bigelow	
• 258	A. Wyman	
• 259	L.H. Ober	
• 260	Betsey F. Lawton	Chepachet RI
• 261	Emma Parker	Philadelphia
• 262	Olive W. Hastings	Lancaster MA (error?)
• 263	Silas Smith	IO
• 264	Asenath Fuller	
• 265	Denney M.F. Walker	
• 266	Eunice D.F. Pierce	
• 267	Elijah Houghton	

October 23, Wednesday: In the auditorium of Brinley Hall at 340 Main Street in Worcester, where the Commerce Office Building now stands, some thousand persons assembled and the first national women's rights convention was held. (The small meeting at Seneca Falls two years earlier had not been what you'd call a national one.) [Lucy Stone](#), [Abby Kelley Foster](#), Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), Diana W. Ballou of [Cumberland](#), [Rhode Island](#), and [Sojourner Truth](#) of [Northampton](#) were present, as was [William Lloyd Garrison](#).

READ ABOUT THIS MEETING

FEMINISM



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November 2, Saturday: [Caroline H. Dall](#) wrote an open letter to [Paulina Wright Davis](#), the president of the Worcester Convention, about [prostitution](#). Even before this convention had begun, John Milton Earle had editorialized in the [Massachusetts Spy](#) that the existence of widespread prostitution in American cities was the strongest possible argument for woman's rights. At the convention, the address by Abby Price would follow along a line similar to the one argued in Dall's letter. Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) would deliver a tribute to Sarah Tyndale's work among the prostitutes of Philadelphia, and the Reverend [William Henry Channing](#), the Convention's vice president, also would speak in this regard.

FEMINISM

An issue of [Chambers' Edinburgh Journal](#):

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF NOVEMBER 2



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1851

The 2d National Woman's Rights Convention was held in Worcester, Massachusetts; celebrities new to the list of endorsers included educator Horace Mann, New-York Tribune columnist Elizabeth Oakes Smith, and the Reverend Harry Ward Beecher, one of the nation's most popular preachers. Public Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) presided. The [Westminster Review](#) published John Stuart Mill's article, "On the Enfranchisement of Women" (Mill would later acknowledge that the piece had been the work of his companion, Harriet Hardy Taylor). Myrtilla Minder opened the 1st school to train black women as teachers, in [Washington DC](#).

[Dr. Joseph Leidy](#) succeeded in transferring a human cancer into a frog. He studied fungal infections in cicadas and crickets. Observing termites coursing along their passages between stones, he noted "I have often wondered as to be what might be the exact nature of their food."

Although, for the 1st year of its existence, the faculty of the new Female Medical College of Pennsylvania at 227 Arch Street in Philadelphia had been all male, at this point Hannah Longshore, who had been tutored in medicine before her enrollment, was selected as a demonstrator in anatomy and listed as a faculty member.

FEMINISM

May: Burning over the burned-over region, [Sojourner Truth](#) had since February been speaking against slavery across upstate [New York](#). The spirits indeed move in mysterious ways, for while visiting the area she was becoming entranced by table-rappings and communications with the departed.

Carleton Mabee's SOJOURNER TRUTH

Pages 99-100: In Truth's time, Spiritualists played a role similar to that of "New Age" religionists in the late 1900s. The general public often ridiculed Spiritualists, and conservative churches often attacked them; Seventh Day Adventists, who were strong in Battle Creek, were among those who attacked Spiritualists, claiming they talked not to spirits of the dead but to devils. Some abolitionist-feminists such as [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), Parker Pillsbury, and [Frederick Douglass](#) were skeptical of Spiritualists. Others tended to avoid identifying with them because they did not wish to antagonize the conventional church. But many abolitionist-feminists, including [William Lloyd Garrison](#), [Lucy Stone](#), and [Paulina Wright Davis](#), despite being dubious of certain claims by particular Spiritualists, tended to believe that spiritualism not only reinforced the Christian belief in immortality, but also was a progressive development that went hand in hand with efforts to improve the status of blacks and of women. By the late 1850s most of the Progressive Friends—a movement especially of dissident Quakers in which Truth and many of her friends took part, in Battle Creek, Rochester, and elsewhere—had accepted spiritualism. By the 1860s the intermingling of Progressive Friends and Spiritualists was so pervasive that it was hard to tell them apart.

SPIRITUALISM



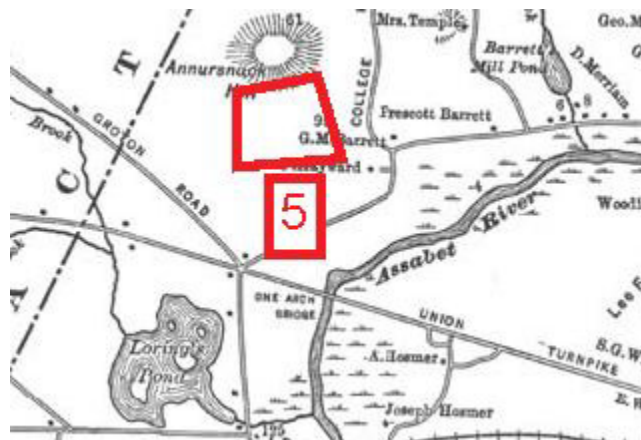
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December 6, Saturday: The group of about 100 armed white men under the leadership of Lieutenant Thomas Sweeny, who had been besieged in their Camp Independence since November 12th, at this point made their move out of the native American controlled territory and back to the white settlements.

In Concord, [Henry Thoreau](#) was surveying a 6-acre woodlot near Annursnack Hill for Samuel Barrett and did not make an entry in his journal. This woodlot had belonged to the Lorings and was being sold to George Brooks. The bill for the survey was \$3.⁰⁰. Neighbors mentioned on the survey papers are Prescott, Barrett, Billings,⁷⁶ and Easterbrook.



View [Henry Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_surveys/5.htm

76. I imagine this is not Boston's illustrator and architect Hammatt Billings, but perhaps the home of Nathaniel and John Billings on Old Concord Road?

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND LUCRETIA****LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

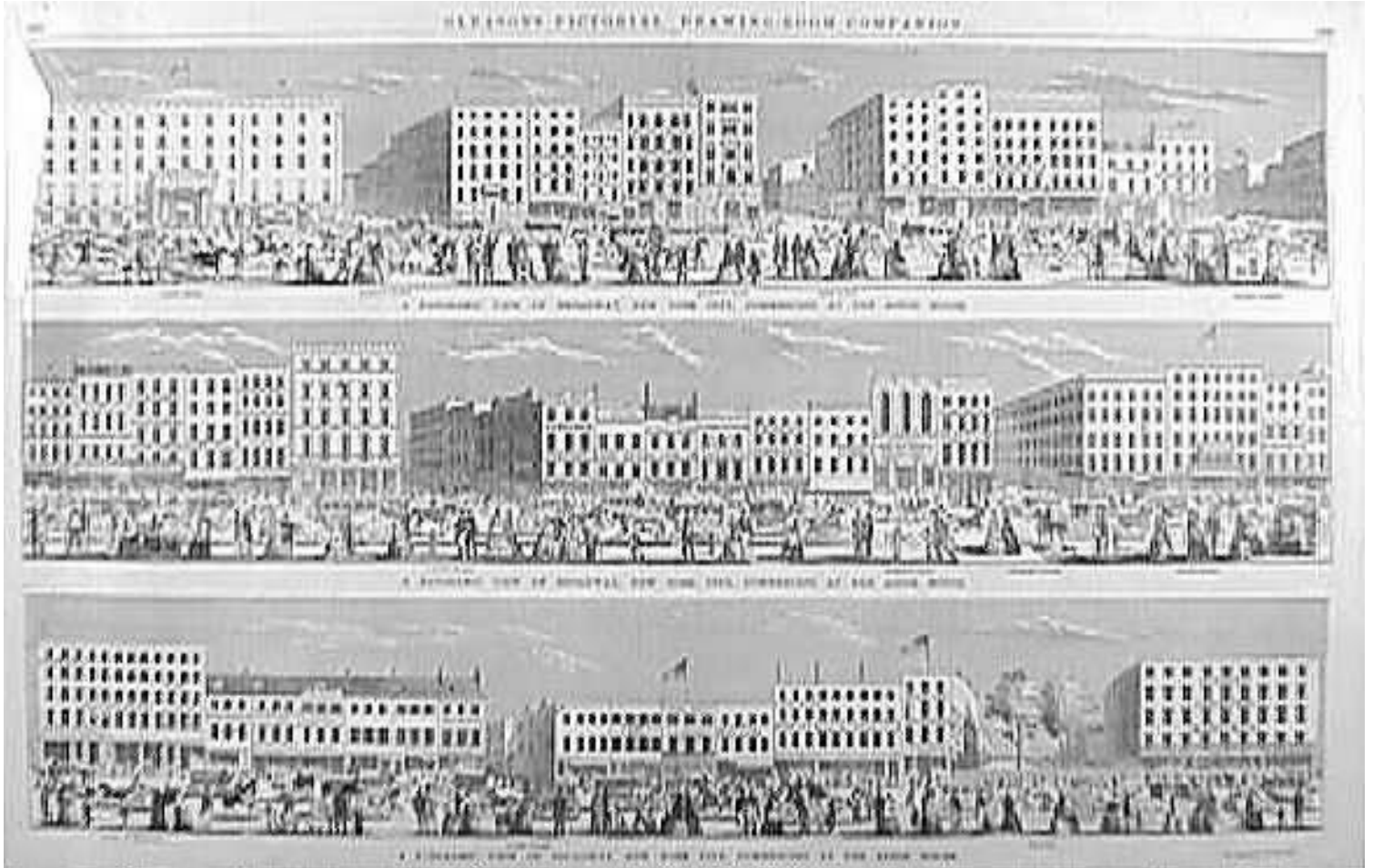
Meanwhile, in New-York, [Walt Whitman](#) was witnessing the landing of [Lajos Kossuth](#), with cannon salutes, a grand parade down Broadway, a banquet for 400 at the Irving House, and a torchlit procession. This great white advocate of liberty was here in our great whitman land of liberty at last! Whitman wished courage “To a Foil’d European Revolutionaire.”



Incidentally, note the “Kossuth hat.” Although it doesn’t show in this particular illustration, such a hat sported an ostrich plume.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT****FRIEND LUCRETIA****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

This is what Broadway Avenue would look like, nine years later:



Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, a ceremony of an entirely different order was being transacted. William Parker's 3 white neighbors, as well as all black men that armed posses could hunt "like partridges upon the mountain" (as one person described the event), that is, culprits who had been singled out merely by their availability and the color of their pelt regardless of whether they were anywhere near that home on that night in September, were being arraigned for treason against the United States of America, on the allegation that refusal to assist Gorsuch and his marshall, equally with resisting the marshall, amounted to making war. It seems that the no-nos the nation derived from this incident were not "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world" but "something has gone seriously awry when white men refuse to side with their own race," and not "resist not evil" but "we can't let niggers know how to use guns." [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and her associates were in the courtroom "knitting furiously." Each man wore a red, white, and blue knitted scarf around his neck.

This charge of conspiring to make war could of course not be sustained, but Judge John Kane made a remark about "itinerant female agitators" that indicated he would have found the defendants guilty if there had been



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any way to do so. This case became central in the ongoing debate within the antislavery movement over resort to violence in the face of injustice. [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) summed up her position with the thought that we all know, of course, that good is of God, and therefore we must be mistaken if we ever suppose it can come from our doing evil. I am bringing this incident to your attention because it bears on the issue of whether Thoreau was a nonviolenter. Mott holds unimpeached credentials as a nonviolenter, and Thoreau's credentials as a nonviolenter have been attacked by his biographer Richardson on the basis of his reaction to the Harper's Ferry raid of 1859, and yet it is clear that had the black activist William Parker been captured and put on trial for the murder of this white master, Mott would have reacted in exactly the same way Thoreau reacted to John Brown's conduct. In fact Mott's deportment and words in the case of this charge of treason in the "Christiana riot" in 1851 exactly parallel Thoreau's deportment and words in the case of John Brown.

We note especially the words that Thoreau would have read about John Brown as a moral hero in the presence of the widow Brown, over the grave at North Elba on July 4, 1860:

John Brown's career for the last six weeks of his life was meteor-like, flashing through the darkness in which we live. I know of nothing so miraculous in our history.

If any person, in a lecture or conversation at that time, cited any ancient example of heroism, such as Cato or Tell or Winkelried, passing over the recent deeds and words of Brown, it was felt by any intelligent audience of Northern men to be tame and inexcusably far-fetched.

For my own part, I commonly attend more to nature than to man, but any affecting human event may blind our eyes to natural objects. I was so absorbed in him as to be surprised whenever I detected the routine of the natural world surviving still, or met persons going about their affairs indifferent. It appeared strange to me that the "little dipper" should be still diving quietly in the river, as of yore; and it suggested that this bird might continue to dive here when Concord should be no more.

I felt that he, a prisoner in the midst of his enemies and under sentence of death, if consulted as to his next step or resource, could answer more wisely than all his countrymen beside. He best understood his position; he contemplated it most calmly. Comparatively, all other men, North and South, were beside themselves. Our thoughts could not revert to any greater or wiser or better man with whom to contrast him, for he, then and there, was above them all. The man this country was about to hang appeared the greatest and best in it.

Years were not required for a revolution of public opinion; days, nay hours, produced marked changes in this case. Fifty who were ready to say, on going into our meeting in honor of him in Concord, that he ought to be hung, would not say it when they came out. They heard his words read; they saw the earnest faces of the congregation; and perhaps they joined at last in singing the hymn in his praise.

The order of instructors was reversed. I heard that one preacher, who at first was shocked and stood aloof, felt obliged at last, after he was hung, to make him the subject of a sermon, in which, to some extent, he eulogized the man, but said that his act was a failure. An influential class-teacher thought it necessary, after the services, to tell his grown-up pupils that at first he thought as the preacher did then, but now he thought



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that John Brown was right. But it was understood that his pupils were as much ahead of the teacher as he was ahead of the priest; and I know for a certainty that very little boys at home had already asked their parents, in a tone of surprise, why God did not interfere to save him. In each case, the constituted teachers were only half conscious that they were not leading, but being dragged, with some loss of time and power.

The more conscientious preachers, the Bible men, they who talk about principle, and doing to others as you would that they should do unto you – how could they fail to recognize him, by far the greatest preacher of them all, with the Bible in his life and in his acts, the embodiment of principle, who actually carried out the golden rule? All whose moral sense had been aroused, who had a calling from on high to preach, sided with him. What confessions he extracted from the cold and conservative! It is remarkable, but on the whole it is well, that it did not prove the occasion for a new sect of Brownites being formed in our midst.

They, whether within the Church or out of it, who adhere to the spirit and let go the letter, and are accordingly called infidel, were as usual foremost to recognize him. Men have been hung in the South before for attempting to rescue slaves, and the North was not much stirred by it. Whence, then, this wonderful difference? We were not so sure of their devotion to principle. We made a subtle distinction, forgot human laws, and did homage to an idea. The North, I mean the living North, was suddenly all transcendental. It went behind the human law, it went behind the apparent failure, and recognized eternal justice and glory. Commonly, men live according to a formula, and are satisfied if the order of law is observed, but in this instance they, to some extent, returned to original perceptions, and there was a slight revival of old religion. They saw that what was called order was confusion, what was called justice, injustice, and that the best was deemed the worst. This attitude suggested a more intelligent and generous spirit than that which actuated our forefathers, and the possibility, in the course of ages, of a revolution in behalf of another and an oppressed people.

Most Northern men, and a few Southern ones, were wonderfully stirred by Brown's behavior and words. They saw and felt that they were heroic and noble, and that there had been nothing quite equal to them in their kind in this country, or in the recent history of the world. But the minority were unmoved by them. They were only surprised and provoked by the attitude of their neighbors. They saw that Brown was brave, and that he believed that he had done right, but they did not detect any further peculiarity in him. Not being accustomed to make fine distinctions, or to appreciate magnanimity, they read his letters and speeches as if they read them not. They were not



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aware when they approached a heroic statement, — they did not know when they burned. They did not feel that he spoke with authority, and hence they only remembered that the law must be executed. They remembered the old formula, but did not hear the new revelation. The man who does not recognize in Brown's words a wisdom and nobleness, and therefore an authority, superior to our laws, is a modern Democrat. This is the test by which to discover him. He is not willfully but constitutionally blind on this side, and he is consistent with himself. Such has been his past life; no doubt of it. In like manner he has read history and his Bible, and he accepts, or seems to accept, the last only as an established formula, and not because he has been convicted by it. You will not find kindred sentiments in his commonplace book, if he has one.

When a noble deed is done, who is likely to appreciate it? They who are noble themselves. I was not surprised that certain of my neighbors spoke of John Brown as an ordinary felon, for who are they? They have either much flesh, or much office, or much coarseness of some kind. They are not ethereal natures in any sense. The dark qualities predominate in them. Several of them are decidedly pachydermatous. I say it in sorrow, not in anger. How can a man behold the light who has no answering inward light? They are true to their right, but when they look this way they see nothing, they are blind. For the children of the light to contend with them is as if there should be a contest between eagles and owls. Show me a man who feels bitterly toward John Brown, and let me hear what noble verse he can repeat. He'll be as dumb as if his lips were stone.

It is not every man who can be a Christian, even in a very moderate sense, whatever education you give him. It is a matter of constitution and temperament, after all. He may have to be born again many times. I have known many a man who pretended to be a Christian, in whom it was ridiculous, for he had no genius for it. It is not every man who can be a freeman, even.

Editors persevered for a good while in saying that Brown was crazy; but at last they said only that it was "a crazy scheme," and the only evidence brought to prove it was that it cost him his life. I have no doubt that if he had gone with five thousand men, liberated a thousand slaves, killed a hundred or two slaveholders, and had as many more killed on his own side, but not lost his own life, these same editors would have called it by a more respectable name. Yet he has been far more successful than that. He has liberated many thousands of slaves, both North and-South. They seem to have known nothing about living or dying for a principle. They all called him crazy then; who calls him crazy now?

All through the excitement occasioned by his remarkable attempt and subsequent behavior the Massachusetts Legislature, not taking any steps for the defense of her citizens who were likely to be carried to Virginia as witnesses and exposed to the violence of a slaveholding mob, was wholly absorbed in a liquor-agency question, and indulging in poor jokes on the word "extension." Bad spirits occupied their thoughts. I am sure that



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no statesman up to the occasion could have attended to that question at all at that time – a very vulgar question to attend to at any time!

When I looked into a liturgy of the Church of England, printed near the end of the last century, in order to find a service applicable to the case of Brown, I found that the only martyr recognized and provided for by it was King Charles the First, an eminent scamp. Of all the inhabitants of England and of the world, he was the only one, according to this authority, whom that church had made a martyr and saint of; and for more than a century it had celebrated his martyrdom, so called, by an annual service. What a satire on the Church is that!

Look not to legislatures and churches for your guidance, nor to any soulless incorporated bodies, but to inspirited or inspired ones.

What avail all your scholarly accomplishments and learning, compared with wisdom and manhood? To omit his other behavior, see what a work this comparatively unread and unlettered man wrote within six weeks. Where is our professor of belles-lettres, or of logic and rhetoric, who can write so well? He wrote in prison, not a History of the World, like Raleigh, but an American book which I think will live longer than that. I do not know of such words, uttered under such circumstances, and so copiously withal, in Roman or English or any history. What a variety of themes he touched on in that short space! There are words in that letter to his wife, respecting the education of his daughters, which deserve to be framed and hung over every mantelpiece in the land. Compare this earnest wisdom with that of Poor Richard.

The death of [Washington] Irving, which at any other time would have attracted universal attention, having occurred while these things were transpiring, went almost unobserved. I shall have to read of it in the biography of authors.

Literary gentlemen, editors, and critics think that they know how to write, because they have studied grammar and rhetoric; but they are egregiously mistaken. The art of composition is as simple as the discharge of a bullet from a rifle, and its masterpieces imply an infinitely greater force behind them. This unlettered man's speaking and writing are standard English. Some words and phrases deemed vulgarisms and Americanisms before, he has made standard American; such as "It will pay." It suggests that the one great rule of composition – and if I were a professor of rhetoric I should insist on this – is, to speak the truth. This first, this second, this third; pebbles in your mouth or not. This demands earnestness and manhood chiefly.

We seem to have forgotten that the expression, a liberal education, originally meant among the Romans one worthy of free men; while the learning of trades and professions by which to get your livelihood merely was considered worthy of slaves only. But taking a hint from the word, I would go a step further, and say that it is not the man of wealth and leisure simply, though devoted to art, or science, or literature, who, in a true sense,



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is liberally educated, but only the earnest and free man. In a slaveholding country like this, there can be no such thing as a liberal education tolerated by the State; and those scholars of Austria and France who, however learned they may be, are contented under their tyrannies have received only a servile education.

Nothing could his enemies do but it redounded to his infinite advantage – that is, to the advantage of his cause. They did not hang him at once, but reserved him to preach to them. And then there was another great blunder. They did not hang his four followers with him; that scene was still postponed; and so his victory was prolonged and completed. No theatrical manager could have arranged things so wisely to give effect to his behavior and words. And who, think you, was the manager? Who placed the slave-woman and her child, whom he stooped to kiss for a symbol, between his prison and the gallows?

We soon saw, as he saw, that he was not to be pardoned or rescued by men. That would have been to disarm him, to restore to him a material weapon, a Sharps' rifle, when he had taken up the sword of the spirit – the sword with which he has really won his greatest and most memorable victories. Now he has not laid aside the sword of the spirit, for he is pure spirit himself, and his sword is pure spirit also.

“He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed.”

What a transit was that of his horizontal body alone, but just cut down from the gallows-tree! We read, that at such a time it passed through Philadelphia, and by Saturday night had reached New York. Thus like a meteor it shot through the Union from the Southern regions toward the North! No such freight had the cars borne since they carried him Southward alive.

On the day of his translation, I heard, to be sure, that he was hung, but I did not know what that meant; I felt no sorrow on that account; but not for a day or two did I even hear that he was dead, and not after any number of days shall I believe it. Of all the men who were said to be my contemporaries, it seemed to me that John Brown was the only one who had not died. I never hear of a man named Brown now –and I hear of them pretty often– I never hear of any particularly brave and earnest man, but my first thought is of John Brown, and what relation he may be to him. I meet him at every turn. He is more alive than ever he was. He has earned immortality. He is not confined to North Elba nor to Kansas. He is no longer working in secret. He works in public, and in the clearest light that shines on this land.

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And it is also worthy of note that on October 25-26, 1860 (published November 3) [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), the foremost spokesperson for nonviolence in the abolitionist movement in America, brought forward the position she had originally taken in regard to the “Christiana riot” near Philadelphia in 1851 by declaring

It is not John Brown the soldier we praise, it is John Brown the moral hero.



We might be tempted to declare that [Thoreau](#) was the most belligerent nonresistor of evil the world had yet seen, but in fact that description had already been awarded to someone. It was awarded by [Robert Purvis](#) to [Friend Lucretia](#), and (despite what was said in the heat of the Civil War by Horace Greeley’s newspaper in New-York, in mockery of her) there is no shadow of a doubt that [Friend](#) Lucretia was for the totality of her life a convinced disbeliever in all violence.



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1852

In London, [Lajos Kossuth](#) became an intimate of [Giuseppe Mazzini](#), and joined his revolutionary committee.

ITALY

[Thomas Mayne Reid, Jr.](#)'s THE YOUNG VOYAGEURS; OR, THE BOY HUNTERS IN THE NORTH. The author engaged in a plan for [Kossuth](#) to travel incognito across Europe as his man-servant "James Hawkins" under a Foreign Office passport "for the free passage of Captain Mayne Reid, British subject, travelling on the Continent with a man-servant."

In [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE (initially being issued in London by Chapman and Hall as 2 volumes octavo in blind-stamped brown cloth with spines lettered in gilt, prior to being printed in America) there was talk of the reading of [THE DIAL](#):

Being much alone, during my recovery, I read interminably [page 677] in Mr. Emerson's Essays, the Dial, Carlyle's works, George Sand's romances, (lent me by Zenobia,) and other books which one or another of the brethren or sisterhood had brought with them. Agreeing in little else, most of these utterances were like the cry of some solitary sentinel, whose station was on the outposts of the advance-guard of human progression; or, sometimes, the voice came sadly from among the shattered ruins of the past, but yet had a hopeful echo in the future. They were well adapted (better, at least, than any other intellectual products, the volatile essence of which had heretofore tintured a printed page) to pilgrims like ourselves, whose present bivouac was considerably farther into the waste of chaos than any mortal army of crusaders had ever marched before. Fourier's works, also, in a series of horribly tedious volumes, attracted a good deal of my attention, from the analogy which I could not but recognize between his system and our own. There was far less resemblance, it is true, than the world chose to imagine; inasmuch as the two theories differed, as widely as the zenith from the nadir, in their main principles.



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There was also talk of the reading of [Waldo Emerson](#)'s essays:

Being much alone, during my recovery, I read interminably [page 677] in Mr. Emerson's Essays, the Dial, Carlyle's works, George Sand's romances, (lent me by Zenobia,) and other books which one or another of the brethren or sisterhood had brought with them. Agreeing in little else, most of these utterances were like the cry of some solitary sentinel, whose station was on the outposts of the advance-guard of human progression; or, sometimes, the voice came sadly from among the shattered ruins of the past, but yet had a hopeful echo in the future. They were well adapted (better, at least, than any other intellectual products, the volatile essence of which had heretofore tintured a printed page) to pilgrims like ourselves, whose present bivouac was considerably farther into the waste of chaos than any mortal army of crusaders had ever marched before. Fourier's works, also, in a series of horribly tedious volumes, attracted a good deal of my attention, from the analogy which I could not but recognize between his system and our own. There was far less resemblance, it is true, than the world chose to imagine; inasmuch as the two theories differed, as widely as the zenith from the nadir, in their main principles.

At some point during this year the proud author sat for his portrait in the studio of G.P.A. Healy at West Street and Washington Street in Boston. His new book was in part about "the Juvenalian and Thoreauvian ideology of [Blithedale](#)," an experiment in community which was "in spite of its Edenic pretensions, located in an area of market gardens catering to the needs of the expanding 'New England metropolis'."



When "Wakefield" was published in 1836, most of Hawthorne's audience, like Hawthorne himself, would only have known of the conditions of urban life treated in the sketch by having read about them. Hawthorne takes advantage of the exoticism of a European metropolitan setting, just as Poe was to have done a few years later in "The Man of the Crowd" and "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." Yet by 1852, when THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE was published, the urbanization of America was no longer an abstract possibility; it was, thanks to economic growth, industrial development, and large-scale immigration, an increasingly insistent reality. The intellectual and social movements represented by the Blithedale community were, in large measure, a response to these historic changes. The process of urbanization is therefore never entirely out of sight in THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE. Expressing the ideas implicit in the agrarian experiment, Coverdale offers several standard Transcendentalist criticisms of urban life. Driving through the streets of Boston, he describes "how the buildings, on either side, seemed to press too closely upon us, insomuch that our mighty hearts found barely room enough to throb between them"



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(3:11). Observing how the snow falling upon the city is blackened by smoke, and molded by boots, Coverdale makes it into a metaphor for the way in which human nature is corrupted by the “falsehood, formality, and error” (3:11) of city life. In addition, Coverdale identifies cities as the sources of the “selfish competition,” which powers the “weary treadmill of established society” (3:19). Yet, although Coverdale will occasionally express the Juvenalian and Thoreauvian ideology of Blithedale, he implicitly recognizes, late in the book, that it may be futile to attempt to arrest the advance of urban civilization. When he observes a crowd at a village lyceum, it seems to him to be “rather suburban than rural” (3:197). The decline of authentic rusticity has been implied earlier when we learn that Blithedale, in spite of its Edenic pretensions, is located in an area of market gardens catering to the needs of the expanding “New England metropolis.” From the very beginning of THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE, we know that the utopian experiment has failed and that Coverdale has returned to the urban existence he originally fled.

During this year [Kossuth](#) was fundraising practically everywhere in America, including in the First Church at [Northampton](#). He had a letter of introduction to the Motts of Philadelphia, and they invited him to dinner at their home. The Governor’s advisers insisted that he call there only for an informal chat while refraining from breaking bread with any such notorious abolitionists — lest news of such an indiscretion get out and he be embarrassed. During his visit and chat, [Friend Lucretia](#) somehow formed the opinion that although this politician was afraid to say so, in his heart he would have to be opposed to human slavery in any form. (Madam Pulzysky, Kossuth’s sister, also visited the Motts, and by way of contrast she was willing to argue the advantages of human slavery with them.)

What sort of man was this Kossuth? Utterly ruthless. Cold-blooded murder was not beyond him, when the result would prove useful. When he had needed to safeguard the royal gems of Hungary, for instance, including the crown of St. Stephen which was held to be necessary for the coronation of any true king of Hungary, he had had them buried at a spot on the banks of the Danube, and he had employed for this work “a detachment of prisoners who were shot after the concealment was complete.” His plot was that this portable property was to be recovered later, packed in marmalade, and carried via Constantinople to “the well-known Philhellene” of Boston, [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#). However, when it came to be time, during this year, to dig up the jewels and pack them in marmalade for shipment to Boston, the man whom he would entrust to do this would betray his trust. —Eventually the jewels, including the crown of St. Stephen, would come into the control of the government of Austria.



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Kossuth somehow suborned the cooperation of [William James Stillman](#) in his abortive scheme to recover the jewels, and this American artist sailed off to Hungary on this wild-goose chase.

According to page 153 and pages 161-6 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1988), virtually everything about [Henry Thoreau](#) during this period is to be accounted for in terms of the manifold influences upon him and upon the times, of European revolutionaries such as [Kossuth](#) here:



Faced with this threat of mental contamination, our guy allegedly has become literally obsessed with maintaining his self-concept and his self-satisfaction:

[Thoreau](#), stirred by [Lajos Kossuth](#)'s visit and news of European affairs, returned to the manuscript of *WALDEN* and revised and expanded it throughout 1852. Although engaged by current events, Thoreau fought a spiritual battle to remain aloof, "to preserve the mind's chastity" by reading "not the Times" but "the Eternities." Imagining that he had won, he celebrated his victory in *WALDEN*.... Kossuth's visit to the United States and [Concord](#) brought to a head a struggle Thoreau had been engaged in for some time. During the years following the European revolutions of 1848-1849, Thoreau struggled to develop his spiritual side and rid himself of what he considered a degrading interest in current events. He also tried to communicate to [Waldo Emerson](#) and the world his own capacity for heroism. After the disappointing reception of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) in the summer of 1849, Thoreau had become uncertain about how to proceed with his life. Setting the third draft of *WALDEN* aside as unpublishable, he studied Hinduism, visited Cape Cod several times, took a trip to [Canada](#), and began his Indian book project. The next year, 1851, he started to focus his energies, and, as Lewis Leary has said, these twelve months were a watershed in his life, a time of consolidation, of self-discovery, of preparation for some important new effort. "I find myself uncommonly prepared for **some** literary work...", he wrote in his journal on September 7, 1851. "I am prepared not so much for contemplation, as for forceful expression." Subsequently, 1852 became Thoreau's *annus mirabilis*, the year his months of living deliberately yielded a value of its own, he lavished upon it the care and craft that turned it into his richest literary achievement; he also wrote at this time most of his essay "Life



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without Principle," which, as Walter Harding has observed, "contains virtually all the fundamental principles upon which he based his life"; and, more important, he radically revised and reshaped WALDEN, changing it from a factual account of his life in the woods into the embryo of a profound spiritual autobiography, illuminated by the idea of spiritual renewal, shaped and informed by the cycle of the seasons.

The catalyst for the metamorphosis of [WALDEN](#) was [Thoreau's](#) desire to resolve, in writing if not in fact, the conflict he felt between the spiritual and the animal in himself. On the one hand, his recent communion with nature had yielded, as it had in his youth, transcendence – not of the world of material fact, but rather of the world of trivial fact. At times he achieved a state of pure spirituality in the woods. On August 17, 1851, for example, he recorded in his journal, "My heart leaps into my mouth at the sound of the wind in the woods. I, whose life was but yesterday so desultory and shallow, suddenly recover my spirits, my spirituality, through my hearing.... I did not despair of worthier moods, and now I have occasion to be grateful for the flood of life that is flowing over me." At such times, he reexperienced the ecstasy of his youth, when, as he put it, "the morning and the evening were sweet to me, and I led a life aloof from society of men." Despite these experiences, which he valued greatly, another aspect of Thoreau's personality cared about society, cared passionately about justice, about the actions of governments, about the fate of actual men in the nineteenth century. This part of him, however, he associated with his impure animal nature, and he sought to purge it.

Thoreau had no way of knowing whether the body was [Margaret Fuller's](#) or not, but she was surely on his mind, and her endeavor to convince others of the legitimacy of her "title" may have been as well. His description, which obviously contrasts with his earlier one, reveals the power and significance the facts possessed in his eyes. Here as always he cared too much about the human to dismiss its annihilation with convincing disdain.

During the last months of 1850 and all of 1851, [Thoreau](#) dedicated himself to living deliberately, to fronting what he called the essential. During these months, he spent many hours walking through the fields and woods of [Concord](#), recording his observations in his journal. At the same time, he read the newspapers and found himself engaged by what he found. The political news from Europe focused upon the failure of the republican movement, the reaction and reprisals, the futile attempts by exiles such as [Mazzini](#) and [Kossuth](#) to enlist aid in the struggle for a new round of upheavals. Austria, meanwhile, charged that the United States, especially its new Secretary of State [Daniel Webster](#), was encouraging anti-Austrian sentiment and intruding in the affairs of Europe. On November 17, 1850, Thoreau revealed both his disdain for the news of the day and his concern about its power to capture his attention: "It is a strange age of the world this, when empires, kingdoms, and republics come a-begging to our doors and utter their complaints at our elbows. I cannot take up a newspaper but I find that some



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wretched government or other, hard pushed and on its last legs, is interceding with me, the reader, to vote for it, – more importunate than an [Italian](#) beggar.” At times the newspapers contributed to the problem he called “the village,” which kept him from getting to the woods in spirit, although he walked miles into it bodily. One way he tried to overcome this problem was through the process of diminution, which can be seen in the following outburst of May 1, 1851: “Nations! What are nations? Tartars! and Huns! and Chinamen! Like insects they swarm. The historian strives in vain to make them memorable. It is for want of a man that there are so many men.” Quoting from “The Spirit of Lodin,” ... he claims to “look down from my height on nations, / And they become ashes before me.” By adopting an Olympian point of view, Thoreau elevates himself and diminishes men both in size and importance. Like [Waldo Emerson](#) in the “Mind and Manners” lectures, he also reaffirms his belief that the regeneration of the self, the building up of the single solitary soul, is far more important than the activities of masses of men, be they parties, tribes, or nations.

Throughout 1851, as Thoreau continued to read the papers, he developed a loathing for them linked to that part of himself unable to ignore them. The news, he came to assert, could profane the “very *sanctum sanctorum*” of the mind:

I find it so difficult to dispose of the few facts which to me are significant, that I hesitate to burden my mind with the most insignificant, which only a divine mind could illustrate. Such is, for the most part, the news, – in newspapers and conversation. It is important to preserve the mind’s chastity in this respect.... By all manners of boards and traps, threatening the extreme penalty of the divine law, ... it behooves us to preserve the purity and sanctity of the mind.... It is so hard to forget what it is worse than useless to remember. If I am to be a channel or thoroughfare, I prefer that it be of the mountain springs, and not the town sewers, – the Parnassian streams.

“I do not think much of the actual,” he wrote himself. “It is something which we have long since done with. It is a sort of vomit in which the unclean love to wallow.” During the writing of the 4th version of *WALDEN*, which coincided with Kossuth’s tour of the country, [Thoreau](#) created a myth about himself as someone who had risen above the affairs of men, someone who felt the animal dying out in him and the spiritual being established.

In [WALDEN](#), the European revolutions of 1848-1849, the reaction and reprisals that followed, all the attention given in the newspapers to Kossuth’s visit, to Louis Napoleon’s *coup d’état*, to a possible war between France and Great Britain, all these go unmentioned, and the absence reveals how earnestly, perhaps even how desperately, Thoreau sought to diminish their importance to his life. In his journals we see his fascination with and antagonism toward the news of national and international affairs. He devotes half of his essay “Life without Principle,” moreover, to a castigation of the news,



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telling the reader about its dangers, its foulness, its profanity – even mentioning Kossuth by name and ridiculing the “stir” about him: “That excitement about Kossuth, consider how characteristic, but superficial, it was!... For all the fruit of that stir we have the Kossuth hat.”⁷⁷ In WALDEN, however, he purifies his book and his persona by ignoring contemporary world affairs. Characterizing himself (untruthfully) as one “who rarely looks into the newspapers,” he claims that “nothing new does ever happen in foreign parts, a French revolution not excepted.”

Thoreau’s struggle to achieve an oriental aloofness from the affairs of men seems to have first become a serious endeavor for him in the summer of 1850, when [Emerson](#) asked him to go to Fire Island to retrieve the body and possessions of [Margaret Fuller](#). As Robert D. Richardson, Jr. has pointed out, “Death gave life a new imperative for Thoreau.” Despite Fuller’s rejections of his [DIAL](#) contributions in the early 1840s, Thoreau became her friend and admirer, and during her last summer in [Concord](#), he took her boat riding at dawn on the river. The task he faced at Fire Island thus could not have been pleasant, yet in his journal and in letters to others, he strove to project a philosophical serenity about what he found. In a letter to his admirer H.G.O. Blake, he wrote that he had in his pocket a button torn from the coat of [Giovanni Angelo](#), *marchése d’Ossoli*: “Held up, it intercept the light, – and actual button, – and yet all the life it is connected with is less substantial to me, and interests me less, than my faintest dream. Our thoughts are the epochs in our lives: all else is but a journal of the winds that blew while we were here.” Thoreau had not known Ossoli, so his aloof serenity here comes easily; he had known Fuller though, and his attempt to rise above the fact of her death shows strain.

When [Thoreau](#) arrived at the site of the wreck, Fuller’s body had not been found, but he stayed in the area and a week later learned that something once human had washed ashore. As he approached it, he saw bones, and in the draft of this letter to Blake he asserted, “There was nothing at all remarkable about them. They were simply some bones lying on the beach. They would not detain the walker there more than so much seaweed. I should think that the fates would not take the trouble to show me any bones again, I so slightly appreciated the favor.” He recalled the experience in his journal some three months later, however, and there revealed the difficulty he had in dismissing what he had seen: “I once went in search of the relics of a human body....,” he wrote, “which had been cast up the day before on the beach, though the sharks had stripped off the flesh.... It

77. The Kossuth hat was a black, low-crowned felt hat with left brim fastened to crown, having a peacock feather. The story of its “invention” by John Nicholas Genin (1819-1878) and its rise to high fashion is told in Donald S. Spencer’s *LOUIS KOSSUTH AND YOUNG AMERICA — A STUDY IN SECTIONALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1848-1852* (Columbia, London: U of Missouri P, 1977, pages 59-61). This proprietor of a hat shop on Broadway in New-York next to the American Museum, Genin, also designed a best-selling Jenny Lind Riding Hat.



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was as conspicuous on that sandy plain as if a generation had labored to pile up a cairn there.... It reigned over the shore. That dead body possessed the shore as no living one could. It showed a title to the sands which no living ruler could."

In the winter of 1851-1852, Thoreau's struggle to assure his own purity became obsessive. Sherman Paul has traced his dissatisfaction with himself to surveying, which [Thoreau](#) found trivial and coarsening. Mary Elkins Moller has speculated that Thoreau was also having sexual fantasies about Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#) and felt ashamed of them. Whatever the truth of these views (and I think the second takes Thoreau's references to chastity too literally), the fact remains that Thoreau at this time was also struggling to escape from his interest in current events. Surprisingly, this private denouncer of the press had become a subscriber to Horace Greeley's Weekly Tribune, a fact that heightened the tension he felt about preserving his mind's chastity. On January 20, 1852, he wrote,

I do not know but it is too much to read one newspaper in a week, for I now take the weekly Tribune, and for a few days past, it seems to me, I have not dwelt in Concord; the sun, the clouds, the snow, the trees say not so much to me. You cannot serve two masters.... To read the things distant and sounding betrays us into slighting these which are then apparently near and small. We learn to look abroad for our mind and spirit's daily nutriment, and what is this dull town to me? ...All summer and far into the fall I unconsciously went by the newspapers and the news, and now I find it was because the morning and the evening were full of news to me. My walks were full of incidents. I attended not to the affairs of Europe, but to my own affairs in Concord fields.

[Thoreau](#)'s quest for purity and serenity had become particularly difficult because of the excitement surrounding [Lajos Kossuth](#)'s visit and the new interest [Waldo Emerson](#) had taken in things Thoreau considered trivial, including Kossuth. The gradual estrangement of the two men may have begun while Emerson was in England in 1847-1848, writing letters home for Lidian and Thoreau which were little more than catalogues of the great people he had met. Although we know this was his way of providing himself a record of his activities, it probably disappointed. After his return from Europe, Emerson had lectured throughout the country, praising England and its people, but when he engaged Thoreau in a conversation on the topic, Henry, not surprisingly, said that the English were "mere soldiers" and their business was "winding up." In the summer of 1851, Emerson, unaware of the new scope and grandeur of Thoreau's journal, unaware of the growth in his spiritual development, wrote off his friend as one who "will not stick." "He is a boy," Emerson added, "& will be an old boy. Pounding beans is good to the end of pounding Empires, but not, if at the end of years, it is only beans."

In a like manner, [Thoreau](#) at about this time began to see that



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his friend would continue to disappoint him. He bristles at Emerson's patronizing attitude; he disagreed with his treatment of [Margaret Fuller](#) in the MEMOIRS; and most of all he resented his new worldliness. In ENGLISH TRAITS (1856) Emerson, drawing on his lectures of 1848-1850, would celebrate the manners of the British aristocracy and assert that "whatever tends to form manners or to finish men, has a great value. Every one who has tasted the delight of friendship will respect every social guard which our manners can establish." For Thoreau, there was "something devilish in manners" that could come between friends, and writing of Emerson in the winter of 1851, he complained, "One of the best men I know often offends me by uttering made words – the very best words, of course, or dinner speeches, most smooth and gracious and fluent repartees.... O would you but be simple and downright! Would you but cease your palaver! It is the misfortune of being a gentleman and famous." As Joel Porte has observed, the failure of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) and Emerson's "manifest success" had probably contributed to Thoreau's bitterness.

A pushy little ultra-conservative mofo, the [Reverend Professor Francis Bowen](#) had what was termed at the time "a remarkable talent for giving offense." Precisely while [Kossuth](#) was riding the crest of the wave of American political correctness, Bowen publicly denounced that revolutionary. (*Nota Bene*: This differs from [Henry Thoreau](#)'s reaction not merely as public denunciation differs from private distaste but also as cheap motivation differs from abundant reason.)

But this is all very easy to figure out, at least as far as Larry J. Reynolds is concerned — what has happened was merely that [Kossuth](#) has come between [Waldo Emerson](#) and [Thoreau](#)! – Wow, now that we understand that, it all becomes perfectly clear. Continuing to quote, from pages 166-70 of this extraordinarily confident EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE influence study:

In the early months of 1852, Kossuth's visit to [Concord](#) widened the separation between [Thoreau](#) and [Emerson](#) into a permanent gulf. As Thoreau spent more and more time communing with nature, trying to cleanse himself of what he called the "news," Emerson saw fit to criticize him for these efforts. Frustrated, Thoreau declared in his journal, "I have got to that pass with my friend that our words do not pass with each other for what they are worth. We speak in vain; there is none to hear. He finds fault with me that I walk alone, when I pine for want of a companion; that I commit my thoughts to a diary even on my walks, instead of seeking to share them generously with a friend; curses my practice even." Emerson, who would soon lecture on the "Conduct of Life" in [Canada](#) and then deliver his "Address to Kossuth" in [Concord](#), could not see the heroism in Thoreau's aloofness. Thoreau, meanwhile, who sought to become a better man through his solitary walks, felt unappreciated and frustrated. On May 4, in an entry both defensive and immodest, he dismissed the great [Kossuth](#) and those like Emerson who honored him:

This excitement about Kossuth is not interesting to me, it is so superficial. It is only another kind of dancing or of politics. Men are making speeches to him all over the country, but each expresses only the thought, or the want of thought, of the multitude. No man stands on truth.... You can pass your hand under the largest mob,



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a nation in revolution even, and, however solid a bulk they may make, like a hail-cloud in the atmosphere, you may not meet so much as a cobweb of support. They may not rest, even by a point, on eternal foundations. But an individual standing on truth you cannot pass your hand under, for his foundations reach to the centre of the universe. So superficial these men and their doings, it is life on a leaf or a chip which has nothing but air or water beneath.

The length and tone of this entry reveals the importance of the matter to him; obviously, he considers himself the "individual standing on truth," whose depth far exceeds that of any "nation in revolution" or military hero. And one week later, during the excitement surrounding Kossuth's visit to [Concord](#), during the afternoon of Emerson's speech and reception, Thoreau, in order to show how little he thought of these matters, entered only the following in his journal: "P.M. — **Kossuth here.**"

All of Thoreau's struggle with current events, with Kossuth's visit, with Emerson's worldliness and disesteem lay behind the important fourth version of [WALDEN](#). As he revised and expanded his manuscript throughout 1852, Thoreau endowed his persona with a serene aloofness, creating a hero interested in eternal truths, not pointless political ones. Having discovered that "a sane and growing man revolutionizes every day" and that no "institutions of man can survive a morning experience," he fashioned an answer to his best friend, who thought Kossuth a great man and Henry Thoreau an unsociable boy.

As he revised [WALDEN](#), [Thoreau](#) made major additions.... The thrust of almost all of these additions is to show how nature, which is holy and heroic, can bestow those virtues on one who practices chastity. His central statement on chastity was added, of course, to "Higher Laws" and asserts that "we are conscious of an animal in us, which awakens in proportion as our higher nature slumbers.... Chastity is the flowering of man; and what are called Genius, Heroism, Holiness, and the like, are but various fruits which succeed it. Man flows at once to God when the channel of purity is open.... He is blessed who is assured that the animal is dying out in him day by day, and the divine being established. Not surprisingly, Thoreau presents himself as having achieved this assuredness. He is among the blessed.

The chastity Thoreau has in mind is as much intellectual as physical, and to attain it one must abstain not merely from sexual intercourse but also from trivial thoughts and interests. In his addition to "Solitude" he explains the process it involves: "By a conscious effort of the mind we can stand aloof from actions and their consequences; and all things, good and bad, go by us like a torrent." The result is a feeling of doubleness, whereby a person "may be either a drift-wood in the



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stream, or Indra in the sky looking down on it." He admits that "this doubleness may easily make us poor neighbors and friends sometimes," but he makes it clear that it is worth the price. In "The Ponds" he adds paragraphs stressing the "serenity and purity" of Walden and suggests a correspondence between it and himself. "Many men have been likened to it," he writes, "But few deserve that honor." That he has earned the honor through his way of life is a point made repeatedly. In his addition to "Baker Farm", Thoreau highlights the blessedness which communion with nature has accorded him. Like [Walt Whitman's](#) persona in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," or more recently Loren Eiseley's star thrower, Thoreau's hero becomes literally illuminated by nature. He stands one day at the base "of a rainbow's arch, which filled the lower stratum of the atmosphere, tinged the grass and leaves around, and dazzling [him] as if [he] looked through colored crystal." TO emphasize the religious implications of the experience, he adds, "As I walked on the railroad causeway, I used to wonder at the halo of light around my shadow, and would fain fancy myself one of the elect." In the additions to the "Conclusion," Thoreau makes explicit the successful effort to achieve spiritual renewal through aloofness. "I delight to come to my bearings, —" he declares, "not walk in procession with pomp and parade, in a conspicuous place, but to walk even with the Builder of the universe, if I may, — not to live in this restless, nervous, bustling, trivial Nineteenth Century, but stand or sit thoughtfully while it goes by."

The place he would sit, of course, is far above men and their doings, which diminishes them in his eyes. And this particular view is the one dramatized in his most famous addition, the classic battle of the ants in "Brute Neighbors." The episode comes from an entry made in his journal on January 22, 1852, while [Kossuth](#) was visiting Washington and while Horace Greeley in his [Tribune](#) and James Watson Webb in his [Courier and Enquirer](#) were debating the nature of the Hungarian War. Thoreau, like most of his contemporaries, found himself engaged (against his will, however) by what called "the great controversy now going on in the world between the despotic and the republican principle," and this is why he associates the two tribes of warring ants with the European revolutionary scene and calls them "the red republicans and the black despots or imperialists." His description of their war has become famous because of its frequent use in anthologies, and is surely right when he says that one reason for its selection is that it is "easily taken from its context."

Raymond Adams errs though in adding that "it is an episode that hardly has so much as a context." By virtue of both its hidden connection to revolutionary Europe and its subtle connection to the theme of spiritual serenity, the episode is part of larger contexts that shaped its features.



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As [Thoreau](#) describes the battle of the ants, he reveals that side of his personality engaged by physical heroism in the actual world. The ferocity and resolve of the combatants, the mutilation and gore that attend their life-and-death struggle thoroughly engage him. "I felt for the rest of that day," he admits, "as if I had had my feelings excited and harrowed by witnessing the struggle, the ferocity and carnage, of a human battle before my door." On the other hand, through the use of the mock-heroic, Thoreau generates an irony that allows him to stress once more the spiritual side of his persona, the side that dismisses politics, revolutions, and wars as trivial. The mother of a single red ant, we are told, has charged her son "to return with his shield or upon it," and the fighting [ants](#), the narrator speculates, could, not to his surprise, have "had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and played their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants." With such irony Thoreau diminishes the importance, not of the ants, but of the men they resemble. Just as he claimed that [Kossuth](#) and his American admirers were involved in "life on a leaf or a chip," he here brings the metaphor to life and makes the same statement about warring nations. The purpose of this addition, and of his others, is to show that true heroism is associated with aloof serenity, not brutal warfare.

When Thoreau revised his journal entry for inclusion in *WALDEN*, he claimed the ant battle occurred "in the Presidency of [James Knox Polk](#), five years before the passage of [Daniel Webster](#)'s Fugitive-Slave Bill," thus making it contemporaneous with his stay at the pond and registering his criticism, as he had in "Civil Disobedience," of the [Mexican War](#). Ultimately, the issue of slavery disturbed him far more than revolution in Europe, and he found it difficult to resist the temptation to speak out against it. In later versions of *WALDEN*, Thoreau expanded upon the ideas he introduced in 1852, extending his treatment of the triumph of the spiritual over the animal and filling out his account of the progress of the seasons, which, of course, complements the theme of renewal. Meanwhile, paradoxically, he remained a deeply passionate man, more engaged than others of his acquaintance by the "trivial Nineteenth Century." When the slave [Anthony Burns](#) was arrested in 1854, Thoreau, burning with rage, publicly denounced the Massachusetts authorities in his inflammatory "Slavery in Massachusetts": "I walk toward one of our ponds," he thundered, "but what signifies the beauty of nature when men are base? ...Who can be serene in a country where both the rulers and the ruled are without principle? The remembrance of my country spoils my walk. My thoughts are murder to the State, and involuntarily go plotting against her." Five years later, of course, he stepped forward to defend [John Brown](#) more ardently than anyone else in the country. Clearly then, in 1852, when Thoreau endowed the persona of *WALDEN* with remarkable



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purity and serenity, he was mythologizing himself; he was, in response to the "*tintinnabulum* from without," creating a new kind of hero for a revolutionary age.

Have we got this very clear now? According to Larry J. Reynolds, it has been demonstrated that Thoreau, a boy playing at life, was not merely fighting a spiritual battle to remain aloof but indeed was fantasizing that he had won this battle, and celebrating his final victory. But Thoreau has been detected as nevertheless full of bitterness, as resentful, as feeling unappreciated and frustrated. Fundamentally a "defensive and immodest" pretense rather than any sort of record of a spiritual journey, [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) merely celebrated cheaply in words what its author could not accomplish in fact: the big win in a struggle between the spiritual in its author and the warrior-wannabee. This is Thoreau as a mere self-deluding boy who, when confronted by a real life hero out of the real world of struggle, struggles to stand "aloof" in order to console himself by considering himself to be the true hero, to be indeed the "individual standing on truth" whose real worth far exceeds the appreciation offered to any such mere celebrity wrapped up in mere mundane push-and-shove concerns. It is hard to imagine that Reynolds is not terming Thoreau a self-deluded coward.


FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A "HISTORICAL CONTEXT" IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.



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October 1, Friday: In Syracuse, New York, the 1st annual “Jerry Celebration” honoring the freeing of Jerry McHenry from the federal marshals seeking to “return” him to his “owner” on October 1, 1851.  Although the assembly was denied the use of all public facilities, some 5,000 people were able to hear orations by [Frederick Douglass](#), [William Lloyd Garrison](#), Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), [Gerrit Smith](#), and [Lucy Stone](#) in the engine rotunda of the Syracuse Railroad, 150 feet from side to side, made available by [John Wilkinson](#).⁷⁸



The Reverend [Samuel Joseph May](#)’s annual “Jerry Celebrations” would continue undaunted until, finally, civil war would break out in America.

The old, slow cargo vessel that had rescued [Alfred Russel Wallace](#) from off the face of the waters had finally docked in England –after a passage of some eighty days and after several times nearly foundering in a series of storms– and so he made his way back to London without his specimens. From this point until March 1854, he would work primarily out of the metropolis.

[Henry Thoreau](#) surveyed, for James F. Chafrin, a couple of pieces of Lincoln woodlot being sold for taxes to Frances Westhall (the 1st piece belonged to the heirs of K. Rice of Lincoln, the 2d, of 2 acres, to Charles Bartlett).



78. Not the same John Wilkinson who was buried in a cast-iron coffin of his own design.



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1853

Friend Lucretia Mott spoke in Cleveland, Ohio, at the National Woman's Rights Convention:



I look to that Source whence all the inspirations of the Bible comes.



At this convention something happened to William Lloyd Garrison, that was not exactly a high point in his life: a minister of the gospel became so exasperated that he reached out and — yanked Garrison's nose.

May 25, Wednesday: Waldo Emerson's 50th birthday.

An influential "Exposition of Sentiments" document was adopted by the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends at Kennett Square. Friend Lucretia Mott helped draft this, although she remained with Philadelphia's Hicksite Yearly Meeting. Friend Joseph Dugdale, one of the Clerks who signed it, later removed to Illinois and became a major figure in the new Illinois Yearly Meeting. Friend Jesse H. "Ducky" Holmes, a Swarthmore professor and Clerk of the Progressive Yearly Meeting during its final two decades, was also a member of Swarthmore Meeting, and would be a very active figure in the Friends General Conference until his death in 1940. This Progressive reformation of liberal Quakerism would come to fruition in 1926, when the Friends General Conference would adopt a Uniform Discipline. This document would become the basis and template for new editions of all the Friends General Conference yearly meetings, which emerged in rapid succession thereafter, and closely resembled it. The Uniform Discipline codified such Progressive principles as the idealization of the individual seeking conscience, a congregational polity, the quiet abolition of Ministers and Elders, the near-total abandonment of disownment, and a renewed emphasis on humanitarian reform as the goal and sign of authentic religion. The result would become "meetinghouse" or "unprogrammed" Quakerism as we know it today.

**EXPOSITION OF SENTIMENTS
ADOPTED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING
OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS, 1853**

To the Friends of Pure and Undeified Religion, and to all Seekers after Truth, of whatever name or denomination, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends sendeth Greeting;



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DEAR FRIENDS: Having been led, as we trust, through obedience to the revelations of truth, to form a Religious Association upon principles always too little regarded and often trampled under foot by professing Christians and popular sects, we are constrained to address you in explanation of our leading sentiments, purposes, plan; and hopes.

If, as we believe, the basis of our organization, and the arrangements we propose for the culture of man's religious powers, are in harmony with the Divine laws, and adapted to the wants of human nature and the demands of the present age, it is certainly incumbent upon us to diffuse true knowledge thereof as widely as possible; and if, on the other hand, "the light that is in us be darkness," it is proper that we should invoke your earnest efforts to redeem us from our errors, and turn our feet into the highway of holiness and truth. We, therefore, ask your serious and unprejudiced consideration of the matters presented in this Exposition, so that, whether you shall accept or reject our propositions, your conclusions may minister to your own peace of mind and growth in the love and practice of the truth.

In our efforts to apply the principles of Christianity to daily life, and to social customs and institutions which we deemed subversive of individual and national morality, as well as in conflict with the laws of God, we encountered the hostility of the popular sects, to one or another of which most of us belonged, and to which we were bound by ties that grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength. Mingling with the chime of church bells and with the tones of the preacher's voice, or breaking upon the stillness of our religious assemblies, we heard the clank of the slave's chain, the groans of the wounded and dying on the field of bloody strife, the noise of drunken revelry, the sad cry of the widow and the fatherless, and the wail of homeless, despairing poverty, driven

By foul Oppression's ruffian gluttony
Forth from life's plenteous feast;

and when, in obedience to the voice of God, speaking through the holiest sympathies and purest impulses of our Godlike humanity, we sought to arouse our countrymen to united efforts for the relief of human suffering, the removal of giant wrongs, the suppression of foul iniquities, we found the Church, in spite of her solemn professions, arrayed against us, blocking up the path of reform with her serried ranks, prostituting her mighty influence to the support of wickedness in high places, smiling complacently upon the haughty oppressor, "justifying the wicked for a reward," maligning the faithful Abdiels who dared to stand up for the truth and to testify against popular crimes—thus traitorously upsetting the very foundations of the Religion she



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was sacredly bound to support and exemplify, and doing in the name of Christ deeds at which humanity shuddered, obliterating her indignant blushes only with the tears that welled up from the depths of her great loving heart.

For a time, though not without deep mortification and discouragement, we bore this appalling delinquency, thinking in our short-sightedness that it was mainly the result of a temporary mistake, and not of an incurable leprosy tainting the whole body. In the "patience of hope" we toiled on, seeking to reform alike the Church and the world, and deeming it certain that the former would speedily abandon her false and sinful position, and "come up to the help of the Lord" against the hosts of unrighteousness and oppression. Our hopes in this respect were doomed to a sad and bitter disappointment.

The leaders of the Church, instead of retracing the false step which they had taken, grew more and more hostile to the cause of Christian Reform, while there was not found in the body enough of moral principle to reject their counsels and repudiate their impious claims to a Divine warrant for their criminal apostasy. Inflated with spiritual pride, and claiming to be the anointed expounders of God's will, they mocked at Philanthropy as no part of religion, exalted in its place the Dagon of man-made Disciplines, charged obedience to the decisions of Yearly Meetings or other ecclesiastical assemblies, as the sum of human obligation, bade us stifle the gushing sympathies which link us to our kind, and passively "wait God's time" for the removal of the evils that afflict and curse our race; as if God had not revealed his purpose of doing this work by human instrumentality – as if there were times when deeds of charity and mercy are offensive in His sight – as if the cry of suffering Humanity and the emotions it stirs within us were not a sufficient revelation of His will, and we were bound to wait in listless inactivity for some supernatural or miraculous manifestation of His authority and power!

Alas! how many have thus waited, until at last the spiritual ear has become too dull and heavy to vibrate under the gentle tones of the "still, small voice," and the head so hard and cold, that it has ceased to beat at the cry of mortal woe! Superstition has woven around their souls her impenetrable veil, excluding the warm sunlight of God's presence, paralyzing their moral energies, and leaving their holiest sympathies to stagnate for lack of use; thus unfitting them for the work the good Father sets before them in common with all His children, and defeating the great end and purpose of their earthly life.

When we refused to obey the mandate of our ecclesiastical rulers, choosing to hearken to the voice of God rather than unto the voice of man, we found our worst foes in our own religious households; the rod of ecclesiastical power was lifted above our heads, and some of us were made to understand that excommunication was the price to be paid for the exercise of that



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liberty which Jesus proclaimed as the birthright of his disciples. We might have devoted our energies, to the acquisition of wealth, and, in imitation of the example of many who stood high in the Church, entered into close relations with men devoid of religious principle in the pursuit of that object and no voice of censure or reproof would have been lifted against us; but when we associated with noble men and women, not of our sect, for the purpose of abolishing slavery, war, intemperance, and other crying abominations, and our zeal for humanity made us indifferent to the forms of the Church, though more than ever alive to the great principles she had so long professed to believe and revere, we were treated as offenders; and the strange spectacle was witnessed of bodies, claiming to be God's representatives on earth, excluding from their pale, men and women of blameless lives for loving peace, purity and freedom so devotedly, as to be willing to co-operate with all whose hearts prompted them to labor for the promotion of those heavenly virtues. Thus were the great and ennobling principles of our common humanity subordinated to sectarian shibboleths, and that Divine charity, which is the essence of the God-like, and the sum of every virtue in man, narrowed down to the dimensions of a particular creed, or smothered under the petty limitations of speculative theology.

Driven thus to choose between our loyalty to sect and our allegiance to God, and feeling still the need of some outward helps in the cultivation of the religious sentiment, we were naturally led to investigate the whole subject of religious organization, its nature, uses and sphere, and the source and extent of its powers. The result of our inquiries is a clear conviction, that Churches, however high their pretensions of authority derived from God, are only human organizations, and the repositories of only such powers as may have been rightfully conferred upon them by the individuals of whom they are composed, or derived from the laws of our social nature. It is time that this truth, so long obscured by the sorcery of priestcraft, were clearly understood and boldly proclaimed.

Too long have the common people been deluded with the idea that the Church holds a mysterious or organic relation to the Infinite, — a relation distinct from that existing between the soul and its Creator, and conferring special powers and prerogatives. Perhaps no error has done more than this to debase and enslave the mind of man, to fetter his godlike powers, and make him the ready instrument of superstition and priestcraft. It is the most vicious element of Popery, from which our Protestant sects are not yet delivered. Our religion, which should make us free and self-reliant, willing to bend the knee only to God, as he stands revealed to our own consciousness, withered by the touch of this superstition, becomes, in the hands of ambitious and designing men, the instrument of our degradation the symbol of littleness, meanness, bigotry and



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hypocrisy.

The Romish Church sets up for herself a claim of absolute infallibility, and the various Protestant sects, professing to deride her pretensions, yet tax our credulity scarcely less. From the Episcopal Church, with her imposing ritual and elaborate ceremonials, down to modern Quakerism, with its professed abjuration of all forms, its rustic garb and look of "meek simplicity," all seem deluded with the idea that the Church, being made after a Divine pattern, is supernaturally preserved from error. Even the Quaker regards the decision of his Yearly Meeting with a superstitious reverence scarcely inferior to that which the Catholic awards to the decrees of the Pope and the Cardinals. Do his reason and common sense suggest that the Yearly Meeting has decided erroneously or unjustly, he banishes the thought as little less than impious, becomes silent if not acquiescent, and mayhap lays his reason and common sense a sacrifice on the altar of the Church. Poor man! let him be once fairly convinced that ecclesiastical bodies, however sacred their professions, however worthy of esteem within their legitimate sphere, are yet only human, and without authority to bind the conscience even of the humblest of God's children, and he will no longer dare to offer such a sacrifice, to dishonor his Creator by debasing his powers.

It would be easy to show that this claim of supernatural power, on the part of the organized Church, is at war with the whole genius and spirit of Christianity as exhibited in the life and teachings of Jesus, and without warrant in the writings of the Apostles and primitive Christians, as well as subversive of individual rights and responsibilities. Jesus nowhere indicated an intention to organize a Church clothed with such power. Indeed, it does not appear from his recorded words that he even contemplated any organization whatever of those who should embrace his doctrines. He specified no such work as incumbent upon those whom he sent forth as witnesses of the truth, but left them to adopt such instrumentalities as might recur to them adapted to promote the object of their mission.

The Apostles did indeed organize Churches, but they did not pretend that they were framed after a Divinely prescribed pattern, still less that they were clothed with a supernatural power. "It was not," says a learned writer, "until the number of personal followers of Jesus increased by thousands, and the need of some organization began to be felt, that any thing like the institution of a distinct and permanent religious society appears to have been definitely contemplated. And then nothing more was done, than was necessary to that present exigency. Thus the whole institution of the Church at Jerusalem grew up by degrees, as one step after another was called for by a succession of circumstances altogether peculiar." A religious periodical of high authority in matters of ecclesiastical history,



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testified, some years since, as follows:

Men have clung as with a dying grasp to a few shreds of ancient tradition, and deemed it sacrilege to meddle with these consecrated relics. They have attached a peculiar sacredness to their own constitutions, councils, ordinances, creeds and decisions, as if they rested on Divine right and apostolic authority.... The beautiful theories of Church government, devised with so much care and put together with so much skill and art, have, we are sure, no manner of resemblance to the Churches mentioned in the Acts and Epistles. The primitive Christians, could they come among us, would be not a little surprised to hear their assemblies, gathered by stealth for worship, with or without particular standing officers, referred to as the models after which the superstructure of denominational Churches is supposed to be fashioned. They were simple-hearted men and women, exposed to continual persecution, and bound together in Christian love; forming and modifying their regulations exactly as was needed; never once dreaming that they or their successors were bound to a single system by some great code, provided by Divine authority.... The reason of associating together was, to further this great end, mutually to enliven the feelings of devotion, strengthen the principles of piety, and aid in, and urge to, the discharge of duty.... Some things were practiced in some Churches and not in others. Some officers existed in one and not in another; some met in one place and not in another; and all had a right to do whatever might be conducive to the general good.

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because we deem it of fundamental importance. This claim of organic communion with God lies at the root of many evils in the Churches around us, and hence we desire to make our denial of its validity as emphatic as possible. We would impress upon the minds of all whom our voice may reach, the truth, that there is no mysterious alchemy whereby a company of men, mean and selfish as individuals, are transmuted into a holy body; no Divine afflatus vouchsafed to them in the mass, superseding the necessity of personal conformity to the will of God.

Such a claim is the acme of superstition and imposture. It is amazing that it should for so long a period have deceived and befouled the nations! When will the people learn that there is nothing Divine, nothing too sacred for investigation, in the artificial arrangements and prescribed formalities of sects? Alas! what multitudes join the popular Churches, submitting to their rites and paying the expenses of their administration, deluding themselves meanwhile with the idea that they are thus



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ensuring their eternal salvation, even though their daily lives are deified by sordid and debasing acts, and they scarcely lift a finger or breathe one honest aspiration for their own or the world's moral improvement!

Our inquiries into the nature and uses of Religions Organization have also brought us to the conclusion, that the Churches around us have made a vital mistake in demanding uniformity of belief in respect to scholastic theology, ordinances, rites and forms, as a condition of religious fellowship and the basis of associated effort. It would hardly be possible to exaggerate the evils resulting from this mistake. It has led the Church into dissensions, hypocrisy and all uncharitableness, and instead of promoting a manly, vigorous and healthful piety, which ever manifests itself in works of practical benevolence and would make her a burning and a shining light in the presence of surrounding darkness, it narrows the scope of her vision, dwarfs the intellect, smothers the heart, and makes her the purveyor of traditions and shams, a covert for meanness and treachery, and a hiding-place for the perpetrators and apologists of popular wickedness. It reverses the arrangements proposed by Jesus and his early followers, putting that first which should be last, the incidental in place of the primary, the temporary in place of the eternal. Jesus enjoins it upon his bearers to "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness;" but the popular Church practically tells us, on pain of eternal perdition, to seek first of all the theology of that kingdom, assuring us, with impious tongue, that if we only master that, get its different parts properly arranged and labeled, and learn to believe them, however inconsistent with each other, and contrary to our reason and common sense, the righteousness may safely enough be left to take care of itself!

Instead of requiring as the evidence of our piety the "fruits" demanded in the Gospel of Jesus, it sneers at "good works" as "carnal" and inefficacious, bids us mind our catechisms, disciplines and confessions of faith; to come regularly to its assemblies, and worship according to its prescribed forms! It is no wonder that politicians, bent upon schemes of selfish aggrandizement, mock at the Higher Law, and declare their own oppressive statutes a finality, when the Church is found thus corrupt and apostate. No marvel that insatiate Wealth tramples upon lowly Poverty; that War's "red thunders" reverberate round the world that Drunkenness counts its victims by tens of thousands; that Land Monopoly grinds humanity in the dust; that Lust is doing his work of defilement and shame with impunity; that immortal beings are driven to their daily toil tinder the lash, and even sold in the shambles, when the Church proffers absolution for such crimes upon terms so easy of fulfilment.

The natural counterpart of this false and superstitious devotion to creeds and forms is an unnatural sourness and melancholy — a Pharisaical spirit, which frowns upon amusements as an offence to God, and which would cover the face of society with a sanctimonious gloom as repugnant to Religion as to unperverted human nature. The victims of this spirit converse about religion, not in manly and natural tones, indicative of sincerity and earnestness, but in a whining, canting manner, as



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if it were a burden hard to be borne, but which they reluctantly consent to carry during their mortal life, as the only means of eternal salvation!

We are persuaded that the exhibitions of this spirit on the part of the Church have produced incalculable mischief, by exciting the prejudices of the young against all Religion as necessarily of an ascetic character, and by placing amusements beyond the pale of Christian influence, thus making them liable to excesses which might otherwise be avoided. The Christian, of all other persons, should not be of a sad countenance, but ever cheerful and hopeful in his demeanor, making the very atmosphere he breathes a witness of the serene joy that dwells in his heart. No false idea of sanctity, no superstitious or fanatical "worry" about his soul, should he ever suffer to make his presence distasteful and unwelcome to the young.

We cannot undertake to particularize all the errors of principle and practice in the popular Churches, which our investigations have revealed to us; but there is one more which we must not pass in silence. We allude to that vicious and despotic feature in the organization of most of them, which, beginning in the subordination of the individual to the local Church, or to Elders. Overseers, or other officers thereof; ends in the subjection of local bodies to some larger assembly or central power. There are, indeed, some Churches which have attempted to abolish this system, but they are still too much bound by usage to practices inconsistent with their theories.

Experience, as well as observation, has taught us that local organizations should in the first place be formed upon principles which will offer the best possible safeguard to the equal rights of the individual members, and discourage tyranny, whether of the many or the few; and, in the next place, that they should never allow any other body, however numerous or imposing, to exercise authority over them. The forms of Church organization, instead of being such as are suggested by the ideas of individual freedom and responsibility which pervade the teachings of Jesus, would seem to have been borrowed from anti-Christian and despotic systems of civil government, whereof force is the vital and controlling element. Under such forms religious tyranny, always difficult of repression is sure to spring up into a vigorous life.

It would be easy to illustrate this truth by a reference to the history of any of those Churches in which the affiliated and subordinating system of government prevails, but the experience of many of our number naturally leads us to point to the Society of Friends as a warning against this lamentable evil. The setting apart of ministers as a distinct order of persons, and for life; the appointment of Elders to sit in judgment upon the services of the Ministry, and to determine officially what is and what is not inspiration; the subjection of individual liberty to official dictation; the subordination of Preparative to Monthly, of Monthly to Quarterly, of Quarterly to Yearly Meetings; all this affords a covert for despotic authority. It is an arrangement whereby the few are enabled to control the many, and to carry into successful operation their plans for



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keeping the Church popular with the world, while she is trampling upon her own most vital principles, and obstinately refusing to do the work for which she was originally established. It aggravates, moreover, all the other evils which have crept into the body, and renders the work of reform extremely difficult, if not impossible.

But while we thus earnestly deny the claims of Religious Associations to Divine authority, and maintain that they form no exception to the rule, that "institutions are made for man, not man for institutions," and while we would fearlessly expose all that is wrong in existing Churches, we do not therefore repudiate such associations as necessarily evil. Founded upon right principles, adjusted to the wants of our social nature, within their legitimate sphere as the servants and helpers, not the masters of the soul, as a means and not an end, we esteem them of great importance. It is only when they interpose between our consciences and God, assuming to tell us authoritatively how much and what we must believe, and virtually trampling under foot the right of private judgment, that our manhood prompts us to reject them

The mistakes which men have made in their efforts to realize the benefits of Religious Association, however strange and even preposterous they may appear to us at this advanced period of the world's history, were only the incidents of Humanity imperfectly informed and developed. They should not therefore discourage us, still less lead us into other errors at the opposite extreme. Men have also made great mistakes in science, and in things pertaining to physical life — in astronomy, chemistry, and the mechanic arts, and even in agriculture; and it would be no more absurd to urge these mistakes as a reason for abandoning all associated effort in such matters, than it would be to allege the similar blunders into which men have fallen in regard to Religion, and the abuses growing out of them, as a reason why we should resist the strong impulse of our nature which prompts us to combine our efforts for the promotion of piety and good morals.

Past errors and present imperfections, instead of affording an argument against organization, are only illustrations of its necessity, as a means whereby the strong may help the weak, the highly cultivated soul minister to the edification of those less enlightened, and social influence become the aid and support of individual virtue. Beavers do not more naturally combine to build their habitations, than men and women, inspired by a common love of God and Humanity, and a common thirst for religious excellence, mingle and combine their individual efforts for the promotion of pure and undefiled religion among themselves and throughout the world.

In forming The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, we have followed the instincts of our moral and social nature, and acted upon the settled conviction, that such an



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organization was necessary to our highest efficiency in the work which our Heavenly Father has given us to do. We seek not to diminish, but to intensify in ourselves the sense of individual responsibility – not to escape from duty, but to aid one another in its performance – to lift up before all who may be influenced by our words or actions a high standard of moral and religious excellence – to commit ourselves before the world as the friends of righteousness and truth, and as under the highest obligations to labor for the redemption of mankind from every form of error and sin.

It has been our honest endeavor to avoid, if possible, the mistakes into which previous organizations have so generally fallen, and especially those radical errors which are pointed out in this address. To this end we have made our association as simple as possible, having done little more than to provide for an annual assembly. We claim for this organization no other powers than such as we ourselves have conferred upon it in consistency with our own and others' individual freedom. We make no draft upon the veneration of our fellow-men for any arrangement that we have adopted, or may adopt hereafter. Veneration is due only to God, and to those eternal principles of Rectitude, Justice and Love, of which He is the embodiment. We have set forth no forms nor ceremonies; nor have we sought to impose upon ourselves or others a system of doctrinal belief. Such matters we have left where Jesus left them, with the conscience and common sense of the individual. It has been our cherished purpose to restore the union between Religion and Life, and to place works of goodness and mercy far above theological speculations and scholastic subtleties of doctrine. Creed-making is not among the objects of our association. Christianity, as it presents itself to our minds, is too deep, too broad, and too high, to be brought within the cold propositions of the theologian. We should as soon think of bottling up the sunshine for the use of posterity, as of attempting to adjust the free and universal principles taught and exemplified by Jesus of Nazareth to the angles of a man-made creed.

Churches which undertake this impious and impracticable work doom themselves thereby to barrenness and death. Instead of being warmed and animated by that living faith which "works by love" and overcomes the world, they lapse into bigotry and intolerance, and their formularies, having no life in themselves, become at length mere petrifications, fossil remains of ideas, which, however significant once, have no longer any adaptation to the condition of the race. It is sad to behold a Church, with Christ's name upon its brow, turning away from the wells of immortal truth, and clinging with superstitious pertinacity and veneration to the shell of an ancient creed, or the letter of an ancient Discipline, from which the original soul long since took its flight; swift to frown upon the slightest departure from its forms and theories, but slow to utter a testimony against a popular sin; ever zealous in tithing "mint, anise and cumin," but heavy of step and slow of speech when the great interests of Humanity are at stake.

Our terms of membership are at once simple, practical and



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catholic. If we may be said to have a test, it is one which applies to the heart and the life, not to the head nor to any of its speculations. Our platform is broad as Humanity, and comprehensive as Truth. We interrogate no man as to his theological belief; we send no Committees to pry into the motives of those who may desire to share the benefits of our Association; but open the door to all who recognize the Equal Brotherhood of the Human Family, without regard to sex, color or condition, and who acknowledge the duty of defining and illustrating their faith in God, not by assent to a creed, but by lives of personal purity, and works of beneficence and charity to mankind. If, by any possibility, there should be found here and there a sincere inquirer after truth, who may not feel himself included in this invitation to membership, we shall still bid him welcome to our assemblies, and listen with patience to whatever his highest convictions may prompt him to offer.

We do not seek to bind our Association together by external bands, nor by agreement in theological opinions. Identity of object, oneness of spirit in respect to the practical ditties of life, the communion of soul with soul in a common love of the beautiful and true, and a common aspiration after moral excellence, — these are our bond of union; and when these shall die out in our hearts, nothing will remain to hold us together; and those who shall come after us will not be subjected to the trouble of tearing down a great ecclesiastical edifice, constructed by our hands, before they can make provision for the supply of their own religious wants.

The name of our Association is suggestive of its history and principles. As a sign of our adherence to the great moral testimonies which the Society of Friends has so long professed, as well as for historical reasons, we have adopted in part the name chosen by Fox, Penn, and other reformers of a past generation, for the Societies which they founded, and which, we regret to say, have in our day widely departed from the spirit and principles of those illustrious men. The term "Progressive" is intended as a recognition of the fact, that our knowledge of truth is limited, and as an indication of an honest purpose on our part to "go on unto perfection," and to avail ourselves from time to time of whatever new light may be shed upon our path.

Our meetings are at present conducted very much like those of the Society of Friends, except that they are not ruled by Elders, and that we have among us no privileged class called Ministers. We welcome alike the word of exhortation, the voice of prayer, and the song of praise and thanksgiving, whichever may well up from the "inner fulness" of the devoted heart; and if at any time words shall be uttered that appear to us to savor not of life but of contention and speculation, while we may feel called upon to speak our own sentiments with freedom, we hope not to be found denying the liberty of speech to others. Some may fear that liberty so unrestricted may lead to disorder and confusion, but we are persuaded that gentleness and forbearance are more potent than official dictation, and that the instinctive sense of right and wrong, in the breast of even a misguided and



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obtrusive man, will afford the best safeguard of propriety and order in our assemblies.

As a Yearly Meeting, we disclaim all disciplinary authority, whether over individual members or local Associations. We shall, from time to time, declare our sentiments on such subjects as may demand our attention; but they will be armed with no other force than that which our moral influence may impart, or which may belong to the nature of truth when earnestly and honestly spoken. It will be our aim to cherish freedom of thought and speech, on every subject relating to man's highest welfare. In saying this, we have no mental reservations to mock the earnest seeker after truth. We have no thunderbolts to launch at those whose perceptions of truth lead them to different conclusions from those of the majority; no edicts of excommunication to scare the soul from its researches; no sanctimonious scowl to dart at him who carries the torch of free inquiry into the very holy of holies. We know of no question too sacred for examination nor in respect to which human reason should yield to human authority, however ancient or venerable.

Our organization is formed upon such principles, that while the body will not be responsible for the acts of individuals, so, on the other hand, individuals and minorities may avoid responsibility for any acts of the body which they do not approve, by recording their votes against such acts, or, if they think the case demands it, by a protest. It will, more-over, be the right of any individual to withdraw from the Association at any moment, without being required to give reasons for so doing, and without being subjected to censure on the part of the meeting.

Believing that local Associations, similar in their principles and aims to ours, would meet the wants of multitudes at the present day, and that they would be likely to accomplish great good, we hope to see such established in every community where a sufficient number of persons are found ready for the work. The men and women who are engaged in the various moral reforms of the day, and who have become weary of the prevalent sectarianism, might, we believe, gain strength for their special labors by establishing regular meetings on the First day of the week, for mutual edification and improvement for an interchange of the sympathies growing out of common pursuits and trials, and for the cultivation of their moral and religious powers. The principle of human fraternity would be thereby strengthened among them, and their children be preserved from many unhealthful influences, and prepared to meet the responsibilities of, life in a spirit becoming to the age in which their lot has been cast

Surely, these are objects worthy of our earnest thought and most careful attention. Our province is not that of iconoclasts alone. We must build as well as destroy. If there are evil institutions to be overthrown and pernicious customs to be uprooted, so also is there need of a new social fabric, of which righteousness and peace are to be the foundations. If there are vices to be done away, so also are there virtues to be promoted; if there are corrupt freedoms to be hewn down and cast into the



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fire so also are there plants of godliness to be trained, and flowers of heavenly beauty and fragrance to be nurtured. And in this work we must help each other, not occasionally and incidentally alone, but regularly and systematically.

The arrangements for meetings should in every case be adapted to the peculiar wants and tastes of the communities in which they are respectively held, care being taken to keep forms subordinate to works of practical goodness and beneficence. It is neither necessary nor desirable that one meeting should be an exact copy of another. Adhering closely to fundamental principles, there will still be scope for a variety of modes and forms.

The local Associations should do more than hold weekly meetings. They should regard it a sacred duty to provide for the visitation and help of the poor in their respective neighborhoods, to lend their sympathy and encouragement to such as are borne down under heavy trials, and to afford prompt and efficient aid in every right effort for the promotion of Temperance, Peace, Anti-Slavery, Education, the Equal Rights of Woman, &c.; that thus the public may be convinced that the Religion they seek to diffuse and establish is not an aggregation of mysteries, abstractions, and unmeaning forms, but a Religion for practical, every-day use, whose natural tendency is to fructify the conscience, intensify the sense of moral responsibility, purify and ennoble the aims of men, and thus to make society wiser, better, and happier. Such Associations, moreover, ought to regard it as their special function to cultivate and develop the religious sentiment among their members, and, so far as possible, in the community generally. For this purpose they would do well to establish libraries, in which the works of eminent anti-sectarian writers upon moral, ethical, and religious subjects might become accessible to all classes, especially to the young.

Such Associations would naturally communicate, by letter or otherwise, with the Yearly Meeting, each giving That body the results of its own peculiar experience, and receiving in return the experiences of others, with such suggestions as the Quarterly Meeting, upon a careful comparison of the whole, may be qualified to make. The various Yearly Meetings may also strengthen one another's hands by fraternal, correspondence and counsel; and thus, without ecclesiastical authority or domination on the part of any, the whole body of believers in practical Christianity throughout the country may be cemented together in Christian love, and prepared to labor in harmony for the redemption of mankind from every evil and false way, and for the establishment of universal righteousness, purity, and peace. A Church thus united would wield a moral power like that of the Apostles and immediate followers of Jesus, and the means by which it would conquer the world are those which an Apostle has described:

BY PURENESS, BY KNOWLEDGE, BY LONG-SUFFERING, BY THE HOLY SPIRIT, BY LOVE UNFEIGNED, BY THE ARMOR OF RIGHTEOUSNESS ON THE RIGHT HAND AND ON THE LEFT.

Dear Friends! are these ideas of a Church Utopian? Are we



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dreamers and enthusiasts? or is the day foretold by ancient prophets and bards beginning to dawn upon our darkness and to light the dull horizon with its reviving rays? Are we always to walk amid shadows and shams? Do we not hear the voice of God speaking to us in the deep silence of our souls, and uttering itself in the events that are passing before us, bidding us awake from our slumbers, to cast away our doubts, and purify ourselves for the work of building up a pure Christianity upon the earth Are not the fields every where white unto the harvest? and are there not all around us men and women, whose hearts God hath touched with holy fire, and who stand ready to enlist with us in this glorious cause?

Let us, then, not falter, nor hesitate. What if our numbers are few, and the hosts of superstition and sin stand before us in menacing array? What are their boasts to us, when we know that the truth we promulgate is "a part of the celestial machinery of God," and that, "whoso puts that machinery in gear for mankind hath the Almighty to turn his wheel?"

O, brother man I fold to thy heart thy brother
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly, is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

Follow with reverent steps the great example
Of Him whoso holy work was 'doing good;'
So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
Each loving life a psalm of gratitude.

Then shall all shackles fall; the stormy clangor
Of wild war music o'er the earth shall cease;
Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace.

Signed on behalf and by direction of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, held at Old Kennett, Chester County, by adjournments, from the 22d to the 25th of Fifth Month, 1853.

Joseph A. Dugdale,
Sidney Peirce,
Clerks



May 25: I quarrel with most botanists' description of different species, say of willows. It is a difference without a distinction. No stress is laid upon the peculiarity of the species in question, and it requires a very careful examination and comparison to detect any difference in the description. Having described you one species, he begins again at the beginning when he comes to the next and describes it *absolutely*, wasting time; in fact does not describe the species, but rather the genus or family; as if, in describing the particular races of men, you should say of each in its turn that it is but dust and to dust it shall return. The object should be to describe not those particulars in which a species resembles its genus, for they are many and that would be but a negative description, but those in which it is peculiar, for they are few and positive.



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September 6, Tuesday: Hannah Tucker Shearman Taber died in [New Bedford](#), Massachusetts at the age of 52 (the widower [William Congdon Taber](#) would remarry, with Rhonda or Rhoda Howland).

On this day and the following one a gang from an athletic club in the pay of the Democratic organization in New-York (Tammany Hall⁷⁹), dressed in uniform white panama hats, pantaloons, polished boots, and heavy gold chains, twice totally disrupted a woman's rights convention at the Tabernacle building that was being presided over by Friend [Lucretia Mott](#). [Sojourner Truth](#) spoke:

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages or over mud puddles or gives me the best place, and ain't I a woman? ... I know it feels kind of hissin' and ticklin' like to see a colored woman get up and tell you about things, and woman's rights. We have all been thrown down so low that nobody thought we'd ever get up again, but we have been down long enough now; we will come up again, and here I am.

Legend has it that Friend Lucretia simply took the arm of the ringleader of the gang and asked him to escort them safely from the building and that –unable to cope with this unexpected reaction to the situation– he did so.

[Now here is something I believe that you and I should pay careful attention to, since you probably first learned of this period of our nation's history in about the same manner in which I first learned about it, and in all probability the scars this has left on your consciousness of race and gender issues are similar to the scars this has left on my own. What I am suggesting that you and I should pay careful attention to, is succinctly

79. It had two names at the same time. It was named Columbia Hall in honor of that mass-murdering founding father Christopher Columbus, but also, wouldn't you know, named after the late 17th Century Delaware chief Tamanend, the idea being that American tribalists are stereotypically generous in their care for needy members of their same tribe, and that such kindness translates, in civilized public life, into benevolent public associations of graft and mutual backscratching. This was well before "Boss Tweed" became the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society in 1868, but the benevolent fraternity had already clearly degenerated into something of a *cosa nostra*. Nevertheless, the Tammany Society had lost all patience with real American tribalists when most of us sided with Great Britain during the [War of 1812](#). The society finally sold all the collections of Native American artifacts it had been keeping in its central "Wigwam" building, to P.T. Barnum for use in his "Greatest Show on Earth." –In the latest episode of such racial and ethnic stereotyping, just the other day when Mafia *don* John Gotti was convicted on 13 counts of murder and racketeering, his daughter commented proudly "My father is the last of the Mohicans."



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She was evidently a full-blooded African, and though now aged and worn with many hardships, still gave the impression of a physical development which in early youth must have been as fine a specimen of the torrid zone as Cumberworth's celebrated statuette of the Negro Woman at the Fountain.

-Harriet Beecher Stowe



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encapsulated in the fact that the historian Alan Nevins, writing for us in 1947, described the above incident only briefly. The sum total of what Nevins had to offer us was:

At the Tabernacle a colored woman stirred up a tempest by making a speech.

“At the Tabernacle a colored woman stirred up a tempest by making a speech.” We may usefully contrast this history-writing by Nevins, on which you and I cut our teeth, with other forms of description such as “In a red brick building, Sojourner Truth stirred up a tempest by making a speech” in which **the place** is allowed to remain categorical rather than **the person**, and such as “At the Tabernacle, a vivid oration stirred the delegates” in which the event is described as Nevins might easily have described that stirring speech, had it issued from the mouth of **some white male running for political office** rather than originating with some generic citizen who, because **not white and not male**, is obviously nothing but a troublemaker who has “stirred up a tempest” in a teapot.]

According to a report entitled “Address by a Slave Mother” in the New-York Tribune in the following day’s issue, the evening discourse delivered by Sojourner Truth at the First Congregational Church on 6th Street between 3rd and 4th Avenues had been of considerable interest:

Mrs. Truth, in consequence of her unhappy situation in early life, is totally uneducated, but speaks very fluently in tolerably correct and certainly very forcible style, and the latter quality of her address is rather enhanced by her occasional homely and therefore natural expressions. The audience was not so numerous as was expected, owing probably to a misdescription of the locality in the announcement, but those present (principally colored, with a sprinkling of white folks,) made a decent display in the body of the church, and listened with attention to the address and the proceedings. These were opened by a Hymn well sung to the accompaniment of the organ, after which the Pastor of the Church, Rev. Mr. Tillon, offered a very excellent and appropriate Prayer. Mrs. Truth being introduced to the meeting expressed some disappointment at the thinness of the meeting, but hoped a blessing would be extended to it by Him who had promised where two or three were gathered together in His name He would be in the midst. She felt thankful that she had lived to see the day she stood before her own people. She had held a great many meetings, and it seemed to her that the spirit of God had come upon her and enabled her to plead to her race, and not only to her race but to the slave owners. She had always felt this difficulty: What was she to say to her own race on the subject of Slavery? They were the sufferers, and as strangers in the land, who had had little of God’s footstool under their



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control. She had been robbed of education – her rights, robbed of her children, her father, mother, sister and brother; yet she lived; and not only lived, but God lived in her. [Applause] Why was her race despised? What had they done that they should be hated? She had frequently asked this question, but never had received any answer. Was it because they were black? They had not made themselves black, and if they had done anything wrong why not let them know, that they might repent of that wrong. It had been said that the colored people were careless, and regardless of their rights and liberties; and this was partly true, though she hoped for better things in future. And why had they been careless and unheard? It was indeed hard that their oppressors should bind them hand and foot, and ask they why did they not run. She was about 24 [i.e. 32?] years of age when she came to New-York, ignorant, and could not speak English very well; but she would not bow to the filth of the City. As a slave she had never been allowed to go anywhere, but then she went round with the lady who brought her here, and she was determined if she was despised she would go among the white people and learn all she could. She had known nothing of religion a few months before – not even that Jesus Christ was the Son of God. She found her religion as she was at her work, as she washed her dishes, and all she could say or think was Jesus. She wanted to get among her own colored people and teach them this, but they repulsed and shoved her off, yet she felt she wanted to be doing. She used to go and hold prayer meetings at the houses of the people in the Five Points, then Chapel st, but she found they were always more inclined to hear great people, and she instanced the case of one colored woman who declined her prayers, said she had two or three ministers about. She (the Speaker) went off weeping while her dying sister was looked upon as a "glory of Zion." She had learnt of Jesus and had become strengthened, and if they all had learned religion of Jesus and had were of one mind, what would become of the slave-holder? How stood the case between them? The colored people had given to the whites all their labor, their children, husbands, and all. She used to say, "why was I black, when if I was white I could have plenty of food and clothes?" But now she gloried in her color. She rejoiced in the color that God had been pleased to give her, and she was well satisfied with it. She used to say she wished God would kill all the white people and not leave one for seed. Her mother had taught her to pray to make her master good, and she did so, but she was tied up and whipped till the blood trickled down her



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back and she used to think if she was God she would made them good, and if God were she, she would not allow it. Such were her ideas, and how could she, or how could slaves be good while masters and mistresses were so bad? What she said to the whites she said to her own people. She had been tied up and flogged; her husband's blood had flowed till it could be traced for a mile on the snow; and her father had been allowed to freeze to death. What could they say on the Day of Judgment in reply to the question "why do they hate us?" She did not wish unduly to ridicule the whites, but the blood and sweat and tears drawn from the black people were sufficient to cover the earth all over the United States. Still she desired to advocate their cause in a Christian spirit and in one of forgiveness, and had high hopes of their success; but she exhorted the people to stir and not let the white people have it all to themselves in their World's Conventions. She deprecated the people who were satisfied with their enslaved lot, and as a colored woman, she wanted **all** the rights she was entitled to. Her address occupied a considerable time, and at its conclusion an interesting narrative of hers was handed round, and several copies sold for her benefit. She intended to hold other meetings in New-York, and bids fair to excite considerable interest and popularity.



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1855

Attending a lecture by Edward Davis, a son-in-law of [Friends James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), and meeting Friend Lucretia herself at Davis's home in Philadelphia, [Robert Collyer](#) soon became persuaded of the [antislavery](#) cause.

In this year in Philadelphia, publication of the initial volume of John W. Watson's WATSON'S ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA A COLLECTION OF MEMOIRS, ANECDOTES, AND INCIDENTS OF THE CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS AND OF THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS OF THE INLAND PART OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM THE DAYS OF THE FOUNDERS INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE RECOLLECTIONS OF OLDEN TIME, AND TO EXHIBIT SOCIETY IN ITS CHANGES OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, AND THE CITY AND COUNTRY IN THEIR LOCAL CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS.

JOHN F. WATSON, I, 1855

JOHN F. WATSON, II, 1857



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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*.⁸⁰ 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 that he went out and purchased a copy specially for his 17-year-old daughter.

80. 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.

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"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 undoings - (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.

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.)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND LUCRETIA****LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT**[Go To MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1856**

[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](#).



August 31, Sunday: From the [Rhode Island](#) diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): “Heard [Lucretia Mott](#) the Quakeress at Dr. Hedges’ church in the evening.”⁸¹

[Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#) died.

81. Since in this year the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#), who had been since 1850 the [Unitarian](#) minister in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), was being called to minister in Brookline MA, we should not take this to mean, necessarily, that the Reverend Hedge was present when [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke.

(One marvels when one learns that when Friend Lucretia came to Providence, she wound up speaking at the Unitarian church, until one becomes aware that as a known [Hicksite](#) Quaker, one in favor of racial integration rather than of racial apartheid, she would have been turned away from the local Quaker meetinghouse at its door.)




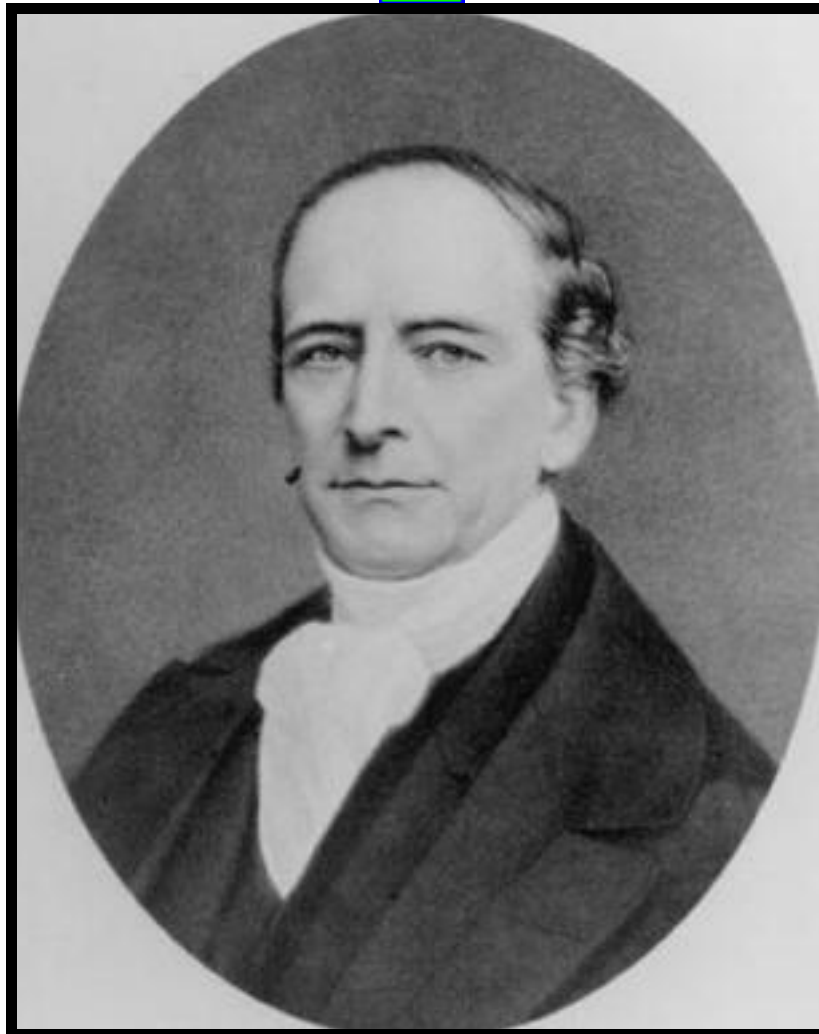
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1859

January: The honorable John K. Kane of Philadelphia finally died. He had been the judge who had presided at the treason trial of the people rounded up after the Christiana “riot” of 1851 and who clearly would have found them guilty of treason if there had been any way to do so. [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) had neither forgotten nor forgiven his deportment during the treason trial, nor his savaging of the free black man William Still and the Quaker abolitionist Passmore Williamson when they helped a black woman in 1855 to escape the white man who still held her after she had obtained her freedom according to the law of Pennsylvania. And so she sponsored a resolution “expressing satisfaction that flying bondsmen had no longer cause to fear the power of this office.” “Speak no ill of the dead” was a principle that had no more weight for [Friend Lucretia](#) than it did for [Waldo Emerson](#) (see entry for May 9, 1862 ).



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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).



November 1, Tuesday: [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) read portions of his poem “[America](#)” before the [Concord Lyceum](#).

[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, Pennsylvania, detailing the capture of [John E. Cook](#) and providing a biographical sketch. Their West Augusta Guard would be called up to keep the peace



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during the 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 5th lecture, on John Brown, in the Fraternity Lectures series. The Reverend [John Albee](#) was present for this lecture and it was, he would report, his 2d sighting of Thoreau.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRIES IN HIS JOURNAL FOR NOVEMBER 1st-4th]



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1860

6th Month 6th: A sermon was delivered by Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) at Bristol, Pennsylvania, on the topic "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people".⁸²



It appears to have been a great comfort to one of old, that he could say, "I have preached righteousness in the great congregation; lo, I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest;" and it is interesting to learn among these declarations of the ancient prophets, that there seemed to be but one standard of goodness and truth. The Scriptures derive advantage from the fact that we find therein so uniform a testimony to the right; that is, among those who are not bound by sect, or devoted to forms and ceremonies. "Your new moons and appointed feasts, your Sabbaths, even the solemn meeting," were classed as abominations, and for the reason that they executed not judgment and justice and mercy in the land. The injunction was "Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." If they put away their iniquities, and did that which right, then they should find acceptance, This is the testimony from age to age, as we find it recorded; and it time we should discriminate between those scriptures that conflict with righteous principles, and such as emanate from a spiritual understanding of the requirements of truth. These requisitions of the holy spirit in the mind of man have been the same in all ages, and it needs no learned disquisitions to lead men to understand them. The people know the truth. The time has come when it is not needed that man should teach his brother, saying, "Know the Lord." It is this assurance that all men understand the truth and the right,-- justice, mercy, love, which inspire confidence that we may speak so as to meet a response in the hearts of the hearers; and the more we appeal to the inner consciousness and perception of truth as received intuition, by divine instinct in the soul, and not through forms, ceremonies, and dogmas, the more will there be amendment in the conduct of life. Our appeals would be more effectual, were religion stripped of the dark theologies that encumber it, and its operations will prove more availing when

82. Anna Davis Hallowell, JAMES AND LUCRETIA MOTT: LIFE AND LETTERS (Boston MA: Houghton, Mifflin, 1896)



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presented to the hearers and to the thinkers free from the gloomy dogmas of sects.

The true gospel is not identical with any scheme or theological plan of salvation, however plausibly such a scheme may be drawn from isolated passages of Scripture, ingeniously woven; it is through the intelligence of the age, the progress of civilization, and individual thinking, that the right of judgment has been so far attained, that there is great daring of thought, of belief and expression, and much shortening of the creeds. A great deal that was demoralizing in its tendency has been separated from them. Still, what remains is so tenaciously held as the only touchstone of religious character, that there is a proportionate lessening of the effect of sound morals, and a lowering of the true standard. While we should feel a largeness of heart towards all religious denominations, at the same time, if we are true to God and the divine principle of his blessed Son, we must ever hold up the blessing to the merciful, the pure, the upright; regarding honesty, goodness, every-day works of usefulness and love, as paramount to all the peace and enjoyment that would follow an adherence to any of the abstract propositions of faith, that are held as the touchstone of sound Christianity. We must be as Jesus was, a non-conformist. That peace which "passeth understanding" comes from obedience to truth, not to sect, for great hardness of heart often proceeds from this; it leads not to love, hut to persecution and bitterness. Unless the faith of the sectarian is worked by a love, not of its own sect merely, but such as can go out beyond its own inclosure, to gather in the outcast and the oppressed, it is not efficient conversion. The apostle Paul believed he was acting in good conscience when he was a great persecutor, and no doubt many of the persecutors that perform their vile acts towards men, believe they are doing God's service; their acts are wicked nevertheless. Many go so far as to say that if a man does what he believes to be right, he is exempt from guilt. This is a mistake. We have far too much charity for any wrong-doer. What is wrong in itself, is wrong for anyone to do. The truth must be spoken, and the dark conscience enlightened.

Many persons have become so inured to slavery as not to discern its sinfulness. It has been said that "no one in his inmost heart ever believed slavery to be right." We know there is this instinct in man, else it would never have been proclaimed that all men are born equal, and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Many have so seared their minds that the light of the glorious gospel, which is the image of God, does not and cannot shine in upon them. Hence it is that in this day there should be an earnestness in advocating right doing. The people should be so enlightened as to distinguish between mere creeds and forms, and practical goodness.

It is irrational to deny the sinfulness of slavery. "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." "Woe unto those who are partakers of other men's sins." Woe unto them that will not cry aloud,



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spare not, lift up the voice like a trumpet, and show the people their transgressions." These old sayings show that the requirements of truth are the same in all ages,--to do right, to give freedom to the oppressed, the wronged, and the suffering. Those who have appealed in behalf of these, have not appealed in vain. Progress attends the work; but nothing can be effected by sitting still, and keeping aloof from the arena of activity; it is by labor, by many crosses, many sacrifices,--brother giving up brother unto death, and even submitting to martyrdom,--that beneficent results are accomplished. And what do we ask now? That slavery shall be held up in every congregation, and before all sects, as a greater sin than erroneous thinking; a greater sin than Sabbath breaking. If any of you are seen on Sabbath day with your thimble on, performing some piece of needlework, the feelings of your neighbors are shocked on beholding the sight; and yet these very people may be indifferent to great sins, regarding them with comparative unconcern, and even complacency. This is what I mean in saying that the standard of religious observances is placed higher than the standard of goodness, of uprightness, and of human freedom. To some, the sin of slaveholding is not so horrifying as certain deviations from established observances. While tile sticklers for these gather together and exhibit great marks of piety, in some instances they are guilty of small acts of unkindness, of meanness and oppression towards their neighbors. It is not enough to be generous, and give alms; the enlarged soul, the true philanthropist, is compelled by Christian principle to look beyond bestowing the scanty pittance to the mere beggar of the day, to the duty of considering the causes and sources of poverty. We must consider how much we have done towards causing it.

The feeling of opposition to war, that has been growing in the minds of men, is not confined to the Society of Friends; people of various denominations have examined this subject, and presented it in its true light. Faith in the efficacy of moral influences has increased, and the possibility of settling disputes without recourse to arms is being regarded more and more favorably. Still, the spirit of war exists, and it is surprising that those who look up to the Son and adore his sacred name should forget that the anthem of his advent upon the earth was "Peace on earth, and good will to men." Is this reformation going on? We should see how far we are attending to the practices by which nations become demoralized. In looking abroad we discover a revival of the brutal spirit of barbarous ages, to determine what may be done by single combat; and in our own land we find repetitions of these wicked experiments. Are those who disapprove of these things careful to use their influence in the family circle with their children, that they may not be carried away by this brutal spirit? Mind acting upon mind is of much greater power than brute force contending against brute force, we have been in the dark long enough. The likeness we bear to Jesus is more essential than our notions of him.

The temperance reformation has accomplished almost a revolution in our age, but the movement seems now to be somewhat retarded by running too much into political and masonic channels. Much



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may be effected by the young men and the young women. How commendable that benevolence which lifts the poor victim from the gutter of degradation, to place him on the rock of temperance, and put a song of total-abstinence in his mouth. This oft-times leads to something higher. I desire that all may be first pure, then actively engaged; that all, in their various religious denominations, and those not belonging to any, may see what their duty is, and neither shun nor disregard it. Let not those be forgotten that are beyond the reach of religious inclosures, for they, the lowly and the outcast, need our aid. Especial attention should ever be paid to that which will exalt the condition of those that are downcast. If we perform our whole duty, we shall give heed to these things, in the spirit of a broad, all-embracing philanthropy, the tendency of which is to equalize society. We should act the part of true philosophers. Some are afraid to hear the word "philosophy" in connection with Christianity. But there is a divine philosophy which should be our aim to reach, and when we have attained to this, we shall see a beautiful equality around us.

The efforts that are making for the elevation of woman, the enlargement of her mind, the cultivation of her reasoning powers, and various ameliorating influences are preparing her to occupy a higher position than she has hitherto filled. She must come to judge within herself what is right, and absolve herself from that sectarian rule which sets a limit to the divinity within her. Whatever is a harrier to the development of her inherent, God-given powers, and to the improvement of her standing and character, whether it be ecclesiastical law or civil law, must be met and opposed. It is of more moment that she should be true and faithful to herself than to her sect.

The more we are disposed to enter this reforming theatre of the world, the greater will be the promise of improvement in the social system, and the nearer the approach to the true end of human existence. There is much to be done. If we have entire faith in the efficiency of right doing, we shall find strength for it. What is needed is confidence in the possibility of coming into the kingdom now. A great deal of time and effort has been spent in the sphere of poetic fancy, picturing the glory and joy of a kingdom hereafter; but what is chiefly required of us is to come into the divine government now--and to be pure even as God is pure.

So far from preaching up human depravity, my practice is to advocate native goodness. It was a beautiful emblem that Jesus held up as an appropriate illustration of the heavenly condition in the little child. Had we faith in little children, treating them aright, giving them a guarded education, we might see in the next generation far greater purity than is found at present. It is essential that we have faith in uprightness, in justice, love, and truth, for these are among the highest evidences of true Christianity. I care not for charges of verbal infidelity; the infidelity I should dread, is to be faithless to the right, to moral principle, to the divine impulses of the soul, to a confidence in the possible realization of the millennium now. We know what we are at present; if we are doing right, acting in accordance with sacred principles, we all know how peaceful



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and happy we are. And we know how we are brought into torment by violating the right. We should have assurance that if, we resolve to do right, we can do it.

All we can do, one for another, is to bring each to know the light of truth in the soul. It is pure, holy, unmistakable, and no ignis fatuus. Feeling and believing this, I would call you all to it. And we should come to recognize the great principles of justice, humanity, and kindness, holiness in all its parts, in the full belief that the establishing of the dominion of these in the earth is the divine purpose of the Eternal, in sending this essence, as some term it, in sending His Son into the world. What I mean by the "Son of God," is that divine word which is quick and powerful, which is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and if any shall speak of it as the "Christ of God," let them so speak, and lay no stumbling block in a brother's way; but have faith in it, never fearing; it will be sufficient for its own work. So believing, I can commend you, my friends, to God, and to the word of His grace, as sufficient to give an inheritance to those that are sanctified; and when we have finished our works here on earth, and are about to be removed from before the eyes of men, I doubt not but there will be a blessed earnest of that which shall appear hereafter, whatever it may be--that there will be an entrance into that which is glorious and eternal.

"To the Christ that was never crucified;
to the Christ that was never slain;
to the Christ that cannot die,
I commend you with my own soul."
(Elias Hicks.)

AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY



June 6. Rain still (the second day), — clears up before night, — and so cool that many have fires.

The grass began to look fairly green or summer-like generally about the 1st.

6.30 P.M.—On river, up Assabet, after the rain.

The water has risen to eight and three quarters inches above summer level, and is rising fast. But little rain has fallen this afternoon.

The hemlocks generally have not grown quite enough to be handsomest, but the younger and lower growths are seen now in the dark and cavernous recesses, very fair with so many bright eyes on their green.

Saw those swarms of black moths fluttering low over the water on the 2d and to-night.

The *Salix nigra* is now getting stale. It is a very densely flowered willow, perhaps the most so of any. The sterile ones seen afar (even by moonlight on the 2d) are dense masses of yellow (now more pale) against the green of trees in the rear. They have but little leafiness themselves as yet.

Not only the foliage begins to look dark and dense, but many ferns are fully grown, as the cinnamon and interrupted, perfectly recurved over the bank and shore, adding to the leafy impression of the season. The *Osmunda regalis* looks later and more tender, reddish-brown still. It preserves its habit of growing in circles, though it may be on a steep bank and one half the circle in the water.

The new leaves are now very fair, pure, unspotted green, commonly more or less yellowish. The swamp white oak leaf looks particularly tender and delicate. The red maple is much harder and more matured. Yet the trees commonly are not so densely leaved but that I can see through them; e.g., I see through the red oak and the bass (below Dove Rock), looking toward the sky. They are a mere network of light and shade after all. The oak may be a little the thickest. The white ash is considerably thinner than either.

The grass and foliage are particularly fresh and green after the two days of rain, and we mark how the darkening



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elms stand along the highways. Like wands or wreaths seen against the horizon, they streak the sky with green. How full the air of sound at sunset and just after, especially at the end of a rain-storm! Every bird seems to be singing in the wood across the stream, and there are the hylodes and the sounds of the village. Beside, sounds are more distinctly heard.

Ever and anon we hear a few sucks or strokes from the bittern, the stake-driver, wherever we lie to, as if he had taken the job of extending all the fences into the river to keep cows from straying round. We hear but three or four toads in all, to-night, but as many hylodes as ever. It is too cool, both water and air (especially the first), after the rain, for the toads. At 9 A. M. it is 58. This temperature now, after a rain-storm has cooled the water, will silence the toads generally but make the hylodes more musical than ever.

As the light is obscured after sunset, the birds rapidly cease their songs, and the swallows cease to flit over the river. And soon the bats are seen taking the places of the swallows and flying back and forth like them, and commonly a late kingbird will be heard twittering still in the air. After the bats, or half an hour after sunset, the water-bugs begin to spread themselves over the stream, though fifteen minutes earlier not one was seen without the pads, — now, when it is difficult to see them or the dimples they make, except you look toward the reflected western sky. It is evident that they dare not come out thus by day for fear of fishes, and probably the nocturnal or vespertine fishes, as eels and pouts, do not touch them. I think I see them all over Walden by day, and, if so, it may be because there is not much danger from fishes in that very deep water. I wonder if they spread thus over the whole breadth of Flint's Pond. It would be a measure of the size of a lake to know that it was so large that these insects did not cross it.

See to-night three dead (fresh) suckers on the Assabet. What has killed them?



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October 25, Thursday-26, Friday: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) attempted some spin-doctoring at the 24th annual meeting of



the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia, spin-doctoring which would be reported on November 3, 1860 in the [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#). According to that source, she had been glad that the resolution



accepted by the meeting did not sanction the measures resorted to by John Brown rather than those which had always been approved by the Pennsylvania branch of this society, and by the national organization of which it was a part. She had read, from the society's Declaration of Sentiments, what she had said were not only her own views, but also the views always sponsored by this society:

"Our principles lead us to reject and to intreat the oppressed to reject all carnal weapons, relying solely on those which are might through God to the pulling down of strongholds." We did not countenance force, and it did not become those -Friends and others- who go to the polls to elect a commander-in-chief of the army and navy, whose business it would be to use that army and navy, if needed, to keep the slaves of the South in their chains, and secure to the masters the undisturbed enjoyment of their system - it did not become such to find fault with us because we praise John Brown for his heroism. For it is not John Brown the soldier that we praise; it is John Brown the moral hero; John Brown the noble confessor and martyr whom we honor, and whom we think it proper to honor in this day when men are carried away by the corrupt and pro-slavery clamor against him. Our weapons were drawn only from the armory of Truth; they were those of faith and hope and love. They were those of moral indignation strongly expressed against wrong. [Robert Purvis](#) has said that I was "the most belligerent non-resistant he ever saw." I accept the character he gives me; and I glory in it.



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

I have no idea, because I am a non-resistant, of submitting tamely to injustice inflicted either on me or on the slave. I will oppose it with all the moral powers with which I am endowed. I am no advocate of passivity. Quakerism, as I understand it, does not mean quietism. The early Friends were agitators; disturbers of the peace; and were more obnoxious in their day to charges, which are now so freely made, than we are.

Friend Lucretia concluded by expressing her pleasure that the new resolution committed the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society to nothing inconsistent with the high moral grounds it had ever occupied. She reported a comment by O'Connell, that no revolution was worth the cost of a single drop of human blood. She indicated that John Brown had well illustrated in his own case the superiority of moral power to physical power — of the sword of the spirit to the sword of the flesh.

[Robert Purvis](#) also addressed this assembly:

What is the attitude of your boasting, braggart republic toward the 600,000 free people of colour who swell its population and add to its wealth? I have already alluded to the dictum of Judge Taney in the notorious Dred Scott decision. The dictum reveals the animus of the whole government; it is a fair example of the cowardly and malignant spirit that pervades the entire policy of the country. The end of the policy is, undoubtedly, to destroy the coloured man, as a man. With this view, it says a coloured man shall not sue and recover his lawful property; he shall not bear arms and train in the militia; he shall not be a commander of a vessel, not even of the meanest craft that creeps along the creeks and bays of your Southern coast; he shall not carry a mailbag, or serve as a porter in a post-office.

November 3, Sunday: Professor [William Henry Harvey](#) wrote to [Harvard professor Asa Gray](#) about the completion of his reading of [Charles Darwin](#)'s ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES:

I have no objection *per se* to a doctrine of derivative descent.... I have had a short friendly correspondence with Darwin on the subject, but without much result one way or the other.... His latter chapters are those which have most impressed me.... Certainly there are many *broad facts* which can be read by a supposition of descent with variation. *How broad* those facts are, and how broad the limits of descent with variation may be, are questions which I do not think his theory affords answer to. It opens vistas vast, and so it evidently points whence, through time, light may come by which to see the objects in those vistas, but to my mind it does no more.... A good deal of Darwin reads to me like an ingenious dream.

ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES



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Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), the foremost spokesperson for nonviolence in the abolitionist movement in America, brought forward the position she had taken in regard to the “Christiana riot” near Philadelphia by declaring in regard to the raid by [John Brown](#) that⁸³

It is not John Brown the soldier we praise, it is John Brown the moral hero; John Brown the noble confessor and patient martyr we honor, and whom we think it proper to honor in this day when men are carried away by the corrupt and proslavery clamour against him. Our weapons were drawn only from the armory of Truth; they were those of faith and love.



Nevertheless, in this supercharged atmosphere in which men were just then being asked to abandon the arms of faith and love in order to pick up the “New Minnie,” Lucretia’s use of the vocabulary of violence, her use of terms like “weapons” and “armory,” were bound to be problematic, bound to be misused by those, such as [Horace Greeley](#), who were determined to misunderstand and mock.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR NOVEMBER 3d]

83. We might say that HDT was the most belligerent nonresistor of evil the world had yet seen, but in fact that description had already been awarded to someone. It was awarded by [Robert Purvis](#) to [Lucretia Mott](#), and there is no shadow of a doubt that Friend Lucretia was a convinced disbeliever in violence. These words of hers are from the National Anti-Slavery Standard of November 3, 1860.





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1861

Summer: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) spoke in Boston Music Hall. Because of the overheated audience in those times, she attempted to use struggle metaphors to convey her message about nonresistance.



[Horace Greeley](#)'s newspaper, belligerently advocating this manly war, chose to assert that she had come over to their side. Lucretia had to publish a lengthy explanation in the [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#), pointing out



that when a nonviolenter used a term like “weapon,” it was a weapon of the spirit that was meant, not a gun. Those advised by “a hostile spirit” who took up the sword would die by the sword. But it was untrue that war had just broken out, for our white nation had been at war against the black man and woman for many years, and our white armed forces “at peace” had been backing up our slaveholding by force of arms. Although she could refer to the present stage of the conflict as “foolish doings” and as “child's play from the beginning,” Lucretia could not now appeal for the war to cease, for that would be misunderstood to be a mere return to a pre-existing condition of peace which had in fact not obtained: peace had been a white myth masking the white war against black. The way to get out of this state of war was to create racial justice, not to recreate this “peace” myth. Nevertheless, her primary allegiance was to “those who fought only with the spiritual weapons and endured without inflicting injury.”



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1863


January 1, Thursday: [Caroline Cushing Andrews](#) got married with [Rufus Leighton](#), a clerk for the Department of Treasury and professional stenographer.

The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered the annual election sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature.

The metric system became mandatory in Italy.

Two Schmiedelieder from Siegfried by [Richard Wagner](#) were performed for the initial time, in a concert setting in the Theater an der Wien, Vienna, directed by the composer.

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, Texas 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



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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 armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for supressing [*sic*??] said rebellion, do, on this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and in accordance with my 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, Morthampton [*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 the 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.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

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 mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.



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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?

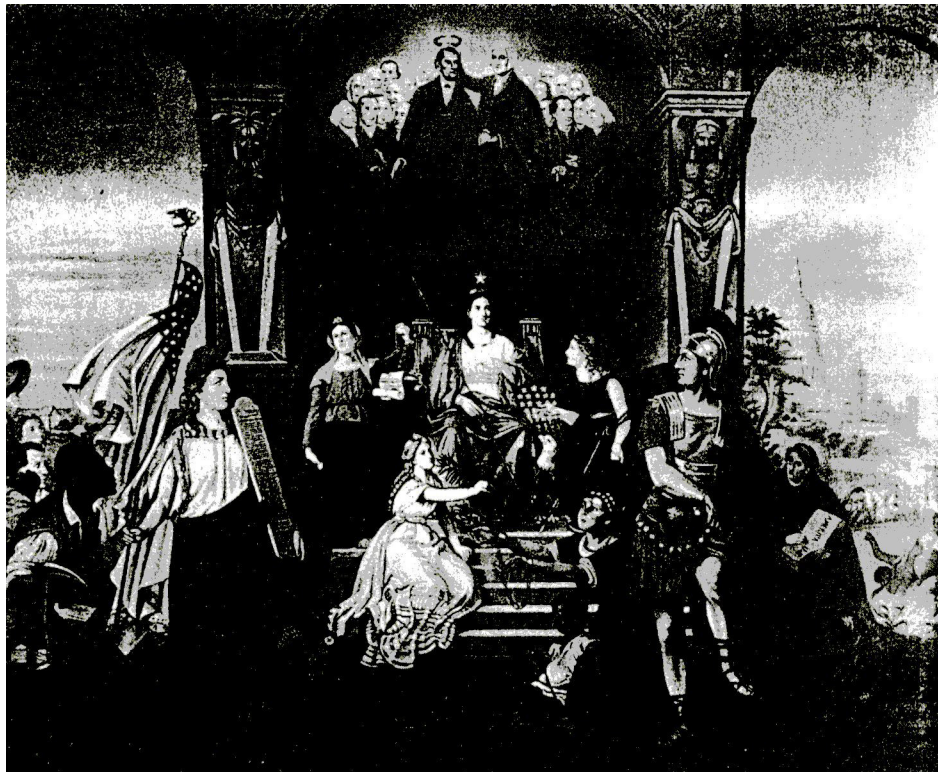
The word "[emancipation](#)," after all, comes to us from the Latin *manus*, meaning "hand," and *capio*, meaning "take." When a Roman purchased something, it was considered that the act of purchasing was not complete, either conventionally or legally, until he had grasped it with his hand. If he was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



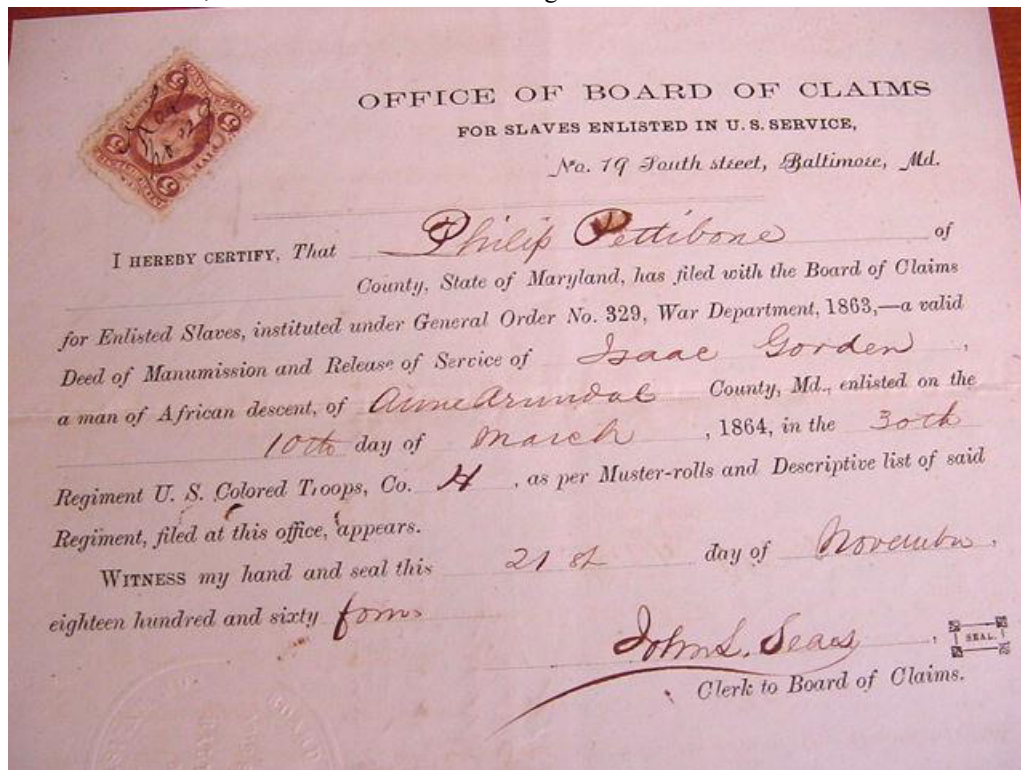
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armies, and if that Southern slave could arrange to have his or her name recorded as part of the indicated program, as one of its beneficiaries, **then**, and **only** then, could he or she hope that at the successful conclusion of the war he or she 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.

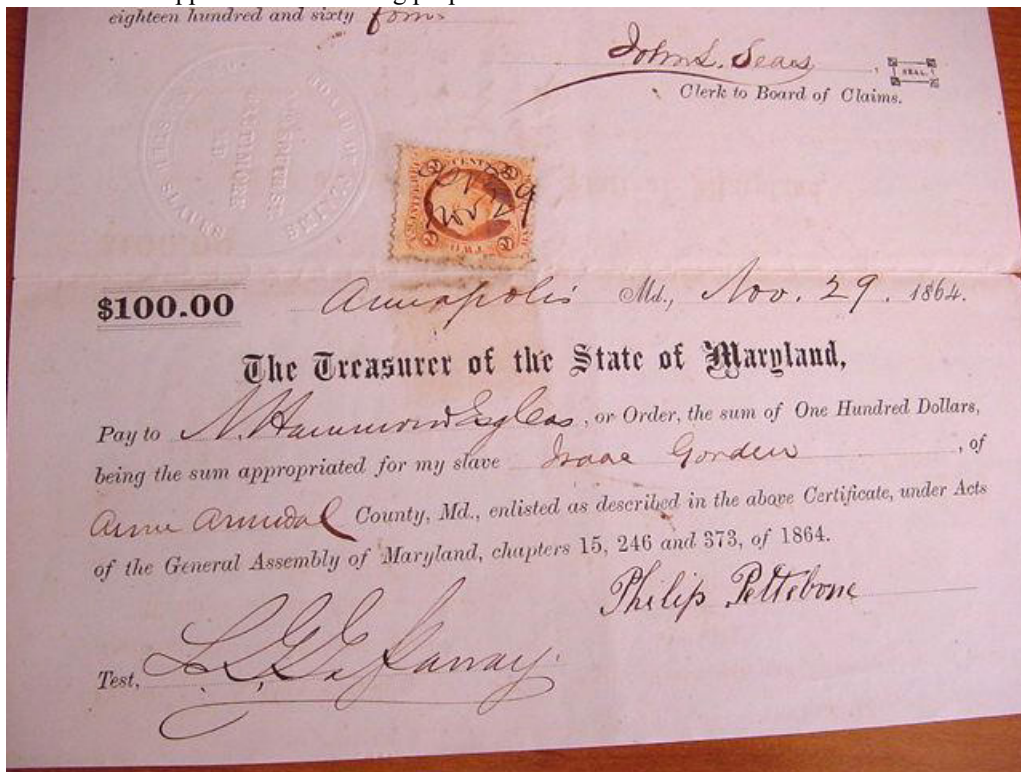
I have come across one such actual named military emancipation from this period. This emancipation did not, however, relate in any way to the Emancipation Proclamation. It related, instead, to a military Board of Claims for Enlisted Slaves which was instituted under General Order No. 329 of the War Department 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

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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 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), **would** free his 8 Native American slaves. 

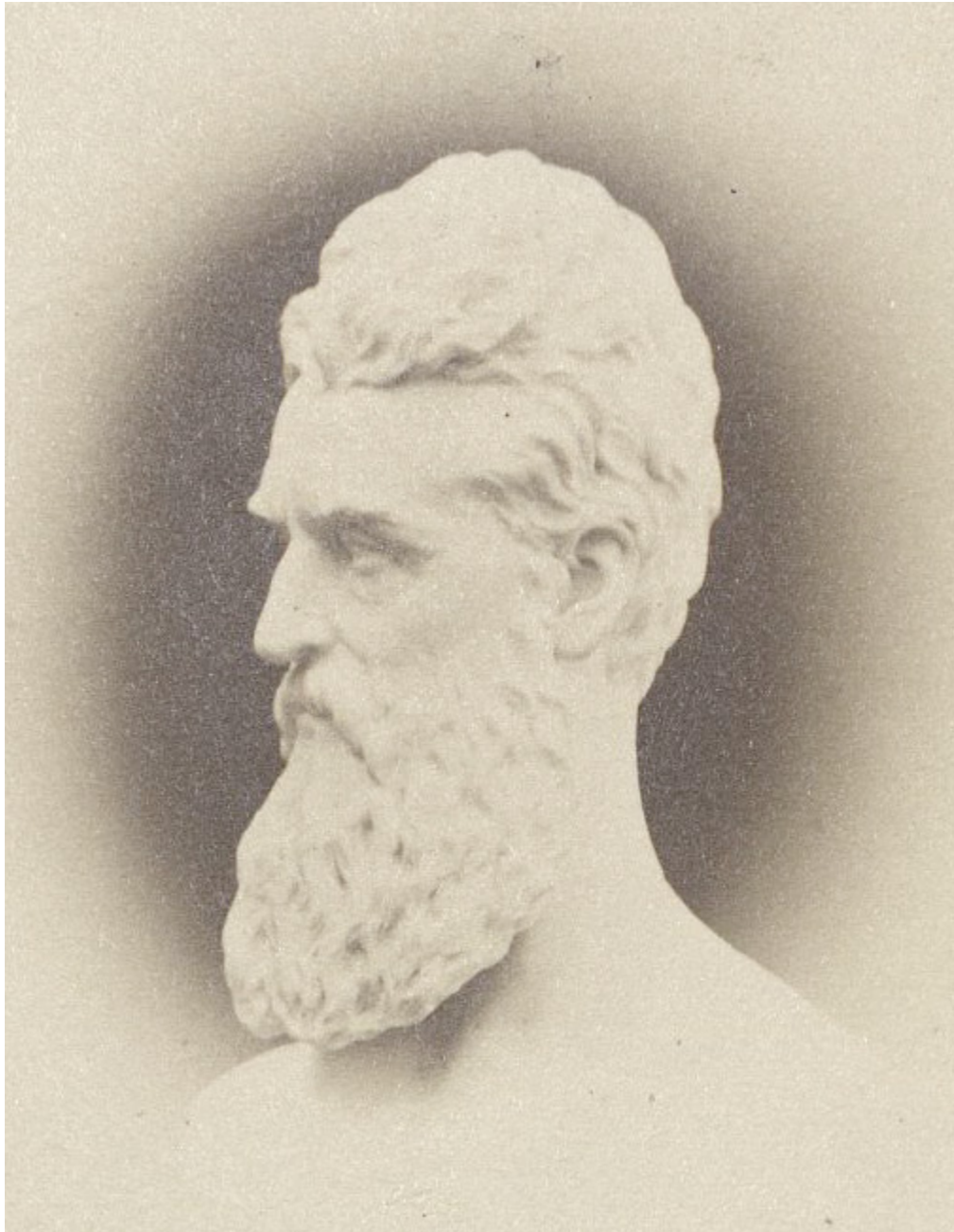
At his mansion in Medford, Massachusetts, [George Luther Stearns](#) of the [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy staged an unveiling ceremony for a heroic bust of Captain [John Brown](#) which he had commissioned from the sculptor [Edward Augustus Brackett](#) for a payment of \$120 in gold coins to place in the corner of his elaborately decorated Victorian foyer (the sculptor of course had needed to travel to Virginia first to measure the face of the condemned prisoner; this piece of marble would be missing for many years but we would preserve a cabinet photograph of it made by Warren of Cambridgeport). [Waldo Emerson](#) recited his "The Boston Hymn" poem and [Julia Ward Howe](#) recited her "Battle Hymn of the Republic" poem. The Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), who had become a Colonel in command of a black regiment, was of course



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understandably unable to be present. The New York millionaire [Gerrit Smith](#) had not responded to the formal invitation, made no appearance, and offered no explanation. In addition to Stearns and Brackett as providers, and [Emerson](#) and [Mrs. Howe](#) as performers, the ceremony was attended by [John Murray Forbes](#), [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#), [Wendell Phillips](#), and [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#). The ceremony was catered by a black caterer who, when he saw who it was who was being honored, attempted to refuse payment and had to have a note jammed into his pocket.

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.

HDT

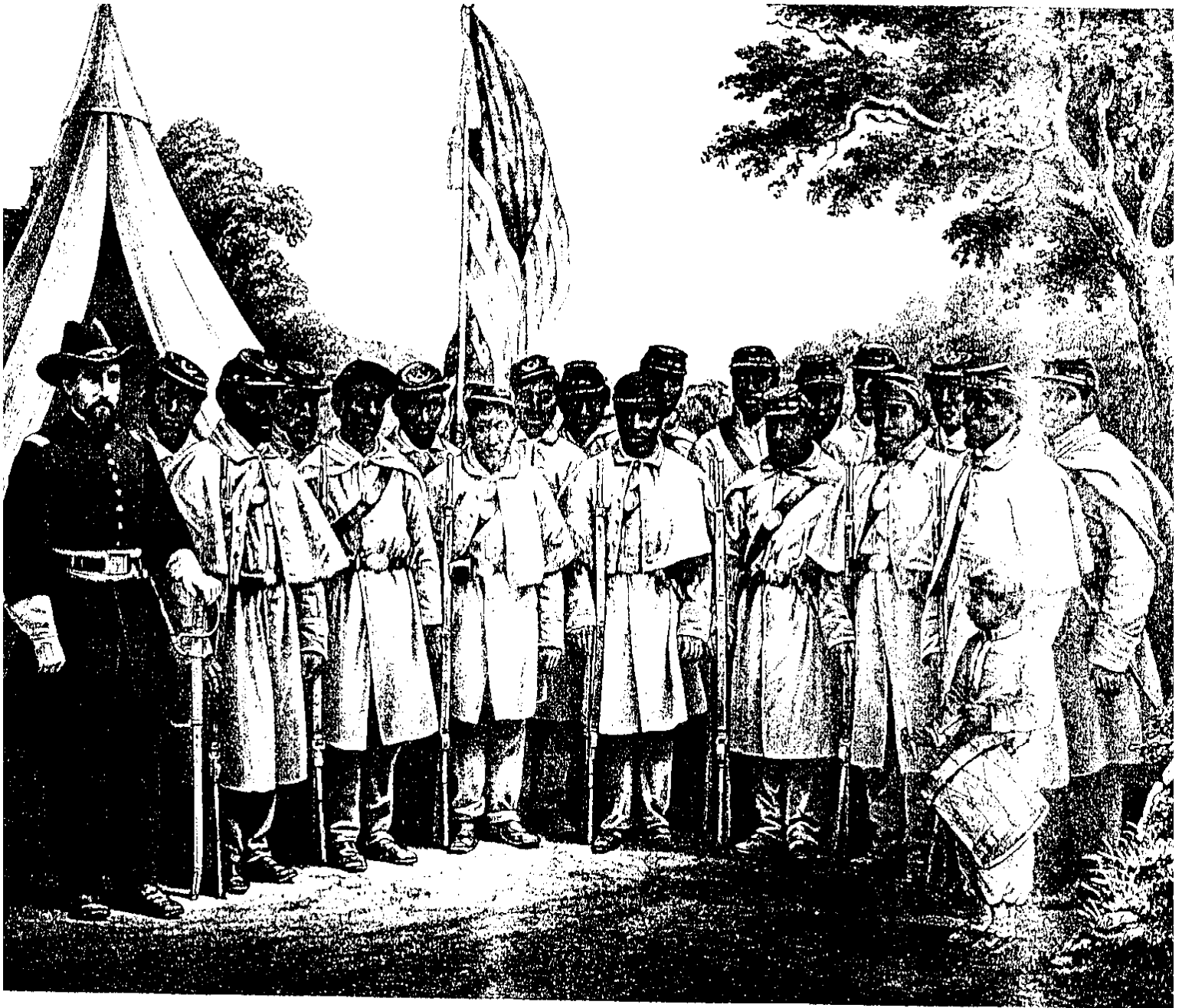
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COME AND JOIN US BROTHERS.

PUBLISHED BY THE SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE FOR RECRUITING COLORED REGIMENTS
1210 CHESTNUT ST. PHILADELPHIA.



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The lithograph which pictured this little drummer was based on a daguerreotype made indoors, next door to “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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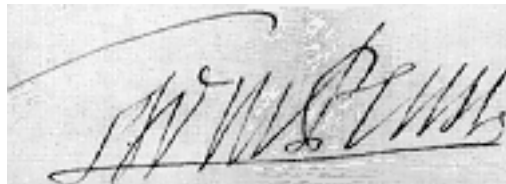
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of the sword of nobility, whose favorite punch line went:



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

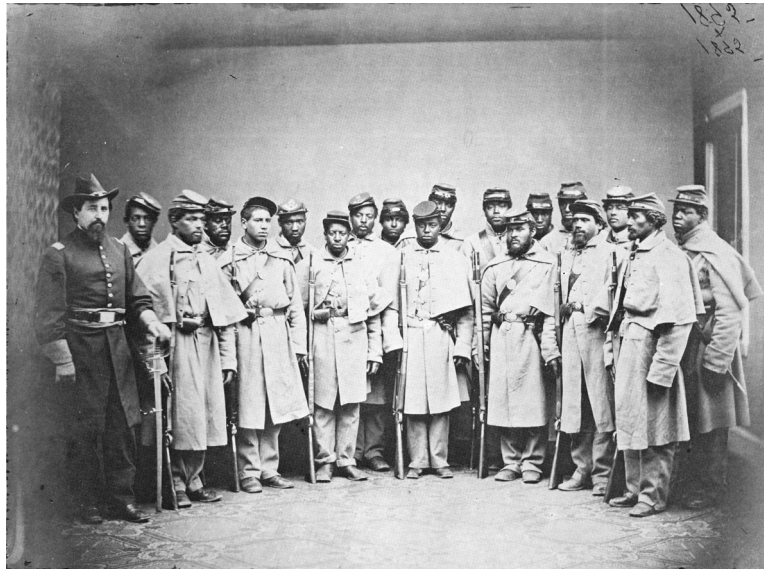


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ethnicity.



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

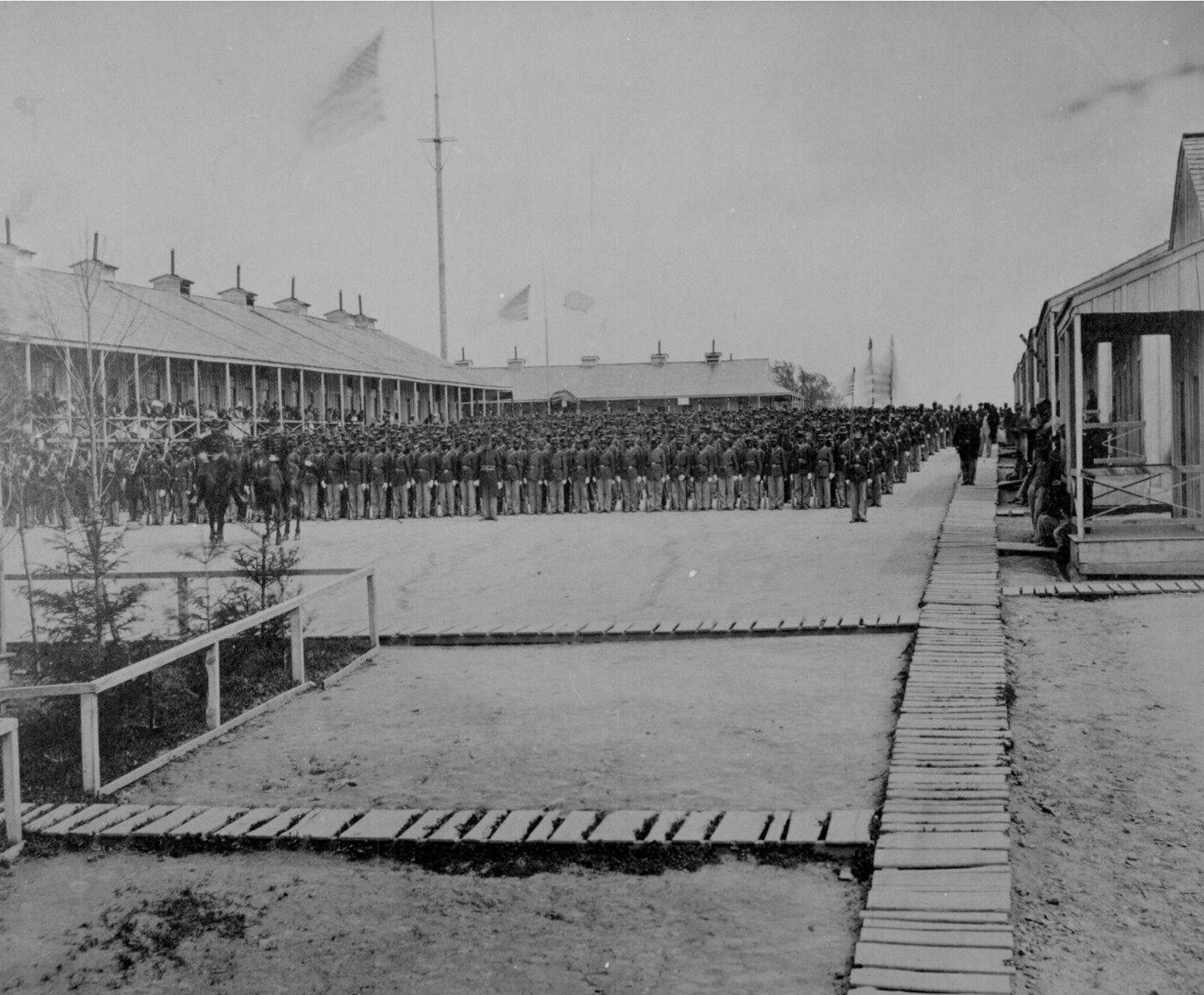
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different in a real photograph of the period!



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

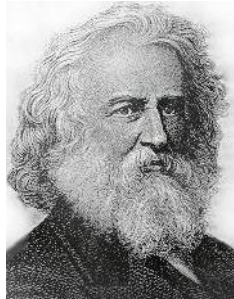


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“one if by day, and two if by night.”⁸⁵



[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

85. 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 drivel, 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.



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

FRIEND LUCRETIA

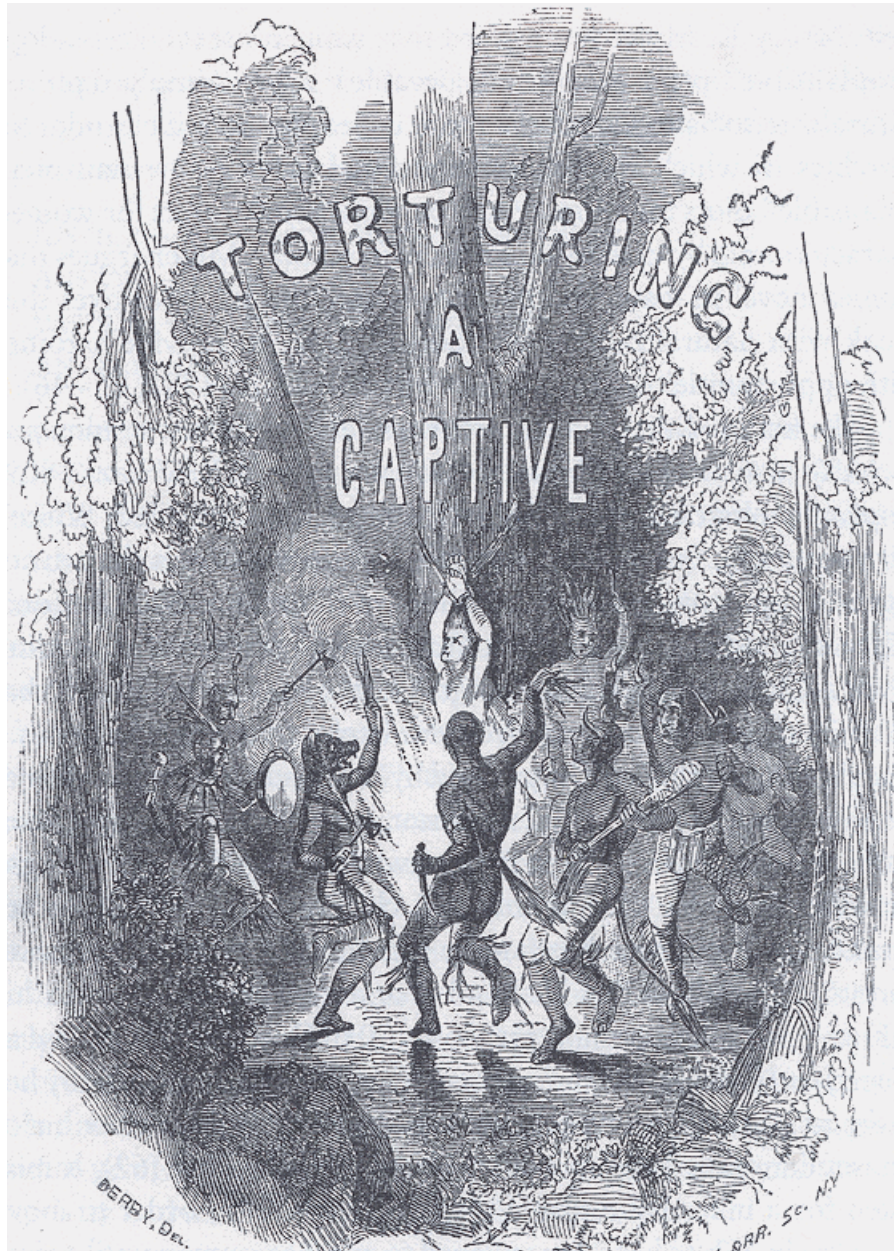
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Saxton on one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, that had been occupied by Northern black troops and were being protected by the ships of the US Navy.

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

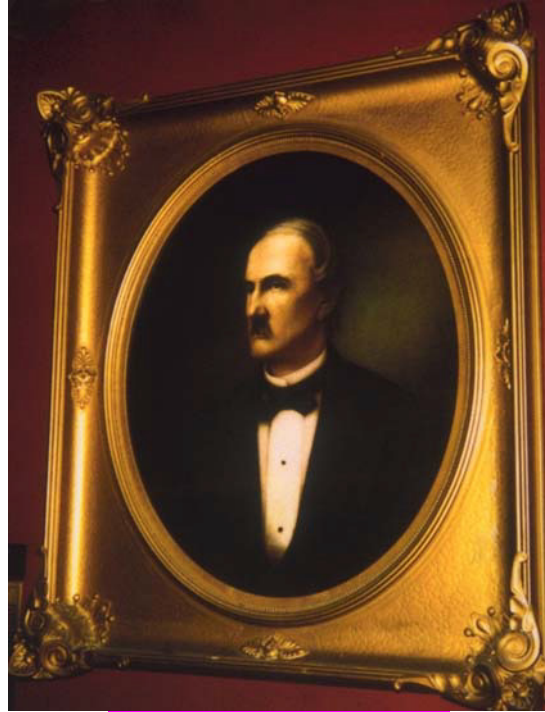


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farm acreage for white people.



RACE WAR IN MINNESOTA

(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!)



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1865

December: In a reaction against the compromising tactics adopted by the American Peace Society during the civil war, a Universal Peace Union was launched in Boston, planned by the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), [Friend Alfred Henry Love](#), [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), [Elizabeth Buffum Chace](#), and [William Lloyd Garrison](#). This group favored amending the US Constitution to remove the power to make war.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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1866

At the 11th National Women's Rights Convention, the first since the beginning of the [US Civil War](#), in New-York, [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) presided over a merger between suffragists and the American Anti-Slavery Association: the new group was to be called the American Equal Rights Association.



(However, the devil is in the details, and during this year some cheap political trickery was going down: the XIVth Amendment to the United States Constitution was being enacted by the federal Congress and this, when ratified by a sufficient number of state governments in 1868, would amount to the fact that for the very first time in that foundational document “citizens” and “voters” were explicitly stipulated as being of necessity exclusively “male.” Gosh, nobody noticed, shame on us.)



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1867

November 14, day: [Waldo Emerson](#) heard [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), among others, speak at a special morning meeting, at the Cyrus Bartol home at 17 Chestnut Street in Boston, of the Radical Club.

Henrik Ibsen's dramatic poem Peer Gynt was published in Copenhagen (this would not be produced on the stage until 1876).



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[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT****FRIEND LUCRETIA**[Go To MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1872**

In Philadelphia, [Ann Preston](#) died, and was buried near [Lucretia Mott](#) and [James Mott](#) and other [Quaker abolitionists](#) at the Fair Hill burial ground.



She was succeeded at her post as dean of Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania by her friend Dr. Emeline Horton Cleveland (who, eventually, would be laid to rest beside her).



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1873

Kintpuash “Captain Jack” led his *Modoc* band away from the [California](#) reservation of another tribe, to which they had been assigned, killed General Edward Canby and two US commissioners, and attempted to hole up in the California Lava Beds. *Kintpuash* and five other men were surrounded and besieged in the lava beds by the US army, and when they surrendered, a courts martial condemned them to be [hanged](#). America, of course, was burning for revenge, and the white people in general were unwilling to pay regard to the laundry list of injustices the Modoc had accumulated prior to the massacre.

Only a week after the massacre, the Philadelphia Radical Club, a human-rights organization led by [Friend] [Lucretia Mott](#), charged that the weakness of [President [Ulysses S. Grant](#)’s] peace policy “was a natural result of the war system.” A general of the Army, Canby, with the army at his back was not a suitable representative of the peace policy. In a remonstrance to the President, the club charged that [General] Sherman’s telegram expressing his hope that the Modocs “have met the doom they so richly have earned” was revengeful and unjust in its tone.⁸⁶

Friend Lucretia had what she termed “a very satisfactory interview” with the man capable of executive clemency. He had pledged “Madam, they will not all be executed.” Ultimately he commuted the sentences of two of the six, and only Captain Jack and three others at Fort Klamath were hanged on October 3, 1873. The other 153 tribespeople ended up at the Quapaw Agency in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), where “under the supervision of the [Quakers](#) they were to be civilized and Christianized.” One Oregon newspaper declared the peace policy “a wretched farce, that was conceived in sin and iniquity by a few Indian sympathizers,” while another hoped the country would “hold these hypocritical Indian worshippers to a strict accountability.”

Body parts from the corpse of *Kintpuash* would be put on display in an Army museum in San Francisco.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS





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1879

Friend [Lucretia](#) delivered herself of a thought:

*In a true marriage relation
the independence of the hus-
band and the wife is equal,
their dependence mutual, and
their obligations reciprocal.*

Lucretia Mott.

1879.

Old friends [Sojourner Truth](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#) had a reunion. Comparing their wrinkles, Truth found the explanation not in the four years difference of their ages but in “I have two skins; I have a white skin under, and a black one to cover it.”



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1880

November 11, Thursday: [Lucretia Mott](#) died.

AN 1884 BIOGRAPHY



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1893

May 1, Monday: The World's Columbian Exposition opened in Jackson Park in [Chicago](#). Commemorating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the exposition would run for six months and attract 27,539,000 visitors (that's almost half the total number of human beings then alive in the USA; during this year for instance 6-year-old [John Robinson Jeffers](#) got an eyefull of the exhibits).

Reid's Yellow Dent Corn gained the grand prize as "the world's most beautiful corn" at the Exposition. Reid's corn would become a major force in Midwestern agriculture and an important parent to modern hybrids.

PLANTS

Featured at the Exposition was an extensive display of psychological apparatus arranged by Joseph Jastrow. Jastrow had replicated Francis Galton's Anthropometric Laboratory in London. For a small fee, the mental and physical qualities of the visitors could be measured. Should you be allowed to reproduce?⁸⁷

PSYCHOLOGY

George Ferris had built his first "Ferris" wheel for this [Chicago](#)'s World's Fair.

Adelaide Johnson carved portrait busts of [Elizabeth Cady Stanton](#), [Susan B. Anthony](#), and Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) for the Court of Honor of the Woman's Building at the Exhibition.



87. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994



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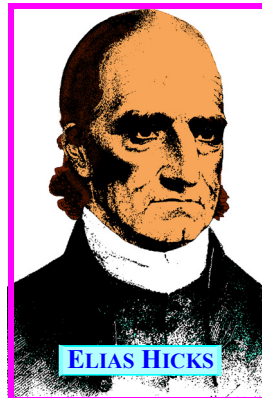
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1910

In Rochester, New York, Sarah L. Willis, a spry 92-year-old [Quaker](#) lady, wanted to recount her memories of a sermon by Friend Elias from her childhood, before she died:



One other thing I recall was a talk, or sermon, to the young especially. He related that once he threw a stone and killed a bird, and was struck with consternation and regret at killing an innocent bird that might be a parent. He appealed feelingly to the boys to refrain from giving needless pain.



*"We are
on a level
with
all the rest
of
God's creatures."*

Perhaps too much can be made of such historical-influence studies as this. As a corrective, may I offer the suggestion that we might investigate the possibility that [Friend Elias Hicks](#), [Rammohan Roy](#), [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), and [Henry Thoreau](#) may all four have been separately influenced by some 5th party, like Elias a carpenter, or like Roy a stranger to aspects of our Western culture, or like Friend Lucretia a minister, or like Henry (at least in the sense of Alexander Selkirk), a surveyor?



(Am I being too mysterious? A full-page image of the "5th party" of whom I speak, as imagined by the British Broadcasting Company, appears on the following screen. What the BBC did was, it obtained some skulls dating to the first century in Palestine, and had the skulls padded with clay to represent the muscles and soft tissues, and then had a computer add skin and texture, and then added eye color and hair color typical of Palestinian peasants, and a peasant haircut — and they came up, as shown, with a first-order approximation of what Yehoshua bar Yusef might possibly have looked like. Yehoshua bar Yusef, that's "Jesus" to you.)



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1921

The 7-ton white marble statue commissioned of Adelaide Johnson by the National Women's Party, depicting Elizabeth Cady Stanton, [Susan Brownell Anthony](#), and [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), to commemorate the passage, in 1920, of the 19th Amendment to the US Constitution, was presented to the all-male Congress. The three portrait busts are copies of the ones she had carved for the Court of Honor of the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exhibition in 1893. A black Belgian marble base and a white Carrara marble base would be donated by Adelaide Johnson in 1925. However, the black stone would arrive broken and would not be replaced by the artist until 1929. By 1930 both pieces would be installed, and it would soon be being referred to as "Three Women in a Bathtub." After a struggle among representatives with differing attitudes, and a temporary exhibit on the Rotunda, the three practitioners of [civil disobedience](#) would be secreted in a broom closet in the basement. The government brochure now lists the vitas of the three figures as:

- Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902), president of the National Woman Suffrage Association from 1865 to 1893; author of the woman's bill of rights, which she read at the Seneca Falls, New York, convention in 1848; first to demand the vote for women.
- Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906), abolitionist, temperance advocate, and later president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who joined with Stanton in 1851 to promote woman suffrage; proposed the constitutional amendment passed many years after her death.
- Lucretia Mott (1793-1880), [Quaker](#) reformer and preacher, who worked for abolition, peace, and equality for women in jobs and education; organizer of the 1848 Seneca Falls, New York, convention, which launched the women's rights movement.



FEMINISM



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1963

When the Department of Preventive Medicine was created, [Dr. David Tillerson Smith](#) became its first Professor and Departmental Chairman. His [TUBERCULOSIS](#) IN [North Carolina](#). A new edition of his 1947 FUNGAL DISEASES OF THE LUNGS.

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "Thou art Peter" ([Novum Testamentum](#) 6 [Leiden: E. J. Brill], 268-276).

The School Committee of the [Durham Friends monthly meeting](#) secured Articles of Incorporation and tax exempt status for a [Carolina Friends School](#), independent of the meeting but on its grounds. The members of the School Board were Naomi Adams, Richard Fillmore, Adolph and Christa Furth, Martha and Peter Klopfer, Mildred Ringwalt, Martha Rachman, James Shotts, [David Tillerson Smith](#) and [Susan Gower Smith](#), and Stuart Willis. Initially Mildred Ringwalt was Chairman of the Board but then [Friend David Tillerson Smith](#) became Chairman of the Board.

The "Three Women in a Bathtub" statue of [Elizabeth Cady Stanton](#), [Susan Brownell Anthony](#), and [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) was recovered from its broom closet and positioned in the Crypt of the Capitol building (a passageway in the basement).





FRIEND LUCRETIA

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1996

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Maryland Quakers](#) in England, 1659-1720" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) 91, pages 451-466).⁸⁸

The "Three Women in a Bathtub" statue of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, [Susan Brownell Anthony](#), and Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) was relocated from the Crypt of the Capitol building, a passageway in the basement, into the main Statuary Hall, which had had no depictions of human females, where it replaced a statue of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#).⁸⁹ All well and good for the white women, said the offwhite and nonwhite women, but: "Why is there no depiction in such alabaster marble of [Sojourner Truth](#)?" Responded a Capitol spokesperson:

"I'm sure we'll work this out somehow."



88. Ken's interest in Ireland and England took him to these two countries more than half a hundred times.

89. The statue of the Reverend was not in any sense a likeness, since nobody has left us a single clue as to what the Reverend [Williams](#) actually looked like.



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1997

The “Three Women in a Bathtub” statue of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, [Susan Brownell Anthony](#), and Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) was relocated, from the Statuary Hall of the Capitol building back onto the Rotunda, where it had been briefly exhibited in 1921 before being taken into hiding.





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2005

June 6, Monday: Linda Zielinski presented, in “The Americans We Most Admire” in Newsweek (Volume 145 Issue 23, page 14), comments by various readers about which Americans they most admired. The list of this weekly magazine’s most-admired Americans included Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), the Reverend Dr. [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#), Billy Graham, Alexander Hamilton, and [Henry Thoreau](#).



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2003

When I, Austin Meredith, had come to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from Southern California as a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), as part of making this move, I had promised my spouse that I wouldn't just as a retired person hang around our new townhouse on Providence's East Side — but would find a way to get out there in our new community and make myself useful. Since the [Moses Brown School](#) was a [Quaker](#) institution, and since our new home was just down the street from our new digs, I had begun to plan that I would be able to fill in the slack hours of my retirement by providing volunteer services for the school.

I had begun by writing up a biography of Friend Moses Brown, founder of the school, and a history of the legacy that he left to provide for the institution that he had founded. Then I created more and more of these Quaker biographies, about Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) the righteous American Quaker poet, about Friend [Lucretia Coffin Mott](#) the righteous antislavery activist, about Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) the righteous black and Native American sea captain — electronic stuff that the school would be able to use in their teaching if they chose, stuff that the computer-savvy kids could relate to a whole lot better than dusty old yellowed falling-apart Quaker paper publications. However, when I made a presentation to their History Department, I got exactly nowhere. So I attempted to donate a PC to the school, a machine that they could have in their student facility alongside their other PCs, one that could be available to their students. They stonewalled this, throwing up a barrier of lies.

Well, the Quaker monthly meeting right next to the Moses Brown School, the Providence Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends that I attend every First Day (Sunday), is of course a member of the New England Yearly Meeting, and the New England Yearly Meeting of course owns the Moses Brown endowment asset that runs this school. Our Meeting has a library with multiple “PLEASE DONATE” signs posted. Since the Moses Brown School students are in and out of this building as part of their school day, I donated that PC, with my Quaker history and Rhode Island history database on it, to our meeting's library. I figured that the Moses Brown students might have an opportunity to consult these electronic materials while in the meeting library. Maybe. —Anyway, I couldn't figure out any better thing to do, given the strange and unexplained intransigence I had been running into. What was I supposed to do, lie down and die? I had invested years of my life in preparing this stuff!

So I presented the machine and the database to our meeting's Library Committee. A member of the Library Committee then stood up after Meeting for Worship one First Day and publicly thanked me for my “magnificent gift,” and briefly described it for the benefit of the members and attenders of the Quaker meeting.

But after this thanks, the machine and the database failed to appear in the meetinghouse library. Finally I confronted the Library Committee with “What is going on?” I extracted from this committee, over their reluctance, the information that the Ministry and Counsel committee of our meeting had taken the machine and the database away from the Library Committee. This Ministry and Counsel committee has members who are deeply involved with the operation of the Moses Brown School. They were keeping the stuff under lock and key in a dark room upstairs. Evidently they were looking it over? Then I found out they sabotaged the machine by ripping up the cover in order to get at the hardware OFF switch — forcing the machine into a hard shutdown from which it was not possible to restart the database. They had, for reasons of their own, rendered the machine unusable.



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Well then, I fixed the machine, doing a file system check and restore routine, and getting everything re-initialized. Then I found myself being elderd and warned. I was to examine my conduct! Nobody had asked me to do this! Nobody wanted me to do this! What did I think I was going to pull off? I should be grateful that they didn't just throw the machine, and my Quaker and Rhode Island historical database, into the dumpster! I found that, for having written these materials on Quaker history and Rhode Island history, and for having donated this PC to the meeting, I needed to be treated like some kind of criminal.

In sum, I found myself still unable to keep the promise that I had made to my spouse in moving to Providence, to get out of our East Side townhouse from time to time, and make myself useful during my retirement.


ASSLEY



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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: March 6, 2017



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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@brown.edu>. Arrgh.