BELLES OF FREEDOM
THREE WOMEN ANTISLAVERY EDITORS: ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD, AND JANE GREY SWISSHELM

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

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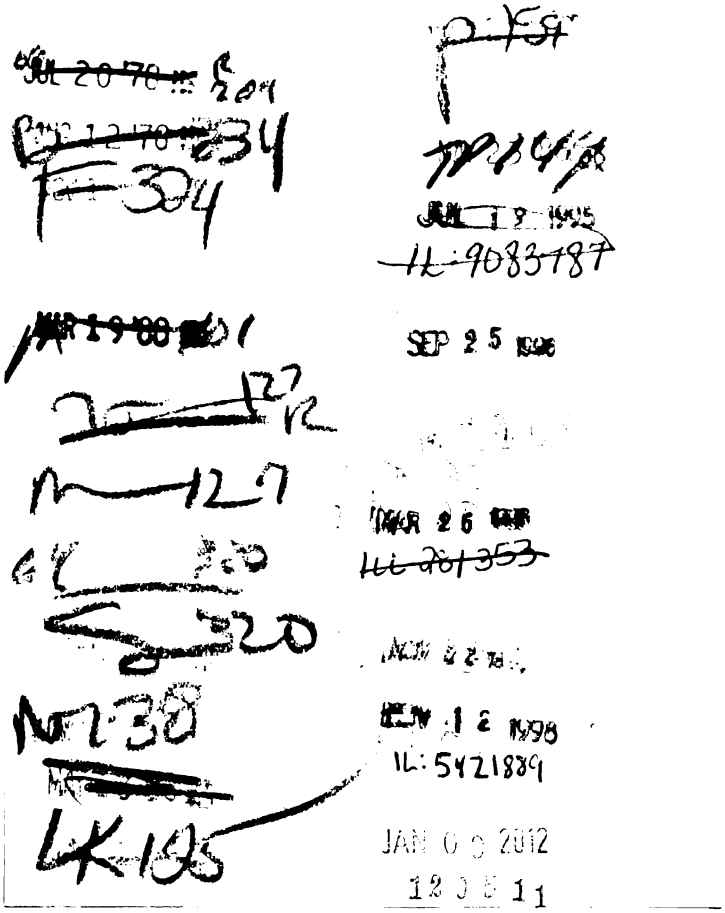

ABSTRACT

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By

Dorothy Langdon Yates

This study places in historical setting, describes, and assesses the lives and work of three pioneer American women newspaper editors: Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, 1807-34; Lydia Maria Child, 1802-80; and Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1815-84. All were antislavery journalists.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, the first woman in America to work for the antislavery cause, edited the "Ladies' Repository" department in Benjamin Lundy's Genius of Universal Emancipation from 1826 until her death in 1834. A Quaker, she worked first from Philadelphia and later from Michigan Territory, performing her editorial duties by mail. The Genius, 1821-35, is the first antislavery newspaper with a life of more than two or three years. Historians rank it as second in significance only to the Liberator. Lundy is credited with first drawing William Lloyd Garrison into antislavery work, employing him to work on the Genius. Because Garrison is well-known,

this study treats him only briefly. The study gives considerable attention to Lundy and to the Genius.

Lydia Maria Child, editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, 1841-43, the only distinguished years of the newspaper's history (1840-70), also wrote many antislavery books and pamphlets. Besides the newspaper, this study describes An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans (1833), the first hard-hitting antislavery book in America, and the Correspondence Between Lydia Maria Child and Gov. Wise and Mrs. Mason of Virginia, a hard-bound booklet that sold 300,000 copies. One of the most highly regarded novelists of her day, Lydia Maria Child sacrificed her popularity for the unpopular cause of antislavery.

Jane Grey Swisshelm paid the ultimate price of an antislavery journalist when her press was destroyed by the enemies of free expression. This study covers her career as editor and publisher of the Pittsburg Saturday Visiter, 1847-57 (consolidated with another paper as the Family Journal and Visiter the last few years); the St. Cloud (Minnesota) Visiter, 1858; the St. Cloud Democrat, 1858-63; and the Reconstructionist (Washington, D. C.), 1865-66. It touches also on her columns for the New York Tribune as the first woman of the Washington Press Corps.

The study of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler began in the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of

Michigan: Chandler Papers, 155 items. Other sources include an interview with Mrs. Erwin L. Broecker of Battle Creek, grand-grand-niece of Miss Chandler; Miss Chandler's collected writings; and the Genius of Universal Emancipation in the newspaper collections of Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio, and in the Burton Historical Collections of the Detroit Public Library.

Source materials for the study of Lydia Maria Child include reels of letters borrowed from the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library of the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College; letters in the manuscript collection of the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan; Mrs. Child's published letters; Mrs. Child's books; her biography; files of the National Anti-Slavery Standard in the newspaper collections of the Oberlin College Library and in the William L. Clements Library; and her antislavery pamphlets in the Burton Historical Collections, the Clements, and the Oberlin College libraries.

The chapter on Jane Grey Swisshelm was based on her autobiography; her published letters--including copies of the St. Cloud Visiter and the St. Cloud Democrat; a copy of the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter obtained from the Minnesota Historical Society; and her letters in the New York Tribune of 1850 read in the New York Public Library and the William L. Clements Library.

The Michigan State University Libraries supplied the other sources for the study.

This historical study shows the role of the pioneer women of the press who opened this career for women through becoming antislavery journalists. The study describes their lives and careers as they struggled for freedom for the blacks and for rights for women. The study involves yet another freedom--freedom of the press--always tenuous when newspapers promote unpopular causes, as was the case in antislavery journalism.

Accepted by the faculty of the School of Journalism, College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree.

W. Cameron Meyer

Director of Thesis

Oh, Lady, when a sister's cry is ringing on the air,
When woman's pleading eye is raised in agonized despair,
When woman's limbs are scourged and sold 'midst rude and brutal mirth,
And all affections holiest ties are trampled to the earth,
May female hearts be still unstirred, and 'midst their wretched lot,
The victims of unmeasured wrongs, be carelessly forgot?
Or shall the prayer be poured for them, the tear be freely given,
Until the chains that bind them now, from every limb be riven?

E. M. Chandler.

By virtue of special contract, Shylock demanded a pound of flesh cut nearest to the heart. Those who sell mothers separately from their children, likewise claim a legal right to human flesh; and they too cut it nearest to the *heart*.

L. M. Child.

BELLES OF FREEDOM

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A THESIS

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Many librarians have given her kind assistance. She wishes to thank particularly Mrs. Joyce Bonk, of the William L. Clements Library; Mrs. Frances Hughes of the Oberlin College Library; F. J. Avaloz of the Newspaper Division, Minnesota Historical Society; and Mrs. Patricia A. Johnson, Senior Clerk, Interlibrary Loans, Michigan State University Libraries.

The writer's husband, William M. Yates, has supported her in this project in every way, and he has her deepest gratitude.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

On the night of March 24, 1858, three men broke into a small newspaper office standing in the tall pine forest on the banks of the Mississippi River in St. Cloud, Minnesota, seventy miles above Minneapolis.

They smashed the press, dragged out the type, scattered some in the street, and cast the rest into the Mississippi. From thence, if the currents were strong enough, the pied type of the St. Cloud Visiter [sic] might have been carried downstream seven hundred miles to make scrambled messages of freedom with that of the four presses of Elijah J. Lovejoy's Alton Observer, successively destroyed at Alton, Illinois, by mobs who murdered this abolitionist editor in 1837. Fifteen hundred miles distant, at Cincinnati, the pied type of James G. Birney's Philanthropist lay silenced by the mud of the Ohio River botton where a mob dumped it in 1836.

All of these mob actions were aimed at freedom of the press, as well as at silencing the abolitionists. "It was the abolitionist papers that really tested not only the constitutional guarantee of liberty of the press, but also the will of the people that such liberty should be

maintained in the face of popular disapproval of the cause advocated."[1]

At St. Cloud, the target was not only freedom of the press and freedom of slaves, but freedom of women--the freedom of a woman to edit a newspaper as she saw fit. In editing the St. Cloud Visiter Jane Grey Swisshelm, all one hundred pounds of her, had challenged the political dictator of northern Minnesota, Sylvanus B. Lowry, a slaveholder. Lowry thought nothing of bringing his slaves from his Tennessee plantation into free Minnesota Territory to serve him. Moreover, since St. Cloud was a summer resort town for southerners, citizens winked as the visitors brought their slaves into the area. Mrs. Swisshelm, a helpless woman, had tangled with both the political and financial interests of her community.

It was Lowry himself, his lawyer, James C. Shepley, "the great legal light and democratic orator of Minnesota," and Dr. Benjamin Palmer, a boarder at the Shepley home and fiancé to Mrs. Shepley's sister, who tossed Mrs. Swisshelm's type into the Mississippi.[2]

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[1]Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History 1690-1960 (3rd. ed. rev.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 307.

[2]Jane Grey (Cannon) Swisshelm, Half a Century (3rd. ed.; Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1880), p. 182.

They left a curt note:

> The citizens of St. Cloud have determined to abate the nuisance of which you have made the "Visiter" a striking specimen. They have decided that it is fit only for the inmates of Brothels, and you seem to have had some experience of the tastes of such persons. You will never have the opportunity to repeat the offence in this town, without paying a more serious penalty than you do now.
>
> By order of the Committee of Vigilance[3]

As Mrs. Swisshelm wrote later, the morning brought a hush of fear.

> Men walked down to the bank of the great Mississippi and looked at the little wrecked office standing amid the old primeval forest, as if it were a great battle-ground, and the poor little type were the bodies of the valiant dead. They spoke only in whispers, and stood as if in expectation of some great event, until Judge Gregory arrived, and said, calmly:
>
> "Gentlemen, this is an outrage which must be resented. The freedom of the press must be established if we do not want our city to become the center of a gang of rowdies who will drive all decent people away and cut off immigration. I move that we call a public meeting at the Stearns House this evening, to express the sentiments of the people at St. Cloud."[4]

Mrs. Swisshelm prepared to go to the meeting by making her will. She wrote out a statement about the destruction of the press, hoping the Visiter would survive even if she did not. She called in Miles Brown, a Pennsylvanian who had the reputation of being a dead shot and who possessed a pair of fine revolvers.

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[3]"Border Ruffianism in Minnesota," St. Cloud Visiter, May 13, 1858, p. 1. "Visiter" is Dr. Samuel Johnson the English lexicographer's spelling.

[4]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 184-85.

> He pledged himself solemnly to go with me and keep near me, and shoot me square through the brain, if there was no other way of preventing me falling alive into the hands of the mob. My mind was then at ease, and I slept.[5]

Mrs. Swisshelm entered the meeting with her sister, who "carried her camphor bottle as coolly as if mobs and public meetings were things of every day life." A New England woman clung to her, saying: "We'll have a nice time in the river together, for I am going in with you. They can't separate us."[5] An armed guard organized by Mrs. Swisshelm's brothers-in-law, every man with his hand on his revolver, protected the women as they pushed through the mob into the house. Mrs. Swisshelm, making the first public address of her life, named General Lowry and the two others as those who had destroyed the Visiter office, whereupon:

> There was a perfect howl of oaths and cat-calls. Gen. Lowrie [sic] was on the ground himself, leading his forces outside. A rush was made, stones hurled against the house, pistols fired, and every woman sprang to her feet, but it was to hear and see, not shriek. Harry held the door-way into the hall; Henry that into the dining room. Brown had joined Harry, and I said in a low, concentrated voice:
>
> "Brown."
>
> He turned and pressed up to the rostrum.
>
> "Don't fail me! Don't leave me! Remember!"
>
> "I remember! Don't be afraid! I'll do it! But I'm going to do some other shooting first."
>
> "Save two bullets for me!" I plead, "and shoot so that I can see you."[6]

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[5] Ibid., p. 186.

[6] Ibid., p. 187. Arthur J. Larsen, head of the Newspaper Department, the Minnesota Historical Society, spelled the General's name "Lowry" in his book, Crusader

In a day when women were regarded either as pets or slaveys and a woman was expected to be fulfilled by a snappy afternoon of petit point in the parlor, a few women began to take the Declaration of Independence seriously. Women had absorbed fifty years of Independence Day orations to the effect that "all men are created equal." Now they began agitation to extend "equal" to blacks and to women as well as to white males. Sheltered though they were, they found a voice through the press. It was as newspaper women that they worked for the freedom of the blacks, for woman suffrage, and for temperance. Thus some of the outstanding early women newspaper editors came to their positions through interest in reforms, particularly, at first, in abolition. There had been women before who had set type in the back shops and women who had struggled to run the family newspaper out of necessity after their husbands had died, but many of those attracted to newspaper work as a profession came to it as "crusaders for women's rights, temperance, or antislavery." These are the ones who pioneered the profession of newspaper work for women.[7]

In pursuing the unpopular cause of abolition through the press, these women had found something so important to

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and Feminist; Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm 1855-1865 (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1834), p. 18.

[7]Mrs. Genevieve (Jackson) Boughner, Women in Journalism; A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Techniques of Women's Work for Newspapers and Magazines (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1926), p. ix.

say that the opposition regarded it essential to use mob violence, even murder, to keep the antislavery press from saying it. This threat to the freedom of the press aroused apathetic citizens to realize that in the fate of the press, the blacks, and women's rights, the fate of all freedoms in America was at stake.

Early in the nineteenth century three notable American women newspaper editors were drawn to this profession by the cause of abolition. They exemplify three different religious traditions, and three different marital situations, and they lived in three different sections of the country.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler (1807-1834), the first of the three to be published as an antislavery writer, grew up in Philadelphia as a Quaker, but moved to Michigan Territory in 1830. She died at the age of twenty-seven, unmarried. She was the first American woman author to make slavery her principal theme. Benjamin Lundy placed Miss Chandler as second in importance only to Elizabeth Heyrick of England, the first person male or female to publish an article urging the immediate abolition of slavery.[8] Lundy was editor of the Genius of Universal

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[8]Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler with a Memoir of Her Life and Character by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836), p. 13.

Emancipation, one of the earliest and most influential of the antislavery newspapers. Miss Chandler contributed poetry and articles to the Genius and edited a department, "The Ladies' Repository," from 1829 until her death in 1834.

Lydia Maria (Francis) Child (1802-1880) was the first woman to suffer serious reverses as the result of her antislavery activity. The toast of literary New England as the result of two successful novels and her children's magazine, the first in America, she published An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans in 1833. Friends closed their doors; sales of her books fell off; magazine subscriptions ceased so that she had to give up publication. Lydia Maria was the breadwinner while her scholarly but improvident husband, a lawyer, worked unlucrative years boiling down sugar beets on the back of their stove to try to find a substitute for slave-grown West Indies sugar. From 1841-1843 in New York City Mrs. Child ably edited the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. So important was her work that two of her books, An Appeal, etc., and The Freedmen's Book, which she wrote for the instruction of the newly freed slaves, have been reissued in 1968 by the Arno Press and the New York Times as part of the forty-four volume set: The American Negro: His

History and Literature.[9] Lydia Maria Child lived in Massachusetts and New York. Brought up a Unitarian, she spent little time in church, but she was a close friend of the famous Unitarian preacher, the Rev. William Ellery Channing. She had no children.

Jane Grey (Cannon) Swisshelm, member of a stern Scottish Covenanter Presbyterian family, grew up near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Experiences in Louisville, Kentucky, turned her passionately against slavery. In 1847 she used a legacy from her mother to establish the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter as an antislavery weekly also promoting temperance and woman suffrage. In 1850 she went to Washington, D.C., where she wrote for Horace Greeley's New York Tribune at five dollars a column and supplied the Visiter with earthy gossip. She printed stories about the private life of Daniel Webster which she claimed cost him the Presidency. She became the first woman to break the male barrier and be seated in the Congressional reporters' gallery. After twenty years of unhappy marriage, she left her husband (who later obtained a divorce) taking her only child, a daughter, to Minnesota. There a mob destroyed her newspaper, the St. Cloud Visiter. She started over again, ceased publication on threat of a libel suit, and immediately began another newspaper, the

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[9] C. Vann Woodward, "The Hidden Sources of Negro History," Saturday Review, LII (Jan. 18, 1969), 19-20.

St. Cloud Democrat, which she published until 1863. After the war Mrs. Swisshelm began a radical newspaper, the Reconstructionist, while working as a government clerk in Washington, D.C. She attacked President Andrew Johnson with such editorial violence that he had her dismissed from government service, and she stopped publication to retire and write her autobiography.

Three belles of freedom: Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Lydia Maria Child, and Jane Grey Swisshelm. This study will describe and assess their careers, placing them in the context of their day. To do this, the study will concern itself with the position of women, of the blacks, and of the press in the forty years before 1863, when the freedoms of all three were at stake.

The story has not ended. Freedom of the press is continuously threatened by those whose activities cannot bear public scrutiny. The battle for freedom of opportunity for women and for blacks goes on. This story is but one chapter in the long history of the struggle for freedom, but it is one that needs to be told. This story shines an old light on the new movements of the 1960's and 1970's.

PART I. THE SCENE

CHAPTER I

WOMEN ENTER JOURNALISM

> The [Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter] was quite an insignificant looking sheet, but no sooner did the American eagle catch sight of it, than he swooned and fell off his perch. Democratic roosters straightened out their necks and ran screaming with terror. Whig coons scampered up trees and barked furiously.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A woman had started a political paper! A woman! Could he believe his eyes? A woman! Instantly he sprang to his feet and clutched his pantaloons, shouted to the assistant editor, when he, too, read and grasped frantically at his cassimeres, called to the reporters and pressmen and typos and devils, who all rushed in, heard the news, seized their nether garments and joined the general chorus, "My breeches! oh, my breeches!" Here was a woman resolved to steal their pantaloons, their trousers, and when these were gone they might cry "Ye have taken away my gods, and what have I more?" The imminence of the peril called for prompt action, and with one accord they shouted, "On to the breach, in defense of our breeches!"[1]

Thus Jane Grey Swisshelm described the debut of her first newspaper, the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter in 1847. The fact was, men did not welcome women into the profession of journalism, or any profession. Despite the equalitarian influence of the frontier, the nineteenth century American woman was legally a minor. Her affairs, like those of children and the insane, were administered

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[1]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 113-14.

by others, no matter whether she were single, married, or widowed.[2]

The pastoral letter of the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, 1837-38, summed up the attitude toward woman in that day:

> The power of woman is in her dependence, flowing from the consciousness of the weakness which God has given her for her protection. If the vine, whose strength and beauty is to lean upon the trellis-work and half conceal its clusters, thinks to assume the independence and the overshadowing nature of the elm, it will not only cease to bear fruit, but will fall in shame and dishonor in the dust. We cannot, therefore, but regret the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers.[3]

The ministers' letter was inspired by the activity of the Grimké sisters and specifically forbade the Congregational churches to allow the Grimkés and other "unnatural women" to speak from the pulpit. Women were to refrain from addressing "promiscuous audiences," meaning groups composed of both men and women.[4] Angelina and Sarah Grimké had fled Charleston, South Carolina, and the horror of slavery on which their family wealth was based, and had become Quakers in Philadelphia. Angelina's famous

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[2]Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment; Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War (New York: Harper Torchbooks, The Academy Library, Harper & Bros., 1962), p. 426.

[3]Samuel Sillen, Women Against Slavery (New York: Masses and Mainstream, Inc., 1955), p. 32.

[4]Ibid., p. 20.

pamphlet, Appeal to the Christian Women of the South, 1836, was publicly burned by the Charleston postmaster, as was her Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States, 1837. But in 1838, Angelina Grimké packed the Massachusetts legislature for three days running while she expounded abolition. Abolitionist Theodore Weld worked so hard to convince Angelina to avoid the subject of women's rights he finally married her.[5]

Antislavery men, liberals for their day, were hesitant to grant rights to women. Lydia Maria Child, the first woman asked to itinerate as one of the Seventy sent out by Theodore Weld of the American Anti-Slavery Society, did not go because all the abolitionists except her husband objected to sending out a woman. Probably because the Quakers had not subordinated women in church affairs, Abby Kelly had the courage to become the first woman to be graduated from the regular college division of Oberlin College and was the first to become a speaker for the antislavery cause.[6]

The fact that a few brave women did raise their voices, as well as their pens, greatly aided the anti-slavery movement from the first. When sixty Negro and

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[5]Helene G. Baer, The Heart is Like Heaven; the Life of Lydia Maria Child (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), pp. 106-107.

[6]Joseph Anthony Del Porto, "A Study of American Anti-Slavery Journals" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1953), pp. 16-17.

white delegates from ten states met in Philadelphia on December 4, 1833, to found the American Anti-Slavery Society they were stymied because no leading citizen would open the meeting. Delegate James Mott's wife, Lucretia, who was knitting in the gallery, rose, asked for the floor, and addressed the delegates:

> Right principles are stronger than names. If our principles are right, why should we be cowards? Why should we wait for those who never have the courage to maintain the inalienable rights of the slaves?[7]

Because Mrs. Mott spoke up, the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized--by the men.

It was as a result of abolitionists' attempts to keep women in their place that the Woman's Suffrage movement was born, in close connection with the antislavery movement. Lucretia Mott, along with Ann Green Phillips (Mrs. Wendell), and other American women elected delegates were prevented by British clerics from being seated at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. William Lloyd Garrison, their only champion, protested and then joined the women in the curtained gallery to which they were confined. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, there on her honeymoon with her husband, Henry, a delegate, was so incensed at the insult that she and Mrs. Mott resolved to form a society to advocate women's rights. The two issued a call for the Woman's Rights Convention of 1848

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[7]Sillen, Women Against Slavery, p. 20.

in Seneca Falls, New York. Mrs. Stanton wrote the plank advocating the female franchise that was passed by a small majority.[8]

It was some of these same women who entered the temperance movement after they had been brought together by the antislavery cause. Mrs. Stanton became president of the Women's Temperance Association, formed after Susan B. Anthony was denied permission to speak at an Albany temperance convention in 1852.[9] Lucy Stone, who complained that she loathed such admired female occupations as "working little cats on worsted,"[10] abetted Amelia Bloomer, the upstate New York postmistress who popularized the bloomer costume while editing the temperance magazine, the Lily.[11]

Jane Grey Swisshelm noted the intolerance of abolitionists for women in their ranks. During the campaign of 1844, Mrs. Swisshelm aided James G. Birney as presidential candidate of the Liberty party by writing articles for the Spirit of Liberty published at Pittsburgh.

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[8] Ibid., pp. 67-69

[9] Del Porto, "American Anti-Slavery Journals," p.17.

[10] Mary Ellman, "The Law of Latching On," review of Up from the Pedestal by Aileen S. Kraditor, ed., in the New Republic, CLX (Jan. 18, 1969), 26.

[11] Del Porto, "American Anti-Slavery Journals," p. 17.

She signed only her initials, giving two reasons:

> My dislike and dread of publicity, and the fear of embarrassing the Liberty Party with the sex question. Abolitionists were men of sharp angles. Organizing them was like binding crooked sticks in a bundle, and one of the questions which divided them was the right of women to take any prominent part in public affairs.[12]

Indeed, the women suffered from such statements as the writer made on "Female Authorship" in Lady's Magazine (Philadelphia), in July, 1792: "We admire them more as authors than esteem them as women."[13] Webster's American Magazine of March, 1788, set forth the ideal in "An Address to the Ladies":

> To be lovely you must be content to be women; to be mild, social, and sentimental--to be acquainted with all that belongs to your department--and leave the masculine virtues and the profound researches of study to the province of the other sex.[14]

An editorial in James Gordon Bennetts' New York Herald summed up the nineteenth century's attitude toward women:

> How did women first become subject to man, as she is all over the world? By her nature, her sex, just as the Negro is and always will be to the end of time inferior to the white race and, therefore, doomed to subjection; but she is happier than she would be in any other condition, just because it is the law of nature.[15]

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[12] Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 91.

[13] Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1741-1850 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930), p. 66.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Sillen, Women Against Slavery, p. 63.

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Belles of Freedom.....

Frederic Hudson struck a humorous note about women in journalism, writing in 1872:

> The modern female journalists are smart and demonstrative. They start for the amelioration of women. All else must subserve that point. Woman is a wretched slave, with nothing to wear.[16]

A few men of the nineteenth century encouraged women to make journalism and writing a career: Channing, Emerson, Garrison, Greeley, and Phillips. "A few women created careers that not only enabled them to support themselves and in some cases the less effective members of their families also, but at the same time afforded them deep satisfaction," wrote Merle Curti. He listed Margaret Fuller, Sarah J. Hale, Jane Swisshelm, and Lydia Maria Child as those achieving distinction, calling Mrs. Child "this penetrating crusader for the black man's freedom."[17]

A commentator in 1969 noted that "those arrangements, however false, which suit those who hold the power to change them, are very slowly changed." It has always been necessary for women who seek their rights to have to latch onto whatever cause was current, the most persistent attachment being that to the blacks:

> The rights of slaves and women were inseparable ideals before the Civil War, and the South was indefatigably jealous of both properties. Oberlin was the first college to admit women--and Negroes, at the same time.[18]

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[16]Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States from 1690-1872 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1873), p. 499.

[17]Merle Eugene Curti, The Growth of American Thought (2nd ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), p. 387.

[18]Ellman, "The Law of Latching On," 26, 30.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbade discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race, indicating that the causes of women's rights and the rights of blacks still march together.

The time when women first forged careers in journalism, however, differed considerably in climate from today. In recent days, a Freudian backlash has silenced women--women who are self-assertive are held to be frigid, although self-assertive men are thought virile. In the nineteenth century at a time when "sex was less pious, when it was proper to disguise rather than exalt one's fervid receptivity, women reformers, unembarrassed, spoke out for their rights in the press or even mounted the platform in full public view."[19] Even such a liberal educator as Paul Goodman, writing in 1960, saw no need for women to be career oriented:

> The problems I want to discuss in this book belong primarily, in our society, to the boys; how to be useful and make something of oneself. A girl does not have to. Her career does not have to be self-justifying, for she will have children, which is absolutely self-justifying, . . . it is less important, for instance, what job an average young woman works at till she is married.[20]

Goodman was evidently not familiar with such a nineteenth century successful woman author as Margaret Fuller, who

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[19] Ibid., 26.

[20] Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd, in The Sense of the Sixties, ed. by Edward Quinn and Paul J. Dolan (New York: The Free Press, Macmillan, 1960), p. 11.

eventually married and had a child. Miss Fuller proposed that women should maintain a "celibacy of the spirit," which must abide even in the pregnant or lactating body. She compared the ideal woman to the "well-instructed moon which sails the universe in cool oblivion of the sun."[21]

Margaret Fuller, who was editor (1840-42) of the Dial, literary journal of Emerson and the transcendentalists, wrote The Great Law Suit or Man vs Woman, republished in 1845 as Woman in the Nineteenth Century, "the first logical statement of the position of women to be written by an American."[22] Lydia Maria Child published a two-volume History of the Condition of Women in All Ages. These books focused the attention of women on their lack of opportunity and their need to have the right to develop as persons.

Frederick Douglass, Negro editor of the North Star at Rochester, New York, gave women credit as being in the center of the long struggle to end chattel slavery in the United States, most of them unobserved and unapplauded, and meeting bigotry, even from the abolitionists, who insisted that women's place was in the home. In the antislavery movement, he wrote, they discovered their skills in journalism.[23]

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[21]Ellman, "The Law of Latching On," 26.

[22]Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, pp. 428, 430.

[23]Sillen, Women Against Slavery, p. 9.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century saw an explosion of newspapers, books, and magazines in the United States. Additional floods of pamphlets and tracts flowed out of the many reform societies. All offered opportunities for women writers.[24] One of the good markets was the annual gift books prepared for sale at the pre-Christmas fairs held by women's antislavery societies to raise money. An example, Autographs of Freedom, was edited by Julia Griffiths, president of the Rochester Women's Anti-Slavery Society. The book contained articles, poems, and stories signed in handwriting by the authors and illustrated with the portraits of most of them. Jane Grey Swisshelm's contribution to this book was a five-page letter. Those who work to free the slaves, she wrote, do it out of sheer selfishness--it is their nature to need to respond to evil by combatting it.[25]

Although the first daily newspaper printed in the English language was published by a woman, Elizabeth Mallett, who began the Daily Courant in London in March, 1702,[26] early women newspaper editors have received little attention from historians of the press. Frank

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[24]Del Porto, "American Anti-Slavery Journals," p. 15.

[25]Julia Griffiths, ed., Autographs of Freedom (Rochester: Wanser, Beardsley & Co.; Auburn: Alden, Beardsley & Co., 1854), pp. 230-34.

[26]Hudson, Journalism in the United States, p. 497.

Luther Mott in his nine hundred-page American Journalism, a History 1690-1960, assigned only one page to women who worked on early newspapers. Writing in the 1940's, when there were 11,000 women active in journalism, Robert W. Jones noted that widows were the first American women journalists. In 1731, James Franklin began Rhode Island's first newspaper, the Newport Rhode Island Gazette. When he died his widow, Anne Franklin, tried unsuccessfully to continue the paper. Elizabeth Timothy, a widow, published the South Carolina Gazette in 1739.[27] Miss Cornelia Walter was the first woman editor of an important daily: the Boston Transcript, 1842-47. Margaret Fuller, who enjoyed a greater reputation than Miss Walter as a writer, wrote for the New York Tribune, 1844-46.[28]

Ishbel Ross, in Ladies of the Press, noted that Margaret Fuller "was the first really distinguished woman writer to contribute to an American paper."[29] Her statement would be disputed by champions of Lydia Maria Child who edited the National Anti-Slavery Standard from 1841-43 and who contributed her famous "Letters from New York" to the Boston Courier. The prestigious North American Review

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[27]Robert W. Jones, Journalism in the United States (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1947), p. 528.

[28]Mott, American Journalism: A History, pp. 312-13.

[29]Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press (New York: Harper & Bros., 1936), p. 16.

commented: "We are not sure that any woman in our country would outrank Mrs. Child."[30] Rufus Griswold wrote: "She is one of the most able and brilliant authors of the country."[31] Seth Curtis Beach asserted: "In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, few names in American literature were more conspicuous than that of Lydia Maria Child, and among those few, if we except that of Miss Sedgwick, there was certainly no woman's name."[32]

Helene G. Baer has described Greeley's invitation to Margaret Fuller to work on his Tribune. Mrs. Greeley insisted that he engage Margaret. Why not Lydia Maria Child?

> For one thing, the Child name was synonymous with abolition and that would not sell any papers to his public. For another, Greeley knew the value of dramatic effect. The truth was that Maria was bread and butter while Margaret was cake.[33]

The two women journalists, Margaret, and Lydia Maria, were friends and often went to concerts or visited slums and prisons together to get material for articles.

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[30]"Works of Mrs. Child," North American Review, XL (July, 1833), 139.

[31]Rufus Wilmot Griswold, The Female Poets of America (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1849), p. 10.

[32]Seth Curtis Beach, Daughters of the Puritans (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905), p. 79.

[33]Helene G. Baer, The Heart is Like Heaven: The Life of Lydia Maria Child (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 181.

Margaret was not an abolitionist, although she ardently espoused women's rights. On one occasion she said to Greeley: "Women should have full social and political equality and free access to professions and employments with men." Greeley replied that until Margaret was willing to walk alone a half mile at night her theory of women's rights was "nothing but a logically indefensible abstraction."[34]

Ishbel Ross wrote that Greeley "did not make the mistake of asking Miss Fuller to write for women. He employed her to write soundly for his flourishing journal."[35] Mrs. Ross asserted that housewives did not read newspapers before 1870 and there were no women careerists. (The Ross book made a point about the antics to which women had to resort to get jobs--stunts such as Nellie Bly's circumnavigation of the globe for Joseph Pulitzer's World, and sob-sister pieces.)

One of the more colorful women journalists, Anne Royall, the widow of a Revolutionary War general left penniless when other heirs broke her husband's will, began her weekly paper, Paul Pry, in Washington, D.C., in 1831. Later named the Huntress, the publication was the forerunner of the modern Washington gossip columns.

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[34] Ibid., p. 183.

[35] Ross, Ladies of the Press, p. 16.

Page one carried advertisements; the other three pages featured such subjects as assaults on the United States Bank, and on government officials who were blocking her claim to a pension. She advocated liberal immigration laws, abolition of flogging in the United States Navy, improved working conditions for labor, free speech, free press, and rights for women. Once she was convicted as a common scold and sentenced to be ducked according to the penalty prescribed by an old law, but sentence was suspended. Her most famous interview--with John Quincy Adams--made her a national figure. She discovered that he favored bathing in the Potomac River, and she sat on Adams' clothes on the river bank until he agreed to answer her questions.[36]

Frances Wright edited two or three reform papers. She began the Free Enquirer in 1827. None of her projects (one was the communal colony of Nashoba where she tried to teach emancipated slaves) lasted long.[37]

The most famous woman journalist of the nineteenth century, of course, was Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of Godey's Lady's Book from 1837-1898. She was one of that genre of women journalists catering to the traditional

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[36]Mott, American Journalism: A History, p. 313. Jones, Journalism in the United States, p. 530.

[37]Bertha-Monica Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers 1830-1860," American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 678-79.

feminine interests: home, family, fashion, and sentimental fiction. Others included Captain Samuel G. Reid's daughters, who established Peterson's Magazine (Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, editor, 1842-98), the Gem, and Passion Flower, all magazines for women. About them, Frederic Hudson wrote that the steel engravings they employed as illustrations furnished the impulse to the beautiful engravings on United States currency.[38]

Others who wrote entirely for women included Mrs. Sara Willis Parton, a well-known contributor to the New York Ledger as "Fanny Fern."[39] Katherine Ware was the first woman to edit a women's weekly, the Boston Spectator and Ladies' Album, changed in 1827 to the Bower of Taste.[40] Marion Harland became the first well-known writer on household subjects, cookbooks, and etiquette, although she herself preferred her novels. "Jennie June" Croly, a crusader for sex equality in labor, a writer and lecturer, had the distinction of being one of the earliest fashion editors and the first woman to syndicate articles on the woman's world.[41]

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[38]Hudson, Journalism in the United States, p. 497.

[39]Mott, American Journalism: A History, p. 313.

[40]Isabelle Webb Entriken, Sarah Josepha Hale and Godey's Lady's Book (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946), p. 17.

[41]Boughner, Women in Journalism, pp. viii-ix.

Sarah Josepha Hale first published her poems and stories in metropolitan newspapers in 1823. By 1828, when she was left a penniless widow with five children to support, the oldest child aged seven, her late husband's friends in the Masonic order set her up as editor of a new magazine. Her Ladies' Magazine was a fifty-page monthly; subscription, $3.00 a year. At this time Lydia Maria Child was editing her children's magazine, Juvenile Miscellany, for Putnam and Hunt, publishers of the Ladies' Magazine, and may well have been called on to help.[42]

The contrast between Mrs. Hale and Mrs. Child appeared in their goals and methods. Mrs. Hale was a traditionalist who bored from within her women's sphere, while Mrs. Child worked within the man's world. Lydia Maria broadcasted her views on antislavery widely in 1833 with her Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans. Never identified with the abolitionists, Sarah Josepha was not, however, unsympathetic. In November, 1829, the question of slavery was first discussed in her Ladies' Magazine in a partial reprint of an article from the Genius of Universal Emancipation. Mrs. Hale denied any intention of advocating women's interference in "so momentous and appalling a subject,"

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[42]Entriken, Sarah Josepha Hale, p. 20.

but she did wish to use her influence "with a womanly delicacy in an unobtrusive manner."[43] So long as she had her own magazine, Mrs. Hale did not hesitate to mention slavery. But after her magazine was consolidated with Godey's, in January, 1837, she did not again touch upon this subject.

Sarah Josepha Hale worked from within the Victorian establishment to effect reforms, such as the right of married women to own property. She continued to win high regard and acceptance even though working at a career--journalism--which was only beginning to be entered by women in her day. She built up Godey's to a circulation of 150,000, the largest of any magazine up to the day she relinquished her editorship in 1898. In contrast to the acceptance that Mrs. Hale experienced, Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott, Susan Anthony, Lucy Stone, and Margaret Fuller scandalized their contemporaries and were rejected--but their ideas marched on.[44]

Editorial pay for women in journalism in the nineteenth century remains a mystery. The highest pay drawn by any editor in the country in 1851, according to

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[43] Ibid., p. 28.

[44] Ruth E. Finley, The Lady of Godey's; Sarah Josepha Hale (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931), pp. 21-23.

Mott, was $3,000. Below that, editors lived on amounts from $500 to $2,500 a year. Edgar Allen Poe received $800 a year for editing Graham's. Between 1841 and 1842 this magazine paid $4.00 to $12.00 per page and $10.00 to $50.00 per poem accepted.[45] Peterson's paid $2.00 per page and $5.00 per poem.[46] Lydia Maria Child signed a contract to edit the National Anti-Slavery Standard in 1841 for $1,000 a year, but she never received the entire sum. She did, however, live on her earnings as a journalist and writer of books, her husband contributing very little in a material way to the household.[47]

The most famous woman writer for the abolitionist cause in the nineteenth century, Harriet Beecher Stowe, was a novelist rather than a journalist. However, Uncle Tom's Cabin first appeared serially in Gamaliel Bailey's antislavery newspaper, the National Era, published in Washington, D.C. Appearing in book form in 1852, Uncle Tom's Cabin was read by millions of Northerners and Europeans. (It was a penal offense to buy or sell it in the South.) One commentator observed that Mrs. Stowe's book "had more effect in shaping public

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[45]A. H. Quinn, Edgar Allen Poe (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1941), pp. 239-40.

[46]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1741-1850 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 506.

[47]Baer, The Life of Lydia Maria Child, pp. 121-22.

opinion than had all the abolition tracts and societies together."[48]

It is safe to say, however, that without the antislavery journalism of the day, and women's part as they developed their skills to open a new profession for their sex, the climate of opinion may not have supported the movement all the way to emancipation. Fully aware of the difficulties of broaching a male preserve, and conscious of the unpopularity of antislavery and women's rights, the new nineteenth century women journalists worked courageously to implement American Democratic faith.

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[48]Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, p. 513.

CHAPTER II

THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

> I heard the wail of the captive; I felt his pang of distress; and the iron entered my soul.
> --Benjamin Lundy[1]

The nineteenth century campaign for abolition began not on the eastern seaboard, but in the Middle West, even the upper South. Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, called by William Lloyd Garrison the first American to devote his life to the cause of freeing the slave, was working as an apprentice saddler at Wheeling, West Virginia, at the age of nineteen. There he watched coffles of slaves being driven on their way from the breeding grounds of Virginia to be sold down the river to the cotton plantations.

Constantly haunted by the question of what he could do to relieve the sad condition of the slaves, Lundy finally called in some friends and unburdened himself. At his home in St. Clairsville, Ohio. across the river

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[1]Benjamin Lundy, The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia: William D. Parrish, 1847), p. 15.

from Wheeling, they formed the Union Humane Society with six members in 1815. In only a short time the society grew from six to five hundred, including many influential persons in that part of the country. Lundy sent an appeal to philanthropists throughout the nation to form antislavery societies with uniform names and constitutions, and national conventions. He began to write articles for a small reform paper, the Philanthropist, edited at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, by Charles Osborn, a Quaker.

At this time Lundy, in little more than four years as a saddler at St. Clairsville, had accumulated more than $3,000 in property. He was married and the father of two daughters:

> I was at peace with my neighbours [he wrote], and knew not that I had an enemy. I had bought a lot and built myself a comfortable house; all my wants and those of my lovely family were fully supplied; my business was increasing, and prosperity seemed to smile before me.[2]

When Osborn invited Lundy to join him in publishing the Philanthropist, Lundy decided the newspaper was his best vehicle for antislavery work. He took several of his apprentices with him on rafts which they made, and floated his goods down the Ohio River, from where they were towed up the Mississippi to St. Louis. There he disposed of his goods at a ruinous loss in the business

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[2] Ibid., p. 16.

depression of the fall of 1819. Once in St. Louis, in the midst of the agitation of the Missouri question,[3] he remained for two years writing articles on the evils of slavery for Missouri and Illinois newspapers. Then Lundy walked the seven hundred miles home to St. Clairsville in the dead of winter, only to find that Osborn had sold the paper that the two were to publish together. Lundy decided to publish his own paper.

In July, 1821, with no capital and only six subscribers, Lundy published the first issue of the Genius of Universal Emancipation at Mount Pleasant, Ohio.

> I began to publish the paper without a dollar of funds, trusting for success to the sacredness of the cause; nor was I disappointed [Lundy wrote]. In four months from the commencement, my subscription list had grown quite large.[4]

Lundy published the Genius, which attained a national circulation, until 1835. (He died in 1839, worn out at fifty-one.) At first he walked the twenty miles to Steubenville, Ohio, each month to get the paper printed, returning with the edition on his back. Later he published in Greeneville, Tennessee; Baltimore, Washington; Philadelphia; and other places. Wherever he went he formed antislavery societies and sold subscriptions. He made

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[3]The question was: would Missouri be admitted into the Union as a free or as a slave state.

[4]Lundy, Life, Travels and Opinions, p. 20.

trips to Hayti (as he always spelled it), Texas, Mexico, and Canada, mostly walking, to try to find safe havens for Negroes.

Lundy employed the first woman to enter antislavery journalism, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. In 1826 she became a regular contributor, and later, an editor, for the Genius.

Besides recruiting the first woman to the cause, Lundy enlisted the most famous abolitionist of them all, William Lloyd Garrison. On trips east to gain support for antislavery, Lundy met Garrison, at that time editing a temperance journal, the National Philanthropist, in Boston. Lundy talked Garrison into becoming resident editor of the Genius, then being published in Baltimore, while Lundy traveled to promote the cause. Before meeting Lundy, Garrison had read the Genius, had heard of the many antislavery societies Lundy had organized on his vast travels, and imagined a man of herculean strength. He was surprised to see a short, slight man, hard of hearing, and a poor public speaker, although persuasive:

> His heart is of gigantic size. Every inch of him is alive with power. . . . Within a few months he has traveled about 2,400 miles of which upwards of 1,600 were performed on foot, during which time he has held nearly fifty public meetings. Rivers and mountains vanish in his path; midnight finds him wending his solitary way over an unfrequented road; the sun is

> anticipated in his rising. Never was moral sublimity of character better illustrated.[5]

Garrison, like Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, advocated immediate and complete emancipation, while Lundy was a "gradualist." Lundy tolerated this difference, and Garrison put out his first issue of the Genius on September 1, 1829. But while Lundy was away, his new editor in one issue so roundly denounced a Massachusetts shipmaster for taking a cargo of slaves to New Orleans housed like cattle, with 25 per cent mortality, that the shipmaster sued for $5,000 libel damages. Garrison was arrested and jailed. The issue of the Genius for May, 1830, announced the dissolution of the partnership. Garrison went to Boston and on January 1, 1831, published his first issue of the famous Liberator.[6]

Lundy was an "antislavery" man while Garrison was

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[5]Wendell Phillips Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children, Vol. I (4 vols.; New York: The Century Co., 1885-89), p. 87. See also Liberator, Sept. 30, 1839. William Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A History of the Great Struggle in Both Hemispheres; With a View of the Slavery Question in the United States (New York: William Harned, 1852), p. 355. Rev. Austin Willey, The History of the Anti-Slavery Cause in State and Nation (Portland, Maine: Brown, Thurston, and Hoyt, Fogg and Donham, 1886), p. 28. Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio in Two Volumes; An Encyclopedia of the State; Centennial Edition (Norwalk, Ohio; Published by the State of Ohio, The Laning Printing Co., 1896), p. 311.

[6]Russel B. Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955), pp. 19-27.

an "abolitionist." The antislavery group, the right wing of the movement, tried to arouse the conscience of the slaveholders. "If we express our opinions firmly and frankly," David Lee Child, Lydia Maria's husband, wrote in simple religious faith, "they will give up their slaves. . . . The thing may be done with the stroke of a pen."[7] Abolitionists demanded immediate, uncompensated emancipation. Southerners regarded everyone opposed to slavery as an abolitionist. This study will use the words interchangeably.[8]

The two major streams of thought behind the antislavery movement were philosophical and religious. Slavery was a crime because it violated Negro rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It was a sin because it debased Negroes as human beings.[9]

The late eighteenth century philosophy that

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[7]Russel B. Nye, Fettered Freedom; Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1963), p. ix.

[8]Albert Bushnell Hart, Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841, Vol. XVI of The American Nation: A History, ed. by A. B. Hart (28 vols.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1904-18), p. xv. See also Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 520.

[9]John L. Thomas, ed., Slavery Attacked; the Abolitionist Crusade, Spectrum Book, Eyewitness Accounts of American History Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 1.

undergirded the American form of government held that man was naturally, thus divinely, endowed with certain rights regardless of the government under which he lived. Although the theory had little real justification in historical fact, its adoption as basic to American society and politics gave it validity.[10]

Antislavery newspapers made much of the contrast between the ringing assertion of the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," and the institution of slavery. July 4 editions of newspapers and magazines always emphasized this point. A favorite illustration of antislavery papers showed a coffle of slaves marching to the slave market to the tune of the overseer's whip, and carrying the American flag.[11] Since he believed that the United States Constitution was a pro-slavery document, William Lloyd Garrison featured a boxed statement in each issue of the Liberator: "The Constitution--a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." On lecture platforms Garrison often brought his speeches to a thrilling climax by burning a copy of the Constitution. When the mob dragged Garrison through the streets of Boston he was lodged in jail for his safety, and inscribed on the walls of his cell:

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[10]Nye, Fettered Freedom, p. ix.

[11]Anti-Slavery Record (New York), Feb., 1835.

> Wm. Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell on Wednesday afternoon, Oct. 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a "respectable and influential" mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that "all men are created equal," and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God.[12]

It may be that the mighty wave of antislavery sentiment that swept from the "burned-over" district of western New York state across the Appalachians exceeded even the importance of Garrison and his group in the East. Through evangelistic meetings in the area opened up by the Erie Canal in 1825 and westward, Charles Grandison Finney set such a blaze of fervor for "disinterested benevolence" that he ignited many reform movements. His most effective convert, Theodore Dwight Weld, became a leader of the "Holy Band who pitted themselves against the political might, the economic power, and the social folkways of a whole nation, in order to stand up for what their hearts told them were eternal, universal, 'higher' spiritual laws."[13] These men identified themselves with the Christian martyrs, believing that in fighting slavery they were doing God's work.[14]

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[12]Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, p. 502.

[13]Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844, intro. by William G. Mc Loughlin, Harbinger Book (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. xix.

[14]Nye, Fettered Freedom, p. 200. See also Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 381. Vernon L. Parrington, The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860, Vol. II of Main Currents in American Thought, Harvest Book (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1927), p. 343.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I. FEBRUARY, 1835 NO. 2.

HOW SLAVERY HONORS OUR COUNTRY'S FLAG.

[From Rankin's Letters.]

"In the summer of 1822, as I returned with my family from a visit to the Barrens of Kentucky, I witnessed a scene such as I never witnessed before, and such as I hope never to witness again. Having passed through Paris in Bourbon county, Ky., the sound of music (beyond a little rising ground) attracted my attention. I looked forward, and saw the flag of my country waving. Supposing that I was about to meet a military parade, I drove hastily to the side of the road; and having gained the ascent, I discovered (I suppose) about forty black men all chained together after the following manner; each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file. A chain perhaps 40 feet long, the size of a fifth-horse chain, was stretched between the two ranks, to which

short chains were joined, which connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, about thirty women in double rank, the couples tied hand to hand. A solemn sadness sat on every countenance, and the dismal silence of this march of despair was interrupted only by the sound of two violins; yes, as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece; the second couple were ornamented with cockades, while near the centre waved the republican flag carried by a hand *literally in chains*. I perhaps have mistaken some punctilios of the arrangement, for my soul was sick; my feelings were mingled and pungent. As a man, I sympathized with suffering humanity; as a Christian, I mourned over the transgressions of God's holy law; and as a republican, I felt indignant, to see the flag of my beloved country thus insulted. I could not forbear exclaiming to the lordly driver who rode at his ease along side: 'Heaven will curse that man who engages in such traffic, and the government that protects him in it.' I pursued my journey till evening, and put up for the night. When I mentioned the scene I had witnessed, 'Ah!' (cried my landlady,) 'That is my brother.' From her I learned that his name is Stone, of Bourbon county, Kentucky, in partnership with one Kinningham of Paris; and that a few days before he had purchased a Negro woman from a man in Nicholas county; she refused to go with him; he attempted to compel her, but she defended herself. Without further ceremony, he stepped back, and by a blow on the side of her head with the butt of his whip brought her to the ground; he tied her, and led her off. I learned further, that besides the drove I had seen, there were about thirty shut up in the Paris prison for safe keeping, to be added to the company; and that they were designed for the Orleans market. And to this they are doomed for no other crime, than that of a black skin and curled locks.

> Ah me! what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
> For merchants rich in cargoes of despair?
> Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span,
> And buy the muscles and the bones of man.
>
> COWPER.

Shall not I visit for these things, saith the Lord? shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

But I forbear, and subscribe myself, yours,

JAMES H. DICKEY."

Sept. 30, 1834.

[For the Anti-Slavery Record.]

AMERICAN SLAVERY—WHAT IS IT?

This is the grand question after all.—Let the features of the system be distinctly understood, and there will remain little ground

Early histories have pictured abolitionists as humorless, neurotic, self-righteous men and sex-starved women, stereotype fanatics. The newer psychologists do not hold that all behavior is an expression of the need to vent neuroses. The willingness to bear tension in the form of ostracism, personal danger, and material sacrifice may even indicate a high degree of health.[15] No doubt the current civil rights struggle has inspired the new sympathetic attitude toward the abolitionists.[16]

To those of his day who belittled the abolitionists, the Rev. Samuel J. May, uncle to the Little Women, wrote to his friend, the Rev. William Ellery Channing:

> You must not expect those who have left to take up this great cause [of abolition] that they will plead it in all that seemliness of phrase which the scholars . . . might use. But the scholars and the clergy and the statesmen had done nothing. We abolitionists are what we are--babes, sucklings, obscure men, silly women, publicans, sinners, and we shall manage the matter we have taken in hand just as might be expected of such persons as we are. It is unbecoming in abler men who stood by, and would do nothing, to complain of us because we manage this matter no better.[17]

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[15]Martin B. Duberman, "The Abolitionists and Psychology," The Journal of Negro History, XLVII (July, 1962) in The Abolitionists, Reformers or Fanatics, ed. by Richard O. Curry (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965), 55-56.

[16]Martin B. Duberman, The Antislavery Vanguard; New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. ix.

[17]Henry Steele Commager, "The University as Employment Agency," New Republic, CLVIII, (Feb. 24, 1968) 26.

The unique contributions of the three women antislavery editor "belles of freedom," Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Lydia Maria Child, and Jane Grey Swisshelm, can be understood only with reference to the political climate and events of their day. A brief outline is in order.

First, it should be noted that a woman has been credited as being the first public advocate of immediate and unconditional abolition: Elizabeth Heyrick, in England, in her pamphlet published anonymously in 1825: "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition, or an Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery." The Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions was formed in England in 1823. Emancipation for slaves in the British West Indies came, peaceably, on August 1, 1834.[18]

Ralph Sandiford wrote the first antislavery tract ever issued in North America, in 1729. Benjamin Lay wrote the next one, published by Benjamin Franklin in 1737. Franklin became president in 1775 of the first society established in America expressly to promote emancipation: the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.[19]

Opposition to slavery in American was widespread in the early days. All members of the Continental

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[18]Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, p. 355.

[19]Lundy, Life, Travels and Opinions, p. 10.

Congress of 1774 signed a statement that they would not engage in slave trade themselves nor lease their vessels for it. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont abolished slavery; Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey passed laws for gradual abolition; Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee passed laws encouraging voluntary emancipation by slave owners. In 1787 the Northwest Territory (later Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota east of the Mississippi) was organized specifically excluding slavery.

But in a compromise, the Constitutional Convention permitted African slave trade to continue until 1808 in exchange for favorable navigation laws benefiting northern shipowners. Also, slave states won extra representation in the Congress by the three-fifths rule, five blacks--who did not vote, of course--counted as three freemen. (Thus Garrison regarded the Constitution as a pro-slavery document.)

Directly after the new government was formed, the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society petitioned the Congress to abolish slavery. The petition was pigeonholed in a committee which reported that the Congress had no power to abolish slavery in any state. At this point the antislavery movement lost its impetus.[20]

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[20] Ibid., p. 12.

In 1793 Eli Whitney invented a machine for separating cotton seeds from the fibers called, by the Negroes, a "gin"--short for "engine." Using a cotton gin, one Negro slave in a day could do the work formerly performed by fifty. A cotton-picking slave was shortly worth five times as much as he was worth in 1792. The first seven years the cotton gin was used, American cotton exports increased thirty times. Planters raced to take up all the land in the South suitable for growing cotton, and spread to Texas, a movement that caused the Mexican War.[21]

It may have been no coincidence that the year of the cotton gin, 1793, was also notable for the passage by the Congress of a Fugitive Slave Law, which gave owners the right to recapture their property in a free state after appearance before the local magistrate. Southerners often kidnapped free Negroes. Negro sympathizers soon began the Underground Railroad, whereby they spirited to freedom about 1,000 slaves a year (out of a total of 4,000,000).[22] Families friendly to the blacks hid them in their homes by day and transported them at night--sometimes covered with hay or produce in wagons--to the next stop on the way to the North, or Canada.

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[21]"Cotton Gin," World Book Engyclopedia, 1956, III, 1770.

[22]Michael Kraus, The United States to 1865, Vol. VII of The University of Michigan History of the Modern World, ed. by Allan Nevins and Howard M. Ehrmann (15 vols.; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 447.

Sarah Josepha Hale first published her poems and stories in metropolitan newspapers in 1823. By 1828, when she was left a penniless widow with five children to support, the oldest child aged seven, her late husband's friends in the Masonic order set her up as editor of a new magazine. Her Ladies' Magazine was a fifty-page monthly; subscription, $3.00 a year. At this time Lydia Maria Child was editing her children's magazine, Juvenile Miscellany, for Putnam and Hunt, publishers of the Ladies' Magazine, and may well have been called on to help.[42]

The contrast between Mrs. Hale and Mrs. Child appeared in their goals and methods. Mrs. Hale was a traditionalist who bored from within her women's sphere, while Mrs. Child worked within the man's world. Lydia Maria broadcasted her views on antislavery widely in 1833 with her Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans. Never identified with the abolitionists, Sarah Josepha was not, however, unsympathetic. In November, 1829, the question of slavery was first discussed in her Ladies' Magazine in a partial reprint of an article from the Genius of Universal Emancipation. Mrs. Hale denied any intention of advocating women's interference in "so momentous and appalling a subject,"

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[42]Entriken, Sarah Josepha Hale, p. 20.

but she did wish to use her influence "with a womanly delicacy in an unobtrusive manner."[43] So long as she had her own magazine, Mrs. Hale did not hesitate to mention slavery. But after her magazine was consolidated with Godey's, in January, 1837, she did not again touch upon this subject.

Sarah Josepha Hale worked from within the Victorian establishment to effect reforms, such as the right of married women to own property. She continued to win high regard and acceptance even though working at a career--journalism--which was only beginning to be entered by women in her day. She built up Godey's to a circulation of 150,000, the largest of any magazine up to the day she relinquished her editorship in 1898. In contrast to the acceptance that Mrs. Hale experienced, Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott, Susan Anthony, Lucy Stone, and Margaret Fuller scandalized their contemporaries and were rejected--but their ideas marched on.[44]

Editorial pay for women in journalism in the nineteenth century remains a mystery. The highest pay drawn by any editor in the country in 1851, according to

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[43] Ibid., p. 28.

[44] Ruth E. Finley, The Lady of Godey's; Sarah Josepha Hale (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931), pp. 21-23.

Mott, was $3,000. Below that, editors lived on amounts from $500 to $2,500 a year. Edgar Allen Poe received $800 a year for editing Graham's. Between 1841 and 1842 this magazine paid $4.00 to $12.00 per page and $10.00 to $50.00 per poem accepted.[45] Peterson's paid $2.00 per page and $5.00 per poem.[46] Lydia Maria Child signed a contract to edit the National Anti-Slavery Standard in 1841 for $1,000 a year, but she never received the entire sum. She did, however, live on her earnings as a journalist and writer of books, her husband contributing very little in a material way to the household.[47]

The most famous woman writer for the abolitionist cause in the nineteenth century, Harriet Beecher Stowe, was a novelist rather than a journalist. However, Uncle Tom's Cabin first appeared serially in Gamaliel Bailey's antislavery newspaper, the National Era, published in Washington, D.C. Appearing in book form in 1852, Uncle Tom's Cabin was read by millions of Northerners and Europeans. (It was a penal offense to buy or sell it in the South.) One commentator observed that Mrs. Stowe's book "had more effect in shaping public

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[45]A. H. Quinn, Edgar Allen Poe (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1941), pp. 239-40.

[46]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1741-1850 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 506.

[47]Baer, The Life of Lydia Maria Child, pp. 121-22.

opinion than had all the abolition tracts and societies together."[48]

It is safe to say, however, that without the antislavery journalism of the day, and women's part as they developed their skills to open a new profession for their sex, the climate of opinion may not have supported the movement all the way to emancipation. Fully aware of the difficulties of broaching a male preserve, and conscious of the unpopularity of antislavery and women's rights, the new nineteenth century women journalists worked courageously to implement American Democratic faith.

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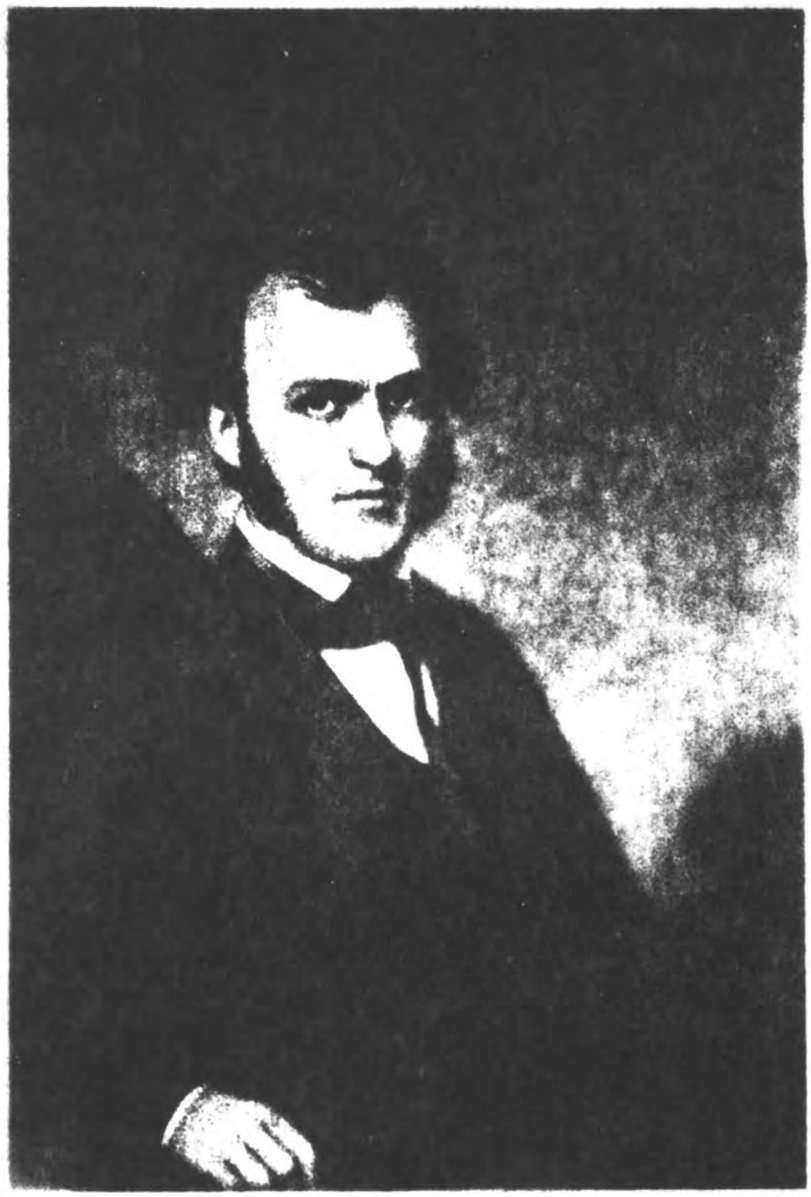
[48]Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, p. 513.



BENJAMIN LUNDY

CHAPTER II

THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

> I heard the wail of the captive; I felt his pang of distress; and the iron entered my soul.
> --Benjamin Lundy[1]

The nineteenth century campaign for abolition began not on the eastern seaboard, but in the Middle West, even the upper South. Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, called by William Lloyd Garrison the first American to devote his life to the cause of freeing the slave, was working as an apprentice saddler at Wheeling, West Virginia, at the age of nineteen. There he watched coffles of slaves being driven on their way from the breeding grounds of Virginia to be sold down the river to the cotton plantations.

Constantly haunted by the question of what he could do to relieve the sad condition of the slaves, Lundy finally called in some friends and unburdened himself. At his home in St. Clairsville, Ohio. across the river

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[1]Benjamin Lundy, The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia: William D. Parrish, 1847), p. 15.

from Wheeling, they formed the Union Humane Society with six members in 1815. In only a short time the society grew from six to five hundred, including many influential persons in that part of the country. Lundy sent an appeal to philanthropists throughout the nation to form antislavery societies with uniform names and constitutions, and national conventions. He began to write articles for a small reform paper, the Philanthropist, edited at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, by Charles Osborn, a Quaker.

At this time Lundy, in little more than four years as a saddler at St. Clairsville, had accumulated more than $3,000 in property. He was married and the father of two daughters:

> I was at peace with my neighbours [he wrote], and knew not that I had an enemy. I had bought a lot and built myself a comfortable house; all my wants and those of my lovely family were fully supplied; my business was increasing, and prosperity seemed to smile before me.[2]

When Osborn invited Lundy to join him in publishing the Philanthropist, Lundy decided the newspaper was his best vehicle for antislavery work. He took several of his apprentices with him on rafts which they made, and floated his goods down the Ohio River, from where they were towed up the Mississippi to St. Louis. There he disposed of his goods at a ruinous loss in the business

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[2] Ibid., p. 16.

depression of the fall of 1819. Once in St. Louis, in the midst of the agitation of the Missouri question,[3] he remained for two years writing articles on the evils of slavery for Missouri and Illinois newspapers. Then Lundy walked the seven hundred miles home to St. Clairsville in the dead of winter, only to find that Osborn had sold the paper that the two were to publish together. Lundy decided to publish his own paper.

In July, 1821, with no capital and only six subscribers, Lundy published the first issue of the Genius of Universal Emancipation at Mount Pleasant, Ohio.

> I began to publish the paper without a dollar of funds, trusting for success to the sacredness of the cause; nor was I disappointed [Lundy wrote]. In four months from the commencement, my subscription list had grown quite large.[4]

Lundy published the Genius, which attained a national circulation, until 1835. (He died in 1839, worn out at fifty-one.) At first he walked the twenty miles to Steubenville, Ohio, each month to get the paper printed, returning with the edition on his back. Later he published in Greeneville, Tennessee; Baltimore, Washington; Philadelphia; and other places. Wherever he went he formed antislavery societies and sold subscriptions. He made

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[3]The question was: would Missouri be admitted into the Union as a free or as a slave state.

[4]Lundy, Life, Travels and Opinions, p. 20.

trips to Hayti (as he always spelled it), Texas, Mexico, and Canada, mostly walking, to try to find safe havens for Negroes.

Lundy employed the first woman to enter antislavery journalism, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. In 1826 she became a regular contributor, and later, an editor, for the Genius.

Besides recruiting the first woman to the cause, Lundy enlisted the most famous abolitionist of them all, William Lloyd Garrison. On trips east to gain support for antislavery, Lundy met Garrison, at that time editing a temperance journal, the National Philanthropist, in Boston. Lundy talked Garrison into becoming resident editor of the Genius, then being published in Baltimore, while Lundy traveled to promote the cause. Before meeting Lundy, Garrison had read the Genius, had heard of the many antislavery societies Lundy had organized on his vast travels, and imagined a man of herculean strength. He was surprised to see a short, slight man, hard of hearing, and a poor public speaker, although persuasive:

> His heart is of gigantic size. Every inch of him is alive with power. . . . Within a few months he has traveled about 2,400 miles of which upwards of 1,600 were performed on foot, during which time he has held nearly fifty public meetings. Rivers and mountains vanish in his path; midnight finds him wending his solitary way over an unfrequented road; the sun is

> anticipated in his rising. Never was moral sublimity of character better illustrated.[5]

Garrison, like Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, advocated immediate and complete emancipation, while Lundy was a "gradualist." Lundy tolerated this difference, and Garrison put out his first issue of the Genius on September 1, 1829. But while Lundy was away, his new editor in one issue so roundly denounced a Massachusetts shipmaster for taking a cargo of slaves to New Orleans housed like cattle, with 25 per cent mortality, that the shipmaster sued for $5,000 libel damages. Garrison was arrested and jailed. The issue of the Genius for May, 1830, announced the dissolution of the partnership. Garrison went to Boston and on January 1, 1831, published his first issue of the famous Liberator.[6]

Lundy was an "antislavery" man while Garrison was

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[5]Wendell Phillips Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children, Vol. I (4 vols.; New York: The Century Co., 1885-89), p. 87. See also Liberator, Sept. 30, 1839. William Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: A History of the Great Struggle in Both Hemispheres; With a View of the Slavery Question in the United States (New York: William Harned, 1852), p. 355. Rev. Austin Willey, The History of the Anti-Slavery Cause in State and Nation (Portland, Maine: Brown, Thurston, and Hoyt, Fogg and Donham, 1886), p. 28. Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio in Two Volumes; An Encyclopedia of the State; Centennial Edition (Norwalk, Ohio; Published by the State of Ohio, The Laning Printing Co., 1896), p. 311.

[6]Russel B. Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955), pp. 19-27.

an "abolitionist." The antislavery group, the right wing of the movement, tried to arouse the conscience of the slaveholders. "If we express our opinions firmly and frankly," David Lee Child, Lydia Maria's husband, wrote in simple religious faith, "they will give up their slaves. . . . The thing may be done with the stroke of a pen."[7] Abolitionists demanded immediate, uncompensated emancipation. Southerners regarded everyone opposed to slavery as an abolitionist. This study will use the words interchangeably.[8]

The two major streams of thought behind the antislavery movement were philosophical and religious. Slavery was a crime because it violated Negro rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It was a sin because it debased Negroes as human beings.[9]

The late eighteenth century philosophy that

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[7]Russel B. Nye, Fettered Freedom; Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1963), p. ix.

[8]Albert Bushnell Hart, Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841, Vol. XVI of The American Nation: A History, ed. by A. B. Hart (28 vols.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1904-18), p. xv. See also Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 520.

[9]John L. Thomas, ed., Slavery Attacked; the Abolitionist Crusade, Spectrum Book, Eyewitness Accounts of American History Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 1.

undergirded the American form of government held that man was naturally, thus divinely, endowed with certain rights regardless of the government under which he lived. Although the theory had little real justification in historical fact, its adoption as basic to American society and politics gave it validity.[10]

Antislavery newspapers made much of the contrast between the ringing assertion of the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," and the institution of slavery. July 4 editions of newspapers and magazines always emphasized this point. A favorite illustration of antislavery papers showed a coffle of slaves marching to the slave market to the tune of the overseer's whip, and carrying the American flag.[11] Since he believed that the United States Constitution was a pro-slavery document, William Lloyd Garrison featured a boxed statement in each issue of the Liberator: "The Constitution--a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." On lecture platforms Garrison often brought his speeches to a thrilling climax by burning a copy of the Constitution. When the mob dragged Garrison through the streets of Boston he was lodged in jail for his safety, and inscribed on the walls of his cell:

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[10]Nye, Fettered Freedom, p. ix.

[11]Anti-Slavery Record (New York), Feb., 1835.

> Wm. Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell on Wednesday afternoon, Oct. 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a "respectable and influential" mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that "all men are created equal," and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God.[12]

It may be that the mighty wave of antislavery sentiment that swept from the "burned-over" district of western New York state across the Appalachians exceeded even the importance of Garrison and his group in the East. Through evangelistic meetings in the area opened up by the Erie Canal in 1825 and westward, Charles Grandison Finney set such a blaze of fervor for "disinterested benevolence" that he ignited many reform movements. His most effective convert, Theodore Dwight Weld, became a leader of the "Holy Band who pitted themselves against the political might, the economic power, and the social folkways of a whole nation, in order to stand up for what their hearts told them were eternal, universal, 'higher' spiritual laws."[13] These men identified themselves with the Christian martyrs, believing that in fighting slavery they were doing God's work.[14]

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[12]Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, p. 502.

[13]Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844, intro. by William G. Mc Loughlin, Harbinger Book (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. xix.

[14]Nye, Fettered Freedom, p. 200. See also Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 381. Vernon L. Parrington, The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860, Vol. II of Main Currents in American Thought, Harvest Book (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1927), p. 343.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

VOL. I. FEBRUARY, 1835 NO. 2.

HOW SLAVERY HONORS OUR COUNTRY'S FLAG.

[From Rankin's Letters.]

"In the summer of 1822, as I returned with my family from a visit to the [illegible] of Kentucky, I witnessed a scene such as I never witnessed [illegible] such as I hope never to witness again. Having [illegible] Paris in Bourbon county, Ky. [illegible] and of music [illegible] I looked forward [illegible] [illegible] I was [illegible] of the [illegible] (I suppose) [illegible] black men [illegible] following manner; each of them was [illegible] ranged in [illegible] A chain [illegible] a fifth-horse chain, was stretched between [illegible]

[illegible] was connected with the handcuffs. Behind [illegible] thirty women in double rank, the [illegible] A solemn sadness sat on every countenance, and the dismal silence of this march of despair was interrupted only by the sound of two violins; yes, as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece; the second couple were ornamented with cockades, while near the centre was [illegible] Republican flag carried by a hand *literally in chains*. I [illegible] some punctilios of the arrangement [illegible] my feelings were mingled and pungent. As a man, I sympathized with suffering humanity; as a christian, I [illegible] the transgressions of God's holy law; [illegible] I felt indignant, to see the flag of my beloved [illegible] I could not forbear exclaiming to the lord-[illegible] 'Heaven will curse that [illegible] and the government that protects [illegible] my journey [illegible] evening, and put up for the night. When I mentioned the scene I had witnessed, 'Ah!' (cried my [illegible] 'That is my brother!' From her I learned that his name is S[illegible] of Bourbon county, Kentucky, in partnership with one Kinkaid [illegible] of Paris; and that a few days before he had purchased a Negro woman from a man in Nicholas county; she refused to go with him; he attempted to compel her, but she defended herself. Without further ceremony, he stepped back, and by a blow on the side of her head with the butt of his whip brought her to the ground, [illegible] I learned further, that besides the drove I had seen, there were about thirty shut up in the Paris prison for safe keeping, to be added to the company; and that they were designed for the Orleans market. And to this they are doomed for no other crime, than that of a black skin and curled locks.

> Ah me! what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
> For merchants rich in cargoes of despair?
> Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span,
> And buy the muscles and the bones of man.
>
> COWPER.

Shall not I visit for these things, saith the Lord? shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

But I forbear, and subscribe myself, yours,

JAMES H. DICKEY."

Sept. 30, 1834.

[For the Anti Slavery Record.]

AMERICAN SLAVERY—WHAT IS IT?

This is the grand question, after all.—Let the features of the system be distinctly understood, and there will remain little ground

Early histories have pictured abolitionists as humorless, neurotic, self-righteous men and sex-starved women, stereotype fanatics. The newer psychologists do not hold that all behavior is an expression of the need to vent neuroses. The willingness to bear tension in the form of ostracism, personal danger, and material sacrifice may even indicate a high degree of health.[15] No doubt the current civil rights struggle has inspired the new sympathetic attitude toward the abolitionists.[16]

To those of his day who belittled the abolitionists, the Rev. Samuel J. May, uncle to the Little Women, wrote to his friend, the Rev. William Ellery Channing:

> You must not expect those who have left to take up this great cause [of abolition] that they will plead it in all that seemliness of phrase which the scholars . . . might use. But the scholars and the clergy and the statesmen had done nothing. We abolitionists are what we are--babes, sucklings, obscure men, silly women, publicans, sinners, and we shall manage the matter we have taken in hand just as might be expected of such persons as we are. It is unbecoming in abler men who stood by, and would do nothing, to complain of us because we manage this matter no better.[17]

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[15]Martin B. Duberman, "The Abolitionists and Psychology," The Journal of Negro History, XLVII (July, 1962) in The Abolitionists, Reformers or Fanatics, ed. by Richard O. Curry (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965), 55-56.

[16]Martin B. Duberman, The Antislavery Vanguard; New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. ix.

[17]Henry Steele Commager, "The University as Employment Agency," New Republic, CLVIII, (Feb. 24, 1968) 26.

The unique contributions of the three women antislavery editor "belles of freedom," Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Lydia Maria Child, and Jane Grey Swisshelm, can be understood only with reference to the political climate and events of their day. A brief outline is in order.

First, it should be noted that a woman has been credited as being the first public advocate of immediate and unconditional abolition: Elizabeth Heyrick, in England, in her pamphlet published anonymously in 1825: "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition, or an Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery." The Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions was formed in England in 1823. Emancipation for slaves in the British West Indies came, peaceably, on August 1, 1834.[18]

Ralph Sandiford wrote the first antislavery tract ever issued in North America, in 1729. Benjamin Lay wrote the next one, published by Benjamin Franklin in 1737. Franklin became president in 1775 of the first society established in America expressly to promote emancipation: the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.[19]

Opposition to slavery in American was widespread in the early days. All members of the Continental

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[18]Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, p. 355.

[19]Lundy, Life, Travels and Opinions, p. 10.

Congress of 1774 signed a statement that they would not engage in slave trade themselves nor lease their vessels for it. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont abolished slavery; Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey passed laws for gradual abolition; Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee passed laws encouraging voluntary emancipation by slave owners. In 1787 the Northwest Territory (later Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota east of the Mississippi) was organized specifically excluding slavery.

But in a compromise, the Constitutional Convention permitted African slave trade to continue until 1808 in exchange for favorable navigation laws benefiting northern shipowners. Also, slave states won extra representation in the Congress by the three-fifths rule, five blacks--who did not vote, of course--counted as three freemen. (Thus Garrison regarded the Constitution as a pro-slavery document.)

Directly after the new government was formed, the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society petitioned the Congress to abolish slavery. The petition was pigeonholed in a committee which reported that the Congress had no power to abolish slavery in any state. At this point the antislavery movement lost its impetus.[20]

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[20] Ibid., p. 12.

In 1793 Eli Whitney invented a machine for separating cotton seeds from the fibers called, by the Negroes, a "gin"--short for "engine." Using a cotton gin, one Negro slave in a day could do the work formerly performed by fifty. A cotton-picking slave was shortly worth five times as much as he was worth in 1792. The first seven years the cotton gin was used, American cotton exports increased thirty times. Planters raced to take up all the land in the South suitable for growing cotton, and spread to Texas, a movement that caused the Mexican War.[21]

It may have been no coincidence that the year of the cotton gin, 1793, was also notable for the passage by the Congress of a Fugitive Slave Law, which gave owners the right to recapture their property in a free state after appearance before the local magistrate. Southerners often kidnapped free Negroes. Negro sympathizers soon began the Underground Railroad, whereby they spirited to freedom about 1,000 slaves a year (out of a total of 4,000,000).[22] Families friendly to the blacks hid them in their homes by day and transported them at night--sometimes covered with hay or produce in wagons--to the next stop on the way to the North, or Canada.

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[21]"Cotton Gin," World Book Engyclopedia, 1956, III, 1770.

[22]Michael Kraus, The United States to 1865, Vol. VII of The University of Michigan History of the Modern World, ed. by Allan Nevins and Howard M. Ehrmann (15 vols.; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 447.

Abolitionists such as Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Lydia Maria Child, and Jane Grey Swisshelm had to face the fact that the great slave-holding states controlled the national government from 1815 to 1860. Of the five northern presidents--John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan, not one stood against the pro-slavery men while in office. Southerners, with their abilities, their long terms of office, their habit of standing together, and their success in holding a part of the northern men with them, almost always had their way in the Congress.[23]

When the Congress "settled" the slavery question with the Missouri Compromise of 1820, antislavery agitation was given a new impetus. (The compromise admitted Missouri as a slave state balanced by Maine, formerly part of Massachusetts, as a free state, and prohibited slavery north of the Missouri southern boundary, latitude 36° 30'.)

One of the first targets of the antislavery movement was the American Colonization Society, organized in 1817 to ship Negroes off to Liberia. Southerners favored the society because they feared the influence of free Negroes on their slaves. Antislavery men called attention to the problems: shipping the blacks off implied

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[23]Hart, Slavery and Abolition, p. 169.

inferiority; many blacks did not wish to leave their native America; they were often exploited when they arrived in Liberia; and colonization was impractical. In the first thirteen years of its life the colonization society sent out about 100 blacks a year. But during that time Negro population in America increased by 500,000.[24]

Theodore Dwight Weld and Arthur and Lewis Tappan organized the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia in 1833. The society's weekly journal, the Emancipator, had the largest circulation of any antislavery newspaper. On its staff were Elizur Wright and the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. In 1840 William Lloyd Garrison, who had founded the Liberator in 1831, became president of this society and remained its controversial head for some time. Hundreds of agents lectured for the society, distributing tracts in New England, New York, and the Ohio Valley. By 1839 the antislavery societies claimed 1,350 auxiliaries with 250,000 members.[25]

A favorite activity after 1835 was to send petitions to the Congress to abolish slavery and slave trade in the District of Columbia. In 1836 the House passed the "gag" resolution that any petition related to slavery must be "laid on the table." In 1837-38 tens of thousands

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[24]Thomas, Slavery Attacked, p. 1.

[25]Morison, Oxford History of the American People, p. 519.

of petitions were sent, and the matter of freedom of petition became part of the concept of freedom of speech and the press. John Quincy Adams, then a member of the House from Massachusetts, no abolitionist, waged a skillful and unending battle for six years, finally getting the gag rule repealed in 1844.

In 1837 the antislavery editor, Elijah Lovejoy, was murdered by a mob in Alton, Illinois.

Theodore Weld, on a trip to the Gulf of Mexico to study slavery in 1831-32, had recruited James G. Birney, owner of a large slave plantation in Kentucky. Birney later began to publish the Philanthropist in Cincinnati. A mob hurled the press into the Ohio River in 1836. Birney became the first candidate of the Liberty party for President, polling 3,000 votes in 1840, and 65,000 in 1844.

In 1846 Elias Howe patented the first practical sewing machine sold to users, an invention that freed women to spend more time in antislavery agitation.

The Mexican War, 1846-48, won new converts to antislavery, men who feared a slaveowners' conspiracy to nationalize slavery.

The Compromise of 1850, admitting California to the Union as a free state and prohibiting slave trade in the national capital, but establishing a more binding Fugitive Slave Law, set the scene for a ten-year struggle.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, published in 1852, added fuel to the fire.

In 1854 Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois put together a compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in order to clear the way for a railroad to the Pacific. All of the region divided into the two states lay north of the old Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30', where slavery had been prohibited. But it was expected that the popular sovereignty provision would result in Nebraska's being a free state and Kansas a slave state. Opposing factions fought it out in "Bleeding Kansas."

That same year, 1854, the Whigs, Free Soilers (including the remnant of the Liberty party), and anti-Nebraska Act Democrats met at Jackson, Michigan, and organized a new party later called Republican.

In the late 1850's a healthy young Negro sold for $1,500 or more in the deep South.

The Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, 1857, held that the court had no jurisdiction over Scott because he was a slave and therefore not a citizen of either a state or the United States. Although Scott's master had taken him into a free state, this did not make him free. The court, dominated by Southerners, held, in a statement beyond the matter before it, that the Missouri Compromise had been unconstitutional all along: that slavery could not be excluded from any territory.

During all this time the antislavery men and women kept up a continuous agitation, but were not backed up by their churches. Before 1800 the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists had all protested slavery officially. But in 1815 the Presbyterians in their General Assembly had adopted a temporizing policy. In 1836 the Methodist Episcopal Church General Conference in Cincinnati disclaimed any right to interfere with the slave-master relationship, stating that it had no wish to meddle in the civil and political relation of master and slave. In 1838 the Presbyterians divided into the New School and Old School on doctrinal questions, but the Old School including many southern churches, did not condemn slavery. In 1844 the Methodists divided on the question whether bishops could own slaves. Even the Quakers split on slavery. In 1843, some 2,000 "radicals" formed the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends.[26]

Antislavery men met with mixed success. Massachusetts was never fully pacified until the fifties. Whittier was mobbed in Newburyport, Concord, and Plymouth in the early thirties. New York City experienced the worst disorders. Its profitable trade with the slave states and its influential group of resident Southerners combined

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[26]Hart, Slavery and Abolition, pp. 213-14. See also Del Porto, "American Antislavery Journals," p. 43.

to make the city an anti-abolitionist stronghold. New Jersey and Connecticut were never effectively canvassed for antislavery because the opposition was so great. Even in Philadelphia, in 1838, a mob burned the hall newly built by public subscription just an antislavery forces were planning a meeting there to memorialize the martyred publisher, Elijah Lovejoy.[27]

In time, the moral and legal right of a minority to speak and be heard, and to publish without fear became as important to the controversy as the abolition of slavery. Many came to support the abolitionists more to uphold civil rights than to condemn slavery. (Lincoln held the Republican party was formed to protect white men, not black.)[28]

The question has always been: How far will the civil liberties of the individual be curtailed in the interests of the majority? How will the American people react, under stress, to their own belief in their own liberties?[29]

These questions developed in a special way around the antislavery press, the setting for the activities of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Lydia Maria Child, and Jane Grey Swisshelm.

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[27]Nye, Fettered Freedom, pp. 203, 207.

[28]Ibid., p. 317.

[29]Ibid., p. x.

CHAPTER III

THE ANTISLAVERY PRESS

Item: In 1827 Austin Woolfolk, a notorious slave-trader, assaulted and nearly killed Benjamin Lundy for criticizing him in the Genius of Universal Emancipation. A Baltimore judge fined Woolfolk $1.00.[1]

Item: In 1831 the Georgia Senate offered a $5,000 reward for the apprehension and conviction of William Lloyd Garrison for inciting the Nat Turner Rebellion in which forty blacks brutally murdered sixty-one whites, mostly women and children, in Virginia. (Garrison's Liberator had not a single subscriber south of the Potomac.)[2]

Item: In 1835 a mob of respectable Boston citizens dragged Garrison through the streets with a rope around his neck until followers got him lodged in jail for his own safety. Out of at least seven Boston newspapers, all but two, the Advocate and the Reformer, approved the mob action.[3]

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[1] Genius of Universal Emancipation, Jan. 20, 1827.

[2] Liberator, Dec. 24, 1831.

[3] Ibid., Nov. 7, 1835.

Item: In 1835 a mob sacked the office of the Utica (New York) Standard and Democrat, an antislavery newspaper.

Item: In 1836 the press of James G. Birney's Philanthropist was dumped in the Ohio River by a Cincinnati mob. The Cincinnati Republican had pointed out that the interests of the city's merchants, capitalists, and tradesmen could not tolerate criticism of the slaveholders, who were the source of much business. The newspaper had called on citizens to stop the abolitionists peaceably if possible, or forcibly if necessary.[4] Birney was away when the mob came, and his assistant, Marius Robinson, escaped.

Item: In 1837 citizens of Mount Meigs, Montgomery County, Alabama, offered a $50,000 reward for the capture of Le Roy Sunderland, editor of Zion's Watchman, an antislavery newspaper, and Arthur Tappan, a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison printed the offer over a copy of an advertisement from a Maryland newspaper promising a $250 reward for a runaway slave.[5]

Item: In 1837 Birney's assistant, Marius Robinson, was dragged from the home of friends in Berlin, Mahoning County, Ohio, where he was on an antislavery lecture tour, by a mob that tarred and feathered the

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[4]Cincinnati Republican and Commercial Register, Jan. 22 and 30, 1836.

[5]Liberator, Jan. 14, 1837.

printer. (Undiscouraged, Robinson later became editor of the Anti-Slavery Bugle, Salem, Ohio.)[6]

Item: In 1837 the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, publisher of the antislavery Alton (Illinois) Observer, was murdered by a mob the fourth time the angry citizens destroyed his press.

Item: In 1838 a Philadelphia mob sacked and burned the poet John Greenleaf Whittier's Pennsylvania Freeman, an antislavery newspaper.

Item: In 1858 Minnesota enemies of freedom destroyed the press of Jane Grey Swisshelm's St. Cloud Visiter.

Item: In 1859 a mob wrecked William Bailey's Free South at Newport, Kentucky.[7]

Thus antislavery journalism was hardly a woman's game. But Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Lydia Maria Child, and Jane Grey Swisshelm pursued it as fearlessly as did their male counterparts.

In addition to assaults, burnings, dumpings, tar and feathers, and the ridicule of the established press,

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[6]Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860, The New American Nation Series, ed. by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), p. 157.

[7]Mott, American Journalism: A History, p. 307.

antislavery newspapers and their publishers faced other discouragements. First, there was no money to be made in antislavery journalism, only money to be lost.[8] Judging from a partial list of early antislavery newspapers, there may have been hundreds of these little journals begun, some lasting only a few months:[9] 1814--Manumission Journal (quarterly), Greeneville, Tennessee; 1817--Philanthropist, Mount Pleasant, Ohio; 1819--Emancipator, Jonesborough, Tennessee; 1821--Genius of Universal Emancipation, Mount Pleasant, Ohio; 1822--Abolition Intelligencer, Kentucky; 1822--Edwardsville Spectator, Illinois; 1826--African Observer, Philadelphia; 1826--National Philanthropist, Boston.

In addition to the antislavery papers published by whites, Negroes, between 1827 and 1837 published the following:[10] New York City--Freeman's Journal, Rights of All, Colored American, Elevator, and Ram's Horn; Troy, New York--National Watchman; Rochester, New York--North Star (Frederick Douglass); Toronto, Canada--Weekly Advocate.

The quick demise of many antislavery newspapers was passionately regretted by fellow editors. When the African Observer in Philadelphia went under after only one year of publication, Benjamin Lundy wrote:

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[8]Parrington, The Romantic Revolution, p. 343.

[9]Jones, Journalism in the United States, pp. 312-13.

[10]Payne, History of Journalism, pp. 228-29.

> But the "ship" is not to be "given up" while a single plank remains to float upon! The Genius Shall If Possible Live as Long at Least as the present editor does. He has cradled it, and he is now resolved to sustain it, while he has a mind capable of divising the means, and a hand able to work for its support. Even if every other person withdraws his assistance, the work shall still be published, as often as the means at command will permit. . . . Never did mortal man engage in a better cause, and never had the great almoner of Heaven's bounty a more glorious reward in store, than is laid up for those who faithfully persevere in their labors until called hence to receive it.[11]

Because some antislavery editors, such as Lundy, were able to persevere they had an effect even beyond their cause in the way Americans came to look upon the newspaper. Newspaper business came to be regarded not just as a commercial enterprise, but an undertaking dedicated to leadership of worthy public causes.[12]

The mails were a sore problem for antislavery editors. Lundy complained that many of his papers were wet and battered, or lost, perhaps dropped off the stage coaches into rivers as the coaches jolted over the rocky fords. Lundy wrote:

> In common with many others, I receive frequent accounts of irregularity in the transmission of this work by mail. One of my subscribers concludes a letter as follows:
> "I wish to know whether the papers have been regularly and seasonably put into your post office. If they have, and thus more than half lost on the passage, I must withdraw my name from your list of subscribers, for really, sir, I do not like to be reformed out of so much good reading."

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[11] Genius, April 26, 1828.

[12] Jones, Journalism in the United States, p. 314.

> I will cheerfully make the man a life-subscriber to the Genius of Universal Emancipation (provided I publish it long enough) who will give me information that shall lead to a conviction of the "reformer," or "reformers" who thus lay their un-reformed hands upon the paper, and stop its free circulation. It has been placed in the post office here, as regularly as printed, ... If the rogues can be detected, they shall have such a "reforming" as they never yet had.[13]

Elihu Embree tried in 1819 to increase the circulation of his Emancipator, published at Jonesborough, Tennessee, by sending a free copy to the governor of each state. The governors of Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina returned copies sealed so Embree had to pay letter-rate postage. The one from North Carolina cost him $1.00, the price of a year's subscription.[14]

During Andrew Jackson's administration, Southern postmasters, encouraged by Postmaster General Amos Kendall, did not deliver antislavery newspapers. John C. Calhoun, who in 1832 had resigned the Vice-Presidency and became a Senator from South Carolina, sponsored a bill forbidding postmasters to forward antislavery periodicals in any state where their circulation was forbidden by state law. The Senate defeated this bill by only a narrow margin.[15] (In most of the South, teaching a slave to read was forbidden by law.) Abolition newspapers were burned in the

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[13] Genius, May, 1830.

[14] James Melvin Lee, History of American Journalism, rev. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), p. 153.

[15] Mott, American Journalism: A History, p. 307.

public square at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1835. In the winter of 1835-36 every free-state legislature considered bills making it illegal to print anything that could be construed as inciting slaves to rebellion. None passed. But freedom of the press here met its greatest challenge. Of all the crises in American press freedom, the most bitter was that between the antislavery press and the upholders of slavery over the printing and circulation of so-called "incendiary literature."[16]

Plagiarism was an annoyance; no copyright protection was available. Lundy castigated a fellow editor for copying a piece by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler without giving her credit:

> Did the editor of the Buck's [sic] County Intelligencer read the 16th number of the tenth volume of the Genius of Universal Emancipation and is he not ashamed of his correspondent, "W," for writing and of himself for publishing in his paper of March 22 the outrageous plagiarism entitled the "Cherokee's Appeal"? The literary thief deserved the more signal punishment, as he passed off the beautiful production . . . of a female poet for the coinage of his own shallow brain! He should be chained at the foot of Parnassus for twenty years, and for the remainder of his life be soused in Lethe's oblivious pool.[17]

Although plagiarism was intolerable, copying from one another was the way antislavery editors filled their columns. In fact, the reputation of one of them--Garrison--

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[16]Lucy M. Salmon, "Five Crises in American Press Freedom," in The Press and Society, George L. Bird and Frederic E. Merwin, eds. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951), pp. 68-69.

[17]Genius, May, 1830.

depended almost entirely on the abundance of quotable invective printed in his Liberator that was widely copied and editorialized against by the established press. Few persons knew of Garrison through reading the Liberator. In 1831, the first year of his publication, he secured only fifty white subscribers. By 1833, Garrison had less than 400 whites. He had many more Negro subscribers than that as a result of his appeal to the First Annual Convention of the People of Color in 1833. Garrison once wrote that the Liberator did not belong to the whites because they did not sustain it; it belonged to the free blacks in the North. The free blacks were politically and economically impotent, however, to effect change. "The truth [was] that the Liberator was made famous not by its Northern supporters, but by its Southern enemies."[18] In any case, to be reviled by powerful enemies indicated real influence. Garrison published the Liberator until 1865. Commented the Nation: "[The Liberator] is perhaps the most remarkable instance on record of a single-hearted devotion to a cause."[19]

Historian Albert Bushnell Hart ranks the Liberator first of the antislavery newspapers in importance, and the Genius of Universal Emancipation, second.[20]

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[18]Barnes, Antislavery Impulse, p. 50.

[19]Nation, Jan. 4, 1866, p. 7.

[20]Hart, Slavery and Abolition, p. 207.

Lundy took the name of his newspaper from a phrase used by Irish orator John Philpot Curran in 1794 when he defended Archibald Hamilton Rowan against a charge of sedition. In this way Lundy placed himself in the Anglo-American tradition of resistance to injustice, tyranny, and despotism.[21]

Lundy, with the Genius of Universal Emancipation, was the link between the pioneer abolitionist editors Osborn, Bates, and Embree, and the most famous of the later ones, Garrison. Charles Osborn, a Quaker, began the

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[21]John Philpot Curran, Speeches of Right Hon. John Philpot Curran with a Brief Sketch of the History of Ireland and a Biographical Account of Mr. Curran (New York: I Riley, 1811), Vol. I, pp. 49, 52, 84. In a political move, Archibald Hamilton Rowan was charged with distributing a seditious paper in Dublin in 1792 to stir up disaffection and disloyalty to the person and government of the King. Curran, in his defense, stated that Rowan was only trying to urge needed reforms, a right of any citizen. Curran used the phrase "genius of universal emancipation" as follows:

> "I speak in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil--which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is Holy, and consecrated by the genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him, no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irrestible genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION."

weekly Philanthropist in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1817, stressing opposition to war, slavery, and intemperance. In 1818, while Lundy was on his way to St. Louis to sell his goods in preparation to joining Osborn on the Philanthropist, Osborn became discouraged and sold the newspaper to Elisha Bates, moving to Indiana to become a traveling minister. Bates published it from October 8, 1818, to April 20, 1822. He gave it up because he could not win enough support. The paper was too mild for the zealots; slaveholders remained unaffected.

Elihu Embree, a wealthy Jonesborough, Tennessee, ironmonger, in 1812 at the age of thirty had joined the Society of Friends and had made provision for the emancipation of his slaves. Later he had become clerk of the Tennessee Manumission Society, a group formed to urge masters to free their slaves voluntarily. Embree had seen the society's petitions to the legislature to ameliorate the condition of the slaves ignored. A "red-blooded crusader," Embree began in 1819 to publish the Manumission Intelligencer, a weekly called by William Birney the first in the United States whose avowed object was the abolition of slavery. Embree changed over to a monthly, the Emancipator, which he published from April 30, 1820, until October 31, when he died.[22]

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[22]Del Porto, "American Antislavery Journals," pp. 43-45. See also William Birney, James G. Birney and His Times (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1890), p. 77. [Elihu

Lundy could have joined Osborn's successor, Bates but the latter, as Lundy wrote, "did not come up to my standard of antislavery.[23] He heard of Embree's death and decided to found a newspaper to carry on Embree's work. Thus he began to publish the Genius of Universal Emancipation in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, a thriving industrial town in the eastern section, a Quaker center with a high degree of culture.[24] After Lundy had published eight monthly issues, walking the twenty miles to Steubenville to get them printed, he accepted the offer of the Manumission Society of Tennessee to use the press bought for Embree, and he moved the Genius to Greeneville, Tennessee. He traveled half the four hundred miles on foot, his family following later. There he learned the printer's trade, so he could do his own work. Besides the Genius, he published a weekly paper, the Greeneville Economist and Statesman, and an agricultural monthly.

In Tennessee Lundy had so much trouble with the mails--he lost between two hundred and three hundred subscribers who were not receiving the paper regularly--that after two years he decided to move to Baltimore. The city

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Embree] The Emancipator, Published by Elihu Embree, Jonesborough, Tennessee, 1820; with a Sketch of Embree by Robert H. White (Nashville: Murphy, 1932), pp. viii-x.

[23]Lundy, Life, Travels and Opinions, p. 19.

[24]Annetta C. Walsh, "Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers Published in Ohio Prior to 1823," Ohio Archaelogical and Historical Quarterly, XXXI (April, 1922), 172.

had the added advantage of being nearer centers of information. He made the trip from Tennessee on foot, pack on back, in 1824. At Deep Creek, North Carolina, he made his first public address on slavery in a grove near the Friends' Meeting House and inspired formation of an antislavery society. On the way to Baltimore he formed fifteen to twenty antislavery societies, mostly among Quakers, but one was in a militia company. Lundy expressed himself as a gradualist, and thus these southerners were not alarmed. In Baltimore, Lundy enlarged the Genius, beginning in 1825, making it a weekly. He employed a North Carolina convert, William Swain, as assistant. Swain put out the paper while Lundy was on trips for the antislavery cause. Lundy went to Hayti for several months in 1825 to set up a colony for free blacks. (After that he always published one page of the Genius in French to accommodate his subscribers in Hayti.) When he returned he found that his wife had died and his five children were scattered.[25]

Lundy continued to travel, lecture, and collect subscriptions. He carried with him in his trunk his direction book, his column rules, and his type heading so that he could put out the paper wherever he happened to be.[26] In 1828, after the brutal assault by Austin Woolfolk,

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[25]Garrison, Garrison by His Children, pp. 88-89.

[26]Goodell, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, p. 386.

which nearly killed Lundy, he went to Philadelphia to attend the first meeting held to encourage the use of free-labor products. He went on to New York, where he met Arthur Tappan, and then to Boston, where he met Garrison and recruited him for the antislavery cause.

Just before Garrison joined Lundy in Baltimore, Garrison decided to advocate immediate and unconditional emancipation. Taken aback, Lundy said: "Thee may put thy initials to thy articles, and I will put my initials to mine, and each will bear his own burden."[27] The Lundy-Garrison partnership lasted only from September 2, 1829, until March 5, 1830. While Lundy was on a journey, Garrison was jailed for libel and ordered to pay costs of $100. The editor of the Baltimore Minerva asserted that Garrison could have easily raised the money; that he went to jail to arouse sympathy. Lundy responded: "Possibly the money might have been raised for him, if any one had offered to do it."[28] Lundy persuaded Arthur Tappan, the New York silk merchant prominent in antislavery circles, to pay the fine after Garrison had been incarcerated for forty-nine days. The partnership was dissolved. Lundy blamed Garrison for exposing the Genius to what started as a $5,000 libel suit; Garrison thought Lundy too gentle to

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[27]Garrison, Garrison by His Children, p. 140.

[28]Genius, June, 1830.

be effective.[29] But Lundy bore no grudge. In the January, 1831, issue of the Genius, he announced:

> Just as this paper was going to Press I received the first number of The Liberator published at Boston by William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp. . . . It is neatly executed and, as might be expected, a warm "enthusiastic" advocate of the total, immediate, abolition of slavery. Let every one subscribe for it that can spare two dollars a year. Subscriptions will be received at the offices of the Genius of Universal Emancipation in Washington and Baltimore.

In the Genius for April, 1830, Lundy had written that he still hoped for an assistant. He had been at it for nine years and had seen a gradual increase in interest. But between the apathy of the interested and the outright opposition of others, he could not accomplish his dream of going weekly again. He reported:

> I have sacrificed several thousand dollars of my own hard earnings; have traveled upwards of five thousand miles on foot, and more than twenty thousand in other ways; have visited nineteen states of the Union, held more than two hundred public meetings with view of making known our object. . . . [taken] two voyages to the West Indies by which means the liberation of a considerable number of slaves has been effected, and I hope way paved for many more.

Six months later, in October, 1830, the Genius announced another move, this time to Washington, D.C., to be at the seat of the national government. (Another reason for moving was the threat of more libel suits.) Lundy pledged to work for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1833 Lundy moved the Genius to

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[29]Nye, William Lloyd Garrison, pp. 26-27.

Philadelphia. Lundy published the last eleven issues of the Genius in Lowell, Illinois, where his two eldest daughters, both married, had settled. His last issue was November, 1835. He died in 1839.[30]

Lundy's editorial in the July, 1822, issue at the beginning of his second year of publication showed his style and determination:

> Nothing is wanting to enable us to rid ourselves of this political Bohan Upas, but the disposition and the will to do it; and nothing more is requisite to create this disposition, than to arouse the slumbering faculties of a humane people, and by painting the monster of corruption in its true colours, and exhibiting it in its naked deformity, to induce them to reflect upon the consequences of suffering it to exist amongst them.
>
> The path we have chosen is a thorny one, but clothed with the impenetrable mantle of truth, and guided by honesty and justice, nothing that shall be arrayed against us will be able to impede our march.

The format of the Genius varied. Early issues were sixteen pages, four and one-half by seven and one-half inches folded in octavo form, two columns on a page, the articles headed with one-line titles. A vignette of an American eagle surmounted the title of the paper. The motto below quoted the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with

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[30]Letter, Jane Howell to Thomas Chandler, May 29, 1838, University of Michigan, Michigan Historical Collections, Chandler Papers.

certain inalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." The running head was "Fiat justitia ruat caelum,": ("Let there be justice, though the heavens fall"). The head of the first column was an engraving of Curran's idealization of the spirit of liberty, from which the paper derived its name.

Although no circulation figures for the Genius are available, the long lists of agents authorized to receive subscriptions and moneys for the editor published in each issue showed a wide circulation. Subscriptions were $1.00 a year, and agents could get six subscriptions for $5.00. Even as early as the July, 1822, issue, agents were listed with the following addresses, some locations with as many as nine agents:

> Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas Territory, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and West Florida.

The issue of May, 1832, listed sixty agents with the reminder that remittances should be sent in "current money of the United States" and addressed "free of expense" to Benjamin Lundy, Washington, D.C.

The Genius was shabbily printed, but its influence was wide and its historical value can hardly be overestimated. According to William Birney, the Genius "is a repository of all the plans for the abolition of slavery, of all laws, opinions, arguments, essays, speeches, views,

statistics, constitutions of societies, colonization efforts, and political movements [of the period]."[31]

A typical issue of the Genius, that of May, 1832, carried a wide variety of material. Lundy took four pages to describe his trip to Canada looking for a place he could publicize as suitable for Negro emigration. There were stories about the kidnapping of Negroes and articles aimed against the American Colonization Society. A special feature (often found) was a "Black List" column detailing unusual cases of cruelty to slaves. Lundy discussed the Texas question, noting that Mexico had prohibited slavery. A story reported the recent founding of the African Education Society by the colored people of Pittsburgh. On the back page a grocer offered a premium for free-labor rice. Correspondents wrote in from Canada, England, Hayti, and Monrovia, Africa. Four pages of the issue carried the "Ladies' Repository" section.

The Ladies' Repository was the department edited by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, who wrote most of it herself and who also contributed other material. She began to write for the Genius in 1826. Lundy recorded: "She thought nothing about slavery the, but wrote on other subjects, until her feelings were awakened by reading the paper."[32] As Garrison noted later: "Her industry was

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[31]Walsh, "Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers," p. 203.

[32]Lundy, Life, Travels and Opinions, p. 25.

unceasing and her brother editors greatly valued her aid."[33]

Thus entered the scene the first of the anti-slavery journalist "belles of freedom,"--"the first woman in America to devote her time and talents to the cause of the slave."[34]

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[33]Garrison, Garrison by His Children, p. 145.

[34]Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, with a Memoir of Her Life and Character by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836), pp. 12-13.

THE GENIUS OF

THOU SHALT ACQUIT

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

A

MONTHLY PERIODICAL WORK,

DEVOTED TO THE SUBJECT OF

African Slavery.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY.

No. 2 Vol. I. May 1830. Third Series.

Baltimore:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR BY LUCAS AND DEAVER,

No. 19, South Calvert-Street.

THE GENIUS OF

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT $1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."—*Decl. Ind. U. S.*

No. 2. Vol. I. Third Series.] MAY, 1830. [Whole Number 254. Vol. XI.

☞ Subscribers to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, who have paid for the weekly paper a year in advance, will receive the monthly a longer time, or may each have another copy, at their option. They will, if they choose the latter, give the editor information, through the medium of post-masters, or his agents. *Back numbers* of the monthly paper may be had at any time.

☞ Since the last number of this work was issued, many of our friends have expressed their regret for the necessity of the change from a weekly to a monthly publication. Some have tendered the promise of further assistance in its circulation, if my late partner and myself will resume it in form, style, &c. as it appeared previous to the change aforesaid. One gentleman has publicly offered, thro' the medium of a mutual friend, to become responsible for *one hundred copies, to be paid for in advance*, on that condition. This is, indeed, a flattering proposal, the more so as he is entirely unknown to us—and he will please accept our thanks for his favorable opinion of our humble labors.—But even with that addition to our subscription list, we should not be safe in recommencing the weekly paper. If, however, it shall be found that the advocates of our cause are prepared to aid its circulation *so as to enable us both to remain at home to superintend it*, we shall have no objections to renewing the weekly publication. ☞ If they will give us a patronage that we can *live by*, we are *ready for them*.

But whether the weekly paper be resumed or not, *it will be continued monthly*. Its friends are, therefore, earnestly desired to assist in giving a more extensive circulation to it in this form. For terms see the proprietors, on the outside of the cover.

THE LIBEL SUIT.

Termination of the Trial.—Indictment of W. L. Garrison!

At length a jury has been found, willing to second the efforts of the slavites, in denouncing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and shielding the abettors of the American Slave Trade from public reproach.

The Libel Suit, instituted by Todd, of Newburyport, has been decided in his favor; and my late partner is now IN PRISON!! Here he must remain, until he complies with his sentence, and pays his fine with the costs of suit. Strange as it may seem to our friends, elsewhere, the *truth* cannot be told, here, relative to the accursed traffic in human flesh, without danger of insult, abuse, and bonds!!! And *very few* DARE to speak freely of the state of things. The printers are even afraid to put a commentary upon it.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

VOLUME XI.

The object and character of this work are too well known to require much to be said. It has been published nearly nine years, and circulated in all the States of this Union, as well as in the West Indies, and some parts of Europe. It was issued in *monthly* numbers about four years from the commencement, and since then *semi-monthly*, with the exception of a few short intervals. It is now published monthly, again, though in an improved form, and exclusively devoted to the subject of *African Slavery*.

Within a few years, the original proprietor has travelled much, and has been necessitated to depend somewhat upon the assistance of others to conduct the work. It is now solely under his own control; and he is resolved to devote his undivided attention to it, if a patronage shall be obtained that will justify it. He pledges himself that he will steadily maintain the great fundamental principles which he has ever professed to advocate; and the course to be pursued hereafter, will not materially vary from that which he has marked out in the beginning. The corrupt sources of the horrible evil of slavery shall be traced; this fatal gangrene upon the body politic shall be probed; and the healing balm shall be applied when the putrid mass is removed. Every possible investigation will be made, as to the state of the slave system, and what is doing relative to its perpetuation, or abolition, in the various parts of the United States and the West Indies. Every exertion will also be made to show what *can be done, with propriety and safety*, towards eradicating this enormous and increasing evil from the American soil.

Terms of Subscription.

The work will, henceforth, be issued in the early part of every month. It will be neatly printed, on fine paper, and folded in the octavo form, each number making 16 large pages. It will be stitched, with an elegant cover; and (in case it shall be sufficiently patronized) accompanied with an appropriate engraving.

The price, to subscribers, will be One Dollar, *per annum*, always to be paid *in advance*.

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PART II. THE BELLES OF FREEDOM

CHAPTER IV

ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER

"Who is your female editor?" the poet John Greenleaf Whittier asked Benjamin Lundy, publisher of the Genius of Universal Emancipation. "She is a pretty writer--very--And her poetical correspondent is also creditable to your paper. 'The Devoted' was worthy of Mrs. Hemens."[1]

John Greenleaf Whittier's "pretty writer" and the "poetical correspondent" were one and the same: Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. Elizabeth did most of her writing anonymously or under various pseudonyms. The department she edited in the Genius from 1829 until her death in 1834 was signed, simply, "Principally Conducted by a Lady." It was not that she lacked moral courage or doubted the propriety of a woman's writing and editing for a newspaper that led her to withhold her name. Rather, Elizabeth disciplined herself to avoid the pitfall of pride,

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[1]Letter, Thomas Chandler to William Lloyd Garrison, Nov. 4, 1834, University of Michigan, Michigan Historical Collections, Chandler Papers. (All letters cited in this chapter are in the Chandler Papers of the Michigan Historical Collections.)

the vanity that might come from public acclaim.[2]

Under the plain Quaker bonnet and beneath the voluminous folds of gray or dun colored gown (dull in hue but perhaps made of the finest China silk, brought back by a relative who chartered clipper ships),[3] surged a passion equal to that of the most celebrated courtesan. Her portrait shows an attractive young woman with a full oval face, large dark eyes under heavy arching brows, dark hair piled high on her head, a bow mouth, and an expression of happy alertness. She was a small woman (weight about a hundred pounds). Friends found her amiable, with a tender feeling for her associates and a sensitive eye for the beauties of nature.[4] Her passion coursed through a single channel--the cause of abolition of slavery.

Benjamin Lundy wrote:

> She was the first American female author that ever made this subject the principal theme of her active

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[2]Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, with a Memoir of Her Life and Character by Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836), p. 16.

[3]Mrs. Erwin Broecker, private interview in the more than 100-year-old family homestead, 327 Capital Ave. N.E., Battle Creek, Mich., Jan. 12, 1969. Miss Chandler was the great-great-aunt of Mrs. Broecker, who has the keeping of the family mementos, including Miss Chandler's portrait, two notebooks in her hand, some family gowns of the period, and personal effects.

[4]Sarah G. Bowerman, "Elizabeth Margaret Chandler," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. by Allen Johnson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), III, 613.

> exertions; . . . no one of her sex, in America, has hitherto contributed as much to the enlightenment of the public mind, relative to this momentous question, as she has done. In short, she ranked as second to none, among the female philanthropists of modern times, who have devoted their attention to it, if we except the justly celebrated Elizabeth Heyrick of England:--and had her valuable life been prolonged, there can be no doubt that her well-merited fame would soon, at least, have rivalled that of [this] distinguished . . . author.[5]

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler was born December 24, 1807, at Centre, Delaware, near Wilmington, the youngest of the three children of Dr. Thomas Chandler, a descendant of English Quaker settlers along the Delaware River, and his wife, Margaret Evans, of Burlington, New Jersey. The family lived in easy circumstances while Dr. Chandler farmed. When his wife died he moved to Philadelphia, resuming his medical practice. He left his sons, Thomas and William, and daughter, Elizabeth, in care of their maternal grandmother in Burlington, New Jersey. Elizabeth was sent to a Friends' school in Philadelphia until she was thirteen. When she was nine years old her father died. Besides the moral influences of the Friends' school and her pious grandmother, Elizabeth had the admonitions of her three aunts, Ruth, Jane, and Amelia Evans to guard her against the temptations of the "giddy, thoughtless

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[5]Chandler, Poetical Works, pp. 12-13.

votaries of fashion and vitiating amusement, in the gay metropolis of Pennsylvania."[6]

By the time she was nine Elizabeth had begun to write verses noticed by those about her. After she left school she continued to read widely. By the age of sixteen she was publishing in the press. Elizabeth particularly enjoyed American history and Indian lore, and exploring the countryside. She turned out many graceful verses celebrating the beauties of nature, typical of the romantic period in literature that was characteristic of the day.

When she was eighteen, Elizabeth happened to read a sermon on slavery by a minister of the Society of Friends. It inspired her to write her first piece on slavery, a poem, "The Slave Ship," depicting the agonies of the captured chief and his decision, at last, for suicide:

> "But ye shall--yes, again ye shall fondly embrace me
> We will meet, my young bride, in the land of the blest;
> Death, death once again in my country shall place me
> One bound shall forever from fetters release me!"
> He burst them, and sank in the ocean's dark breast.[7]

The poem, to her great indignation, won only third prize in a contest sponsored by the Casket--"I still consider it

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[6]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 6.

[7]Ibid., p. 136.

equal to those that were exalted above it," she wrote her friend, Hannah Townsend.[8] But it caught the attention of Benjamin Lundy. An introduction and an invitation to write for the Genius followed. She began to write on a variety of topics, particularly on the outrages inflicted on the Indians by the white man. Gradually she centered all her efforts on ameliorating the plight of the slave.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler began to write regularly for the Genius in 1826. In 1829 Benjamin Lundy asked her to take charge of a female department, the "Ladies' Repository." She wrote most of the material in this one-and-a-half to four-page section, besides editing other copy, and also wrote most of the correspondence, signing it with various pseudonyms.

There is no record of any financial arrangement between Benjamin Lundy and his female contributor-editor. Lundy sacrificed thousands of dollars of his own money in publishing the Genius. From time to time he had an assistant, who must have been paid. But it is questionable that he had any money to pay Elizabeth. However, the fact that he depended on her as one would a paid assistant, not just a sometime volunteer, leads to the conclusion that there might have been some remuneration. A letter from her brother suggests this, also. After her grandmother

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[8] Ibid., p. 12.

died, in 1827, Elizabeth lived with her aunt, Ruth Evans, and her brother, Thomas, in Philadelphia. By 1830 Thomas was restless to leave off store-keeping and push west to Michigan. He wrote to his brother William that their plans might be delayed because "Elizabeth is engaged in a little work which will probably bring her something handsome."[9] The "something handsome" might have been in connection with Elizabeth's work for the Genius, or it could have been some poems or essays for other publications.

All the while that Elizabeth was turning out her antislavery pieces for the Genius she was also writing for the literary journals of the day. On a visit to the family near Wilmington she wrote that she enjoyed a ramble along the Brandywine and was working on "Noah," a paraphrase of the Bible story:

> If I have time I will try to get something ready for the Pearl.--I find it difficult to chain my ideas to one point sufficiently for serious writing. . . . If Tom calls I should like brother to ask him how Carey and Lea liked the entitles sent to the Souvenir--and what will be published.[10]

Elizabeth's Aunt Jane Howell in Philadelphia commented on the result of the Brandywine ramble:

> In looking over the newspaper yesterday in a review of the Atlantic Souvenir for 1831, I saw the following enconium on the production of my dear niece's pen which I have copied verbatim. "Miss E. M. Chandler has

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[9]Letter, Thomas Chandler to William Chandler, Feb. 12, 1830.

[10]Letter, Elizabeth Chandler to Ruth Evans, May 19, 1829.

> frequently distinguished herself in this Annual by chased [sic] and vigorous poetry. Her poem entitled "Brandywine" will add to her enviable fame."[11]

It was basic to Elizabeth's character to strive not to court favorable attention for her work. She wrote to her friend, Hannah Townsend:

> I do not profess to be totally careless of literary distinction, though I am more so than I have heretofore been, and that certainly forms, if I know myself, no part of my motives in advocating the cause of Emancipation. On the contrary, my interest in that cause is the master feeling which I believe has done more than any thing else in chasing away the other.[12]

She flagellated herself almost as a mystic might in an attempt to remain modest, until she may not have been really conscious of the high quality of her work or her example:

> I am continually humbled in detecting mixed motives in almost all I do. Such struggling of pride in my endeavors after humility--such irresolution in my firmest purposes--so much imperfection in my best actions--such fresh fruits of selfishness where I hoped the plant itself was eradicated--such infirmity of will--such proneness to earth in my highest aspirations after heaven! . . . When I think of my oft-repeated resolutions frittered away into nothing--of the moments and hours wasted upon trifles, or in sloth or profitless musings--of the risings of irritation or impatience in a temper which I hoped was better disciplined-- . . . there is reproach and mortification in the retrospect.[13]

In 1830 Thomas and Elizabeth, their aunt, Ruth

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[11]Letter, Jane Howell to Ruth Evans, Oct. 10, 1830.

[12]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 38.

[13]Ibid., p. 37.

Evans, and their little bond servant, Emily, did make the trip to Michigan Territory. They settled on a farm in Lenawee County they called "Hazelbank" on the margin of the Raisin River between Adrian and Tecumseh. Elizabeth continued to do her work for the Genius by mail.

A long letter from Benjamin Lundy to Elizabeth in the spring of 1831 might almost cause the fevered imagination to consider whether there could have been a hint of romance between the two. If so, there is no record of any sort of declaration. (In a letter two years later Lundy was far less personal--more business-like.) The letter of May 4, 1831, was playful, almost tender in places. Lundy described a wedding party he attended, not arriving until the ceremony and the dinner were over. He evidently made up fast for the food he had missed until:

> [My friends] sincerely commiserated my very hard lot in being deprived of the dinner: I did not regret it much for there were so many handsome young ladies in the company I soon forgot it. Notwithstanding the impressive quality of some of the young as well as the aged, we had, I assure thee quite a lively time of it.

Lundy was forty-three when he wrote this, but evidently still young at heart. Elizabeth was then twenty-four. He had been a widower for six years. He tried to entice her back out of the wilderness:

> Ah! what enticement--what prospect of gratification, fame (?) or usefulness could be held out to thy view, to dispel the charm and draw thee from a deep seclusion that almost hides thee from the face of the world? My valued friend if thee knew but half the good thee is

> doing in the holy cause to which thee has so nobly devoted thy attention for years, I am sure thee would see the propriety of placing thyself in a situation where thee might have every advantage that the most extensive and early information of passing events would give thee.

Lundy wrote that he admired Elizabeth's description of the Chandler farm in Michigan Territory:

> There was [so] much melody in [your] statement that I was quite gratified with it, for I am fond of music especially on winter evenings. In short, I am glad thee philosophises so wisely. Surely thee could reconcile thyself to most situations in life! Music among the trees in a dreary northern winter! . . . [But] did thee not occasionally grow weary of listening to the tones of Nature's magnificent Aeolian? . . . But when people are determined to be pleased with anything, it is useless to undertake to thwart them in their purpose.

Lundy continued, suggesting topics for articles and poems, and promising to send her material, and to see that she received the Liberator regularly. Then he advised her of his situation:

> It rejoices me to find thee so ardent in the great cause, and it will be pleasing to thee to learn, that my prospects are now better than ever they have been since I commenced the publication of the Genius. I shall be able I trust to make a good establishment in Washington as soon as I complete the great tour that I have in view.

Almost, Lundy seemed to place himself in a position in which he might court Elizabeth. He was about to make a long trip to New York and Canada, and he asked where Elizabeth lived from Detroit because he intended to visit her:

> Thee will, no doubt smile at the idea of an itinerant editor, and probably laugh outright to think of an itinerant periodical. But never mind, I have often

> conned the Negro Maxim "Continuance, half work, Massa." I will "continue" many schemes, before I abandon a purpose that I have once resolved on.

Perhaps this writer read too much between the lines. But it was a disappointment not to find an account of Lundy's visit to Hazelbank in 1831, assuming he did get there. (Lundy did have Elizabeth's portrait. After his death the Chandlers recovered it by offering Lundy's heirs the original cost, $10.00.)

The Chandlers traveled to Michigan Territory by boat to Detroit. Elizabeth described Detroit as dirty. But, she remarked, the whitewashed log cabin that was the Governor's mansion had grounds giving it quite the appearance of a gentleman's residence. Soon after the travelers left Detroit, the stage suddenly stopped and everyone descended to cross on foot the series of worn, loose, uneven logs that made the bridge over the River Rouge. Michigan roads were rough but not dangerous. The party reached Tecumseh, a long day's journey from Detroit, battered, but with their bones still in the proper sockets. On the next First-day the Chandlers attended Meeting:

> The road wound through quiet and beautiful openings, dotted occasionally with log dwellings, and small spots of improved land; but for the most part, still remaining in their own native loveliness. . . . One of the greatest charms of these "openings" is their

> perfect tranquillity. . . . religious quietness. . . . I have never elsewhere felt such a stillness.[14]

The area where the Chandlers settled was remote and primitive but not isolated. It was largely a Quaker community, some coming from Mount Pleasant, Ohio, where Lundy had begun the Genius. Ann Comstock, wife of Darius Comstock, neighbor to the Chandlers and one of the leading citizens, was a relative of Lundy's. In 1830 in nearby Adrian, the first temperance society in Michigan was founded. Philanthropic causes and intellectual interests occupied the settlers. In 1832 they formed the Adrian Library Company (novels excluded). The Chandlers bought a $3.00 share so they could borrow books. Newspapers from Philadelphia, New York, and Boston circulated. A young Quaker woman came up from Mount Pleasant, Ohio, to give lectures on chemistry, astronomy, and natural philosophy.[15]

In 1832 Elizabeth Margaret Chandler led in the formation of the Logan Female Anti-Slavery Society, the first antislavery association in Michigan Territory. Elizabeth wrote to her friend, Hannah Townsend, a member of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia, to which Elizabeth had belonged, that the new society had

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[14] Chandler, Poetical Works, pp. 30-31. (The landscape has changed so much with the increase in population, commercial, industrial, and highway development, that today the family cannot identify the exact location of "Hazelbank.")

[15] Letter, Elizabeth Chandeler to William Chandler, Feb. 3, 1833.

but few members but was growing. Lundy had lent her some free-produce articles from England which she passed around to evoke interest. This small beginning by Elizabeth Chandler built support for the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society. Initiative for the state society came from the Presbyterians, heirs of the inspiration of Weld and Finney. But more than a hundred Lenawee County citizens, mostly Quakers, more than twice the number from any other county, signed the call to the organizational meeting at the Presbyterian Church in Ann Arbor in 1836. Darius Comstock chaired the meeting, and Thomas Chandler served on the three-man committee to draw up the constitution.[16]

Elizabeth Chandler had much to do with giving her community its distinctive moral tone. "Indeed, her humanitarian zeal could hardly have been exceeded by any other settler in Michigan Territory at that early date, and her fame as a reformer certainly was not."[17] She met opposition, however, even in the little antislavery society. The Quakers had emancipated all their slaves years before, and the ruling members did not approve of antislavery agitation. As one of the female antislavery society members wrote:

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[16]Merton L. Dillon, "Elizabeth Chandler and the Spread of Antislavery Sentiment to Michigan," Michigan History, XXXIX (1955), 481-94.

[17]Ibid., p. 484.

> Elizabeth Margaret Chandler was of the Hicksite division of Friends, and as Presbyterian and other religious denominations came into our antislavery society, meetings were frequently opened with prayer, and that was thought to be "letting down the principles of ancient Friends." And the subject of slavery was considered too exciting for Friends to engage in, by many Friends of that day.[18]

As evidence of how strongly some of the Friends felt about the antislavery agitation, Elizabeth's neighbor, Laura Haviland, with her parents--her father a minister of the Friends for thirty years and her mother an elder--broke with this church and joined the Wesleyan Methodists. The Wesleyans had previously separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church to take a stand against slavery. Laura Haviland's brother, Harvey Smith, who had attended Oberlin Institute (later Oberlin College), sold his farm and erected buildings to accommodate fifty students. In 1837 the family opened Raisin Institute, the only school in Michigan that would admit Negroes. All the principals for the first twelve years came from Oberlin College, which had opened its doors to Negroes in 1835. Laura spent the rest of her life hiding runaway slaves and helping them escape. Thus the work of antislavery agitation initiated by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler both influenced and was influenced by others in her community.

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[18]Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life-Work; Labors, and Experiences (Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co., 1887), pp. 32-33.

Elizabeth Chandler's poems were written in the same sentimental vein as those of European writers of the early nineteenth century.[19] Her work was inspired by a burning moral purpose, but viewed as literature her best poetry was not the antislavery pieces, but those expressing her love of beauty and showing tenderness, critics have written. Those poems most acclaimed were: "The Brandywine," "Schuylkill," "The Sunset Hour," and "Summer Morning."[20]

"The Brandywine" celebrated the beauties of this stream as it flowed near the author's birthplace:

> My foot has climb'd the rocky summit's height,
> And in mute rapture, from its lofty brow,
> Mine eye is gazing round me with delight,
> On all of beautiful, above, below:
> The fleecy smoke-wreath upward curling slow,
> The silvery waves half hid with bowering green,
> That far beneath in gentle murmurs flow,
> Or onward dash in foam and sparkling sheen,--
> While rocks and forest-boughs hide half the distant scene.[21]

Elizabeth wrote about the Revolutionary War battle of the Brandywine, "the death-bed of the brave." The poem concluded with the writer's picking up a pebble and a wild rose, for remembering.

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[19]Lorenzo Dow Turner, Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature Prior to 1865 (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1927), pp. 1-2.

[20]Rufus W. Griswold, "The Female Poets of America," Philadelphia American Sentinel, Nov. 28, 1834.

[21]Chandler, Poetical Works, pp. 47-50.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler Album Page

"Schuylkill" was written in someone's album in a "remember-me" vein. It describes another river, then calls the reader to:

> Look on the page
> Of Schuylkill's pictured beauty! that is such--
> And thou may'st gaze, till it shall waken thoughts
> Treasured in memory--for thou has watch'd
> The flashing of its waters, and has stood,
> Perchance, beside them, when the moonlight made
> The scene a paradise, and friends were nigh
> Smiling with their glad eyes upon thy joy;[22]

In both "The Sunset Hour" and the "Summer Morning" Elizabeth wrote in praise of natural beauties and then, in the final stanzas, contrasted this beauty with man's inhumanity to the slaves. Thus these two poems should be placed with her antislavery work. "The Sunset Hour," for example, ends:

> Hath God's rich mercy form'd the earth so beautifully bright,
> For man to wrap his brother's soul in gloominess and night?
> That all its charms must be unseen, its loveliness unfelt,
> By eyes and hearts all dimm'd and broke by cruelty and guilt.
>
> No! never hath he meant that those, within whose forms are shrined
> The rich and deep capacities of an undying mind,
> Should 'neath a brother's foot be crush'd, be loaded with his chains,
> And drain, to feed his riot waste, the life-blood from their veins.[23]

---

[22] Ibid., pp. 147-48. An album of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler's writings and selections chosen for her by friends remains in the keeping of Mrs. Broecker in Battle Creek. Several exquisite vignettes in water colors, probably by Elizabeth, decorate the pages. A copy of one is bound with this study.

[23] Ibid., p. 78.

In the less frenetic day when Elizabeth Margaret Chandler wrote, poetry was at least as popular a vehicle for protest writing as was prose. Elizabeth, and also Lydia Maria Child, worked the antislavery theme into many forms: hard sell essays, sentimental stories, allegories, letters, dialogues and poems. Elizabeth seemed conscious of the problem the person with only one theme was to her friends. In the poem, "To Those I Love," she wrote:

> Oh, turn ye not displeased away, though I should sometimes seem
> Too much to press upon your ear, an oft-repeated theme;
> The story of the negro's wrongs is heavy at my heart,
> And can I choose but wish from you a sympathizing part?[24]

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler did not come to her knowledge of slavery first hand, as did the Grimké sisters, who were originally slave owners. It was her powers of empathy that made it possible for her to show poignantly the sad lot of the slave. Her verses appealed to the emotions; they were especially directed to women:

> Think of our country's glory,
> All dimm'd with Afric's tears--
> Her broad flag stain'd and gory
> With the hoarded guilt of years!
>
> Think of the frantic mother,
> Lamenting for her child,
> Til falling lashes smother
> Her cries of anguish wild!
>
> Think of the prayers ascending,
> Yet shriek'd alas! in vain,
> When heart from heart is rending
> Ne'er to be join'd again

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[24] Ibid., p. 66.

Shall we behold, unheeding,
  Life's holiest feelings crush'd?--
When woman's heart is bleeding,
  Shall woman's voice be hush'd?

Oh, no! by every blessing
  That Heaven to thee may lend--
Remember their oppression,
  Forget not, sister, friend.[25]

While Lydia Maria Child, in 1833, published for both sexes in An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler in 1829 published her position on slavery as "An Appeal to the Ladies of the United States." She did not presume to speak to the men, but directed herself to the women. Elizabeth published her appeal in the Genius, beginning:

> It has been frequently asserted, that, to the heart of woman, the voice of humanity has never yet appealed in vain--that her ear is never deaf to the cry of suffering, nor her active sympathies ever unheeded when called upon, in behalf of the oppressed. If this be true, then surely we have no reason to fear, that we will listen with cold, careless inattention to our appeal for those who are among the outcasts of creation--our African slave population.[26]

Elizabeth made several points in her appeal: (1) Many good persons have been educated to believe that slavery is a necessary evil. Sounds of gaiety from the slave compound prove that slavery is not a bad life. Remember, Elizabeth wrote, that women on their knees begging for mercy are horsewhipped, and that the slave child is torn away from his mother to be sold--thus slavery is intolerable.

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[25] Ibid., p. 64.

[26] Ibid., p. 17.

(2) Women, although convinced that slavery is evil, feel powerless to destroy it. She replied:

> Are ye not sisters, and daughters, and wives, and mothers? and have ye no influence over those who are bound to you by the closest ties of relationship? Is it not your task to give the first bent to the minds of those, who at some future day are to be their country's counsellors, and her saviours?[27]

She went on to write that even though slavery was considered a political matter not seemly for women to interfere with: "Would it not be better that women should lose somewhat of their dependent and retiring character, than that they should become selfish and hard-hearted?"[28] (3) All who use the products of slave labor are guilty of supporting the evil. In her columns in the Genius she promoted the free-produce societies that bought up cotton untouched by slave labor, had it manufactured, and sold it at a premium price to the antislavery public. Elizabeth pressed women to deny themselves sugar, which was produced by slave labor under especially brutal conditions:

> No, no, pretty sugar-plums! stay where you are!
> Though my grandmother sent you to me from so far;
> You look very nice, you would taste very sweet,
> And I love you right well, yet not one will I eat.
>
> For the poor slaves have labour'd, far down in the south,
> To make you so sweet and so nice for my mouth;
> But I want no slaves toiling for me in the sun,
> Driven on with the whip, till the long day is done.[29]

(4) The slave is a child of God with an eternal soul and therefore cannot be transmuted into property. (5) Slavery

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[27] Ibid., p. 19. [28] Ibid., p. 23.

[29] Ibid., p. 108.

is prohibited by the Scriptures and by the Declaration of Independence. (6) Negro inferiority is not inherent but due to their position as slaves.

These are the points, repeated in various ways, that Elizabeth stressed in the Genius. To emphasize women's place in antislavery, Elizabeth wrote an allegory, "The Tears of Woman." The Angel of Justice stood ready to smite those who made bondmen of their brothers, but the Angel of Philanthropy begged to be given a chance. He pleaded with men to abolish slavery. But prejudice and selfishness were too strong. Then he called on woman. Too weak for the task, she wept in pity. And her tears rusted the chains that had bound the slaves.

One of Elizabeth's most widely copied poems emphasized this theme of the sisterhood women shared:

> Daughters of the Pilgrim sires,
> Dwellers by their mouldering graves,
> Watchers of their altar fires,
> Look upon your country's slaves.
> . . . . . .
> Are not woman's pulses warm
> Beating in this anguished breast?
> Is it not a sister's form,
> On whom these fetters rest?
>
> Oh, then, save her from a doom,
> Worse than all that ye may bear;
> Let her pass not to the tomb
> 'Midst her bondage and despair.[30]

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[30] Ibid., pp. 114-16.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler's work was copied by many of the periodicals of the day.[31] Some of her poems were set to music and sung as hymns in the great anti-slavery conventions. In one case an aged widow who read Elizabeth's columns in the Genius was so touched that she emancipated her slaves.[32]

The logotype "Ladies' Repository" was set single-column in a half circle of display type. Later, an old-English style was used, probably Foundry Cloister Black. Under the logotype was the heading: "Philanthropy and Literature," later: "Philanthropic and Literary." Then came the line: "Principally Conducted By A Lady." Letters, stories, poems, and articles were included. A few examples will show the flavor.

In the May, 1830, issue, a correspondent, signed "M," no doubt Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, struck back at those who called abolitionists "fanatics." Hunted fanatics, she wrote, fled the Netherlands to England, bringing knowledge of the manufacture of woolens, hitherto unknown, and a new prosperity. Hunted fanatics were the first to settle New England.

In April, 1830, she wrote that the Free Cotton Society of Philadelphia had raised $2,000 to buy forty

[31]For example, her "Letters to Isabel" on using free-labor produce were published in the Liberator, Jan. 21, 28, Feb. 4, 11, 18, 1832.

[32]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 25.

time. The sooner it

[...] Emancipation.

Slaveholders, under a [...] are insurmountable ob[...] [emanci]pation of the pres[ent...] but equally convinced [...] [pract]icability of emancipat[ion...], have determined to [...] [socie]ty, for the purpose of [...] [urgin]g these truths upon [...] [b]y example, as by pre[...] [them]selves such a system [...] of our slaves as we [...] [fell]ow citizens for their [...] [...] and by dispers[ing...] [l]ikely to contribute [...] Society will not be [...] [subscr]ibers are obtained. [...] have already signi[fied...] members of the pro[...] [...]y. It is hoped that it [...] [...] will be increased [...] [m]ay be called.

[...]town.
[...] county.
[...]ty.

[...] county.

[...] county.
[...]ty.

[...] county.

[...]ette county.
[...]ington.
[...] county.

[Univers]al Emancipation.

[...] effusion, though not [...] to the advocates of [...]d by the editor, I [...] into the Genius.

[...]D TO THE CAUSE.

[N]EGRO.

[...]hon now maring,
[...] desert exploring,
[...]chained as a slave,
[...] the salt wave,
[...] half penny,
[...] negro.

[...]dly despairing,
[...]k, with mine eye balls

[...]truck the *Oilets of day*,
[...]hut for ever away.

[...]et thus losing,
[...] choosing,
[...] was light,
[...]ad of the night.

[...] coast bound then,
[...] deep, had been drown'd

[...]natch'd from the wave,
[...]y grave!

[...] ground though I tread

[...]*lren*, and wand'ring for

[...] ne'er can be cross'd,
[...] darkness are lost

But of minds, foul and fair, when the JUDGE and the Ponderer!
Shall restore *Light and Rest*, to the blind, and the wanderer,
The European's deep dye, may out-rival *the sloe*,
And the soul of an *Ethiop*, prove white as the *Snow*.
Spare a half penny, spare a half penny,
Oh! spare one half penny, to a poor Negro.

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

Truths.

There are moments when our mind almost refuses to yield its belief to the reality of the system of American Slavery. Its iniquity seems too daring, its shame to broad, to admit of credibility. It seems too enormously impious to be tolerated, except among the rudest savages: and when we reflect where, and among whom it is permitted to exist, and what spot of earth is polluted by its vileness, it is not wonderful that we should again and again, like the illustrious Clarkson, ask ourselves the question—"Can this be true?" Alas! like him, we receive the same bitter affirmative echoed back from the recesses of our bosom—"It is true!" Aye, it is true, that in free, polished, Christian America, two millions of human beings are languishing out a life of abject slavery! true that human sinews are pronounced by her laws to be merchantable commodities—that a portion of her citizens derive their wealth from the sale of their countrymen—that regular markets for human flesh are established in various places—that the strongest laws of humanity, and the holiest ties of blood and affection, are as lightly broken, "as flax is sunder'd at the touch of flame"—true that American women are beaten with the horsewhip, ranked as cattle, and driven with their brethren in herds about the the country to be sold! Yet the people of the United States make a profession of Christianity—profess to regulate their actions by the pure standard of the precepts of the blessed Gospel! They assume the character of a brave, polished and enlightened nation—brave! a nation which suffers her sons to tyrannize over women and children!—polished and enlightened!—when thousands of her children are bound down by her laws in a state of the most debasing ignorance! It matters not that this state of things is confined to only a portion of the community—or rather, it casts a still deeper shade of shame over those who could, and will not, efface this stigma from the name of their fair country. But, should our country women sigh over the dark picture we have drawn them of a land they love, let them not deem that they are innocent of perpetuating that darkness. No, collectively and *individually*, they are in their full portion answerable for the guilt of its continuance. Had they interposed their prayers in behalf of the defenceless sufferers, had they been conscientiously earnest in impressing the minds of all those over whom nature or affection had given them any influence, with a conviction of the true nature of slavery, had they steadily refused to partake in its iniquity, our country would ere now have been redeemed from its pollution. But it is not yet too late to arouse themselves—they have hitherto been blindly swayed from the path of right principle, but they have it still in their power to withdraw their hand from committing evil for the future, though they cannot remedy the past. They have yet the power to prove, that though they might for a time thoughtlessly persist in error, they cannot, and will not, when they have reflected on its enormity, continue to support a system which derives its nourishment from the life blood of human hearts.

The consumption of slave produce is the very root of the system of slavery; while that is firmly seated in the earth and continually nourished by fertilizing dews, it will be difficult to destroy the vitality of the branches. It is this which has drank up such rivers of tears, and torrents of human blood—and when that is destroyed, the whole bulk of this pestilential evil must inevitably perish.

Philadelphia Free Cotton Society.

To the politeness of the Secretary of this Association, we are indebted for several Reports, for the months of January, March, and April, of the present year, presenting accounts of their proceedings. As these Reports possess considerable interest, we have thought best to defer their insertion until next month, when a new volume of this work will commence, and a large number of new subscribers will have the benefit of the information contained in them.

The last meeting of the Society, which was held on the 15th inst. we learn was well attended, and an increasing desire was manifested, by the members, to aid in promoting the good cause.

A very encouraging letter was lately received by the Secretary, from the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society at Birmingham, England, and read at this meeting. Much good will, no doubt, result from a regular correspondence betwee[n the va]rious societies in the two countries; and to have the pleasure of laying a part [...] least, from time to time, before our rea[ders.]

We have been favoured with a co[py of the] proceedings of the Coloured Female [Free Pro]duce Society, of Philadelphia, which [...] for insertion in our next paper.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancip[ation.]

REMINISCENCE.

Away and away to Memory's land!
To seize the past with a [...] hand,
And bear it back from o[blivion's ...]
To brighten again this dull world of ou[rs.]

There's many a walk beneath summer sk[ies]
Starry and blue as some earthly eyes,
There's many an eve by the winter's he[arth]
Sparkling all over with friendship and [...]

There's many a ramble through wood and [...]
Away from the sight and the haunts of m[en]
There's climbing of rocks, and gathering [...]
And watching the stream through summe[r...]

There's many an hour that quickly went
In the boughs of the old [...]
There's many a ride, and many a walk,
And many a theme of friendly talk.

How freshly comes to the spirit back,
The merry light of its [...]
But let it pass far around [...]
For deeper thoughts are [...] now.

I have learned too much of woe and w[...]
Of hearts all crushed by oppression['s ...]
To deem the earth, as in other days,
A fairy theme for a poet's lays.

How may I linger within the bowers,
Bedight with memory's [...]
While woman's cry, [...]
Of her bitter lot, to the sky goes up.

How may I joy in my [...]
While her heart is [...]
Or give my thoughts to [...]
While no bright ray on her darkness [...]

GE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancip[ation.]

NEGRO FRIENDSHIP.

The friendships of the African rac[e...] to be peculiarly strong, and their chara[cter...]ly susceptible of enthusiastic and ard[ent attach]ment. Numerous instances have o[ccurred in] which they have sacrificed their ow[n lives to] preserve those to whom they were [bound by a] strong tie of gratitude or affection. [When, as] frequently happens, they are con[...] will or the poverty of their masters t[o leave their] homes and the companions of their yo[uth,] and having been disposed of to some [pur]chaser, are transferred to "another [...] another scene," they not unfrequently pine away to death beneath the ago[ny of their] feelings, heart-broken with their unend[...] "It is inconceivable," says Long in [his History] of Jamaica, "what numbers have [...] consequence of the law for the [...] debts, which permits slaves to be le[vied and] sold at *vendue*." Poor fellows! the[y ...] the heart's kindly affections [...] all [...] is left to them on earth, and when t[hey are] rudely snatched away from them, t[hey can no] longer endure the coldness and desola[tion...] They sink to the grave unwept and

bales of cotton from a non-slave-owning planter in North Carolina. By July, 1830, she reported that the cotton had been made up into 225 yards of Table Diaper; 227 yards, Furniture Check; 222 yards, Apron do.; 95 yards, Angola Cassimere; and that some Calico of different patterns was being prepared. In June, 1830, she told the activities of female antislavery societies in England to spur the shamefully backward American women. The British women had adopted a seal showing a kneeling female slave with the legend, "Am I not a woman and a sister?" The seal later appeared on many publications of women's antislavery groups in the United States. A poem in the literary section, "The Kneeling Slave," by "Margaret," probably Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, was inspired by the new seal.

In the "Ladies' Repository" column for September, 1830, Benjamin Lundy inserted this notice:

> The Lady to whom the principal superintendence of this department has been heretofore confided has not had it in her power to prepare any thing for this number. Other matters, connected with a change of residence, have necessarily claimed her attention.

The hiatus occurred when Elizabeth Margaret Chandler moved to Michigan Territory. However, by October, 1830, she was back in the Genius with three and one-half pages. One article, "Inquiries Relating to Negro Emancipation," gave illustrations showing how well blacks accepted responsibilities when freed. She aimed a dialogue at women

who considered it unfeminine to engage in antislavery activity:

> [It would not be immodest or unbecoming] if the evil could not be got rid of any other way . . . to read and lend books, to speak to female friends and neighbours; nor surely, to remind or beg the men of your family to think of the slaves; nor to choose what kind of sugar [not West Indian] should be used in your family: nor can I possibly think there would be any offense to modesty, in meeting some of the ladies of your neighbourhood to talk over your plans, and endeavoring to make your efforts more effectual by uniting in a society.

Elizabeth was still urging the sugar issue in May, 1832, with articles about conditions on the West Indies plantations. Deny yourself, she wrote, or else use New Hampshire potato sugar. (Emancipation in the British Dominions came August 1, 1834, and August 1 became a celebration day for American antislavery societies.)

Benjamin Lundy continued to be pleased with the work of his editor. On September 9, 1832, he wrote Elizabeth:

> I was highly gratified by the receipt of thy well-filled and interesting packet mailed at Adrian on the 27th ultimo. Had it reached me a little sooner, I should have issued the first No. of Vol. 13 at Cincinnati. But as I had nothing for thy department, I put out another extra half sheet to let our patrons cause, in part at least, of the delay in publishing the paper. . . . My new helper is Samuel York Atlee . . . . Thy last packet is an excellent one. Please continue the "sketches."

Lundy's letter also described the trip he made incognito on foot from New Orleans to Nacogdoches, Texas, 120 miles:

> I have petitioned the government for a grant of land and the privilege of colonizing four hundred

> families. . . . a very intelligent and respectable colored man seemed overjoyed when he learned the object of my visit. It was the first proposition to open the door in that country for the admission of free colored people, and he said I might rely on it that there was no other place in the world so suitable for them.

Lundy wrote again from Ancocas, New York, on March 30, 1833, on the eve of his departure for a second visit to the Mexican Republic to attempt to open a haven for Negro emigration. He hoped to be gone not more than five months. Meanwhile, he wrote to Elizabeth, he had arranged for an old and faithful abolitionist, Evan Lewis, in Philadelphia, to put out the Genius. Lundy told her to keep the news a secret and to direct her material to Lundy in Philadelphia, not Lewis, because "he is, as thee is no doubt aware, something of a religious controversialist." Lundy enclosed an article and drawing by a young Negro woman of Philadelphia, signed "Sophanisba," for use in the "Ladies' Repository." In an accompanying letter the woman, Sarah M. Douglas, who had somehow learned the identity of the female editor, wrote, March 1, 1833:

> I have long and ardently desired an opportunity of writing to Miss Chandler to thank her for her beautiful writings on behalf of my enslaved brethren and sisters.
>
> On this interesting occasion a world of emotions come thronging up from the fountain of the heart's affections, among which gratitude to God for having touched the heart of one so gifted. . . . Lady, we are a poor and ignorant people, but, believe me, we are not ungrateful.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> When in my walks through the streets of my native

> city, the finger of scorn is pointed at me when entering God's sanctuary I meet even there its withering glance, my heart is sad, and I feel disposed to repine at my hard fate, but on contrasting my situation with my brethren and sisters in bondage I can truly say, "The lines have fallen to me in pleasant places."

In this letter of March 30, Lundy enclosed yet another letter complimenting Elizabeth. He added:

> Surely this is encouraging language. Thee is beginning to see the fruits of thy labors. Hold on, dear sister; the time is at hand when thy happiest results will be realized. Already the effusions of thy muse have attracted the attention of thousands.

Elizabeth continued to work hard for the Genius. In a letter to her aunt, Jane Howell, September 8, 1833, she wrote:

> I have just, my dear Aunt, finished a number of the Genius of Universal Emancipation and in spite of some weariness of the pen and a headache which has been persuading me to take a nap, I have continued at my desk. . . . I wrote till dusk last evening and then laid aside my pen till the return of daylight.

While concentrating on her writing, Elizabeth at the same time participated fully in the work and life of the farm and community. She described her brother Thomas' abundant crop of wheat from which the women made beautiful white bread. She noted that their churning had not been "bewitched" but once during the season. She reported that the family was enjoying reading the Saturday Evening Post, and that everyone was talking about having the territory become a state. She longed for her aunt to share her rambles in the woods. Such walks continued to be among her deepest joys until the spring of 1834, when she was attacked by a remittant fever.

For several months it appeared that Elizabeth would recover, but she died on November 2, 1834, a month before her twenty-seventh birthday. She was buried, at her wish, beneath her own transplanted forest vine, the subject of a poem written during her illness. The poem mused on the fragments of dry bones exposed when a giant oak toppled over in the forest. In the poem she expressed her faith:

> So let them rest!
> That faith, erring and dark as it might be,
> Was yet not wholly vain. We may not know
> Of what the dark grave hideth; but the soul,
> Immortal as eternity itself,
> Is in the hands of One most merciful.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler's final piece for the Genius was a poem, "Praise and Prayer." It was a song of praise for earthly joys, and a prayer:

> Prayer! for those who, day by day,
> Weep their bitter lives away;
> Prayer, for those who bind the chain
> Rudely on their throbbing vein,--
> That repentance deep may win
> Pardon for the fearful sin!

Lundy, in Mexico, learned of Elizabeth's death months afterward. He wrote to her brother, Thomas Chandler, on March 6, 1835, that Elizabeth's death had deprived him "of the dearest sister I had upon earth."

William Lloyd Garrison published her obituary under the heading, "Death of Meritorious Female Abolitionist":

> Elizabeth Margaret Chandler is a name not familiar either to the eye or the ear, even of abolitionists, and yet there is not a female in the United States, who has labored so assiduously, or written so copiously in the cause of the oppressed, or who has such claims upon the gratitude and admiration of the colored people of this country and their advocates, as this departed Friend. . . .
>
> She was a prodigy in literature and philanthropy. Her genius was singularly original and fertile, and her taste exquisitely pure and discriminating. Her prose articles are very beautiful, but she excelled in poetry.[33]

At the conclusion of the obituary, Garrison wrote that he intended to ask permission to write her biography and publish a book of her collected works. (He had met Elizabeth through a letter of introduction from Lundy in 1830 while she was still in Philadelphia.)[34]

Garrison's offer, however, was not accepted by the family. His unpopularity seemed to make him a poor champion of Elizabeth and her writings.[35] As soon as Benjamin Lundy returned from Mexico he visited the Howells in Philadelphia and proposed to write a memoir of Elizabeth and issue her collected works. "He thought of giving it to Carey and Lea or some other eminent book seller and to sell them the copyright for the first edition, reserving as many numbers as you would wish," Jane Howell wrote to Ruth Evans.[36]

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[33]Letter, Ruth Evans to Jane Howell, Dec. 21, 1834.

[34]Letter, Benjamin Lundy to Elizabeth Chandler, May 5, 1830.

[35]Letter, Jane Howell to Ruth Evans, Jan. 21, 1835. Letter, Ruth Evans to Jane Howell, March 5, 1835.

[36]July 29, 1835.

In preparing the memoir, Lundy had the help of Hannah Townsend Longstreth, Elizabeth's best friend. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth's Aunt Jane and her husband, Lemuel Howell, read the manuscript. But after Lundy had prepared the work, he could not find a book seller willing to take it. He reported: "They are afraid to touch the 'unpopular' subject of 'slavery.'"[37] The work was published privately in 1836 by Lemuel Howell in Philadelphia as two books: The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler with a Memoir of Her Life and Character by Benjamin Lundy, and Essays, Philanthropic and Moral, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America. These books were later bound as one, although retaining their original pagination, title pages, and all. A later edition was published in Philadelphia by T. E. Chapman in 1845. The 1836 edition appeared in a handsome marbled calf binding, gilt decorated. The book was approximately four and three-quarters by seven and one-quarter inches in size; the poetry with memoir occupying 180 pages; the essays, 120 pages. By May, 1838, fifteen hundred copies of the book had been printed and Lundy had five hundred more on the press. He was attempting to gather more of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler's writings to make a considerable addition to

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[37]Letter, Benjamin Lundy to Thomas Chandler, Feb. 16, 1836.

the work. Profits on the book went to aid the abolition cause. Her book was then becoming popular, and a great many copies were being sent to New York and the Eastern states.[38]

It is not recorded that Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lydia Maria Child, the second of the women antislavery journalism "belles of freedom" ever met. Lydia Maria and her husband, David Lee Child, were friends of Lundy, however, and they had heard of Elizabeth. Lydia compared herself with Elizabeth in connection with a trip with Lundy, who had enlisted the Childs for his Tamoulipas, Mexico, project. They planned to go in disguise by way of New Orleans. But Lydia Maria persuaded a delay. She dreaded exiling herself from Boston, but took consolation in recalling that Elizabeth's residence in Michigan did not separate her from the antislavery work. (While the Childs delayed, Texas won the battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836. The prospective colony's land then came within the boundary of Texas instead of Mexico, where slavery was prohibited, so Lundy gave up the project.)[39]

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lydia Maria Child were linked in the public mind; witness the pamphlet,

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[38]Letter, Jane Howell to Thomas Chandler, May 29, 1838.

[39]Dillon, Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom, p. 218.

"Slavery in its Effects Upon Women and Domestic Society." The frontispiece bore the seal promoted by Elizabeth Chandler, first adopted by British female antislavery societies, showing a kneeling slave with the inscription: "Am I not a Woman and a Sister?" On the frontispiece, printed above and below the seal, were quotations, one from "E. M. Chandler," and one from "L. M. Child." A highly inflammatory pamphlet, with no author listed, this work said that which the first woman antislavery journalist, the sheltered Elizabeth Chandler, had only hinted, such as: "The slave states are one vast brothel."[40]

Lydia Maria Child was to take a more intellectual approach to antislavery than Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, and she was to reach a much wider audience.

But Elizabeth Margaret Chandler had spoken first. The small Quaker maid was a voice out of the Michigan wilderness preparing the way for those forces that in the next thirty years would sweep the country on to Emancipation--one milestone on the long road to freedom and justice.

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[40]Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1837, p. 27.

Lydia Maria Child
Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City

CHAPTER V

LYDIA MARIA CHILD

It was a small, plain-looking book, seven and three-quarters by five inches in size, with 232 pages. When Edward Everett Hale, then eleven years old, after hearing it denounced at home saw it displayed in the Old Corner Bookstore in Boston, he almost threw a stone through the glass window. He settled instead for making a rude noise for each volume there, and ran home, where his parents gasped that William Ticknor had had the poor taste to display the book. A woman, the foremost literary lady of her day, had called a black man an American. If the Lord had meant to make men equal, he would have made them all the same color--white, of course.[1] Not only that, but the author had brought up the indelicate subject of racial intermarriage. She wrote that "the opposition to such unions was quite as strong among the colored class as it was among white people."

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[1]Helene G. Baer, The Heart is Like Heaven: The Life of Lydia Maria Child (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 68.

> In the first place [she wrote], an unjust law exists in this Commonwealth by which marriage between persons of different color is pronounced illegal. I am perfectly aware of the gross ridicule to which I may subject myself by alluding to this particular; but I have lived too long, and observed too much, to be disturbed by the world's mockery. In the first place, the government ought not to be invested with power to control the affections, any more than the consciences of citizens. A man has at least as good a right to choose his wife, as he has to choose his religion. His taste may not suit his neighbors; but so long as his deportment is correct, they have no right to interfere with his concerns.[2]

The first important hard-hitting antislavery book in America, the little volume converted the famous Unitarian minister, the Rev. William Ellery Channing, to the cause of freeing the slave. The book enlisted the Rev. Wendell Phillips, who became the silver-tongued orator for antislavery. It attracted Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and affected Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner. People who had never given thought one way or another to the evils of slavery began to form antislavery societies.

The book, An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans, published in 1833, actually took a rational and moderate tone; but it offended southerners as much as did the more violent writings of William Lloyd Garrison. Thomas Willys White, editor of the Southern Literary Messenger, commented in the July, 1835, issue that the book was "ill-judged." White wrote:

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[2]Lydia Maria Child, An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans (Boston: Allen and Ticknor, 1833), p. 209.

> [We feel an] indignant resentment against the madmen who are blindly jeopardizing the peace of the country and the lives of thousands. We cannot trust our feelings upon this subject. We see too clearly the horrors in perspective, which fanaticism is preparing for us.

In the book Lydia Maria Child challenged the myth of Negro inferiority, recalling African grandeur. She pointed out the dehumanizing influence of slavery to both master and slave. She did expect a hostile reaction; witness her preface:

> Reader, I beseech you not to throw down the volume as soon as you have glanced at the title. Read it, if your prejudices will allow, for the very truth's sake. . . .
>
> I am fully aware of the unpopularity of the task I have undertaken; but tho' I expect ridicule and censure, I cannot fear them. A few years hence, the opinion of the world will be a matter in which I have not even the most transient interest; but this book will be abroad on its mission of humanity long after the hand that wrote it is mingling with the dust. Should it be the means of advancing even one single hour, the inevitable progress of truth and justice, I would not exchange the consciousness for all Rothschild's wealth or Sir Walter's fame.

Mrs. Child concluded:

> By publishing this book I have put my mite into the treasury. The expectation of displeasing all classes has not been unaccompanied with pain. But it has been strongly impressed upon my mind that it was a duty to fulfill this task; and earthly considerations should never stifle the voice of conscience.[3]

Although Lydia Maria Child had expected opposition to her expression of antislavery views, she could not have anticipated the extent of her downfall. At the age of

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[3] Ibid., p. 216.

twenty-two, in 1824, she had published her first novel, Hobomok, based on American Indian lore, dashed off in six weeks. The next year she had published The Rebels, about pre-Revolutionary days. In only a few months she had become the darling of Boston society. All doors opened, including that of Boston's great library, the Athenaeum, which had admitted only one other woman, the eccentric historian Hannah Adams. When Lafayette made his triumphal tour of America in 1825, Lydia Maria was, naturally, invited to be in the receiving line in Boston, and had her hand kissed. In 1826 she had begun the first magazine for children in America, Juvenile Miscellany, which caught on immediately. It was a day in which writers were not well-paid. Lydia Maria Child, however, was earning a good living as well as enjoying the nectar of social adulation.

But as Wendell Phillips expressed it later:

> One blow, and the spreading tree is dead. At the call of duty the young woman struck it without repining, and saw the whole scene change at once. Obloquy and hard work ill-paid; almost every door shut against her, the name she had made a talisman turned to a reproach, and life henceforth a sacrifice. How serenely she took up that cross.[4]

Lydia Maria Child lost her social position and her income simultaneously. A prominent lawyer expressed

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[4]Lydia Maria Child, Letters of Lydia Maria Child with a Biographical Introduction by John G. Whittier and an Appendix by Wendell Phillips (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1883), p. 264.

his opinion of her Appeal by lifting it with a tongs and flinging it out the window. A director of the Athenaeum advised the author that she would no longer be welcome to use the library--the library where she had done her research for her Appeal. Sales of her books fell off; magazine subscriptions were cancelled so that after eight years of outstanding success her cherished children's magazine failed; friends closed their doors.

Lydia Maria Child entered a new world of scrimping and sacrifice, dedicated through the remainder of her long life to opposing slavery and promoting the interests of the downtrodden of any color. Of the forty-three books and pamphlets she wrote (a bibliography lists 111 articles, stories, and poems), a dozen, some of them her most influential, concerned slavery. Some of her work pointed to women's rights, another theme of the "belles of freedom." Her antislavery activity and her resultant need for money caused Lydia Maria Child to enter the newspaper world, thus adding her bit to making that profession available to women. She edited the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the National Anti-Slavery Standard, from 1841-43, and assisted her husband when he edited it the following year. She has been called the grandmother of journalism.

Lydia Maria Francis was born in Medford,

Massachusetts, in 1802, five years before Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. But she did not begin her antislavery writing until 1833, the year before Elizabeth's death at the age of twenty-seven. Elizabeth had become an antislavery journalist in 1826. Maria, as she preferred to be called, disliking the Aunt Lydia for whom she was named, lived to the age of seventy-eight--1880, and of course her output was far greater than Elizabeth's.

Except for six years in Maine and nine years in New York, Maria lived all her life in Boston and vicinity. Maria's father, David Francis, a baker and real-estate man, was a substantial citizen of Medford, a ship-building town on the Mystic River. She was the youngest of six children. Her mother died when Maria was twelve. Soon after, she went to Norridgewock, Maine, to live with her married sister, Mary Preston. Her formal schooling ended shortly thereafter, and she educated herself, as did Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, by wide reading. Maria's brother, Convers, a Unitarian minister and professor of theology at Harvard College, directed her reading. Their letters were full of comments about such classics as Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, and Milton's Paradise Lost. At fifteen she betrayed an early interest in women's rights by asking Convers, "Don't you think Milton asserts the superiority of his own sex in rather too lordly a manner?"[5]

[5]Samuel Sillen, Women Against Slavery (New York: Masses and Mainstream, Inc., 1955), pp. 42-43.

Maria taught school in Maine, and then went to live with her brother, Convers, in Watertown, Massachusetts, where she opened a private school in 1825. In 1828 she married David Lee Child, a lawyer, member of the Massachusetts Legislature, editor of the Massachusetts Whig Journal. He was a scholar, fluent in seven languages, much sought after as a speaker and dinner guest and for his political opinions, a brilliant man full of tenderness for Maria, who had only one fault: he could not earn a living for them. He defended outcasts and forgot to send bills to his poor clients. And his anti-slavery views hurt his practice.

David Lee Child was one of the fifteen men who formed the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, and it was from talk with her husband and his friends that Maria became an abolitionist. She attributed her conversion to Garrison, writing years later:

> I remember very distinctly the first time I ever saw Garrison. I little thought then that the whole pattern of my life-web would be changed by that introduction. I was then all absorbed in poetry and painting, soaring aloft on Psyche-wings into the ethereal regions of mysticism. He got hold of the strings of my conscience and pulled me into reforms. It is of no use to imagine what might have been, if I had never met him. Old dreams vanished, old associates departed, and all things became new. But the new surroundings were all alive, and they brought a moral discipline worth ten times the sacrifice they cost. . . . [But] I was never conscious of any sacrifice. A new

> stimulus seized my whole being, and carried me whithersoever it would. "I could not otherwise, so help me God!"[6]

Maria was appointed to the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society when Garrison took over the presidency in 1840. She served with Lucretia Mott and Maria Weston Chapman. But organization work was not Maria Child's interest. She was a writer.

Once converted to the antislavery cause, Maria went at it with what Wendell Phillips characterized in her funeral oration as "masculine grasp and vigor; sound judgment and great breadth; large common sense and capacity for every-day usefulness, endurance, foresight, strength, and skill." When convinced of the justness of a cause she was capable of going to any length. Early in their marriage David Lee Child represented some pirates who faced hanging. The case contained many questionable points, but the verdict went against them. Only President Jackson could pardon. Maria made the trip to Washington and fell, sobbing, on her knees, before old "hawk-eye," pleading for justice. But the President did not intercede. (He pardoned only one pirate, whose pretty fifteen-year-old bride begged for him.)

Maria expressed her dedication to the cause of antislavery in a letter to her brother, Convers, September 25, 1835:

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[6]Child, Letters, p. 255.

> We should be little troubled with mobs if people called respectable did not give them their sanction. But you will say a true republic never can exist. In this, I have more faith than you. I believe the world will be brought into a state of order through manifold revolutions. Sometimes we may be tempted to think it would have been better for us not to have been cast on these evil times; but this is a selfish consideration; we ought rather to rejoice that we have much to do as mediums in the regeneration of the world. . . . You ask me to be prudent, and I will be so, as far as is consistent with a sense of duty; but this will not be what the world calls prudent. Firmness is the virtue most needed in times of excitement. What consequence is it if a few individuals do sink to untimely and dishonored graves, if the progress of great principles is still onward? Perchance for this cause came we into the world.

Again, writing to Convers on December 19, 1835, Maria put her finger on those who supported slavery. She wrote that it was the aristocratic principle, disguised, that stirred mobs:

> Manufacturers who supply the South, merchants who trade with the South; ministers settled at the South, and editors patronized by the South are the ones who really promote mobs. Withdraw the aristocratic influence, and I should be perfectly easy to trust the cause to the good feeling of the people. But, you will say, democracies must always be thus acted upon; and here, I grant is the great stumbling block. The impediments continually in the way of bringing good principles into their appropriate forms are almost disheartening; and would be quite so, were it not for the belief in One who is brooding over this moral chaos with vivifying and regenerating power.

Her brother Convers must have been gratified to find this expression of belief in God. He was continually concerned that Maria would give up religion entirely. She expressed interest in the mysticism of Swedenborgian theories at one time, Spiritualism for a while, and in

between, the family's Unitarian tradition. She never did find a church that suited both her mind and her spirit. In his introduction to Maria's Letters Whittier wrote:

> If she touched with no very reverent hand the garment hem of dogmas, and held to the spirit of Scripture rather than its letter, it must be remembered that she lived in a time when the Bible was cited in defense of slavery.

Lydia Maria Child has been described as a plump wren of a woman whose only beauty lay in her large dark eyes. She enjoyed making her house pretty by hanging prisms in the windows to refract the light into dancing colors; she collected statuary; she was delighted by music. In New York she made a legend of the Norwegian violinist Ole Bull with her rapturous concert reviews. At home in Wayland she took special joy in her flower garden and in walks in the woods. She enjoyed visits from children, although childless herself, and she wrote many books for them. She made such a success of her housewifery on practically no money the first year of her marriage that she published her household hints as The Frugal Housewife, a book that went to twenty editions in seven years.

Maria's mind soared fancifully at times. She wrote Convers on October 30, 1840:

> My thoughts run on in the wildest way today. For the first time in these six weeks, I have somebody in the kitchen to do my work; and there is a whole boys'

> school set loose in my brain, kicking up heels, throwing up caps, hurrahing, chasing butterflies,--everything, in short, except drowning kittens.

And again, in January, 1841:

> It is not I who drudge, it is merely the case containing me. I defy all the powers of earth and hell to make me scour floors and feed pigs, if I choose meanwhile to be off conversing with the angels. . . . A Southern gentleman, some time since, wrote to me from New Orleans, postage double and unpaid, inviting me to that city, promising me a "warm reception and lodgings in the calaboose, with as much nigger company as you desire." He wrote according to the light that was in him. He did not know that. . . . in spite of bolts and bars, I should have been off, like a witch at midnight holding fair discourse with Orion, and listening to the plaintive song of the Pleiades mourning for the earth-dimmed glory of their fallen sister.

Intellectual discourse was Maria's meat and drink. She belonged to a Transcendentalist Club, attended Margaret Fuller's Conversations, knew well Dr. Channing, John Greenleaf Whittier, James Russell Lowell, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Bronson Alcott, and Samuel May. No "lion-hunter," Maria refused at first to be introduced to Harriet Beecher Stowe when the latter asked to meet her. They did meet, however, and Maria reported later that she admired Harriet for her modesty. She knew Emerson, but he irritated her, perhaps because he would not become an abolitionist. In a letter written in 1844 she commented:

> Emerson has sent me his new volume [Essays, Second Series]. As usual, it is full of deep and original sayings, and touches of exceeding beauty. But, as usual, it takes away my strength. . . . What is the use of telling us that everything is "scene-painting

> and counterfeit, that nothing is real, that everything eludes us? That no single thing in life keeps the promise it makes?" Enough of this conviction is forced upon us by experience, without having it echoed in literature. My being is so alive and earnest that it resists and abhors these ghastly, eluding spectres.[6]

Maria was pleased when the Grimké sisters made their home near her and they could have long talks together about abolition. David and Maria were invited to Angelina's wedding to Theodore Weld, the "Welding," David called it. But they were unable to attend because of David's beets.

It was the beets that finally led Maria to New York and the editorship of the National Anti-Slavery Standard. David began experimenting with sugar beets as an approach to ending the dependence on slave-grown sugar. A German chemist had discovered beet sugar, but the first practical use had been made by order of Napoleon, when France was threatened with the British blockade. David needed to go to Belgium to study new experiments, and Maria raised the money for the trip by begging from friends and giving up their cottage in Roxbury. When there was not enough money for her to accompany him, she went to the New York pier to see him off, desolate. At that moment a bailiff served David papers in a suit for debt.

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[6]Child, Letters, pp. 56-57.

Maria crumpled into the baggage sobbing, for once her courage gone. The Tappan brothers paid the debt, and David was able to sail. Maria lived the next year and a half with relatives, turning out crude but readily salable pieces such as stories of good little girls opposed to beautiful but ugly-souled sisters.

David returned during the financial panic of 1837, ragged. Their friends the Ellis Gray Lorings took them in and lent David four dollars to buy new boots. Maria was humiliated because after nine years of marriage it was all too apparent that her husband would never be able to support her.

Where to grow the beets? Maria tried to interest the antislavery philanthropist, Gerrit Smith, who lived in the corn belt where the rich soil was suitable, to buy and stock a farm with the necessary equipment, but he refused. Finally Maria's father, in the spring of 1839, said he would advance her $3,000 in lieu of a bequest, and come to live with them. They bought a hundred acres of hardscrabble land at Northampton for $1,000, twice too much,[7] and moved into a crude shanty on the place. But there was never enough money. Maria wrote prodigiously for Godey's and Ladies' Companion at twelve dollars a page. David slogged through mud, removing the

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[7]Baer, The Life of Lydia Maria Child, p. 98.

stones from his farm and selling them to a railroad for ten cents a load. David was continually charring Maria's pans, boiling down his sugar beets on the back of the stove. Maria's father complained to neighbors that he was being "sucked dry,"[8] whereupon David and Maria told him they would not accept another cent. Her father packed his belongings and left. When the Massachusetts State Exhibition honored David's sugar with a silver medal they thought their luck had turned, but the cash award was only a hundred dollars. (David Lee Child has since been recognized as the one who introduced the sugar beet industry to the United States.)[9]

In the fall of 1840, David was offered the post of editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard in New York at a salary of $1,000 a year, a sum that, by the utmost scrimping, would get the Childs mostly out of debt. But he said he was unable to leave his experimentation with the beets. A few weeks later, when the post was offered to Maria, she accepted. Although she had never edited a newspaper, she had faith in her ability, and the Childs were desperate for the money.

Maria stopped in Boston to sign a contract with the Courier to write a series of "Letters from New York,"

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[8] Ibid., p. 105.

[9] Ibid., p. 297.

later published in two volumes, and she then sailed for that city. The American Anti-Slavery Society had arranged board and room for her at the home of its New York agent, Isaac T. Hopper, who lived on Eldridge Street. This picturesque old Quaker, wearing clothes like William Penn's, met her at the pier. She took courage for her task from the Hoppers, who had also suffered for their antislavery views. Like the Chandlers, they were Hicksite Quakers, a branch that worked against slavery. Their daughter Abby was the wife of James S. Gibbons, a bank teller who was also printer for the Standard. They had mortgaged their furniture to keep the Standard going. Abby suffered socially for her antislavery views. Members of her sewing circle would no longer speak to her, but she continued to attend meetings and sew for the poor.

Nathaniel P. Rogers, the first editor of the Standard, Maria's predecessor, had printed criticisms of Quaker ministers whom he called proslavery, and the Cherry Street Monthly Meetings had dismissed him. The meeting held James Gibbons, as printer, and Isaac Hopper, as agent, of the Anti-Slavery Society responsible also, and read them out of the meeting, too. Hopper continued to attend, however, keeping the same seat as before among the elders and no one denied him the place.

To welcome Maria to the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the first editor, Rogers, had published a

gracious announcement: "Woman has spoken and written in the anti-slavery service, but this is, we believe, her first assumption of the editorial chair in this great movement."[10]

Maria did not respond with equal grace. She wished to be considered on her merits as a writer and editor, and to receive no special attention as a woman editor.

Maria began her editorship with the statement:

> Such as I am, I am here, ready to work according to my conscience and my ability, providing nothing but diligence and fidelity, refusing the shadow of a fetter on my free expression of opinion from any man or body of men, equally careful to respect the freedom of others, whether as individuals or societies.[11]

Editor Maria needed determination because she found herself in the midst of bickering factions of abolitionists. William Lloyd Garrison and Maria Weston Chapman, who were running the American Anti-Slavery Society, had promised her a free hand, but they criticized her from the start. What is more, Garrison's group never did pay the salary they had promised. The first six months on the Standard yielded her twenty dollars total.[12] Had it not been for her income from the Boston Courier for the "Letters from New York" she would have been without funds. She had time to write nothing else, and David

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[10] Sillen, Women Against Slavery, p. 44.

[11] Baer, The Life of Lydia Maria Child, p. 126.

[12] Ibid., p. 143.

earned nothing. She wrote until her vision blurred and her neck cramped. Then she took off on foot looking for copy--she could not afford horsecar rides--and once her career nearly came to an end because the soles of her shoes wore through. This was the three months when her entire capital had been thirty-seven and a half cents.[13] She wrote to Ellis Gray Loring:

> I am afraid many will think me not gritty enough. The editing is much more irksome than I supposed. The type is fine, and that large sheet swallows an incredible amount of matter. The cry still is, as C. says, "More! more!" An anti-slavery editor is a sort of black sheep among the fraternity, and I have no courtesies from booksellers. _____ assists me by getting books out of club libraries, etc.; but still my range for extracts is very limited.[14]

Abolitionists like Garrison and Chapman demanded stinging rebukes to slaveholders. Maria Child insisted she aimed "to make a good family newspaper." She held that the Liberator and other papers filled the wants of committed abolitionists. She aimed to attract the uncommitted, using a large amount of literary and other material of interest to everyone. Her New York Letters she compared to the stock of Bibles a missionary sent to the West Indies along with cooking pans. No one could buy a

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[13] Ibid., p. 142.

[14] Child, Letters, p. 43.

pan without buying a Bible. "It was an honest, open trick, and I think may be easily pardoned," she wrote.[15]

Under Maria, the Standard increased its circulation to forty thousand weekly. Her duties increased when Garrison and Chapman combined the Standard with the Pennsylvania Freeman, twice burned down over an editor's head in Philadelphia.[16]

Maria stuck at her job for two years, hoping to be helpful to the cause and at the same time collect the back pay that might make the Childs solvent. Sometimes she had a word of cheer. Gerrit Smith wrote that the paper breathed a "kindly spirit" under her leadership. That was the effect for which she strove. When she wrote to Wendell Phillips that her arms ached from holding up the Standard, he replied:

> Thou wert made for the Standard and the Standard for thee. We do appreciate the effort, and the self-denial which it costs you. . . . There, God bless you, Standard-bearer; may thine arm not faint while with such right good will Massachusetts holds it up.[17]

Along with many others caught by the epidemic--Longfellow could not put a word to paper--Maria suffered a severe eye infection. Her state of mind was not improved when David came for a visit and reported that all her wedding presents had had to be sold in a bankruptcy

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[15] National Anti-Slavery Standard, May 4, 1843.

[16] Baer, Life of Lydia Maria Child, p. 143.

[17] Ibid., p. 145.

proceeding. But she doctored herself with an old homeopathic cure, including an application of sulphate of zinc salve, then joked that she would raise a statue to Zinc for her recovery.[18] Dr. Channing cheered her:

> I have been delighted to see in your "Letters from New York" such sure marks of a fresh, living spirit, to see that the flow of genial, noble feeling has been in no way checked by the outward discouragement of life.[19]

Maria searched New York for fresh material for her letters. She attended concerts and outings with John Hopper, who later married Rosa De Wolfe and became the father of De Wolfe Hopper, the matinée idol. With James Gibbons she ministered to the Five Points, the slum made famous by the descriptions Charles Dickens gave it in his American Notes. She attended temperance meetings, and women's rights meetings, and waited outside the Tombs Prison with the crowd that was fighting to get in to see the execution of John C. Colt, a murderer. Opposed to capital punishment, Maria had tried to get his death sentence commuted. John's brother, Sam, later the revolver king, showed his gratitude to Maria with large donations to the antislavery cause. She rescued wayward girls, lashing out in the Standard at the respectable men who had made them so. She was a sympathetic listener who laughed as easily as she cried and drew confidences from all sorts of people--in short, a competent reporter.[20]

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[18] Ibid., p. 150 [19] Ibid., p. 151 [20] Ibid. pp. 152-57.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard was a standard size newspaper, eighteen and one-quarter by twenty-five and one-quarter inches, four pages, published weekly, price two dollars a year. Under the logotype was the motto: "Without Concealment--Without Compromise." Lydia Maria Child was listed at the top of page one as editor, and David Lee Child was listed as assistant editor. David did send some material but he was not an active editor. Pages were divided into six columns with label headlines--one-line topic headings.

A representative issue, July 28, 1842, carried on the front page an official exchange between the Secretary of State of Mexico and Daniel Webster, United States Secretary of State, on raids by Texans into Mexico. Webster explained that the United States was attempting to remain neutral; that in fact it was supplying more weapons to Mexico than to Texas. Another front page story discussed the coming celebrations in honor of Emancipation Day in the West Indies (August 1, 1834). Planters were complaining, the story said, because the freedmen were saving their money and buying their own land, hence there was a shortage of labor and wages were up. Page two reprinted a report from the Northern Star, Albany, and the Journal and Messenger, New York, both "conducted by

colored men" protesting a petition to Congress for a grant of land in Liberia:

> We have no disposition to separate from the blessings of civilized society, the endearments of home, and the graves of our fathers. . . . The soil has become enriched by the sweat and blood of our fathers; we have fought and bled in common with others to achieve the independence of our country. . . . Having helped to make her what she is, here we should remain and enjoy her.

Also on page two was a communication from Maria Weston Chapman of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society exhorting women to join together for the annual Christmas fair that raised money for the cause:

> Even though the Fair has absorbed all the leisure of nine successive years, and all the gloss of novelty has worn off, . . . we dare not stop merely because it is no longer amusing to us.

A manhunt by the sheriff of Bucks County, a constable, and a professed slaveowner that picked up some free Negroes as runaway slaves was also reported. After they arrested the blacks they looked at their feet for signs of chains, and then let them go.

Maria's editorial, the column headed by an engraving of the Spirit of Liberty, indicted colonization. She asserted that it was folly to ship out valuable laborers at great expense, sending them to <u>heathen</u> Africa to escape from thralldom in <u>Christian</u> America. She noted that money earned by the sweat of slaves was donated to take the Gospel abroad while the slaves were neglected in the United States.

In this issue, the "Letter from New York" concerned the hardship of being pent up in the city in the July heat, especially after a neighbor had painted his roof and piazza a fierce red. Maria had not even a dandelion to gaze upon, but a friend took her for a walk:

> Close by the iron railway, I saw a very little, ragged child stooping over a little patch of stinted, dusty grass. She rose up with a broad smile over her hot face, for she had found a white clover! The tears were in my eyes. . . . Thou, poor neglected one, canst find blossoms by the dusty way-side, and rejoice in thy hard path, as if it were a mossy bank, strewn with violets. I felt humbled before that ragged, gladsome child.

Another piece on page three of the July 28, 1842, Standard concerned an exchange on the floor of the House between John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts and Henry A. Wise of Virginia. The question was the naval appropriation for Florida, so that it might speedily become a slave state to balance the admission of Iowa as a free state.

Page four of the issue featured poems by John Greenleaf Whittier and Lord Morpeth, a British abolitionist, and miscellaneous reprints of short articles: oddities, recipes for soft soap, tomato pickles, and compost manure. There were several one-column advertisements, the only ones in the newspaper. They were for the Free Labor Boot and Shoe Store, an Employment Agency, Free Labor Goods, and the book, Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw by Mrs. Trollope, a hundred copies for sale at the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office, which handled also the National

Anti-Slavery Standard and other literature. Listed also were the local agents for the Standard, in Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Massachusetts, Connecticut, many western New York counties, many Ohio counties, and Henry County, Iowa.

A crisis developed at the Standard the second year of Maria's editorship, when it appeared the newspaper would go under because there were not enough funds to pay back printing bills, to say nothing of Maria's salary. She believed that what the paper needed was a business manager instead of a literary editor, and offered to resign. William Lloyd Garrison and Maria Weston Chapman, leaders of the American Anti-Slavery Society, persuaded her to remain until a successor could be found, but when she announced her resignation in the May 4, 1843, issue, they had secured no one. In her farewell editorial she revealed some of the currents that had buffeted her on the job:

> Many complained, because I calmly stated my reasons for believing that a distinct political party would do immeasurable injury to the antislavery cause; while others were impatient because I spoke of the Liberty Party "with so much smoothness and courtesy," assuring me that it was "absolutely necessary to show up its intrigues, duplicity, and meanness." . . . Some complained that the slaveholder was treated too harshly; others, that my reproofs of sin were "mere child's play." Quakers wrote, not altogether "in the quiet," calling me to account for "harsh and wholesale abuse of the Society of Friends," while others declared that the Standard was "a sectarian, Quaker paper."
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> . . . . . .
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> To those friends who have urged me to remain at a post, which from the beginning has been most irksome

> to me, I return cordial thanks for their kind and encouraging words. To all their arguments, I briefly answer, that the freedom of my own spirit makes it absolutely necessary for me to retire. I am too distinctly and decidedly an individual, to edit the organ of any association. And so I bid you all an affectionate farewell.--L.M.C.

After some weeks the Anti-Slavery Society offered the editorship of the Standard not to the business manager Maria had suggested, but to her husband. He had been an effective editor of the Massachusetts Whig Journal, but was in no wise a business man. The offer was to both of them at a salary of $1,500 a year. They declined the increase in salary, a meaningless gesture since they never had received even the $1,000 that Maria had been promised during her tenure. Maria assisted David in selecting news copy for the paper, but he wrote his editorials independently.[21] Her name did not appear as assistant editor as his had during her editorship.[22] She wished to be

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[21] Ibid., pp. 162-64.

[22] A study of files of the National Anti-Slavery Standard from the conclusion of Maria's editorship in 1843 to the end of David's editorship in 1844 does not show Maria's name as an editor. Walter C. Bronson, writing on Lydia Maria Child in the Dictionary of American Biography ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (New York: Scribner's, 1930), Vol. IV, pp. 67-68, makes the mistake of stating: "From 1841 to 1849 she, with for a time the assistance of her husband, edited the National Anti-Slavery Standard, a New York weekly newspaper." He may have been confused because Maria did stay on in New York until 1849. A further study of the Standard's files until 1850 does not show any return of Maria to the editorship. The Dictionary of American Biography makes the further mistake of spelling the town where Maria and David spent the last years of their lives, "Weyland," instead of "Wayland," Massachusetts. Seth Curtis Beach, in Daughters of the

divorced from the Standard, witness the letter she wrote to her long-time friend and business adviser, Ellis Gray Loring, on June 26, 1843:

> I wish you would likewise caution the Liberator folks against implying in any way that I shall have anything to do with the Standard. I shall never write another column for it under any circumstances, but I do not want to be driven to announce that publicly.[23]

Actually, Maria had been restless in her role as editor of the Standard almost from the beginning. Only her need for money and her grim determination not to be a quitter had kept her at her post. She had written to Mrs. E. C. Pierce in New York on May 27, 1841:

> My task here is irksome to me. Your father will tell you that it was not zeal for the cause, but love for my husband, which brought me hither. But since it was necessary for me to leave home to be earning somewhat, I am thankful that my work is for the anti-slavery cause. I have agreed to stay one year. I hope I shall then be able to return to my husband and rural home, which is humble enough, yet very satisfactory to me. Should the Standard be continued, and my editing generally desired, perhaps I could make an arrangement to send articles from Northampton.[24]

Maria and David continued to live at the Hoppers', Maria paying for their room and board. They had agreed between themselves that she could do what she liked with

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Puritans (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905), p. 105, also states that Maria edited the Standard for eight years, six of them assisted by her husband. In her Life of Lydia Maria Child, Helen Baer records, p. 161, that Maria resigned as editor in June 1843. The date of her farewell editorial was May 4, 1843.

[23]Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), p. 158.

[24]Child, Letters, p. 42.

her own money (such as pay the bills), although New York law held that a married woman had no property rights. Besides helping with the Standard, she wrote continuously. She borrowed the money to pay for publishing the first volume of Letters from New York. The book was such a success that the publisher, C. S. Francis, in New York, financed a second series. The far-flung readership of Letters from New York included Emily Dickinson, then a child in her father's Amherst, Massachusetts, parsonage. The variety of Maria's subjects extended from mythology to prostitution, and Emily feared they might not be considered suitable for a parson's daughter. A theology student of her father's smuggled the books to her, hiding them in the box hedge near the front door.[25]

At this time Maria also contributed to the Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine, Sartain's Union Magazine, Poe's Broadway Journal, the Liberty Bell, the Anti-Slavery Almanac, other abolition papers, and gift books. She published her Second Flowers for Children, which sold out as soon as it hit the bookshops. It contained the poem, "The Boy's Thanksgiving Song":

> Over the river and through the wood
> To grandmother's house we go.

The poem was based on memories Maria had of when the whole

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[25]Baer, The Life of Lydia Maria Child, p. 194.

Francis family in Medford used to pile into a sleigh and ride to her grandparents' home in Charlestown.[26]

By the end of a year David had endured enough of the petty bickering of the Anti-Slavery Society and he resigned as editor of the Standard. He accepted the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society's offer of expenses to go to Washington, to report the national scene for the Standard.[27]

That was the end of the Childs' editorship of the Standard, a three-year period considered by critics to be the only distinguished period in the newspaper's long history.[28] As one example, David and Maria had published in the Standard such poets as John Greenleaf Whittier, William Cullen Bryant, Leigh Hunt, and Thomas Hood. Seth Curtis Beach wrote:

> They were successful editors; they gave the Standare a high literary character, and made it acceptable to people of taste and culture who, whatever their sympathy with anti-slavery, were often repelled by the unpolished manners of Mr. Garrison's paper, the Liberator.[29]

The Standard was published from 1840 to 1872. It had an endowment of $2,000 a year under the will of Charles F. Hovey with the stipulation that when the slaves were

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[26]Baer, The Life of Lydia Maria Child, pp. 164-73, passim, 191.

[27]Ibid., pp. 162-64, 168, 175-76.

[28]Sillen, Women Against Slavery, p. 45.

[29]Beach, Daughters of the Puritans, p. 105.

freed the newspaper should turn to advocacy of woman suffrage, but it did not do this.[30]

Maria continued to follow the progress of the Standard, in 1861 making a donation of twenty dollars to sustain it.[31] She never forgot her experience on the Standard. When she was sixty she was nominated as a manager of the Anti-Slavery Society. She wrote to the Rev. Samuel May asking to have her name removed from the list of nominees:

> I have a peculiarly strong dislike to all Society work, such as reports, committees, resolutions, etc. I have a rabid individualism, which refuses to work except on its own hook, and in its own way. This natural tendency was greatly increased by my attempts to edit a newspaper for a Society. I resolved never to work in harness again.[32]

In all, Maria had remained in New York for nine years, most of them without David. At last the Northampton farm was sold to Ellis Loring, for a dollar, to be kept in trust for Maria. Her father needed care, and she and David moved into a one-room lean-to on Mr. Francis' Wayland house, where she nursed him until his death. The

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[30]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), Vol. II, p. 141.

[31]Letter, L. Maria Child to William Lloyd Garrison, Aug. 1, 1861, The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Ellis Gray Loring Family Papers (Hereinafter referred to as Radcliffe Library).

[32]Undated except for year 1862, Radcliffe Library.

Wayland place remained their home for the remainder of their lives.

This place, with its outbuilding, a vegetable cellar with underground passage to the house, became a busy station on the underground railway. Maria let it be known she could not entertain unexpected guests because of the pressure of her writing--leaving her free to minister to fugitive slaves. The abolitionists freely broke the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Maria believed that in supporting it, Daniel Webster had sold his soul to the devil, meaning the South, in an effort to get the nomination for the Presidency. Even Emerson, who was not an abolitionist, wrote: "I will not obey it, by God." Whittier declared that no civilized man could obey that law any more than he could be a cannibal. But on the day the law became operative Boston gave it a one hundred-gun salute.[33]

The case of Thomas Sims, a seventeen-year-old fugitive slave recaptured in Boston, aroused Maria. Massachusetts had spent almost three thousand dollars to capture, bring to trial, and return the boy to slavery. Maria vowed she would get him back. Years later, Major-General Devens, the marshal who had ordered Sims' recapture in 1851, promised her to pay $1,800 to buy Sims's freedom.

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[33]Baer, The Life of Lydia Maria Child, pp. 207-08.

When Sims escaped on his own during the Civil War, Devens set him up in business.[34]

In the 1850's friends took turns standing guard at night at the Boston homes of such outspoken abolitionists as Garrison and Phillips. Phillips always carried a loaded revolver in his pocket. But out at Wayland Maria did not worry.[35]

Maria continued to write prolifically, the Atlantic Monthly being one of her best markets. The Childs' circumstances were somewhat improved following the death of her father, but Maria continued to live with the utmost frugality in order to give money to causes and needy persons. Lucy Stone, who wore elegant velvet coats and breeches of black silk with gaiters beneath, complained that when she met Maria at Marston's restaurant in Boston, Maria's dress could not have cost more than seven or eight cents a yard, her calico cape had no fringe, and her bonnet had probably not been altered in twenty years. Lucy Stone was proud to know Maria, however, and called her the greatest woman of the age. Maria was human enough to be pleased on hearing that someone had asked a stagecoach driver: "Who is that woman who dresses like a peasant and speaks like a scholar?"[36]

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[34] Ibid., pp. 208-10, 265.

[35] Ibid., p. 237.

[36] Ibid., pp. 238-39.

Wendell Phillips wrote that Maria always used an envelope twice; never wrote on a sheet of paper if half a sheet would do; and when she had no money to give, worked to get it. But in spite of hardship, he said, her life bubbled with joy. Once Maria refused a gift of several thousand dollars from a wealthy friend. Phillips persuaded Maria to accept because the friend had more than she could do to distribute the money wisely. Maria gave away every dollar of the income from this gift.[37]

The Childs did not shrink to associate with Negroes as equals. Harriet Martineau described an occasion during their days in Boston when a Negro couple visited David in search of legal advice. They stayed beyond the time for tea, so Maria started to lay out the tea things. But before she could pour, the couple left to relieve their hosts of any embarrassment "of sitting at table with people of color. Boston soon rang with the report that Mr. and Mrs. Childs had given entertainment to colored people." Miss Martineau wrote that gossips salivating over this tidbit one day in the presence of Dr. Channing heard him intone, sternly, "'The time will come when those . . . will find their proper places; and the time will come when the laughers will find <u>their</u> proper places.'"[38]

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[37]Child, <u>Letters</u>, pp. 266-68.

[38]Harriet Martineau, <u>The Martyr Age</u> (Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co.--Otis Broaders & Co., 1839), p. 16.

The activities of John Brown gave Lydia Maria Child the biggest opportunity of her career in antislavery journalism. When Brown's antislavery press was destroyed by a Missouri mob that burned most of the town of Lawrence, Kansas, in the violent times that followed the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, Brown and six followers murdered five pro-slavery men in the Pottawatomie Massacre. Then he looked around for another way to strike at slavery. With a vague plan to establish a republic of fugitive slaves in the Appalachians, from whence to wage war on the slave states, Brown led an armed troop and seized the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on October 16, 1859. Brown was sentenced to be hanged. Once again Maria's feeling for the underdog got the better of her, as it had in the case of the pirates for whom she pleaded with President Jackson. She wrote to Governor Wise of Virginia:

> I and all my large circle of abolition acquaintances were taken with surprise when news came of Capt. Brown's recent attempt, nor do I know a single person who would have approved of it had they been apprised of his intention. But I and thousands of others feel a natural impulse of sympathy for a brave and suffering man. . . . He needs a mother or a sister to dress his wounds and speak soothingly to him. Will you allow me to perform that mission of humanity?[39]

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[39] Correspondence Between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason of Virginia (Boston: The American Anti-Slavery Society, 1860), p. 3.

Governor Wise responded, October 29, 1859:

> I could not permit an insult even to woman in her walk of charity among us, though it be to one who whetted knives of butchery for our mothers, sisters, daughters, and babes.[40]

Governor Wise wrote that Maria had a constitutional right to visit Virginia. Maria replied:

> Your constitutional obligation, for which you profess so much respect, has never proved any protection to citizens of the Free States, who happened to have a black, brown, or yellow complexion, nor to any white citizen whom you even suspected of entertaining opinions opposite to your own, on a question of vast importance to the temporal welfare and moral example of our common country.[41]

John Brown, advised by his lawyers that Maria's presence would hurt more than help his chance to avoid hanging, politely declined her offer. But Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, to Maria's disgust, published the Child-Wise correspondence in his newspaper. The publication raised a furor and brought a response from Mrs. Mason, wife of the author of the Fugitive Slave Act:

> Do you read your Bible, Mrs. Child? If you do, read there, "Woe unto you, hypocrites," and take to yourself with two-fold damnation that terrible sentence; . . . You would soothe with sisterly and motherly care the hoary-headed murderer of Harper's Ferry! A man whose aim and intention was to incite the horrors of a servile war--to condemn women of your own race, ere death closed their eyes on their sufferings from violence and outrage, to see their husbands and fathers murdered, their children butchered, the ground strewn with the brains of their babes.[42]

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[40] Ibid., p. 5. [41] Ibid., p. 6. [42] Ibid., p. 16.

Maria, author of Progress of Religious Ideas Through Successive Ages, flung back pages of Bible quotations on the sins of slaveholding. She noted that so many advertisements for runaway slaves described them as having blue eyes and straight blond hair that Southern gentlemen must have turned away from their ladylike wives for sex.[43] Mrs. Mason in turn asked if New England women nursed their sick servants as the Southern women did their slaves, and helped them in childbirth.[44] Maria answered:

> It would be extremely difficult to find any woman in our villages who does not sew for the poor, and watch with the sick, whenever occasion requires. . . . I have never known an instance where "the pangs of maternity" did not meet with the requisite assistance, and here at the North, after we have helped the mothers, we do not sell the babies.[45]

Maria agreed to let Greeley publish the entire correspondence for propaganda purposes. The American Anti-Slavery Society printed it in a twenty-eight page hard-bound booklet, and sold 300,000 copies.

Maria's contributions to antislavery literature included two other books. The Right Way, The Safe Way (1860) was based on the experience of emancipation in the British West Indies. The Freedmen's Book (1865) was full of advice for newly freed slaves, including the advice to take a daily cold tub.

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[43] Ibid., p. 10. [44] Ibid., p. 17. [45] Ibid., p. 26.

She wrote numerous tracts and pamphlets to stir sluggish consciences to see the plight of the slaves. Her Anti-Slavery Catechism, published by Charles Whipple in Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1836, featured a question and answer format on thirty-six pages lively with incident. For example, she wrote about Mrs. Salarie, wealthy but sadistic New Orleans matron. Neighbors had long ignored the screams that issued from her mansion. But when the place caught fire the men who entered found slaves chained to the rafters, all horribly mutilated from whips, one dead with his face half gone and worms crawling there. Maria told of the anguish of separations--a mother whose children were sold to be sent down the river next day was chained so she could not get to them that night. She broke her fetters, took an ax and killed the children rather than have them live as slaves far from her care. This must have been a story much repeated, because in the American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1837 there is an engraved illustration showing the mother with the ax and telling the tale in dialogue.[46]

The Catechism noted that mulatto slaves brought more on the auction block than the darker blacks. Maria's conclusion was that "licentiousness in slave states becomes

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[46] American Anti-Slavery Almanac (Boston: N. Southard & D. C. Hitchcock, 1837), p. 43.

a profitable vice, instead of being expensive, as it is in other forms of society."[47] She also recorded that the usual fine in the South for the crime of teaching a slave to read or giving him any book including the Bible was two hundred dollars.[48]

The American Anti-Slavery Almanacs were collections edited by various antislavery writers and published annually by the antislavery societies. Maria edited the almanac for 1843, at the time that she was editing the National Anti-Slavery Standard. The same engraving of the Spirit of Liberty that headed her editorial page on the Standard also illustrated the title page of the Almanac. The booklet included a calendar, weather forecasts, a chronology of slavery, court cases, list of mob actions, speeches, a sonnet to Isaac Hopper by Willian Lloyd Garrison, the rewards offered for runaway slaves, statistics showing the power of the South in the national government, and a table listing railroads on which there was no distinction of accommodation by color and those on which colored persons had been shamefully abused. The almanac carried advertisements for educational institutions that admitted Negroes: Clinton Seminary, Clinton, New York, a preparatory school; Oberlin Collegiate Institute,

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[47]Lydia Maria Child, Anti-Slavery Catechism (Newburyport: Charles Whipple, 1836), p. 15.

[48]Ibid., p. 17.

Oberlin, Ohio, a three-year college; and Oneida Institute, Whitesboro, New York, college instruction. Maria recommended the National Anti-Slavery Standard to readers of the almanac, and reprinted an article she had written for the Standard, "The Iron Shroud" (slavery). The back cover of the almanac showed a slave roped to a flag pole from which floated the American flag.[49]

Throughout her life Lydia Maria Child was interested in the rights of women, as well as those of the slave. She always refused to address meetings on women's rights, but she did contribute a ponderous study, the History of the Condition of Women in Various Ages and Nations, published in two volumes in 1835. Later she attacked the problem in a more fanciful way in her novel of ancient Greece, Philothea, published in 1836. Her heroine was the voice of reform.

Lydia Maria Child's contemporaries took considerable notice of her, both pro and con. In her nine hundred-page Woman's Record, Sarah Josepha Hale alloted two pages of biography and comments to Maria and quoted four pages from her published writings. Mrs. Hale praised Maria's

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[49]Lydia Maria Child, ed., The American Anti-Slavery Almanac (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1843).

literary work, but decried her abolitionist activities. For example, about Philothea she wrote: "The bitter feelings engendered by the strife [antislavery] have prevented the merits of this remarkable book from being appreciated as they deserve."[50] Mrs. Hale went on to say that the example of Jesus should be the guide for women's benevolent efforts, and in no place did He encourage the agitation of political questions. Mrs. Hale held that Maria had wasted her fine genius, pouring out her heart for a cause only tending to strife.

In a twenty-seven page review of Maria's work, written before the famous Appeal appeared, the North American Review praised her almost without reservation:

> We are not sure that any woman in our country would outrank Mrs. Child. This lady has long been before the public as an author, with much success. And she well deserves it,--for in all her works we think that nothing can be found, which does not commend itself by its tone of healthy morality, and generally by its good sense. Few female writers, if any, have done more or better things for our literature, in its lighter or graver departments. She has continued to render herself popular in fiction and fact; to be graceful alike in telling a village story, and in giving a receipt for the kitchen; to be at home in the prose and the poetry of life; in short, to be just the woman we want for the mothers and daughters of the present generation.[51]

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[50] Sarah Josepha Hale, Woman's Record; or Sketches of All Distinguished Women from The Creation to A.D. 1854 Arranged in Four Eras with Selections from Female Writers of Every Age (New York: Harper & Bros., 1855), p. 620.

[51] "Works of Mrs. Child," North American Review, XL (July, 1833), 139.

The North American Review for January, 1837, carried a fourteen-page complimentary study of Maria's Philothea. No mention was made of her antislavery writings.

Rufus Griswold, in 1847, wrote of Lydia Maria Child: "She is one of the most able and brilliant authors of the country, as in shown by her Philothea, Letters from New York, and other works.[52]

In a review of Maria's collected Letters, William Lloyd Garrison wrote:

> The heartiness of Mrs. Child, in actual intercourse, as in these letters, was more conspicuous than intellectual superiority, which nevertheless cannot be denied her, even if she could not lay claim to great originality. It is impossible not to warm to a nature like that displayed in her unaffected accounts of her endless labors on behalf of the poor, the oppressed, and repentant. Now it is a story that must be written for bleeding Kansas, and that being off her hands she feels bound to "stir up the women here to do something" for the emigrants in that distracted Territory; so begs a piece of cheap calico of Charles Hovey, he himself deeming that money and energy had better be expended on the immediate abolition of slavery and dissolution of the Union if that could not be soon brought about, but she thinking it best to wait for either of these events until she made up the cloth, as cold weather was coming on.[53]

Garrison posed the question why such a gifted couple as the Childs had not made more of themselves, particularly why Maria, author of Hobomok, The Rebels, and Philothea, did not produce an antislavery novel anticipating Uncle

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[52]Rufus Griswold, The Female Poets of America (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1849), p. 10.

[53]William Lloyd Garrison, Nation, Jan. 25, 1883, p. 87.

Tom's Cabin. But his list of the accomplishments of David Lee and Lydia Maria Child spoke for itself.

John Greenleaf Whittier wrote that after publication of her Appeal, life had become a battle for Maria. However, all through her trials she kept her sense of humor and her appreciation of the beautiful in art and nature: "It is not exaggeration to say that no man or woman at that period rendered more substantial service to the cause of freedom, or made such a great renunciation in doing it.[54]

James Russell Lowell, the American poet, immortalized Maria in his "Fable for Critics":

> There comes Philothea, her face all aglow,
> She has just been dividing some poor creature's woe,
> And can't tell which pleases her most, to relieve
> His want, or his story to hear and believe;
> No doubt against many deep griefs she prevails,
> For her ear is the refuge of destitute tales;
> She knows well that silence is sorrow's best food,
> And that talking draws off from the heart its black blood.
> . . . . . .
> What a wealth would it bring to the narrow and sour,
> Could they be as a Child but for one little hour.[55]

A contemporary historian, Dwight Lowell Dumond, placed Maria among the foremost of the antislavery writers:

> Lydia Maria Child was the most versatile of the women authors. . . . Slavery was her principal concern, and she not only sacrificed a promising literary

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[54]Child, Letters, p. x.

[55]Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.

> career, but gave up social prominence as well, to devote her life to the cause of emancipation.[56]

Lydia Maria Child watched the political situation closely, concerned that the political actions she and the antislavery forces had set in motion might not, in fact, bring real freedom to the Negroes. The year before her death she described to a friend a book she was reading that predicted the South would ultimately carry all its points by a policy more crafty than open rebellion. Maria wrote:

> All our troubles originate in the fact that the American people, North or South, never really felt the enormous wickedness of slavery. They never emancipated the slaves; events too strong for them to control accomplished it.[57]

In suggesting that "the South would ultimately carry all its points by a policy more crafty than open rebellion," Maria showed real prescience. An investigation into life in Tunica County, Mississippi, early in 1969 brought the following illuminating response from a Negro mother of five:

> Every morning the first thing I think about is what I can do to feed the kids. I don't have no money coming in. My husband, he works for him, and you know the bossmen around here, they'll give you some things and they won't give you others. We can use this house,

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[56]Dwight Lowell Dumond, Antislavery and the Crusade for Freedom in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 281.

[57]Letter, Lydia Maria Child to Sarah Shaw, Wayland Historical Society, copied by Radcliffe College Library.

it's his. He told us last year that as long as we didn't get any smart-aledcy ideas in our heads, we'd be all right here; but if we did, we could go on up to Chicago where the niggers belong, and the mayor up there, he'd be taking care of us just like they do down here in Mississippi. The bossman don't give us much money, but there'll be ten dollars one week, and maybe five the next, and he gave us twenty for Christmas, I'll say that for him. He don't want us trying to vote and like that--and first I'd like to feed my kids before I go trying to vote. For breakfast there isn't much, but they know it's not until the middle of the day they can eat. I give them some soup I make--I boil up a bone and some beans and there's the water and I salt it real good. I put some of the milk flakes [powdered milk] in the children's coffee, and that's good for them, I know. They gets their energy from the candy bars, of course. And I gives them grits. His wife--the bossman's--she'll come over here sometimes and give us some extra grits and once or twice in the year some good bacon. She tells me we get along fine down here and I says yes to her. What else would I be saying, I ask you?

But it's no good. The kids aren't eating enough, and you'd have to be wrong in the head, pure crazy, to say they are. Sometimes we talk of leaving; but you know its just no good up there either, we hear. They eat better, but they have bad things up there I hear, rats as big as raccoons, and they bit my sister's kid real bad. It's no kind of country to be proud of, with all this going on--the colored people having it so bad, ... You people talk about the vote. To me what counts is if I could be able to feed us better and we'd see a little money each Saturday or even the beginning of each month, or so. My girl come home and told me we haven't been slaves since way back, according to her teacher. And I said, yes, that sounds real good.[58] (Italics added.)

Although the activities of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lydia Maria Child have not yet brought full

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[58]Robert Coles and Harry Huge, "From Jamie Whitten Country: 'We Need Help,'" New Republic, CLX (March 8, 1969), 20.

freedom to Negroes, to women, and to the press for which they worked, they did their part. As Maria wrote to a friend in 1838:

> Be not discouraged because the sphere of action seems narrow, and the influence limited; for every word and act that a human being sends forth lives forever. It is a spiritual seed cast into the wide field of opinion. Its results are too infinite for human calculation. It will appear and reappear through all time, always influencing the destiny of the human race for good or for evil. Has not the idea that rose silently in Elizabeth Heyrick's mind [immediate abolition] spread, until it has almost become a World idea?[59]

About the middle of the nineteenth century another woman was to pick up the idea of freedom for the blacks, for women, and for the press, and publish it in another part of the country: Jane Grey Swisshelm.

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[59]Child, Letters, p. 23.

Jane Grey Swisshelm

Courtesy Minnesota Historical Society

CHAPTER VI

JANE GREY SWISSHELM

Jane Grey Swisshelm (Swĭz-em) provided vigorous vinegar for the sweet and sour sauce dished up by the three women antislavery editors in their newspapers. While Elizabeth Margaret Chandler put in the sweet with her sentimental pleas and Lydia Maria Child contributed the intellectual binder to the sauce, Jane Grey Swisshelm added the racy bite. "My style I caught from my crude, rural surroundings," she wrote in her autobiography.[1]

Of slavery in the abstract she claimed to know nothing. Her articles were as direct and personal as the prophet Nathan's rebuke to King David. Astonishingly, she faced only one significant libel suit during her years as editor and publisher of four different newspapers. She reported truth, as she saw it, in a flamboyant but good-natured and entertaining manner, and usually came out on top of every controversy. "I had a reckless abandon, for had I not thrown myself into the breach to

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[1]Jane Grey Swisshelm, Half a Century, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Jansen, Mc Clurg & Co., 1880), p. 94.

die there, and would I not sell my life at full value?" she wrote.[2]

Unlike her sister antislavery newspaper editors Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lydia Maria Child, who worked for others, Jane Grey Swisshelm worked for herself. She bore the whole burden as entrepreneur, risking her money as well as her talent. She published the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter from 1847 to 1857, the St. Cloud (Minnesota) Visiter for part of 1858, the St. Cloud Democrat from 1858 to 1863, and the Reconstructionist in Washington, from December, 1865, through March of 1866.

Jane Grey Swisshelm attacked slavery in such a swashbuckling manner that George D. Prentiss, editor of the Louisville Journal wrote, "She is a man in all but pantaloons." Jane replied in rhyme:

> Perhaps you have been busy
> Horsewhipping Sal or Lizzie,
> Stealing some poor man's baby,
> Selling its mother, may-be.
> You say--and you are witty--
> That I--and, tis a pity--
> Of manhood lack manliness,
> A body clean and new,
> A soul within it, too.
> Nature must change her plan
> Ere you can be a man.

A fellow editor said, "Brother George, beware of sister Jane."[3]

Jane's dagger thrusts at the Fugitive Slave Act

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[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 114.

of 1850 drew blood from editors who accused her of taking advantage of their masculine chivalry, hiding in her woman's skirts. She replied:

> We do not as a rule say one half that we feel we should say if we were a man. If we were, and any fellow who had acted hound and aided in capturing a fugitive should offer us any of the courtesies of life proper between man and man, we would spit on him. . . . Any one who for a twenty dollar fee would aid in tearing a man from his family and consign him to the condition of a brute beast ought to be held without the range of human sympathy. We would not let such a biped sleep in our barn or take a drink at our pump.[4]

Jane Grey Swisshelm reveled in her reputation as a "man-eating giantess" with "flaming black eyes, square jaws, and big fists."[5] But it was only her pen that wore pantaloons. She was a delicately-built woman with beautiful dark hair, her weight about a hundred pounds. At age fifteen someone told her she was pretty. She wrote: "I went to a mirror and spent some moments in unalloyed happiness and triumph. Then I thought, 'Pretty face, the worms will eat you.'"[6] What was masculine about her, one commentator wrote, was her intellect and courage. In 1850 she was described as "quite a Jenny Lind in appearance. . . with an unusual expanse of forehead, dark brown hair, combed over her temples, light blue liquid eyes, nose

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[4] Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter, March 29, 1851. Bertha-Monica Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers 1830-1860," American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 690.

[5] Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 149.

[6] Ibid., p. 34.

rather prominent, mouth small and disclosing very fine teeth--countenance pleasing, and smile truly enchanting."[7]

Jane's pastor, the Rev. S. L. Fisher, D.D., who did not meet her until she was sixty-five, described her as an attentive worshipper, "refined in manner and unobtrusive in attitude,"--brazen only with the pen. Her dark hair was then touched with gray, her form slight yet vigorous, spare, giving the impression of a bird. She wore an "indiscribably air of self-satisfaction," and was easily sarcastic, but also was whimsical, alert, and humorous.[8]

It is probable that Jane Grey Swisshelm did not go about as unfashionably clothed as did Lydia Maria Child. In the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter she chastised foolish women who were prisoners to the fripperies of the day's styles. But she did not go so far as to advocate the bloomer, as did Lucy Stone and Amelia Bloomer. She made one of the garments and wore it around the house for parts of two days, then gave it up. Unlike those feminists, Jane did not believe that wearing a bifurcated garment would give a woman all the rights usurped by men. She was not unconscious of fashion, witness her description of

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[7]Arthur J. Larsen, ed., Crusader and Feminist; Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm 1858-1865 (Saint Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society, 1934), p. 179.

[8]Rev. S. J. Fisher, D.D., "Reminiscences of Jane Grey Swisshelm," Western Pennsylvania History Magazine, IV (July, 1921), 165.

a Washington reception given by Galusha A. Grow, Speaker of the House, a bachelor whose sister-in-law presided as hostess:

> For the benefit of the ladies I must mention that she wore a very rich crimson moire antique, with black lace trimmings. The ladies present were generally richly dressed, but many of them were disfigured by quillings or puffings which gave them, more or less, the appearance of French hens, that, you know, have the feathers turned upward. I cannot think of anything more ungraceful as a trimming, than a narrow satin ribbon, quilled in box plaits, unless it is an over-waist and sleeves of stiff lace, all drawn into puffs which completely take away all outline of form.[9]

Jane Grey Swisshelm had to reckon with the danger to reputation that any attractive woman might meet in the world of work. When she first proposed to publish her own antislavery newspaper, the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter, and asked Robert M. Riddle, publisher of the Pittsburgh Commercial Journal, to which she had been contributing, to print it, he looked at her in astonishment. "You could not conduct a paper and stay at home, but must spend a good deal of time here!" he said. Suddenly she saw the appalling prospect. She knew of only one woman in Pittsburgh who worked in an office, and she was secretary for her father whose office was in their home. Riddle was an elegant and polished gentleman, handsome, a man of the world and target of evil gossip. She would have to spend hours working in close proximity to him in the office.

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[9] St. Cloud Democrat, Feb. 26, 1863. Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, p. 179.

In a flash she saw that this was her Red Sea. She remembered the Biblical words, which became the motto of her newspapers: "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." She vowed that "the crimson waves of scandal, the white foam of gossip, shall part before me and heap themselves up as walls on either hand."[10]

Thus, after three years with no impropriety, Riddle turned to Jane one day and said:

> "Why do you wear those hideous caps? You seem to have good hair. Mrs. Riddle says she knows you have, and she and some ladies were wondering, only yesterday, why you make yourself such a fright."
>
> The offending cap was a net scarf tied under the chin, and I said, "You know I am subject to quinsy, and this cap protects my tonsils."[11]

Jane's tonsils, however, did not seem to require protection by the offending cap when she was outside the office.

Jane Grey Cannon was born on December 6, 1815, in Pittsburgh, and died at the age of sixty-eight, on July 21, 1884, near Pittsburgh. Her parents were Thomas and Mary Scott Cannon, both Scotch-Irish and descended from signers of the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, one of the many moves by the Presbyterians to keep the Catholics from regaining control of Scotland. Jane's maternal grandmother, Jane Grey, claimed to be one of the family

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[10] Exod. 14:15. Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 108.

[11] Ibid., p. 110.

that gave England her tragic nine days' queen, Protestant Lady Jane Grey. Lady Jane was beheaded at the age of seventeen because she was a threat to Mary, Queen of Scots, a Catholic. It was this uncompromising Presbyterian Covenanter heritage that characterized all Jane Grey Swisshelm's work in antislavery, and probably was the most significant factor in making her marriage unsuccessful.[12]

In her autobiography Jane Grey Swisshelm recalled that she had learned to read the New Testament readily at the age of three and was grieved that her pastor played "patty cake" with her instead of hearing her recite the catechism and talk of original sin. On Sundays no work was performed in the house, and the family attended church all day long, morning and afternoon sermons with a social time between. The sermons and Bible study contributed a large part to her education. In 1800 the Covenant Presbyterians had held in synod that Christianity and slavery were incompatible, and they never relaxed this view. Jane kept a vivid memory of the practice of her early pastor in "fencing the tables" at communion. This was a practice of excluding those who had broken any of the Ten Commandments. When he reached the eighth he would intone solemnly,

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[12]Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, pp. 2-3.

"I debar from this Holy Table of the Lord all slave-holders and horse-thieves, and other dishonest persons."[13]

Thomas Cannon, a well-to-do merchant with holdings in real estate, in 1816 moved the family to Wilkinsburg, a community near Pittsburgh. He suffered substantial losses in a business depression and died when Jane was seven, leaving her mother to bring up three children. William, a brother, made chairs for children and sold them. The child Jane learned lace making, teaching it to women pupils while sitting on their laps. She also painted on velvet and sold her pictures; her mother fashioned hats. Later, Jane for a time earned her board and room teaching the younger children at a boarding school. The family moved to Pittsburgh. There, at the age of nine, Jane stood with a row of school children to greet Lafayette, the French soldier who was a hero to Americans, on his American tour in 1825. (This was the tour when Lydia Maria Child, a famous novelist at twenty-three and part of Boston's official welcoming committee, had had her hand kissed by the distinguished Frenchman.) Lafayette stopped in front of Jane and laid his hand on her head. Too happy to remember what he said, she recalled his touch as a consecration.[14]

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[13]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 19.

[14]Ibid., p. 23.

Jane opened the only school in Wilkinsburg when she was fourteen. Pupils attended seven hours a day five days a week and Saturday morning, which was devoted to Bible study and catechism. Jane charged each pupil $2.50 a term.

When she was fifteen Jane experienced a conversion in which she believed that God had accepted her as a "thistle-digger in the vineyard," to perform tasks from which others shrank.[15]

At nineteen Jane met her "black knight," a man of immense strength, more than six feet tall, handsome, with black hair and eyes and heavy black whiskers, riding a black horse. James Swisshelm's family were the leading Methodists of the township; his father had built a meeting-house on his property and set aside land for camp-meeting. They always maintained a "prophet's chamber," a guest room where the traveling preachers stayed. His mother "lived without sin," prayed aloud and shouted in meeting. Jane's mother opposed the marriage as a poor risk, but Jane was swept off her feet. Jane understood that her religion was not to be questioned and that her husband would take her to live apart from his family. But after the ceremony these stipulations were forgotten. The Swisshelms tried to convert her to Methodism, in fact,

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[15] Ibid., p. 37.

to make a preacher out of her. The mother-in-law constantly dominated the couple's lives, and James Swisshelm followed his mother's wishes.

Jane's husband seems to have been extremely proud of her, recognizing her ability, and encouraging her to speak and write under her own name. His admiration for the laws that prohibited married women from keeping in their own name any money that they earned, and his devotion to his mother, a widow, who held all the family property in her name, however, made the marriage precarious. Jane took up painting and did a portrait of her husband and one of herself, but gave it up when her conscience told her her duty lay with housekeeping.[16]

After two years James Swisshelm took his wife to Louisville, Kentucky, where he went into business with his brother, unsuccessfully. Here Jane saw slavery first hand, and it changed her life. She was surprised to see so many men off work in the middle of the morning, standing about in their black broadcloth with gold chains and diamond studs ornamenting their satin vests. She learned that they lived off the labor of their slaves. One man's entire support came from selling the children of his nineteen women and collecting the women's wages. He lived with a girl of eighteen in a boarding house where

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[16]See supra, p. 149.

her wages were applied against his board bill. To use any tool but a bowie-knife, slave whip, or pistol would have lost a Louisville white man caste.[17]

Always thereafter Jane was haunted by old Martha, a cook she had met, and other abused slaves. Meeting these slaves turned Jane into a rabid abolitionist. Martha had "taken on" so each time her thirteen children had been sold that she had had to be flogged insensible. Once her mistress had had to send her to the workhouse to be whipped by the constable, cost--fifty cents. Another case Jane knew and wrote about later, Maria, the "educated, refined daughter of a Kentucky farmer," was lashed by her brutal purchaser once, and again and again for insisting on retaining her chastity. Hundreds who heard the blows and shrieks knew the cause. From that house she was taken to the workhouse and scourged by the public executioner,"backed by the whole force of the United States government."[18] For months Jane saw every day a ten-year-old boy, property of an elder in the Second Presbyterian Church who led the choir, forced to wear an iron collar with four spikes, and a bail over his head as a penalty for running away.

Jane opened a school for Negro children in the

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[17]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 53.

[18]Ibid., pp. 57-58.

home of a free Negro, but had to close it when a slaveholder threatened to burn down the house.

Her husband's business languished and he changed to dry goods while she developed a flourishing sewing establishment, making dresses and corsets. Then her mother, dying of cancer, called for Jane's help. Swisshelm opposed her going for fear the business would fail. He read from the Bible the injunction of Paul: "Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands as unto the Lord,"[19] Jane recalled the English poet Milton, as Lydia Maria Child had when he had Eve say to Adam, "Be God thy law, thou mine."[20] Was she Christ's subject, or her husband's? She remembered that the Christian church encouraged wives to join even without the consent of their husbands. She remembered the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother," and she resolved to cast off Paul. When her husband would not engage passage for her, she went to the wharf where respectable women never appeared alone, took passage, and left.[21]

Jane nursed her mother to the end, sending word to her husband that she would never return to live in a slave state. Her mother left her property to trustees for the use of Jane and her sister Elizabeth. Swisshelm,

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[19]Eph. 5:22.

[20]See supra, p. 110.

[21]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 65-68.

being the owner of his wife's person and services, filed a claim with the executors of the estate for Jane's services in nursing her mother. This action, more than any other, opened her eyes to the "miserable condition of women before the law," and spurred Jane to work for women's rights.[22]

It was while Jane was in charge of Butler Seminary near Pittsburgh from 1840 to 1842, the two years following her mother's death, that her first writing appeared in print, anonymously, in a Butler paper (her first except for one letter in George D. Prentiss' Louisville Journal). She wrote in support of the abolition of capital punishment.

In the spring of 1842 Jane rejoined her husband, moving into his family place, which she named Swissvale.[23] That summer she began to write stories and poems under the nom de plume "Jennie Deans" for the Dollar Newspaper and Neal's Saturday Gazette of Philadelphia, and Reece C.

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[22]"A Stanch Foe of Slavery; Death of Jane Grey Swisshelm, the Philanthropist," New York Times, July 23, 1884.

[23]The Pennsylvania Railroad ran through the property not in sight of the house, but the station was called Swissvale. The 1960 census listed the population of Swissvale as 15,000. The New York Times obituary, 1884, noted Mrs. Swisshelm's residence as Sewickley, a town on the Ohio River to the northwest of Pittsburgh, while Swissvale is on the eastern edge. Her autobiography was written at Swissvale, the old family homestead, where she returned at the age of fifty-two, an eventful life already behind her.

Fleeson's Spirit of Liberty, a Pittsburgh abolition newspaper. Her husband urged her to write under her own name. She became severly ill following a period of lack of harmony in her household and trouble with her mother-in-law.[24] In her delirium Jane imagined she saw old Martha, the slave cook flogged for "taking on" when her children were sold, and Maria, the girl whipped for wishing to retain her chastity, pleading with a "Black Gag" Methodist preacher for redress.[25] Jane wrote a half-column rhyme arraigning by name the Pittsburgh Methodist preachers who voted for the black gag. She signed her name, and Fleeson printed the poem in the Spirit of Liberty. Her husband, who had not taken Communion at the Pittsburgh Methodist Conference because black gag ministers were officiating, was delighted, even though a libel suit threatened Jane. When challenged by the Pittsburgh Gazette, which refused to print a statement from her, Jane enlarged her charges in the Spirit of Liberty. This first bout with the pro-slavery forces established a pattern. She usually expressed herself vigorously in an initial article and then, when pressed, gave

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[24]See Half a Century, pp. 74-88, for description of Jane's troubles with the pet panther and two bears for which--plus a bundle of wildcat money--her husband had exchanged the Louisville dry goods. Her mother-in-law moved back in and again took over, setting Jane's husband against her.

[25]Black Gag preachers were those who voted at the Methodist General Conference in Baltimore in 1840 to forbid colored members of the church to give testimony in church trials in states where they were forbidden to testify in civil courts.

an all-out exhibition of what she really could do. The preachers decided against taking legal action. Jane's first championing of the Negro so exhilarated her that she had a mountain-top religious experience, recovered from her illness, and organized a dancing society. Dancing was frowned upon by the church of her day, which did permit promiscuous kissing at church sociables. Jane delighted in dancing and believed it a more wholesome social amusement than the old kissing games.

During the Liberty party's campaign to elect James G. Birney President in 1844 Jane wrote articles for the Spirit of Liberty on behalf of Birney. She signed them with her initials only, believing the support of a woman would do the party more harm than good.[26]

When the Mexican War broke out in 1846 the country was seized by a furor of military excesses and the anti-slavery cause was almost forgotten. The Spirit of Liberty died. Haunted by the Biblical injunction: "Open my mouth for the dumb, . . . and plead the cause of the poor and needy,"[27] Jane felt called to act. Her husband wanted her to lecture, like Abby Kelly. But the vestiges of Paul in her inhibited Jane. She compromised by deciding to speak out through the press. She believed that entering into political matters would dishonor her, but knew she

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[26]See supra, p. 15.

[27]Prov. 31:8-9.

must use her own name because her statements were sure to be thought libelous. Her name in print, however, looked so different from the common pronunciation that people thought it a non de plume, and, moreover, that of a man, because no Western Pennsylvania woman had ever broken out of "women's sphere."[28]

Jane's letters appeared twice a week for several months in the leading Whig paper, Robert M. Riddle's Pittsburgh Commercial Journal. She wrote about old Martha and other pitiable slaves she had seen in Louisville. She attacked judges and other prominent men by name for their support of slavery. She proved so effective in denouncing the Mexican War as a giant whipping a cripple to extend slavery that many of the Pittsburgh citizenry came to accept this view. When Lajos Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, toured the country in 1851 he used to bring crowds to their feet by referring to "your late glorious struggle with Mexico." But when he reached that climax in his Pittsburgh speech, he met dead silence.[29]

Instead of the social ostracism she had expected, Jane reaped a crop of glory. A critic wrote: "The Pittsburgh Commercial Journal has a new contributor who signs her name 'Jane G. Swisshelm,' dips her pen in liquid gold,

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[28]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 94.

[29]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 96.

and sands her paper with the down of butterflies' wings."[30]

It was at this time Jane began to work for the freedom of women as well as the freedom of the Negro. When her husband demanded she turn over to him property her mother had left in trust for her, Jane borrowed legal books from a judge and prepared a series of letters for the Commercial Journal on the right of married women to own property. Lucretia Mott and Mary. A. Grew of Philadelphia joined the appeal, and in 1848 the state legislature voted to permit married women to own property. Edwin M. Stanton, a young Ohio lawyer engaged in a case for a Pittsburgh firm, sought Jane out to congratulate her. This was the beginning of a life-long friendship that brought her a post in Washington during the War.[31]

After the Mexican War, antislavery forces published the Albatross in Pittsburgh, but it lasted only a short time. When Jane heard of its demise and that the Liberty party would be without an organ, she immediately decided to put out an antislavery newspaper herself. She got her husband's consent, talked Riddle into printing it in the office of the Commercial Journal, and announced it would come out in two weeks, one week after the last issue of

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[30] Ibid., p. 97.

[31] Ibid., p. 104.

the Albatross. She had no way to secure subscribers or advertisers, but the editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette and one other man did subscribe. Riddle objected to the spelling of "Visiter," but when Jane gave Dr. Samuel Johnson the lexicographer as her authority, he agreed to set up the heading as she requested: The Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter.[32] It was a six-column publication that appeared weekly. She encountered so much difficulty in getting the forms on the press that the first paper was late. She wrote later:

> By five the streets were so blocked by a waiting crowd, that vehicles went around by other ways, and it was six o'clock, Jan. 20, 1848, when the first copy was sold at the counter. I was in the editorial room all afternoon, correcting proof to the last moment, and when there was nothing more I could do, was detained by the crowd around the doors until it was after eleven.[33]

Here Jane Grey Swisshelm's memory was in error. Volume I, Number 1 of the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter was dated December 20, 1847.

The crowd that waited to buy the first issue of the Saturday Visiter found no hint on page one that it was an antislavery newspaper. Under the logotype was the

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[32]Jane Grey Swisshelm was a reckless speller. When Arthur J. Larsen prepared the letters she wrote for newspaper publication that he included in his book Crusader and Feminist, he had to make frequent use of bracketed correct spellings.

[33]Ibid., p. 109. See supra, p. 11 for the reaction of male editors to female invasion of their "sacred" precincts.

PITTSBURGH SATURDAY VISITER.

"SHALL I NOT VISIT FOR THESE THINGS, SAITH THE LORD."

JANE G. SWISSHELM, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR. PITTSBURGH, DECEMBER 20, 1847. VOLUME I. NUMBER 1.

POETRY.

PRESS ONWARD.

BY WILLIAM OLAND BOURNE.

Onward! Will ye stop and ponder,
While the minutes pass ye by?
Will ye mid your dreamings wander
While the hours just breathe and die?

He whose ardor brightly burneth
With a purpose true and strong,
In the end a laurel earneth
Nobler than the highest song.

Onward! in a bold reliance
On the strength ye have within;
Bid your foes a stern defiance
And their homage ye shall win.

Life is not a time for dreaming—
Standing still or asking when—
Mere resolves or wordy seeming—
Duty calls for earnest men!

Do ye cringe at shadows fleeting
Like a sun concealing cloud?
Give them all a silent greeting,
But be never by them bowed.

Onward! though the steep ascending
Makes the labor long and hard;
Sweeter far will be the blending,
Joy with after-toil's reward.

They who idly stand and tremble,
Thinking dangers fill the way,
Bid the tyrant foes assemble
In their terror-born array.

Doubting ever makes us weaker—
Fears make coward hearts for aye—
But the true and earnest seeker
Knows no yielding but to die.

He who yields is base and craven—
Nothing worth in strife and toil—
But the firm shall reach their haven,
Proudly bearing off the spoil.

So our duty e'er should find us—
So our trials should be met—
While the true and lofty bind us
Like a lock unmoving set.

God ye, then, with bold endeavor—
Press ye onward while ye may—
Keeping Trust and Hope forever
Angel-guardians by the way.

Written for the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter.

PAYING LICENSE.

A true tale, by JESSIE DEANS.

CHAPTER I.

Dear Reader, are you a house-keeper? I dare say not though, for very few house-keepers are readers! No, no, I did not ask if you kept house, but if you were a *house-keeper*. There is a great difference, mark you. Keeping a house is arranging every thing about it so as most effectually to promote the comfort and happiness of the inmates, and the gift of so keeping it is a saving grace. Being a house-keeper is a different affair. To be a perfect specimen of the article one must adopt the different system of astronomy from the Ptolemaic, and finely believe that houses are the centre of the solar and every other system—the fixed point around which all planetary things revolve; nay, not only planetary things, but things celestial and celestial, things "in the Heaven above and things in Earth beneath."

To a house-keeper, nothing "in this life, or in that which is to come," is at all to be compared to a well scrubbed kitchen floor, nicely scoured tin-pans. What to her is a stain of pollution on the immortal soul of husband or child, to the setting a muddy shoe sole on carpet or floor? To be sure they would be very willing to prefer the former, if they could consistently with the higher duty—the main object of their lives of keeping a clean house. It is a queer thing to be a house-keeper, but I have an idea that some yankee will invent some day with steam, weights, or a spring for motive power. It need not be much more curious than a steam press, and most of the duties, except the scolding.

It must of course be so arranged as to wash on a certain day without regard to weather—but there would be one difficulty. No matter what motive power would be used, until perpetual motion is discovered, it might sometimes get out of order, break, and stop! That would never do. The housekeeper goes all the same sick child, it makes no difference. Oh no! She will get no steam house-keepers, for then engines must rest and get mended, but "human things would get out of sorts," and extra or a mainspring would have to be sent up and might be forgotten. House-keepers never forget.

Mrs. Malony was a house-keeper, and, we might judge her faith by her works, firmly believed that the chief end of man was to build houses and take care of them; the chief and only end of woman, to keep them clean.

Her's was a clean, a desperately clean house, where every chair, both tables, and water buckets had learned their own exact places on the floor and never get out of them. Nobody need tell me that a housekeeper's chair do not get to know more than other people's, and keep their places better, or that chairs do not move only when somebody moves them. No matter how nicely mother or Betsy fixes them up, next time they come in the room they are sure to be "all topsy turvey," and then the blame is all laid on "Jennie," when I am sure it is no such thing. They just get that way somehow, and look as much at home as a gentleman in morning gown and slippers. But Mrs. Malony's chairs always stayed "just so." The creased napkin against the wall never altered its triangles, the little mirror *hung* or rather *sat* just above, resting upon the two nails which passed through the napkin loops: and looking down upon the oft scoured floor like compassion upon misery. It had a nice square of flowered paper fastened against the log wall to serve as a back ground to show off the beauties of the stained pine frame, and the yellow house which surmounted it. Beneath stood the tin-ware, a tall stately looking concern, with two hooks at each end on top, and looking somewhat like a "vinegar-faced, starchy old maid, with two stiffe curls on each cheek." Mrs. Malony would have no newspapers about, for they always made "a litter." Frank Malony, her husband, the village blacksmith, liked reading very well, but Sally had no time for trifles of this kind; and to let Frank sit of evening in the house and read, was out of the question, for he chewed tobacco. True he might have sat on the well scoured bench in the little yard, at the door, but the last rays of the sun fell *there*, and to have planted vines or trees for shade, "why the leaves would always keep a fallin' and makin' a mess." Besides this little enclosure had been so thoroughly swept that not a blade of grass dare grow, and the smooth, hard earth displayed the stain of tobacco juice, almost as well as the white floor.

Old Mr. Smith says there is a great many good qualities about bad people, and just as many bad qualities about good people, and that after all there is not so much difference as we are apt to imagine. The wisest people will be very foolish sometimes, and foolish people will sometimes be wise, so, although Mrs. Malony had some false notions she was right in thinking a tobacco chewer out of place every where. When the Good Being made the world, He made no place for them, or an idler; and they appearing to understand this, have created bar rooms for their own accommodation.

Mrs. Malony never meant to be an unkind wife or mother, no family had their clothes better mended and washed, their meals better cooked, or their house kept in better order; but this bounded her ideas of duty. To accomplish it, their home became no home at all, for after Frank had washed and changed his working dress in the shed at the back of the house, and taken his clean supper, off his clean table, in his clean house, he usually spent his evening in Jimmy Doyl's bar-room, or on the bench at the door, where he could read, gossip and chew, undisturbed by the shrill rebukes which an overclean house-keeper would be likely to administer to eight healthy children, who, in order to keep from "makin' a mess" about the house spent most of their time strolling the village, fields and woods, the older ones carrying the baby to keep it out of the way. A great many people besides the Malonys have houses too clean or too fine to live in, and if I were in one of their places should move to the barn, and just peep in the house through a window now and then to see if it stayed nice. Those who stay in cities and have no barns, might live in the coal shed, or even under the bake-oven. Any place would be better than a house which keeps one in a constant fret lest they spoil something or soil something.

One of Mrs. Malony's troubles, the best people have troubles, was her nearest neighbor, whose yard divided from her own by a slight fence, presented a great contrast to her little hard, square, well swept plot. Mrs. Weston's yard was filled with green, and one locust tree, which stood near the fence, disturbed the good housewife not a little. The leaves of this tree, like all of its kind, were dying and dropping from early spring until fall, and the litter thus made provided no little employment for her broom and tongue. But there appeared no remedy for the evil. The boiling suds which had been carefully poured round root and stem, the rather increased it, by assisting the growth and bringing a more plentiful supply of new leaves, which forced the old ones to drop off and leave room. Many were the heart-burnings which they cost, many the hours they darkened with angry clouds, these little withered leaves! Of such material is made one half our sorrows! Yet heedless of the sorrow which they brought, the yellow leaves dropped down continually, from May laid down her garlands until Autumn came wraped in her rainbow mantle. Like those who die in infancy, and youth, and childhood, they came down to the earth to find a grave, and preach of transitory blessings, of life, and hopes of youth, of virtue, truth and honor blasted early, by withering the fibres which bring the life-supply; and all unmindful of their lack of welcome they fluttered in to preach their silent sermon of decay upon her very hearth-stone.

Like those of most pattern house-keepers, Mrs. Malony's children were very little help to her. They did not do things rightly, and it was much easier for the busy bustling woman to do all herself, than find the patience which would teach them. This is one reason why so many notable mothers raise daughters with very small, white hands.

The hearthstone, the hearthstone! The family fireside. Much has been said and written of it, yet its power for good or evil is little understood. The faculty of chaining to its charmed circle the leisure hours of husbands, fathers, brothers, sons, is a blessed gift to woman, but unfortunately all have it not. If they had, crime in a great measure would cease. If the guardians of public morals could contrive some reasonable substitute for uncomfortable hearthstones, "what a world of trouble" it would save them! But either with the *short* sight of idiots or the *long* sight of demons, they have opened at the very door of every home the broad road which leadeth to destruction, and made its paths inviting by lures of giddy excitement, which win the inmates, of not only the ill-regulated, but often of the best regulated, homes to tread in its downward course.

Had the village of Newtown presented any place of rational enjoyment, Frank Malony, would not have spent his evenings at Jimmy Doyls: for he had no taste for intoxicating drinks, and the company was not agreeable. But Frank was a jovial fellow, loved to laugh and talk, and hated solitude. His wife had no time to be his companion, for it kept her busy to scold his children, and scrub his house. At first he only stayed a while to chat when he went for articles for his family use—for Jimmy Doyl kept the village store as well as tavern: then he went to hear the news when he had no other errand. He began to think it mean to sit without buying something, and as Jimmy was always at the bar waiting for a fip, like a spider watching for a fly, it became a kind of matter of course to treat some thirsty politician who had talked himself hoarse over the President's message, or something else he knew nothing about. After a while Frank learned to take share or "join us in a glass."

To him the downward road was very steep. His was one of these strong passionate natures to which over excitement is madness.

Jimmy Doyl became fully aware of this and learned to be afraid of Frank Malony when he had "a drop;" but this fear did not deter Jimmy from persuading him to take "a drop" again, for what are all other fears, to those of Jimmy's class, compared to the fear of loosing a fip.

But this chapter is getting very *long*, and there are other people who are interested in the manner Frank Malony spends his evenings, so I must tell you about them.

CHAPTER II.

Dear reader, perhaps you will feel insulted at the very plebian company I have been introducing you to—a village blacksmith and his wife, with the schoolmistress, next door; but no. I had like to forget that Longfellow has immortalized the "village blacksmith" and "the schoolmistress," is always more or less romantic. The next characters in this true tale, are not so easily made interesting; for they are simply an old western Pennsylvania farmer, his gude wife, and their one son.—This son might be interesting to young ladies, but for the impediment of being engaged. But indeed girls you would have liked Edward Sutton, if you had known him, his countenance was so open and intelligent, so free from every stamp of the baser passions which degrade humanity. His step was so firm and light. Every body who knew Edward either loved or liked him—girls and all.—Yet Susan Scott, was not a bit jealous, for she knew that although Edward liked and loved a great many, he loved no one as he did her. Susan, had always been weak and timid—one of those confiding natures which instinctively command protection; and at school in early childhood Edward had learned to do her hard sums, help her over the run and protect her from cross sheep and vicious cows.

But we must not talk about Susan now. It makes me sad to think of her.

The homestead of the Suttons, was a fine specimen of a western farmers residence, a large but rather awkwardly contrived house, well stored within, and surrounded without, with the unmistakable signs of plenty. The evening we visit it, is a calm one in April, at the close of one of those bright warm days which capricious April loves to borrow from balmy May, to make one the better realize the discomfort of the February storms which precede and follow. The lazy old cows stood near the house looking the picture of contentment, the exemplification of a good conscience for duties well performed. They had brought home their liquid treasure and delivered it safe to the dairy woman—done all the work nature had assigned them and now quietly chewed their cud with much more self complaisance, than a loafer does his quid—without fears for to-morrow. Every living thing around appeared to be enjoying itself to its utmost capacity, while the old farmer and his family sat on the ample porch enjoying the delightful hour, the labors of the day concluded, the old gentleman busied with his book—Edward trying to read a paper while listening to the remarks of his mother and a young girl who was busy and had been most of her time for some days ornamenting a half yard of linen with minute plaits and invisible stitches, designed to be a country's wonder when peering out between the lapels of his wedding vest.

"Did you plant the rosebush at the window, Edward," said the young girl who was Sarah the oldest daughter of the schoolmistress! Sarah lived with Mrs. Sutton in the double capacity of companion and help. Like the majority of helps in a country family she was one of them—gave and took directions—orders are unknown—equally as a matter of course.

"No I forget," was the reply to her question.

"I declare Edward," said the old lady "you forget everything. Go and plant the bush. You will put it off until it will be too late to move it and it will not have a rose this year. You know very well Susan always said it would look so well under that window, and if you mind so little to please her now what will it be after a while. If it grows well it will be a sign of good luck to the bride. There should always be white roses in a bride's hair and some at her window too. Poor Susan sometimes I am afraid she will wither like a rose herself."

The last part of the good lady's kind speech was heard but by two of her audience, for Edward had gone to plant the rose at the window of the room which was to be his bride's. Well and carefully was it tended, but its blossoms was not destined to deck a bridal, strange it is that in our christian land there should be thousands whose occupation it is to convert bridals into burials—joy into grief—laughter to the deepest mourning; but so it is: and they pay license for the privilege.

The preparations for the wedding went on merrily. Edward was the only heir to many broad acres and much goods; and his nuptials were to be a country jubilee. He was scarce more anxious to bring Susan home than were his parents to have her there. Sarah was to stay until the bride came home, when changed circumstances took her else-where. A stout woman had been procured as domestic help, for "I am getting old," reasoned the thrifty housewife and kind mother "Susan is but a poor weakly thing—not like Sarah who is healthy and strong—and there is no use for her to work."

Such reasoning may sound strangely to you good reader, if you are a city reader; but in country places those you call servants are expected to do nothing a daughter of the family would not do. But some day again I will tell you Sarah Weston's history.

That spring was a stirring time in the neighborhood of Newtown. There was to be a large military encampment in the vicinity; and Edward Sutton a member of a volunteer company was expecting a full share of enjoyment. The ladies were all to visit the martial display which was to come off two weeks before the wedding, and there was merriment enough to be crowded into a few weeks to have lasted through a reasonable lifetime, much of which was realized and enjoyed to the full.

The interests of the human family are strangely linked—the high, and the low, the rich and the poor, the baseborn and the honorable are mutually dependant upon each other, no branch of the body politic can suffer without affecting the whole, any more than one part of the human frame can suffer without imparting pain to the whole system. The errors, follies or misfortunes of the humblest individual in a community, must of necessity effect that community, often to an overwhelming degree.

It may appear strange how Mrs. Maloney's house-keeping and Jimmy Doyl's tavernkeeping could be connected with the happiness of the Suttons; but they were connected by one of those invisible chains which run through human affairs.

TO BE CONTINUED.

A PERSEVERING LOVER.

A London correspondent, noticing the reports of the intended marriage of the Duke of Wellington to Miss Angelina Burdett Coutts, gives the following history of a most persevering lover of the lady:

This wealthy personage (Miss Coutts) has been of late considerably before the English public, owing to her having been most infamously prosecuted by an Irish barrister, of the appropriate name of *Dunn*. This man has for the last six years pursued the lady with the most unrelenting and reckless folly, endeavoring to force himself into her presence, following her wherever she went, and pestering her repose with a shower of amatory epistles.—For his infamous conduct he has been cuffed, kicked, whipped, dragged through horse-ponds, and imprisoned in some half a dozen jails, but to no mending of his manners, or the ceasing of his intolerable attempts to procure an audience. At last he committed himself by swearing, in the Court of Bankruptcy, that Miss Coutts had sent him an order for a sum of money, which he was to fill up, and which he did for £100,000, as his loss in breach of promise of marriage.

The assumed order consisted of a certain doggerel sent to him by some wittiest as a good joke, in the name of the lady or at least with her initial signature attached to the foot of the lines. Dunn at once grasped the idea, and sent in a check to the Bank, Coutts, & Co., 59 Strand, London, to be placed to the account of the lady, who is at the head of the firm. Of course it was rejected, and Dunn then proceeded to the Master in Bankruptcy, and made an affidavit that Miss Coutts had repudiated her order, and was therefore insolvent. He endeavored to get a fiat of bankruptcy against the firm, but was frustrated by the managing partners procuring an injunction to stay proceedings, and then indicting Dunn for perjury, he having deposed upon oath that the doggerel in question was in the handwriting of Miss Coutts.

The trial came on; the lady swore positively that she had never given the party any reason to believe that she had the least preference for him: on the contrary, she hated and abhorred his very name, or the mention of it, and had never written to him in her life.

He was found guilty, sentenced to an imprisonment of two years, and to find security for good behaviour during the ensuing five years, after the termination of the said adjudgment of incarceration.—Dunn made a smart effort to set aside this proceeding, but having failed, he is most likely to remain in custody for the full term of seven years. It can scarcely be expected that any respectable person will become his bail and no other will be accepted in such a case. Lord Brougham expressed his regret that a public whipping had not formed a portion of the sentence. and he so declared himself in the House of Lords.

Dunn was possessed, when the idea of capturing the English heiress originally entered his brain, of a small handsome freehold estate, amounting to about four hundred pounds sterling per annum, the whole of which he has squandered, by living upon the principal, so that he could enable himself to get into society and follow up the movements of Miss Coutts.—The industry, perseverance, and tact exhibited by Dunn during the whole of the campaign against Miss Coutts, betrayed an extraordinary power of indomitability, as well as general and legal attainments.—Four times he had been committed to prison by the chief magistrate of the metropolis—from Bow street—and he managed by his own unaided skill to upset the committal and obtain his liberty, owing to defects in the warrant.

Had the same ability and determination been exhibited in any laudable pursuit, Dunn must have obtained character, wealth, and perchance have achieved greatness. He is about thirty-five years of age, five feet ten in height, always ill-dressed, dogged in look, light in eyes and hair, and rather disposed to be stout in person. His relatives consider him a monomaniac, and I believe, all who have heard the history of his "Love Chase," must either put him down as a fool or a rogue, or perhaps more correctly both. Should Miss Coutts become the Duchess of Wellington, her future position in history demands this tributary. If otherwise, it will be received as a passing confirmation of the well known exclamation, that "riches have their embarrassments." Miss Coutts is a daughter of the late Sir Francis Burdett, Baronet, and was left about two millions and a half sterling by the late Duchess of St. Albans.

DULLNESS OF ROYALTY.

The following description of domestic life in the Tuilleries, we take from the National Intelligencer.

"No conversation is here allowed: no voice save that of the most illustrious is ever heard above a whisper in that gay drawing room, all decked with blue and orange, beyond the *salle du trone*, whither the family retire one and all after dinner. The Queen and her fair daughters-in-law gather around the circular work table which occupies the centre of the room, and each of the Princesses takes from the drawer allotted to her the work on which she is engaged. They work the greater part of the time in utter silence. The ladies in waiting sit behind them, and utter not a single word.

The Duchess of Orleans, that lonely lady, takes little part in any conversation that may happen to arise. Her heart is buried with her dead lord. At 9 o'clock every evening she withdraws to her own apartments, the King with the most courtly ceremony handing her to the door of her apartment.

The Duchess de Nemours is a light and merry being. She is generally attired in gay and striking colors, and her fair ringlets fall upon shoulders of alabaster. I do not think she brooks with patience the dullness of the royal *salon*, and she sometimes endeavors to cheat her *ennui* by playing off various little tricks upon her companions, which sometimes raise a smile, but downright laughter is never heard.

The Princess de Joinville comes next. She is, in the opinion of every poet and artist, a most beautiful creature. What a contrast do her large, melancholy eyes, dark as midnight, and of the most languishing expression; her coal black hair, flat smooth and shining; her pale and faded complexion—form to the full and rosy beauty of her Saxon neighbor! She is gifted by nature with the finest talents; and, had the sun of Brazil been as powerful to ripen the seeds of intellect as the more visible productions of nature, they say she would have been remarkable for great powers of mind; but alas! her education has been neglected in childhood and now she is absorbed by other ties and duties to which she attached more importance than to the cultivation of the mind.

She is aware of her deficiency, and rarely ventures to converse with strangers. In spite of her defective education, the boldnesss and originality of her expressions sometimes startle the courtly group. She is the only one who dares to assert her independence, and who contradicts the King; but she is treated like a spoiled chid, chidden and forgiven. She is called in the family the rose of the desert. The *habitues* of the Palace all declare however, that hers is the master spirit, and that in time she will rule them all.

The duchess d'Aumale is the favorite of the Queen. She does converse, but in a low tone, and close to the ear of her majesty. She tells with all the true Italian rapidity of intonation and gesticulation the story of the last wondrous miracle at Naples; the words of Father Giuseppe, the confessor of her childish sins. She is very fair; her hair is of the lightest flaxen; her person is diminutive, and she is far from possessing the beauty of any one of her sisters. The expression of her countenance is that of physical suffering; yet what kindness and benevolence beam from her eyes as she gazes on her royal aunt; with what tender *empressement* she hastens to thread the needle or sort the proper worsted, when the long-tried eye-sight fails. It needs but to see this to discover that she is the favourite, and why.

Now comes the flower transplanted last of all from the hot bed of La Granja into the cold frame of the Tuilleries, the youthful Duchess de Montpensier. She is just fourteen, but seems much older. Her countenance would be soft and kindly in expression, were it not for the hard line of her Spanish brow. Her face is too long to be very pleasing, and it is considered a compliment in good taste, and one that pleases Louis Philippe, to observe that she has the prominent nose of her father, Ferdinand VII. The poor child cannot talk if she would, being totally ignorant of any language save Spanish. The only accomplishment she has acquired at the Court of Queen Christiana is that of dancing, for which she has an inordinate passion, particularly for the expressive dances of her own country. She once attempted to charm the dulness of the evening by displaying her talent in this way to the Princesses, but the King interposed and forbade the exhibition.

So pass the evenings at the Royal Palace. *It has been questioned whether it is* prudent thus to keep the youthful ladies of the Palace in such undue subjection, making it a splendid seminary; but Louis Philippe is wise. With such a system there can be no Grande Mademoiselle—no Duchess de Maine—to set the kingdom in a blaze by their intrigues; no Princess de Conde—no princess d'Angleterre—to give cause of scandal to the prying eyes and lying tongues of invidious courtiers.—When the palace gates are closed at midnight, the King knows the whereabouts of every member of his family.

A HINT TO LADIES.

The Philadelphia Pennsylvanian publishes, from the pen of a lady, the following remarks on dress:

"Speaking of beauty, I wish people would dress pleasantly, benevolently. I saw a lovely girl to-day looking lovely and unloveable, because her muslin dress was stiffly starched, *to keep clean the longer*. My laundress tries in vain to persuade me into the barbarous custom. To my mind, a woman should always look as soft to the touch as a flower, and as pure. All her garments should be made of the finest and softest material possible; material that will easily dispose itself into folds, falling gracefully around her: and not by being liable to ruffle it every moment, compel her to stiff attitudes and starched demeanor, denying her all luxury of lounge and loll; why, my very words would grow prim and precise, were I to wear a dress, which depended on flour or potato for its propriety."

From Hayti.

The accounts are little encouraging as to the state of the country. The French *Courrier* has papers by the brig St. Thomas to the 17th ult from Port an Prince. The Journal of Commerce of that place—which, says the Courrier, has become an opposition paper—thus descants: "It is grievous to witness the perturbation of the capital at this juncture: the anarchical alarms constantly renewed therein: the deplorable condition of families. Improvident men seem to be re-domanding the *chains of slavery* in jeoparding our glorious independence." The House of Representatives had not succeeded in forming a quorum, notwithstanding it was summoned in all haste.—The general of division, Siede Telemaque, and adjutant general Lauguindeau of Cape Haytien, had been arrested for sedition but subsequently released. The number of victims by the blowing up of the corvette Constitution had not been ascertained, but it was estimated at 120. Among these were two political offenders, who were on board in irons—M. Dejacques der Cayer and M Lapommere. Unhappily the wife of the latter with her three children and two cousins were on board on a visit to the prisoner, and it is *feared* the whole family perished. The fire which destroyed this vessel was at first reported to have been an act of despair on the part of the prisoners; but it was ascertained subsequently that it was an accidental fire, which soon reaching the magazine, produced the fatal explosion.

The shock of an earthquake was experienced on the 25th October, at 3 o'clock in the morning, at Port au Prince. A report like that of a cannon was heard and the ground trembled for the space of fifteen minutes, but no evil consequences ensued.

☞ Dr. Wainwright died on Friday in New York city, from the effects of the bite of a pet rattlesnake.

heading: "Shall I Not Visit For These Things, Saith The Lord." Jane Grey Swisshelm was listed as "Editor and Proprietor." At the top left corner was a poem, "Press Onward," by William Oland Bourne,--onward and upward answering the call of duty, but no mention of what specific duty called. Below the poem was a story, "Paying License," "written for the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter by Jennie Deans," a pseudonym of Jane Grey Swisshelm. The first two chapters of this continued story occupied one-half of the front page. It was a tale of a compulsive housekeeper who was driving her husband to drink, and an account of forthcoming nuptials, the connection between these parts being promised for the next issue. Another piece, "A Persevering Lover," on the pursuit of a prominent English girl by an Irish barrister, filled almost a column. Below that, "Dullness of Royalty," described life at the French court, a piece reprinted from the National Intelligencer. Another article out of the exchange file followed, "A Hint to Ladies," from the Philadelphia Pennsylvanian. It was an argument against starching women's dresses: "A woman should always look as soft as a flower, and as pure." The final piece on the front page of the first Visiter concerned news "From Hayti,"--all bad. The House of Representatives could not form a quorum; the government was in anarchy; the corvette "Constitution" had blown up with a loss of 120 lives; and an earthquake had been experienced.

The Saturday Visiter won respectful recognition from Horace Greeley in his New York Tribune, N. P. Willis in the Home Journal, Henry Peterson's Saturday Evening Post, Godey's Lady's Book, and other prominent publications.

Begun as an organ of the Liberty party, and so recognized as such, in 1848 the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter supported Martin Van Buren, nominee of the Whigs and the Free Soilers. As President of the Senate Van Buren had cast the deciding vote that allowed Southern postmasters to open and destroy mail thought injurious to Southern institutions (antislavery literature). Thus, antislavery forces were against Van Buren. But in 1848 Van Buren opposed the extension of slavery. Jane Grey Swisshelm, ordinarily an absolutist, played the pragmatist game here, believing antislavery forces held the balance of power. "To decline aiding those who proposed to circumscribe slavery because they did not propose its destruction, was as if a soldier should refuse to storm an outpost on the ground that it was not the citadel." Jane likened the spread of slavery to the sea bursting into Holland and wrote that one dirty shovel might be more help in staying the tide than one hundred silver teaspoons wielded "by that pure patriot, Gerrit Smith."[34]

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[34] Ibid., p. 123.

From this remark it was evident that Jane Grey Swisshelm was not identified with the national antislavery movement led by Garrison, Weld, and Tappans, and Lundy, with whom Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lydia Maria Child were associated. Jane was always a loner. She did not believe, as did Garrison, that the United States Constitution was a pro-slavery document. Before it was adopted, the Covenanters had denounced it as a "Covenant with death and an agreement with hell." But in 1837-38 when the Presbyterians had split, Jane had gone with the New School, which condemned slavery and held that the Constitution was antislavery. She could not change her view to be welcomed by the Garrisonians who, in most cases, were not looking for women adherents anyway.[35]

But she was intensely political. Because of its racy style, the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter was widely quoted by newspapers throughout the country, and even when damned, its views were circulated. Jane believed that she delivered thousands of votes to the Free Soil Party and Van Buren. In her political action Jane stood in contrast to Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lydia Maria Child. Maria once wrote that her own letter to the Boston Courier describing a Negro as a "living gospel of freedom bound in black" had stirred the Democratic papers into accusing her of trying to influence the state election:

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[35]See supra, p. 16.

> The fun of it is, that I did not know there was an election. I could not possibly have told whether that event takes place in spring or fall. I have never known anything about it since I was a little girl on the lookout for election cake. I know much better who leads the orchestras than who governs the state.[36]

Jane Grey Swisshelm had cut her teeth on the anti-slavery agitation surrounding the Mexican War. With the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 she began to chew. Always swayed by Biblical texts, she confronted the preachers who upheld Paul's return of the runaway servant Onesimus to his master Philemon (Philemon 1:10), as the model for Northerners toward fugitive slaves. She quoted Deuteronomy 23:15: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee."

Jane did not hesitate to attack the great of her community or nation. She went after Judge Grier of Pittsburgh, the terror of journalists because of his harsh sentences for libel. The judge, an elder in the Presbyterian church, had fined a fellow elder, Dr. Mitchell, $5,000, and $5,000 costs for sheltering fugitive slaves in an old farmhouse. When Judge Grier threatened to sue Jane for libel for what she said about him she apologized sweetly. Then she went on to say the judge was under sentence of death by divine law, quoting: "He who stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall

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[36]Letter, Lydia Maria Child to Prof. Convers Francis, Dec. 6, 1848, in Child, Letters, p. 58.

surely be put to death."[37] She said the Judge was helping a gang of thieves to steal a slave whose ancestors had been stolen in Africa, and compared him to a horse thief. No libel suit was filed.[38]

Jane's attack on Daniel Webster, another case in which no libel suit was filed, came during her stay in Washington. She had longed to be in Washington to be at the scene of the controversy over the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1850. She offered her services to Horace Greeley. He paid her five dollars a column and featured her work in the New York Tribune as "Letter from Mrs. Swisshelm." (At that time the Tribune was the most influential newspaper in America, with a weekly edition circulation of 100,000.)[39] In one of her letters regarding Senate debate on the Fugitive Slave Bill, she protested:

> They keep such a dingdong about "supporting the Constitution" one might imagine it was some miserable, decrepit old creature that was no longer able to totter on crutches but must be held up on every side, and dragged along like a drunken loafer, on his road to the lock-up.[40]

Jane stayed at the Irving House and was introduced to President Tyler, Henry Clay, Joshua R. Giddings, Dr.

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[37]Deut. 24:7. Evidently, Jane's paraphrase. Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 118.

[38]Ibid., pp. 115-20.

[39]Edwin Emery, The Press and America, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 280.

[40]"Letter from Mrs. Swisshelm," New York Tribune, April 15, 1850.

Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the National Era, and other famous persons. Dr. Bailey talked over with her his project of raising the money to induce Harriet Beecher Stowe to write an antislavery novel. At last he was able to send her one hundred dollars to get started, and later another hundred. For a time Jane stayed with her friend and novelist Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Wouthworth.[41]

No woman had ever sat in the Congressional reporters' gallery. Jane battled her way in, talking the surprised Vice-President Fillmore into granting her the privilege. She wrote Greeley:

> It has established woman's right to sit as a reporter in our legislative halls. I should not have thought of it if they had not made me angry, and I do really believe, Mr. Greeley, that it is a sin to be good-tempered.[42]

(Women were again barred from the press gallery from 1877 to 1891.)[43]

Daniel Webster, supporting Henry Clay's compromise, gave the last great speech of his career on the seventh of March, 1850, beginning: "I speak today for the preservation of the Union. Hear me for my cause." As historian Samuel Eliot Morison put it: "The North could never have been induced to swallow a new fugitive slave law, had not

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[41]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 129.

[42]New York Tribune, April 22, 1850.

[43]Jones, Journalism in the United States, p. 539.

Webster held the spoon; and, even so, it gagged and vomited."[44] Jane believed that Webster had laid his crown in the dust, capitulating to the slave interests in a last bid for the Presidency.

Jane picked up some gossip about Webster that she thought would so discredit him that the fugitive slave law might be stopped. She wrote a brief paragraph for the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter and showed it to several friends. The story was true, they assured her, but urged her to forget it. They said it would ruin her with Greeley's Tribune. All the entreé and social distinction that she enjoyed would be gone. She wrote later:

> When I went to post the letter, I hesitated, walked back and forth on the street, and almost concluded to leave out that paragraph. . . . My Washington life had been eminently agreeable, and I dreaded changing popularity for public denunciation. But I remembered my Red Sea, and my motto--"Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." The duty of destroying that pro-slavery influence was plain. All the objections were for fear of the consequences to me. I had said God should take care of these, and mailed the letter, but I must leave Washington. Mr. Greeley should not discharge me. I left the capitol the day after taking my seat in the reporters' gallery, feeling that the door was open to other women.[45]

A storm of criticism broke over Jane's head, but in criticizing her the newspapers over and over printed the offending paragraph, written from Irving House,

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[44]Morison, History of the American People, p. 572. See supra, p. 134 for reactions of Maria Child, Emerson, and Whittier.

[45]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 133-34.

Washington, on April 15, 1850, as it was published in the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter on April 20:

> I do not think it is prejudice that makes me think Mr. Webster's face disagreeable; but to me it has an expression of coarseness, as though his animal propensities were rather stronger than even his great intellectual powers. His face speaks the sensualist by nature--a natural, innate vulgarity that would require a large amount of strict training to elevate into voluptuousness, such as is condemned by our people when described by Sue [Eugène,--French novelist, 1808-57] or Bulwer [Sir Henry,--British diplomat and author, 1801-72]. I know this opinion of Mr. Webster will be resented by his western friends. I have never seen any such expressed of him; but nearly everyone knows he sometimes drinks to excess, and his friends here, say he requires to be excited with wine to make him approachable--civil. When quite sober he is as gruff as a grizzly bear.--His mistresses are said to be generally, if not always, colored women--some of them big, black wenches as ugly and vulgar as himself. These will openly run store bills on his account. It is no wonder the curse of the Almighty hangs on us as a nation. The wicked rule, and the people must mourn. The laws of God are publicly set at defiance by those whom we choose to rule over us.--Webster I had always admired, even after his last speech [probably the seventh of March speech in which Webster supported the fugitive slave bill, so detested by the North]. His faults appeared like excrescences on his greatness and virtues. But since I have seen him, and come within the circle that surrounds him, I look upon his faults as the grand component parts of his nature--the essential ingredients. The good is only enough to preserve the unity of nature's plan--to leave no creature on earth wholly evil. The lion has his courage to compensate for his ferocity--the tigress her faithfulness to her young, to atone for her cruelty--the toad has its diamond eyes as a substitute for all other beauty, and Daniel Webster has his great intellect and occasional flashes of good feeling and kindliness to compensate for the total want of that spiritual purity--that nice perception of the beautiful and true, which allies men to the angels, and both to the divine essence. I can never admire Daniel Webster again! He is too many removes down from the highest order of humanity.--No matter how much noise his eloquence may make, in future I shall always think a hippopotamus can make more, and a whale blow harder than he. There

> will be no persuasion in his words, no still small voice in his wisdom, no manliness in his courage, no halo about his name. He is ugly; and I never before saw but two ugly men.

Jane defended herself from the outcry about this paragraph in her letter addressed to "Mr. Greeley" from Swissvale on May 24, 1850, published in the New York Tribune on June 1. She wrote that she had left Washington on account of her "health," and hoped she could return later. Then she "apologized," striking an even more telling blow than in her original allegation:

> I have received "The Tribune" with an Editorial and your private note, both censuring an article written for our paper about Mr. Webster. I accept your reproof as the rebuke of a friend, and I admit the great probability of my doing wrong in any given circumstance. . . . During the three years I have conducted a public journal I have never but once before caused the publication of a private matter, unless it exclusively concerned myself, and did not know when writing what I did about Mr. Webster that I was saying anything novel or strange, except my opinion of his personal appearance. I certainly had a right to give that without taking any other person's taste for a standard. I do consider him very decidedly ugly, and cannot well understand how any man could occupy his present political position and be anything else, even supposing he had formerly been handsome, which Mr. Webster certainly never could have been. With this exception, I said nothing about him that I did not suppose to have been the subject of newspaper comment for the last twenty years. In this it appears I was mistaken, and if I know how to be sorry for acting according to the best light I had, and doing what appeared at the time and still appears to me right, I should certainly lament this mistake. This brings me to the principle involved in publishing private matters: I can understand, because I have experienced the feeling, why a young girl should hesitate to be married, from extreme dread of seeing her name in a newspaper; but why any person whose name has been banded about in newspapers for years should be at all sensitive for what is said of him, provided it is truth, is somewhat beyond my comprehension. I am not speaking now of any individual,

> but the general principle which makes truth, at any time, criminal. There is no doubt 'The Public' is a very respectable person, and any one should value his approbation; but I cannot understand that extreme humility which induces any man to set it above his own self-respect; that kind of veneration which makes it of more importance than the power of the Almighty. Why should any man dread the readers of a newspaper more than he does the Searcher of all hearts?

Later, Jane went one more round in the fight, with a paragraph in her own newspaper, the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter:

> In the spring [of 1850] we willfully and maliciously, and of malice prepense did go to Washington City to see what we could see. There was also some smelling to be done. A moral stench rose up. We published, therefore, an article on the crimes of Daniel Webster. We told distant worshippers that the God-like statesman, who was leading them to sell the birthright of liberty, was a great nasty beast, with whom drunkenness was the rule, sobriety the exception. . . . We told them that to us he appeared both dangerous and loathsome.[46]

When Jane Grey Swisshelm attended the national convention that met in Pittsburgh in 1852 to form the Free Democratic party, the temporary chairman came down from the platform to meet her, saying, "I want to shake the hand that killed Daniel Webster.'"[47] Greeley forgave Jane, and she continued to write for his Tribune.

The Republican party became national in 1856, nominating John C. Frémont for President. The Visiter, by then united with Riddle's paper as the Family Journal and

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[46] Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter, July 5, 1850. Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers," pp. 691-92.

[47] Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 135.

Visiter, supported the nominee and his party. Jane, uncertain how the help of a woman would be received, consulted Charles Sumner, then recuperating in the Alleghany Mountains from being beaten insensible at his desk in the Senate following an antislavery speech. Sumner urged Jane to work for the cause. Jane felt as though she had almost had a divine call.[48]

Besides working for antislavery in the political arena, the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter aided the causes of temperance and women's rights. Washingtonians led the fashion of the day in temperance, Jane wrote in her autobiography. It was held that drunkards were not at fault for their condition, that the tavern keepers, and the women who did not make their homes pleasant retreats, drove the men to drink. Jane Grey Swisshelm took the uncompromising attitude that "the disease of opening one's mouth and pouring whiskey into it was under the control of the mouth-opener." She wrote that "the coil of an anaconda was preferable to the embraces of a drunken man, that it was a crime for a woman to become the mother of a drunkard's child."[49] "Conscience might as well try to

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[48] Ibid., p. 161.

[49] On page 148 of Half a Century Jane wrote of "Dr. Washingtonian." There was no such person. The Washington Temperance Society took its name from the first President of the United States. It was begun by a group of reformed drunkards at Chase's Tavern in Baltimore on the night of

sting the head of a bass drum as a heart preserved in alcohol."[50]

Because she was a woman successfully running a newspaper that urged rights for women, Jane received hundreds of letters from women who wanted to be heard, but without thought that they must earn their right by merit. They started little newspapers that perished overnight because they had not taken the pains to learn the job. They held silly conventions. At one that Jane attended in Akron, Ohio, the presiding officer had a man standing behind her to prompt her. But she failed to catch his words. When a parliamentary confusion arose she said she knew nothing of parliamentary procedure so she would say what she did to her boys at home: "Quit behaving yourselves!"[51] Then she sat down with a smile of self-satisfaction.

Although Jane freely criticized the women's rights' conventions, she spat back at the New York Mirror when that newspaper became upset about one:

> The New York Mirror rails at the Worcester convention and exclaims in phrensy, "Women's offices are those of wife, mother, daughter, sister, friend,-- Good God, can they not be content with these?" Men's

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April 2, 1840. The main objective was the salvation of drunkards by those who had reformed. Thousands signed the Washingtonian Pledge. See Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, pp. 338-46.

[50]Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter, Sept. 14, 1850. Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers,"p. 691.

[51]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 142-43.

> offices are those of husband, father, son, brother, friend. Goodness Gracious, can they not be content with these? . . . Why will they tangle their whiskers, soil their hands, and tarnish their boots dabbling and wading in politics, law, and learning. Why should they covet the legal power to protect their lives and property, or want remuneration for their labor?[52]

Except in the case where women were slaves, Jane's counsel was to go slowly. She urged that girls should be educated with boys and their legal disabilities removed gradually. Women should be encouraged to work and practice thrift. They should be allowed to keep their earnings and devise them to their heirs; otherwise they would be encouraged to idleness and extravagance.

Beginning in 1849 Jane published a weekly series of "Letters to Country Girls" in the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter. So explicit was her advice on daily bathing that she shocked some readers. The series was collected into a book in 1853.[53]

In crusading for women's rights, Jane always insisted that women should prove their ability to work rather than their ability to wheedle men. One of the places women proved their ability was in her printing shop. Jane's attitude toward the printers' union could

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[52]Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter, Nov. 16, 1850. Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers," p. 692.

[53]Bertha-Monica Stearns, "Jane Grey Swisshelm," Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVIII, ed. by Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 253.

have been predicted. She returned from a visit to the New York World's Fair in 1852 to find her printers on a strike called by their union. She advertised for women to take their places, she herself going into the composing room and learning the trade. Out of all the applicants she selected three who had "heads, not hatpins, on their shoulders." She clashed with her partner, Riddle, who wanted to engage, out of sympathy, a woman who had failed in her business of making vests. Jane thought that someone who could not make vests also could not set type.

As a woman editor Jane Grey Swisshelm suffered from mothers who would not consider bothering a male editor with their "young geniuses," but who thought Jane would have a womanly sympathy and help the youngsters get started in the newspaper world. As a reform journalist Jane was beset by those who wanted her to espouse all the hobbies of the day: "Turkish trowsers [sic], Fourierism, Spiritualism, Vegetarianism, Phonetics, Pneumonics, the Eight Hour Law, Criminal Caudling, Magdelenism, and other devices for teaching pyramids to stand on their heads."[54] She refused.

One reform that Jane advocated came about fast.

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[54]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 145. Ishbel Ross evidently gave Half a Century a hurried reading because in her Ladies of the Press, pp. 324-25, she asserted that Jane Grey Swisshelm advocated all the hobbies and reforms that Jane disclaimed in her autobiography, listing them in Jane's exact order.

After a railroad wreck she proposed that a red light be placed as a signal on the end of every train.[55]

The financial affairs of the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter were as dramatic as the text. The paper began life with only two subscribers, but by the end of the second year had 6,000, living all over the country. Jane's domestic duties kept her from attending to the business department, and at the end of the first year she sold a half interest to Riddle, publisher of the Pittsburgh Commercial Journal. Riddle offered to buy her out at the end of the second year. But Jane's business manager, her brother-in-law, William Swisshelm, told her the paper was netting $1,500 a year and he wanted to buy Riddle's interest. She lent Swisshelm the money. He lost it through poor business practices. Riddle took back his interest in the paper with her services pledged two years in advance to pay the debts. It was at this time she began to write for Greeley's New York Tribune at five dollars a column to meet her personal expenses. The income from her property now was gone. Later the Visiter and Riddle's paper were united as the Family Journal and Visiter.[56]

In March, 1857, Jane Grey Swisshelm left her place

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[55]Ross, Ladies of the Press, p. 325.

[56]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 162-63.

on the Family Journal and Visiter. Her health had been poor after the birth of their only child, Mary Henrietta ("Nettie"), when Jane was thirty-six in 1851. And Jane's marriage had reached the breaking point. One of her complaints was that she had lived for twenty years without the right to privacy. A Pennsylvania court had decided a husband had the right to read any communication addressed to his wife. Jane made the future historian's task difficult by burning her girlhood journal, all family letters at home, and all letters from prominent persons at the office. This was to keep them out of the hands of her husband's family and the hired hands, who freely discussed her activities as they ate, by custom, all together at the family table.[57]

The Swisshelm marital troubles were exposed in sordid detail in the courts. In a suit as to Jane's right to support, a judge held in 1859 that the husband must provide a plain dress, one pair of shoes, and a doctor and medicine when necessary, but there his liability for his wife ceased. (She had bought, on her lawyer's advice, two black silk dresses, a thirty dollar shawl, a dozen pairs of black kid gloves, stockings, flannel, linen, and six yards of white Brussels lace.) A suit carried to the state Supreme Court decided in 1868 showed her personal

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[57] Ibid., pp. 64-65.

expenses for twenty years of marriage averaged less than fifty dollars a year. "All my husband's labor for all his life, and mine for twenty years, with a large part of my separate property, had gone to swell his mother's estate, on the proceeds of which she kept her carriage and her servants until she died, aged ninety-four, while I earned a living for myself and his only child."[58] In 1861 Swisshelm divorced his wife on the ground of desertion, and later he married again. She never remarried.

Jane and daughter Nettie took ship from Pittsburgh to St. Paul, Minnesota, and thence a stagecoach seventy miles north to St. Cloud, on the Mississippi River. There her sister Elizabeth (Mrs. Henry Z. Mitchell) lived. Jane had asked her brother-in-law to buy property for her on a little lake twelve miles out of St. Cloud. She traveled dreaming of the snug log cabin she would build there, and the peaceful life ahead. Soon after she arrived, however, the troops were called away from the frontier garrison of Fort Ripley to patrol bleeding Kansas, where free-soilers and pro-slavery men were fighting. "My cabin perished in a night, like Jonah's gourd--perished that liberty might be crushed in Kansas,"[59] she wrote. For without soldiers nearby, her plan to live alone in a wilderness of uncurbed Indians was madness.

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[58] Ibid., p. 167. [59] Ibid., p. 171

Like the story of the irresistible force meeting the immovable object, it was inevitable that Jane Grey Swisshelm, in 1857, should clash with General Sylvanus B. Lowry. He lived near St. Cloud; he was a Democrat, a slaveholder, and political dictator of northern Minnesota Territory, an area from which slavery had been excluded by the 1787 provisions for the Northwest Territory. (Minnesota was admitted to the Union as a free state in 1858.)

To show how slavery was regarded in this area, Jane, in her autobiography, recalled the story of Eliza Winston. A Minneapolis judge in 1860 gave Eliza her freedom because her master had brought her into a free state. Hotel keepers of Minneapolis and St. Anthony, who profited from the summer business of boarding Southern families with their slaves, stirred up a mob. The mob besieged the home of the white family protecting Eliza, terrorizing them all night and for weeks after Eliza had been sent to Canada by underground railroad. When such a thing could happen near the center of the state under a Republican administration in 1860, what was it like in 1857 in the hinterlands?

Jane soon discovered.

General Lowry, the son of a Presbyterian minister who believed slavery was divinely ordained, was a generous

and lenient master to the slaves who served him in Minnesota and on his Tennessee plantation. He lived in semi-barbaric splendor in an immense house on the bank of the Mississippi. He owned large tracts of land, sent his agent to the Congress, and furnished any number of Democratic votes needed, no one questioning when a list came from a precinct where no one lived. Of striking physique, well-educated, he had traveled to Europe, and had worked among the Indians as agent and interpreter. His political supremacy was backed by the fact that under President Buchanan all territorial officers were Southerners or Northerners with Southern sympathies. Furthermore, General Lowry possessed a natural charisma. He was born to power. Republican settlers who moved into northern Minnesota to build homes, not fight political battles, converted quickly or kept still.[60]

All but Jane Grey Swisshelm.

She needed to earn money, and readily accepted the proposition of one of the land speculators, George F. Brott, that she edit a newspaper advertising the advantages to emigrants of settling in the St. Cloud area. He owned the press of a newspaper recently defunct. She took the job on condition she would be free to express her own views, saying she was an abolitionist. Brott laughed,

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[60] Ibid., pp. 169-73, passim.

thinking the political views of a woman would make little stir.[61]

The first issue of the St. Cloud Visiter appeared December 10, 1857. A six-column weekly, it looked much like the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter. Jane retained her motto: "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward," which she used alternately with "Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord." And she expressed her creed: that the Bible and the Constitution were both antislavery, and that human chattledom was unconstitutional for any who accepted these as fundamental law. She also introduced women's rights, stating that to pay taxes was as unwomanly as voting.

Times were depressed in northern Minnesota in 1857. In March, renegade Sioux panicked the populace by their massacre at Spirit Lake. Grasshoppers ravaged the area in the summer, and in the fall the national depression reached Minnesota. By spring Jane estimated the expenses of the Visiter at $2,500 and the income at $462.55. Brott had born all the expense but $300, given by one of the other proprietors. Lowry was solicited for help. He replied that he would help her make the Visiter second to none in the Territory if she would change her political allegiance and support Buchanan. Since the paper could not survive without Lowry, Jane agreed.[62]

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[61] Ibid., p. 179.

[62] Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, pp. 11-13.

In an editorial on February 18, 1858, she wrote:

> Since our last issue we had concluded to make the Visiter an Administration organ, to support Mr. Buchanan's measures and advocate his re-election. . . . [the Constitution has become] the Magna Charta of a Southern gentleman's right to whip women, rob mothers of their children, and sell upon the auction block the souls for whom the Lord of Glory assumed humanity and laid down his life upon the cross. . . . We believe the Democratic party is likely to succeed in reducing all the poor and friendless of the country to a state of slavery.

She promised to labor faithfully for Buchanan's re-election. When Lowry, angry at his new supporter, asked her to desist, she attacked the local political situation in an editorial on March 4, 1958:

> Follow-my-leader Democracy is the manifest destiny of this region, not that there is anything in the air unfavorable to freedom or individual opinions, but that the first settler here is a Southern gentleman, one who possesses in a high degree the qualities which have enabled 300,000 slaveholders to govern 25,000,000 men, who by the Declaration of Independence ought to have been their political equals. . . . Well, a majority of our people are German Catholic and no free people on earth are so trained to habits of veneration and obedience, except the small fry of northern office seekers. . . . "He manages the Dutch!" say they and but for him demagogues would have everything their own way; but _____ has only to speak and the Germans all wheel into line.[63]

Furious, the Lowry forces attempted to crush Jane with a lecture on "Woman," delivered gracefully with loud acclaim by James C. Shepley, attorney for Lowry. Shepley divided women into four classes: the coquette, the flirt, the old maid, and the strong-minded woman who dipped into

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[63] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

politics. For the latter Shepley had only scorn. Jane retaliated with a review of the lecture in which she wrote that Shepley had neglected one class, the loud frontier belle who wins at cards and triumphs in "catching a marriageable husband for herself and for her poor relations."[64] Shepley saw here the description of his wife, a buxom belle who had won at cards during a celebration party following Shepley's speech. Her sister was engaged to marry Dr. Benjamin Palmer, a boarder in their house, who had accompanied Lowry on a European trip as Lowry's physician. A messenger from Lowry threatened Jane with a mob and death with personal indignities if she did not desist. She told the messenger she would continue to support Buchanan until it broke him. She believed that:

> If I let this man [Lowry] escape, his power, now tottering, would be re-established; slavery triumphant in the great Northwest; Minnesota confirmed a Democratic stronghold, sending delegates of dough-faces to Congress to aid in the great conspiracy against the nation's life.[65]

Then it was that during the night of March 24, 1858, Lowry, Shepley, and Palmer broke into the office of the Visiter, destroyed the press, and scattered the type in the Mississippi River.[66]

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[64] Ibid., p. 16.

[65] Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 184.

[66] See supra, pp. 1-4.

St. Cloud citizens, recognizing the threat to freedom of the press as a threat to the growth of their community, held a meeting at the home of C. T. Stearns, for whom the county was named, and voted to support Jane Grey Swisshelm by obtaining a new press for her. A Lowry mob howled outside. One resolution read:

> Inasmuch as the perpetrators of this dastardly crime were few in number, met in secret, concocted their nefarious scheme in secret, and secretly and under cover of the midnight darkness, proceeded to execute their base and shameless act
>
> Resolved therefore, That they are not entitled to the respect due even a common mob, but that they come within the range of that other class of thieves, burglars and assassins; and as it would be a relief to the citizens of St. Cloud, and a benefit to the community, were all such persons to leave the country, we therefore suggest the propriety of such individuals emigrating to Arkansas or the Feejee [sic] Islands where they may indulge in the pleasant pastime of destroying presses, and engaging in burglary or robbery without annoyance or injury to peaceful and law-abiding citizens.[67]

Shepley wrote a letter published in the St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat on April 2 admitting his part in the destruction of the press. He defended himself by saying that Mrs. Swisshelm had insulted his wife and he believed another worse attack would be made in her next issue. Lowry took this tack also in a letter for the Sauk Rapids Frontiersman for April 29.

In her first issue using her new press, on May 13, Jane reprinted the editorial of March 4 that had brought

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[67] St. Cloud Visiter, May 13, 1858.

on the destruction of her press. She also reprinted some of the many articles that had been published all over the country about the affair. The one from the St. Paul Times of March 30, 1858, (probably written for them by Jane since it was her style), gave a complete account of her speech at the Stearns house meeting of March 25 describing all the circumstances of the destruction of her press. The story included the text of the resolutions voted. In addition, the May 13 issue reprinted the account Greeley had used in the New York Tribune of April 12, 1858.

Lowry threatened a $10,000 libel suit. Jane insisted that the men who had supported her by buying the new press withdraw from the printing company for their own protection. Then she agreed to put a note in the Visiter exonerating Shepley and promising never again to mention the controversy in the columns of the Visiter.[68]

She printed the required apology and exoneration on July 29, 1858. On August 5 the Visiter was not published. But there appeared a new paper, the St. Cloud Democrat, with the same motto from Exodus and Jane Grey Swisshelm listed as "Editor and Publisher." The Democrat announced that its office was on the western bank of the Mississippi River opposite the steamboat landing eighty miles above the falls of St. Anthony. Subscriptions were

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[68]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 190.

The St. Cloud Visiter.

JANE G. SWISSHELM, Editor. “Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward.”—Exodus, Chap. xiv, Verse 15. J. MOWATT, Publisher.

VOL. 1. ST. CLOUD, STEARNS CO., MINNESOTA, THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1858. NO. 9.

THE ST. CLOUD VISITER [illegible] JAMES MOWATT. [illegible]

TERMS [illegible]

[illegible]

Disgraceful Outrage at St. Cloud—Press Destroyed!

[illegible]

Border Ruffianism in Minnesota!—Great Excitement—Attempt to Stifle Free Speech—A Press Destroyed—Great Gathering of the People, &c. &c. &c.

On the morning of the 24th of March the office of the St. Cloud Visiter was broken open, the press [illegible] and the type [illegible] of the office [illegible]

[illegible]

Mr. C. T. Stearns was called to the chair, and N. N. Smith chosen Secretary of the meeting.

Mrs. Swisshelm, the editor of the St. Cloud Visiter then read the following address:

MRS. SWISSHELM'S ADDRESS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—It is not my [illegible] to speak in public [illegible]

I was born a member of the Scotch Covenanter Church, [illegible] My fathers and forefathers [illegible] with John Knox in his labors for civil and religious liberty, [illegible] the Solemn League and Covenant. [illegible] Afterwards my forefathers and foremothers stood shoulder to shoulder with that devoted band who resisted the [illegible] efforts of Charles II—they who were hunted like wild beasts by the [illegible] of Claverhouse, who were slaughtered all the day, who dwelt in caves and holes of

[illegible]

I wrote or spoke to most of those gentlemen. Most of them promptly [illegible] to the plan, and the Visiter was started. Amongst others, I had written to Gen. Lowry. From his reply I inferred that he fully approved of the plan, and would be willing to contribute very liberally, but he suggested the propriety of my cutting out the [illegible] of my prospectus, if I would not make the paper “entirely democratic,” and proposed calling to complete some arrangements. I thought him in jest. It did not occur to me as possible that a gentleman of Mr. Lowry's standing, so wealthy a proprietor, could refuse to support the only press in his county, or likely to be in it, simply for fear of the political influence of one little old woman. I publicly alluded to his objections and invited them who differed with me to use the columns of the Visiter for the purpose of [illegible] my [illegible]

As it was the only press here and [illegible]

I appeal to any man here to say if I have not supported Mr. Buchanan. [Roars of laughter.] Now, ladies and gentlemen, I beg you to believe that my course in the matter was dictated by my own [illegible]. If I have been wrong, that wrong was a mistaken sense of duty. I have no personal quarrel with any one here, but I have ever conducted my war against slavery upon the plan of Nathan's reply to David, “Thou art the man.” I soon learned to account for the strong proslavery sentiment here, on the ground of Gen. Lowry's overwhelming influence. He appeared to be the man who stood at the head, not of the Democracy, but of the proslavery party. I gave a simple history of Stearns County politics, in which I designed to show how that influence operates. Of that history I have nothing to take back. I abused nobody, I called no names, but in the simplest words I could use, told what I believe to be the simple truth. I was informed that Gen. Lowry looked upon that article as a personal insult. Now, if I understand the position of affairs here, Mr. Shepley is Gen. Lowry's head lawyer. He is emphatically the “General's Jeames,” [great applause] and the next week it was announced that Mr. Shepley was to deliver a lecture on “Woman.” [illegible]

[illegible]

COPY OF THE LETTER.

ST. CLOUD, March 24th, 1858.

Editor of the Visiter:

The citizens of St. Cloud have determined to abate the nuisance of which you have made the Visiter a striking specimen.

They have decided that it is fit only for the amusement of brothels, and you seem to have had some experience of, the tastes of such persons.

You will never have the opportunity to repeat the offence in this town, without paying a more serious penalty than you do now.

By order of the Committee of Vigilance.

[illegible]

It is apprehended that my life will eventually be offered up a sacrifice to propitiate the spirit of that glorious institution of woman whipping, which a clique of demagogues are straining every nerve to extend over our native country, and perpetuate to remotest ages.

If you think gentlemen, that it will be for the honor of St. Cloud, that I should die here, and in that cause, God's will be done! my will is made, my pledge will be redeemed, my vow fulfilled, and my life given in the cause of God's suffering poor.

P. S. Mr. Shepley has acknowledged publicly, since the meeting, that he did destroy the office.

After the reading of the address, on motion, the Chair was requested to appoint a committee of five to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting.

The Chair appointed the following persons said committee:

T. H. Barrett, L. Gorton, H. Mason, J. D. Hyde, and Henry O. [illegible]

On motion the Chair appointed the following gentlemen a Executive Committee to devise ways and means to ensure the speedy republication of the St. Cloud Visiter, viz: [illegible] Brown, James Mowatt, H. H. Peugh, J. D. West, Henry Swisshelm, H. C. [illegible], and A. [illegible]

The Committee on resolutions unanimously reported the following resolutions which were adopted with but a single dissenting voice.

Whereas, Certain individuals did, at the commencement of the publication of the St. Cloud Visiter, attempt to control its course, and to prescribe to the editor what articles might be published, and what articles might not be published: and, whereas, they did offer to support the paper with their patronage and influence, provided it should be made subservient to their own particular views, and upon failing to get control of said paper [illegible] to crush out both the editor and paper; and whereas, in pursuance of this design, certain persons did [illegible] and then [illegible] on the night of the 24th inst. and, after [illegible] and threatening letter and addressing the same to the editor of the paper, [illegible] under cover of the darkness of the night, to burglariously enter the printing office, break the press, and cast the contents of the office into the street and river, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the citizens of St. Cloud in meeting assembled, that we consider the act as a dastardly, mean, and contemptible crime, entitling the perpetrators, whomsoever they may be, to a berth in the penitentiary, and [illegible]

Resolved, That the attempt to stifle free speech and to break down and prostrate a free press, because it refused to be controlled at the mere dictum of a certain clique, meets with our most hearty disapprobation, our strongest condemnation, and our utter detestation.

Resolved, That the St. Cloud Visiter shall be sustained.

Resolved, That we will sustain it.

Resolved, That we have the most implicit and unshaken confidence in [illegible]

Resolved, Inasmuch as the perpetrators of this dastardly crime [illegible] met in secret, concocted their nefarious scheme in secret, and secretly and under cover of the midnight darkness proceeded to execute their base and abominable act.

Resolved therefore, That they are not entitled to the respect due even a common mob, but that they come within the range of that other class, of thieves, burglars and assassins, and as it would be a relief to the citizens of St. Cloud, and a benefit to the community, were all such persons to leave the country, we therefore suggest the propriety of such individuals emigrating to Arkansas or the Fejee Islands, where they may indulge in the pleasant pastime of destroying printing presses and engaging in burglary and robbery without annoyance or injury to peaceful and law abiding citizens.

On motion, it was resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the St. Cloud Visiter, and that the papers throughout the Territory be requested to publish the same.

On motion, the meeting adjourned till Monday evening next at [illegible] o'clock p. m.

C. T. STEARNS, Chairman.
N. N. SMITH, Secretary.
SAINT CLOUD, March 25, 1858.

From the New York Tribune April 13, '58.

The Raid on Mrs. Swisshelm's Press.

BOTH STORIES.

We have already announced the destruction of the office of *The St. Cloud Visiter* (Minnesota,) edited by our sometime correspondent, Mrs. Swisshelm. We give here the bulletin of her victorious adversary.

Lecturer of St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat.

GENTLEMEN: The type in the office of *The St. Cloud Visiter*, published in this town, having been put into the river the other night, and certain of the Republicans attempting to charge the act to political, instead of personal motives, for the purpose of making capital against the Democratic party, I think that a statement from the principal actor should appear in the public print.

The cause of the whole affair was that I delivered some weeks since, in St. Cloud, a lecture on “Woman,” in which I spoke contemptuously of strong-minded women. Mrs. Swisshelm, the editor of The Visiter, claiming to belong to that class, [illegible] to resent it by publishing a most infamous attack on my wife.

The proprietor of the paper is in Washington, and there was no one to control her, and I, knowing her character, had reason to expect another [illegible] worse than the first, and destroyed the type [illegible] always [illegible] to pay Mr. Mowatt the owner on his return.

I feel I am justified in my course, but if there is any blame, it should fall solely on me.

Please publish this and oblige yours truly,

JAMES C. SHEPLEY.

St. Cloud March 26 1858.

—From the above it will be seen that

1. Mr. Shepley began the war of words.
2. Mrs. Swisshelm paid back.
3. Whereupon Mr. Shepley stopped arguing and assailed the printing office of a person whereof Mrs. S. was the hired Editor.

[illegible]

(See Fourth Page.)

two dollars a year; a half-column advertisement cost $35 a year. The six-column Democrat had the same format (or lack of format--one-line titles, no headlines) as the Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter and the St. Cloud Visiter.

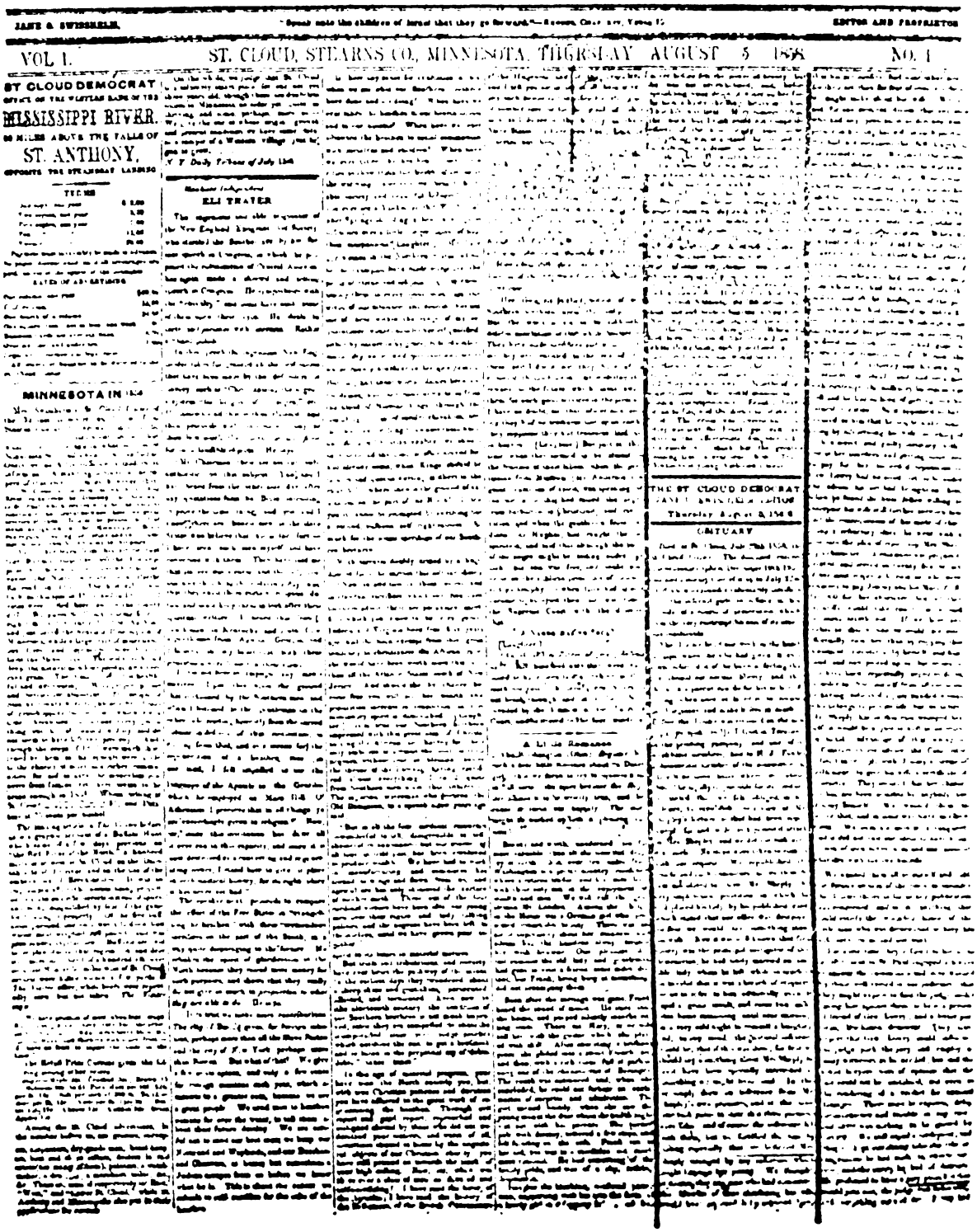
Page one of the St. Cloud Democrat for August 5, 1858, displayed a heavily leaded column headed "Obituary," beginning:

> Died at St. Cloud, July 29, 1858, the St. Cloud Visiter. The deceased entered this sublunary sphere December 10, 1857, and had a stormy time of it up to July 22, 1858, when its founder voluntarily sacrificed it to the infernal gods, to relieve its best friends of a course of persecution which from the very contemptibleness of its source was intolerable.

Jane wrote that she had killed the Visiter, believing that life should not outlast liberty.

Other items on the front page of the new Democrat included a reprint from the New York Daily Tribune of July 15, 1858, describing the St. Cloud Visiter with its account of a buffalo hunt. It noted the local prices: "sugar--maple, 25¢, brown, 15¢; salt--200 lbs., $4.12; butter--17¢; cheese--15¢; codfish--10¢." The Tribune commented that St. Cloud appeared to be thriving after only three years of life, but that there appeared to be too many real estate dealers. Another article in the new Democrat, from the Mankato (Minnesota) Independent, gave the text of a satirical speech on slavery by Eli Thayer, organizer of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. Thayer complimented the South on its nobility in holding the

ST. CLOUD DEMOCRAT.



JAMES A. SWISSHELM. "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward."—Exodus, Chap. xiv, Verse 15. EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR

VOL. I. ST. CLOUD, STEARNS CO., MINNESOTA, THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1858. NO. 1

ST CLOUD DEMOCRAT
OFFICE ON THE WESTERN BANK OF THE
MISSISSIPPI RIVER.
60 MILES ABOVE THE FALLS OF
ST. ANTHONY,
OPPOSITE THE STEAMBOAT LANDING

TERMS

RATES OF ADVERTISING

MINNESOTA IN

ELI THAYER

Fourth of July

A Little Romance

THE ST CLOUD DEMOCRAT
JAMES A. SWISSHELM, EDITOR
Thursday, August 5, 1858

OBITUARY

Negroes as slaves in order to Christianize them--a common excuse for slavery. Still another item was "A Little Romance," clipped from the Washington (Ohio) Register, the "true" romance of the son of a family and the German servant girl. Thus the entire front page of Volume I, Number 1 of the St. Cloud Democrat, except for the column and one-half obituary of the Visiter, was material taken from the exchanges. But, after all, Jane had only one week to organize the new paper.

Jane Grey Swisshelm plunged immediately into politics with her Democrat, which was actually the organ of the Republican party in northern Minnesota. (Jane believed the word "Democrat" too good to be the property of a single party.) In the state election of 1859 the Democrats nominated General Lowry for Lieutenant Governor, and the Republicans Ignatius Donnelly, a fiery young orator who later, in 1892, was to draft the party platform of the new People's or Populist party. Donnelly ridiculed Lowry all over the state as the big man who had tried to suppress a tiny woman by mob violence and failed. When Republican speaker Galusha A. Grow delivered a St. Cloud address a crowd of Democrats gathered outside and paid Jane the compliment of burning an effigy of Mrs. Swisshelm

as "the mother of the Republican Party in Minnesota."[69] The Republicans swept the state in 1859.

Abraham Lincoln had no charm for Jane. She had preferred William H. Seward for President and Cassius M. Clay (Henry Clay's cousin, an abolitionist), for Vice-President. Their names appeared in the masthead of every issue of the Democrat from March 8 to May 17.[70] After the nomination Jane wrote that Lincoln would attract the laboring men of the North:

> Much as we regret the defeat of Seward, we are willing to admit that the nomination of Lincoln is probably the best that could have been made under the circumstances. It is one of the worst features of a Republican Government, that the men who have done the most to give tone and permanence to its institutions and whose genius commands respect and attention for it, from abroad, should be the first to suffer by its neglect.[71]

In campaigning for the Republican vote when Lincoln ran, Jane struggled to win the Garrisonians, who believed voting meant soiling their hands with the bad pro-slavery Constitution. She also worked on the old Liberty party adherents who would not cast their vote because the Republicans only proposed to set limits on slave territory, not overthrow it entirely. She devised an

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[69]Frank Klement, "The Abolition Movement in Minnesota," Minnesota History, XXXII (March, 1951), 15-33. Lester B. Shippee, "Jane Grey Swisshelm, Agitator," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VII (Dec., 1920), 206-27.

[70]Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, n. p. 57.

[71]Ibid., p. 23. St. Cloud Democrat, May 17, June 14, 1860.

illustration in which she used "Robbie Miller's Hoe," a broken tool, as better than none in a weedy garden. The Republican party, she held, was an imperfect means of reaching a great end.[72]

After Lincoln was elected and the war went along without emancipation Jane Grey Swisshelm was as disappointed in the President as was Lydia Maria Child. Jane was outraged when Lincoln rescinded General Frémont's order to free the slaves of rebels in arms within the area his army controlled. She could not understand why Lincoln hesitated to issue the Emancipation Proclamation (Lincoln hoped to hold the border states). Both Jane and Maria wrote that men needed a great idea to fight for and when the soldiers were deprived of the opportunity to fight for freedom they lost heart. When it did come, January 1, 1863, the Proclamation freed only the slaves in the territory still in rebellion. Moreover, it was partly a political move--to keep England from coming in on the side of the South. (Slavery in some of the states that remained in the Union was not abolished until the Thirteenth Amendment went into effect on December 18, 1865.)

Lincoln also lost favor with Jane because he appointed so many Democrats to office. He gave two Southern Democrats the only two important military appointments

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[72]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 200-02.

made in St. Cloud. When Jane asked a farmer to post bills for a meeting to send delegates to the county convention the man, who had worked actively in the 1860 campaign, declined. He said that if the Republicans won the Democrats would get the offices and if the Democrats won the Democrats would get the offices, and why should the Republicans bother. Eventually, Jane came to support the radical wing of the Republican party headed by Horace Greeley, with John C. Frémont as her idol.[73]

In St. Cloud, as in Pittsburgh, Jane had trouble with the printers who, she said, wanted the same pay in the wilderness as their union demanded in New York. She took on two apprentices, including her thirteen-year-old nephew, William B. Mitchell. At her instruction they set the type and locked up the forms. Alas, the columns read from right to left. She unlocked the forms, made up the galleys new, and got the paper out on time. From 1858 until she turned the paper over to her nephew in 1863 she did the business of a practical printer. She issued her newspaper once a week, did job work, was printer for half a dozen counties, published tax lists, and issued extras during the Indian massacres.[74]

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[73]Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, p. 26.

[74]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 211.

Jane Grey Swisshelm had found her voice when she gave her first speech--at the community meeting the night after her enemies destroyed her press. Now she felt challenged to extend her influence by lecture tours, speaking mostly in churches. As usual, when she made a move she had a bout with her conscience, which prickled with Bible verses on the role of women. But she came to believe that Paul's admonition: "Let women keep silence in the churches," was written "by permission, not by command." She took support from the verse: "Your sons and your daughters [italics added] shall prophesy," and the fact that the prophetess Anna, who "spake of the child Jesus," must have spoken in church because she "departed not from it [the temple]."[75]

On her many lecture trips through Minnesota from 1858 to 1863 Jane spoke on slavery, women's rights, and, later, on women's place in war work. She wrote letters for the St. Cloud Democrat that give a vivid picture of early Minnesota.[76] When she addressed the state Senate in 1862 General Lowry occupied his seat as a member, but he did not go up to congratulate her with the others afterward. Being a state Senator was quite a comedown for the

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[75] St. Cloud Democrat, Feb. 3, 1859. Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, pp. 38-39. I Cor. 14:34. Joel 2:28. Luke 2:36-38.

[76] Arthur J. Larsen, head of the Newspaper Department of the Minnesota Historical Society, printed most of these letters in his book, Crusader and Feminist.

former dictator of northern Minnesota. Later that year General Lowry became insane and was taken to a private sanitarium in Cincinnati. In a lucid moment he wrote to Jane and a pleasant correspondence ensued. Once he wrote:

> Your quarrel and mine was all wrong. There was no one in that upper country capable of understanding me, but you. We should have been friends, and would have been, if we had not each had a self which we were all too anxious to defend.[77]

In Jane's last interview with General Lowry, after she had worked in hospitals during the War, Jane found his reason restored, but his prestige, power, wealth, and health gone. He said:

> I am the only person who ever understood you. People now think you go into hospitals from a sense of duty; from benevolence, like those good people who expect to get to heaven by doing disagreeable things on earth; but I know you go because you must; go for your own pleasure; you do not care for heaven or anything else, but yourself. . . . You take care of the sick and wounded, go into all those dreadful places just as I used to drink brandy--for the sake of the exhilaration it brings you.[78]

The Sioux rose in the summer of 1862, stirred up by the South, Jane believed, and massacred hundreds of white settlers. The Indians came within twelve miles of St. Cloud. Jane changed her early view of the nobility of the red man (shared with Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lydia Maria Child). The soldiers in St. Cloud had

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[77]Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 233.

[78]Ibid., pp. 296-97.

been sent no ammunition; moreover, they were drawn off to relieve hard-pressed Fort Snelling. For many nights thereafter Jane had forty-two terrified women and children in her house and nothing but big pans of hot water as a weapon. All this time she and two women assistants put the newspaper out regularly, and many extras.[79]

Jane was bitter at the support that Quakers and Eastern humanitarians always gave the Indians, while the frontier settlers, "leading the westward march of civilization," were tortured and slain. Always the Indians murdered first those who had entertained and befriended them. She wrote:

> Under the pretense that America belonged, in fee simple, and by special divine right, to that particular hoard [sic] of savages, who, by killing off some other hoard of savages, were in possession when Columbus first saw the Great West, the Eastern States, which had already secured their land by conquest, have become more implacable foes to civilization than the savages themselves.[80]

She particularly resented Hole-in-the-day, the Chippewa chief, educated by Baptist missionaries and a good English scholar, who never deigned to speak to the government except through an interpreter. The government had fenced six hundred acres for him and built him a large white house where he lived with his six wives, while Christian people elsewhere decried polygamy. In the

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[79] Ibid., p. 232.

[80] Ibid., pp. 225-28.

massacre of 1862, Hole-in-the-day, Jane wrote, failed to go on the warpath only because two wagon-loads of ammunition designed for him were intercepted. For being a good Indian he was given a trip to Washington, got $10,000, and a seventh wife.[81]

Thirty-eight Indians were hanged but influential missionaries prevented further retribution. On January 8, 1863, Jane Grey Swisshelm began a tour of the country to arouse opinion for more drastic punishment for the Indians and a substantial settlement for the surviving settlers. (On February 16, the Congress passed an appropriation of $2,000,000 for settlers' relief.) She spoke to large audiences in Chicago, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Washington. She was, however, unable to get an appointment with President Lincoln. But she did meet him at a reception, and became good friends with Mrs. Lincoln.

From Washington Jane sent back letters for the St. Cloud Democrat. The war was going against the North and Jane was concerned that the President did not push for enlistment of Negroes:

> As usual, he hesitates and counts probabilities. "Will the army of the Potomac mutiny?" is the question. "How do the hundreds of useless officers now hanging around Washington, visiting friends in distant States or smoking cigars and drinking champagne on the Rappahannock feel about permitting black men to fight for the Republic?"
> . . . . . .

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[81] Ibid., p. 233.

> Congress dare not grapple with it, but meanly throws the responsibility on the President, leaving it optional with him whether or not we are to accept the millions of stout arms, willing to fight for our freedom if they can secure their own, or whether the North is to continue to pour out her best blood of the Caucasion race to leave a country for Negroes. Our sons and brothers may be butchered by the thousands by the balls and bayonets of traitors, . . . but a black man's life is too precious to be risked under the enemy's guns. Why? Simply because he represents the property of a rebel.[82]

In Washington Jane met again her friend of early Pittsburgh days, Edwin M. Stanton, now Secretary of War. He arranged an appointment for her as a clerk in the Quartermaster-General's office. The government was experimenting with employing women, and Jane was one of the first appointees.

She sold the Democrat in June, 1863, her nephew, William B. Mitchell, taking it over.

While she was waiting to assume her Washington job Jane discovered the need for nursing. She spent some months in the hospitals, working day and night under wartime conditions. It was inevitable here that strong-minded Jane would clash with strong-minded Dorothea Dix, Superintendent of Women Nurses during the war. Jane survived only by staying out of Miss Dix's sight. Jane wrote that Miss Dix had her post only to relieve the Surgeon-General's office of the need to cope with the incessant nuisance of the women who demanded to be put to

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[82] St. Cloud Democrat, Feb. 12, 1863. Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, pp. 171-72.

work in the hospitals. Jane thought that Miss Dix never got into the grimy side of hospital work. After making valiant contributions to the soldiers' welfare, Jane discovered beds in a model hospital full of lice. The authorities would not listen to her, so she turned to her "old friend and confidant," the public. She wrote what was for her a mild letter on the lice problem that was published in the New York Tribune. Her letter did not end the lice problem for the soldiers, but it ended Jane's service in the hospitals, precipitately.[83]

Jane's health broke under the strenuous hospital work, but she recovered and again took up her duties in the Quartermaster-General's office. She continued to write letters for the Democrat, including one published April 27, 1865, describing the mourning for President Lincoln:

> I do not look upon his death as a National calamity any more than I do that of John Brown. Knowing the South as I have long done, after studying their institutions and residing amongst them, I have never ceased to fear the destruction of our Government through the leniency and magnanimity of President Lincoln.--Honest, upright, single-minded and living in a community where crime is the exception, he was utterly unable to realize the total depravity and vindictive barbarism of slaveholders as a class, and I have always feared that his long-suffering with these irreclaimable sinners would prolong the war until the patience of the North would be exhausted and a disgraceful peace be made. . . .
>
> The world at large--the masses of the Northern people--had no more just idea than had Mr. Lincoln of

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[83]Swisshelm, Half a Century, pp. 238-60.

> the animus of this most fiendish Rebellion. . . . As Christ was murdered by those He came to save, so has President Lincoln been sacrificed by the wretches he would have shielded from the just punishment of their crimes.[84]

Jane Grey Swisshelm was not in sympathy with Lincoln's conciliatory policy toward the South, continued by President Johnson. On December 21, 1865, Jane published the first issue of the Reconstructionist, a newspaper organ of the radical Republicans who opposed Johnson's policies. She attacked him bitterly, stating in one editorial: "That he [President Johnson] was prepared beforehand to serve the purposes of treason there can be no doubt; that his administration and its programme were part and parcel of the assassination plot, we have no longer the shadow of a doubt."[85] To be accused of treason by a government employee was too much for President Johnson. He had her dismissed by special order--"the first person dismissed by Mr. Johnson," Jane wrote in her autobiography. Another "first" for Jane.

Without her government salary there could be no Reconstructionist. Jane wrote to the New York Tribune that the paper had overtaxed her strength, and that an attempt had been made to set fire to the building. She said she gave up publishing in order not to endanger

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[84]Larsen, Crusader and Feminist, pp. 288-89.

[85]Margaret Farrand Thorp, Female Persuasion; Six Strong-Minded Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), p. 105.

the lives of those who lived in the apartments upstairs. This mild reaction was completely out of character for the Jane who had defied the dictator of northern Minnesota. The last issue of the Reconstructionist was published on March 24, 1866.

At this point Jane believed herself penniless. Then she discovered she had a good claim to the family estate, Swissvale. Secretary Stanton urged her to pursue the claim. She was able to retire to the old home with a modest income for the remainder of her life. Her daughter was married and went to Chicago to live. Occasionally, in her wide reading, a newspaper story would spark the old fireworks and Jane would shoot off a column on one of her favorite crusades, women's rights, anti-Catholic, or anti-Indian. Usually she sent these articles to the New York Independent. But, for the most part, after 1866 Jane Grey Swisshelm dropped out of the public view. Her life's goals were accomplished by age fifty-one. She had seen the slaves freed, progress made in freedom for women, and she had upheld freedom of the press in her own newspaper.

In 1880 Jane Grey Swisshelm began to write her autobiography from memory supplemented by newspaper files (she had destroyed her correspondence and diaries). She called it Half a Century. On July 21, 1884, she died after a brief illness.

Four years before Jane Grey Swisshelm died, James Bryce published "the greatest book written about this country,"[63] The American Commonwealth. This keen British observer noted the contribution of the American women to freedom for the slaves:

> In no other country have women borne so conspicuous a part in the promotion of moral and philanthropic causes. They were among the earliest, most zealous, and most effective apostles of the antislavery movement.[64]

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler began women's entry into antislavery journalism. Lydia Maria Child added the luster of a famous name. Both worked to create a climate of opinion that would support the cause. Jane Grey Swisshelm stimulated controversy that drew new converts, and then took political action to influence the centers of power.

Elizabeth, Maria, and Jane--each one was a lone voice, a weak voice, until she amplified it thousands-fold by speaking through the press. In their writings, and especially in their newspapers these "belles" told tidings of liberty--for the captive Negroes, for the women, and for the press--until the rolling of their presses became a drum roll for freedom across the land.

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[63] James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, ed. by Louis M. Hacker, Capricorn Books (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959), Vol. I, p. vii.

[64] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 500.

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Child, Lydia Maria. Letters in the Weld Family Papers in the manuscript collections of the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. Six of these letters were published in the two-volume work, Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké edited by Gilbert Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1934, Vol. II, pp. 692, 702, 724, 726, 730, and 734. The other three Child letters in this collection were written: 1) July 10, 1862, complimenting the Hon. W. P. Cutler, member of Congress, on an antislavery speech; 2) February 4, 1874, expressing sympathy to Angelina Grimké Weld on the death of her sister, Sarah, and recalling their work in antislavery; 3) July 10, 1880, sympathizing with Theodore Weld on the death of his wife, Angelina and remembering all the heroes of the antislavery movement.

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Interview

Broecker, Mrs. Erwin L. (Margaret Guest Merritt), Interview at her home, 327 Capital Ave. NE., Battle Creek, Michigan, on January 12, 1969. Writer was referred to Mrs. Broecker by her cousin, Charles M. Drake, 716 Pilgrim Road, Brimingham, Michigan. It was Mrs. Minnie Chandler Merritt Fay who gave the original Elizabeth Margaret Chandler collection to the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan, about 1939. At her death, in 1951, by her request, Mr. Drake, whose mother was Mrs. Fay's sister, gave the remainder of the collection. Mr. Drake still has a few Chandler and Merritt letters, but they have little to do with Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. He does have, however, some of the latter's books. Mr. Drake referred the writer to Mrs. Broecker as the family historian.

Mrs. Broecker is related to Elizabeth Margaret Chandler in the following way: Dr. Thomas Chandler and Margaret Evans Chandler were the parents of Thomas C., Elizabeth Margaret, and William Guest Chandler. William Guest Chandler married Sarah Taylor and they became parents of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, the antislavery editor's namesake. This Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and her husband, Charles Merritt, homesteaded a large farm that became part of Battle Creek. They were Quakers. The Broeckers now occupy their beautiful colonial house, much remodeled through the years. The house recently had an appropriate one-hundredth birthday celebration arranged by Mrs. Broecker, who is, indeed, a historian, active in arrangements to make a nearby old Battle Creek mansion the home of the local historical society. The Charles Merritts had a son, William Guest Merritt, who became the father of Margaret Guest Merritt, who married Erwin L. Broecker, an architect.

Mrs. Broecker has the portrait of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler used for the book of her collected writings. She also has a bound journal containing poems in Elizabeth's handwriting, and a bound album with poems in the same handwriting and others copied into the book for her by friends. Several hand-painted

vignettes, probably done by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, illustrate this album. The notebook in which the poems were written has a hard beige and black marbled cover with red binding on the spine and a red leather label edged with gold scrollwork. It is dated: "Elizabeth Chandler, 11 Mo. 13, 1824."

Mrs. Broecker also has a trunk full of dresses and personal effects of her Quaker ancestors including a wedding dress of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler's mother, of white China silk brought back by a relative who chartered clipper ships. It is exquisitely sewn, tiny-waisted. The Quaker dresses are gray and dun--drab in color, but made beautifully of fine silk. Also there is a "passing dress" in a pale stripe with a bow at the neckline in back. This was worn in meeting when the young couple stood up and heard their intention to marry read.

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