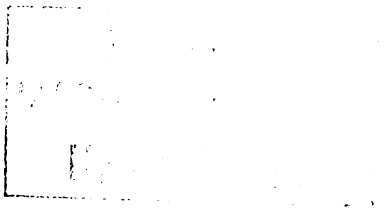

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ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER: A THIRD SPHERE

By

Bonnie Arlene Geers

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ABSTRACT

ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER:

A THIRD SPHERE

By

Bonnie Arlene Geers

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler (1807-1834) regularly contributed poems and essays to Lundy's The Genius of Universal Emancipation and Garrison's Liberator, both abolitionist newspapers, and served as women's editor of The Genius from 1829 until 1834 despite her move to the Michigan territory in the summer of 1830. Elizabeth fashioned an argument for women's public activity in reform, more specifically against slavery, based on the moral independence of women and her accountability as a moral being. However, she also appealed to the tradition of woman's piestic benevolence which was an accepted aspect of woman's sphere in nineteenth century America. Interested in both moral and domestic reform she accepted the ideology of separate spheres but also proposed a sphere of activity that was not gender specific. In both her writings and by her own personal experience she helped to create new images for women of the nineteenth century that would last beyond the period of antislavery activity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction

Nineteenth century Americans experienced changes in virtually all phases of life. Physically, they had grown from a nation settled predominantly on the Atlantic seaboard to include land explored as far as the Pacific. Politically, the young nation struggled to create an atmosphere conducive to democracy while fighting strong regional interests and political loyalties. The nation's population multiplied many times as a result of internal growth as well as continued immigration. Even though nineteenth century America offered its citizens seemingly unlimited possibilities, it was a period of intense anxiety as the restless, unsettled society sought its destiny.

In the early nineteenth century many factors combined to make rapid industrial growth possible. Improvements in transportation and the expanding ranges of business activity created, for the first time, a national market economy. As the American population grew and spread a larger labor supply provided for both the production of goods and a market for the sale of them. Such a supply of labor was made up increasingly of immigrants, many of whom resided in cities and towns in the North. The concentration of labor in urban centers in

addition to technological advances and an expanding transportation and communication network enabled the North to industrialize. Thus, the 1820s and 1830s marked the beginning of dramatic economic growth in the United States, particularly those states in the North.

The new industrializing society of the Northern regions produced a profound change in the nature and function of the family. At the heart of the transformation was the shift of income-earning work out of the home and into the shop, mill, or factory. Up until the industrializing period, both men and women were largely confined to the home and its environs, where the extended family worked together to provide the necessities of life. The family itself had been the principal unit of economic activity. However, industrialization and an industrial economy diminished the importance of the urban household as a center of production. Increasingly, men left the home each day to earn income elsewhere. Women, no longer producers, now became more important as consumers. A distinction began to emerge between the public world of the workplace--the world of commerce and industry--and the private world of the family--a world dominated primarily by domestic concerns.

The distinction between a private and public world was no more evident than among members of the growing middle class. Within the middle class the distinction between the workplace and the home was accompanied by an equally sharp distinction between the roles of men and women. The separatedness of

roles not only within the family but also in society strengthened the emergent ideology of separate spheres. Women's sphere was the home while men's sphere was the significantly less circumscribed "world". In this period of intense social, economic and political change the home was the bulwark against social disorder, and woman was the creator of the home. Men's and women's spheres served a societal purpose for separate spheres enabled the rhetoric of progress and virtue to coexist; men left the home to build roads and bridges and sit in the legislative councils while women instilled virtue into her future statesmen and maintained an escape for her husband from the pressures of the world.[1]

Women's sphere in the nineteenth century, while subordinate to men's, gave women certain responsibilities and duties not only to their families and communities but also to the nation at large. In a period of intense republican debate women's duties became an issue of importance for both sexes. Since the Revolutionary era it had been a commonplace theme in American republican ideology that the government's success depended on the stability of virtue among its citizens.[2] Popular literature responded by emphasizing women's responsibilities as wives and mothers insisting that it was women's actions in these roles that would safeguard the Union and provide for the future security of the Republic. Women as a group were vested with virtue; therefore, women had an immensely important role as moral guardian and could claim social recognition as the guarantors of a successful Republic.

As women answered the call to take seriously their responsibility in securing the moral and religious interests of the nation women, particularly of the middle-class, involved themselves in numerous matters of reform. In doing so American women in the nineteenth century pushed the limits imposed on them outward so that reform activity became not only an acceptable concern for women but women also had a special obligation of both a national and religious nature to become involved in reform. Even though the extent of women's activity remained restricted and political power to effect changes in society was denied, numerous women lent their support to reform activities. Reform activities were particularly suited for women's participation because reform assumed the existence of some form of social disorder that must be remedied, hence women's involvement in reform did not take her beyond her sphere.[3]

Women involved in reform effectively employed religious and moral questions to excite the interest of other women. What is notable about women's interests after 1825 is that much of their concern focused on the particular problems of women. Movements for moral reform and temperance, and against slavery, appealed to women because women and the family were the principle victims of the evils which they attacked. Sustained by religious convictions and a faith in progress many women joined in community to protect their position and that of the family in the ante-bellum period. Female societies which addressed specific reforms provided women with a

supportive network out of which to act. Indeed, female societies were themselves acceptable in ante-bellum society because the fact that women would work together to promote female interests simply reinforced the notion that men and women were different and that they could operate in separate spheres dedicated to separate interests and yet be equal.

The issue of slavery was a particularly urgent concern for women because it could neither be reconciled with the rhetoric of "republicanism" nor could it be denied that slavery threatened the bonds of the family and victimized women and children. Slavery's assault on womanhood was emphasized by the antislavery literature produced between 1830 and 1860.[4] Such literature urged women to extend the "privileges of the sex" to all women regardless of race. According to such literature, slavery was more than a national sin but a crime against humanity: a crime against thousands of her own sex. Thus middle-class women of the North came to identify with the black female slave of the South for they both shared a common womanhood, a sense of sisterhood.

Two remarkable women who appreciated the sisterhood of women were the famous abolitionists Sarah and Angelina Grimke'. Born in the South and growing up in a slaveholding family these two sisters were not likely adherents to abolitionists appeals. However, as children on their own family farm they knew of the mistreatment of slaves and the buying and selling of slaves which could result in the separation of family members. Being sensitive and offended by

the inhumanity of slavery they developed an early abhorrence to slavery and did what they could to improve conditions for their own slaves.

As adults, they salves both traveled north to Philadelphia where they became formerly associated with the Society of Friends. Although showing outward support of the Quaker community, even adorning the drab-colored dress, Sarah became frustrated with the Friends refusal to acknowledge her in the ministry. Even in her frustration, though, she remained loyal to the Quaker community because of the Philadelphia Quakers' commitment to the antislavery cause. After reading the journal of Quaker John Woolman she was convinced of the efficacy of the free produce movement and appreciated the Quaker stand on gradual emancipation. After Angelina's acceptance into the Society of Friends she occupied herself with charity visits and prayer meetings at a local prison in an attempt to practice the self-denial of the Quaker faith as well as achieve "usefulness". But neither woman was personally satisfied with the Quaker community; Sarah felt thwarted by the more orthodox elders while Angelina regretted the Quaker objection to immediate abolitionism. Even though their formal break with the Society of Friends did not take place until 1841 their frustration was growing as early as 1834.

Increasingly committed to her early interest in the abolitionist movement and influenced by Garrisonian antislavery views Angelina wrote her "Appeal to the Christian

Women of the Southern States". She urged women, if they owned slaves, to set them free, insisting on the equality of the slave and his natural right to freedom. In the fall of the same year both sisters responded favorably to an invitation from the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York asking the Grimkes to "meet with Christian women in sewing circles and private parlors"[5] for discussions of slavery.

In May of 1837 the sisters attended the Anti-slavery Convention of American Women in New York City. Both Angelina and Sarah stressed the issue of race prejudice while Angelina also stated their belief in the sisterhood of black and white women. The Convention published Angelina's "Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States" which concluded that women had equal responsibilities with men in moral issues and political concerns. This was a truly radical statement.

The sisters continued the debate over women's duties and women's rights into the summer of 1838; however, they hoped that they might yet focus their public speaking on the theme of opposition to slavery and women's duties in the antislavery field. However, the sisters' public speaking, particularly Angelina's, came increasingly under fire from both Protestant clergymen and even some male abolitionists. Some critics assumed that as members of the Society of Friends, which permitted women to preach, the sisters were simply carrying out a denominational practice. But Angelina insisted that "We do not stand on Quaker ground, but on Bible ground and moral right. What we claim for ourselves, we claim for every woman

who God has called and qualified with gifts and graces."[6]. In her speech at Pennsylvania Hall, May 16, 1838, Angelina called for universal female support for the antislavery movement, particularly in the form of spreading petitions. She asserted that, "men who hold the rod over slaves, rule in the councils of the nation: and they deny our right to petition and to remonstrate against abuses of our sex and of our kind. We have these rights, however, from God".[7]

Writing a series of letters to the New England Spectator in 1838 Sarah echoed Angelina's teaching on the moral equality of men and women. At the outset, she claimed total dependence on the Bible, arguing that most commentators had misconceived "the simple truths revealed in the Scripture..." According to her reading of Scripture God created woman to be man's equal. "God---is our King and Judge, and to him alone is woman bound to be in subjection..." Sarah insisted that women should lead in all reform work, for "she is fulfilling one of the important duties laid upon her as an accountable being..."[8] However, custom led women away from their true rights and duties. Writing from her own experience, Sarah declared that women's education was "miserably deficient: that they are taught to regard marriage as the one thing needful...hence to attract the notice and win the attention of men, by their charms is the chief business of fashionable girls".[9] Instead, she argued, education should make women aware of their duties as moral beings.

Gerda Lerner and other historians have noted that the Grimke' sisters' writings concerning women's rights played an important role in the development of American feminist thought. As Lerner observes, the sisters' argument with "its strongly religious derivation made it particularly adapted to the American scene. Considering that it appeared ten years before the Seneca Falls Convention and seven years before Margaret Fuller's Women in the Nineteenth Century, the outraged reaction with which so many of even the most radical reformers greeted it, is quite understandable".[10] Lerner noted that the Grimke' sisters were pioneers for women's rights, advocates of the movement of the mid-nineteenth century.

Sarah and Angelina Grimke's contributions to later feminist thought and to antislavery ideology have been documented by numerous historians of both the abolitionist movement and the women's rights movement; however, their argument was not necessarily unique.[11] Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, the object of this study, wrote antislavery poems and prose for the antislavery journal The Genius of Universal Emancipation between 1826 and 1834 and became women's editor of that journal in 1829. Her writings, as the Grimke's, concentrated on the he inhumanity of slavery, women's moral obligation to work on behalf of the slave, the pervasiveness of racial prejudice, and the need for immediate emancipation of the slave. Elizabeth, a Quaker, also used a highly religious argument, insisting on the incompatibility of

slavery in a Christian nation and explaining the Scripture's teaching against the institution of slavery. Just as the Grimke' sisters declared no less than five years later, Elizabeth insisted that a sisterhood existed between the white women of the nation and the black female slave, at once demanding that all women work to restore to the female slave the "privileges of the sex" while instructing her towards morality. According to Elizabeth the power of women was great in effecting change thus her responsibility for doing so could not be ignored:

> Can then the female sex, who form so large a part of her population, be free from the pollution of this sin? Had they all used properly their influence as Christian women, in opposition to this crime, would it till this day have darkened the volumes of our country's history? We have no hesitation in saying that it would not...[12]

Abolitionists, Elizabeth among them, attributed an impressive amount of power to women while insisting on their redemptive capacity.

The argument for moral independence and individual accountability, which is credited most often to the Grimke' sisters, was also furthered by Elizabeth Chandler. Elizabeth asked American women: "...if you are acting contrary to the commands of God, shall the opinions of men sustain you in a career of sinfulness?"[13] Elizabeth argued that when one's individual conscience was awakened and one was able to discern truth, that person, whether male or female, had a moral obligation to act in accordance to the moral imperative. "If, then, right and wrong are distinctly pointed out,"she argued,

"are we to be governed in our choice of them by expediency, or the customs of the world, or the opinions of men? Certainly not."[14] Elizabeth translated the argument for moral independence into a declaration of moral equality; equality was, according to her, not only the freedom but also the obligation to exercise morality. She asserted, "you know, my friend, that we are to be answerable each for ourselves".[15] On moral issues men and women operated as equals; actions on behalf of moral issues, such as slavery, represented a sphere which men and women shared that was not determined by sex or custom but by their obligations as moral beings.

Elizabeth Chandler heeded her own call to put faith into action by becoming a public advocate for Emancipation. As a female editor she placed herself in a position, as others would in later years, to shape the opinions on the issue of slavery, particularly among women. In doing so, she encountered criticism not only as a public advocate of Emancipation but also as an advocate of women's "rights". Such a commitment to act and to demand the immediate extinction of slavery did not develop in a vacuum but can be attributed in large part to her Quaker heritage. Elizabeth was deeply religious and remained true to Quaker principles throughout her short life. Her personal relationships, her writing and the direction it took, and her participation in antislavery organizations help to explain what motivated this young Quaker woman to devote her life to the antislavery cause.

This study of Elizabeth Chandler's life and writings focuses on a number of different factors in the history of the antislavery movement in ante-bellum America while at the same time addressing the relationship between women's expanding sphere and their work with men, or independently of them, in the antislavery movement. The "woman question" which arose in the movement in the 1830s and became a distinctly divisive issue during the 1840s, grew to be, among the Garrisonians, not a question at all but instead a commitment to equal participation of both sexes in abolitionist activities. The debate over women's participation in antislavery work illustrated the relationship between abolitionism and women's rights. The refusal to seat Lucretia Mott and her party of delegates at the World Antislavery Convention in 1840 is familiar when reading the records of antislavery or women's history. But, the event continues to be significant because it not only shows that women wished to participate in the organization and decision-making of the Convention, but also that they were denied participation precisely because they were women.

There are numerous studies of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and the Grimke' sisters to name only a few which organize their analysis of these women's lives and accomplishments around their activity in the antislavery movement. Often the conclusion is drawn that these women, among others, joined the antislavery ranks in response to an intense commitment to quality and

egalitarianism, and through their activity on behalf of the slave, which excited considerable opposition from within and without, realized their own "marginal" status in society and the inequity of social relations based on gender distinctions. Also of significance was that Garrisonian women, finding the prevailing sentiment in favor of their participation, gained valuable training in the antislavery movement which aided them in taking the lead as advocates for women's rights only a few decades later. Activity in the antislavery movement, then, raised a feminine consciousness while, at the same time, equipped women participants with valuable organizational skills and leadership training. Much of the scholarship that draws this conclusion analyzes the results of women's antislavery activity and fashions it into an explanation for the rise of the women's rights movement of mid-century.[16] Although Elizabeth Chandler died in 1834, she had already been involved in antislavery organizations and experienced criticism, particularly concerning her call for women's public action, and her response introduced some of the issues around which the later women's movement organized.

Even though Elizabeth Chandler advocated women's public involvement in the antislavery movement, and argued for the moral equality of the sexes, she did not challenge the ideology of separate spheres. She was both a moral reformer and a domestic reformer. The home and family were what shaped the lives of the majority of nineteenth century women; the tenets of domesticity strongly influenced women's thoughts and

actions. Elizabeth Chandler's participation in antislavery organizations was motivated by the traditional belief in female benevolence which was an accepted aspect of women's sphere. But, Elizabeth also justified women's action on the basis that women were essentially human; therefore, their duties as moral beings were equal with men, only in social roles were their responsibilities different. Women's participation in the antislavery cause was, according to Elizabeth, an obligation of her social role, but, because slavery was a moral issue, her participation did not have to be justified in terms of what was appropriate to women's sphere.

NOTES

[1]On the economic changes and its effect on the family see Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). On industrialization see Thomas C. Cochran, Frontiers of Change Early Industrialization in America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[2]For a discussion of the relationship between "republicanism" and the ideology of separate spheres see Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1973).

[3]Keith Melder, The Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800-1850 (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 50. Also Ronald G. Walters The Antislavery Appeal American Abolitionism After 1830 (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1978), pp. 92-98.

[4]One example is the essay "Slavery As It Is" written by the famous evangelical and abolitionist, Theodore Weld, with the help of his wife, Angelina, and Sarah Grimke'.

[5]Gerda Lerner, The Grimke' Sisters From South Carolina (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 137.

[6]Angelina Grimke' to Theodore Weld, August 12, 1837 in Keith Melder, The Beginnings of Sisterhood, p. 84.

[7]"Speech in Pennsylvania Hall, May 16, 1838" reprinted in Gerda Lerner, The Grimke' Sisters From South Carolina, p. 381.

[8]Melder, p. 86.

[9]Ibid., p. 87.

[10]Lerner, p. 194.

[11]See Blanche Glassman Hersch, The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 1978. Aileen S. Kraditor, The Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.

[12]Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Essays, Philanthropic and Moral, principally related to the Abolition of Slavery in America (Philadelphia: L. Howell, 1836), "Letters on Slavery, No. II" p. 45.

[13]Chandler, Essays, "Right and Wrong", p. 34.

[14]Ibid., p. 35.

[15]Chandler, Essays, "Letters to Isabel No. III", p. 55.

[16]Ellen DuBois, Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America 1848-1869 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 31-33. She does not locate women's discontent in the abolitionists' movement but does emphasize the organizational skills women gained in the organizations. See also Blanche Glassman Hersh, The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America, Chap. 1 and 2.

II. A Quiet Testimony 1807-1830

Elizabeth Chandler was born on December 24, 1807 in Centre, Delaware and was the youngest of three children born to Thomas and Margaret Evans Chandler. Thomas Chandler was a farmer by occupation and lived in easy circumstances. He had received a liberal education and had also studied medicine, but had chosen to reside in the country where he took up farming. Thomas married Margaret Evans in March of 1802. They were both of English stock and conscientious members of the religious Society of Friends.[1]

Elizabeth's mother died when she was but an infant, after which her father moved the family to Philadelphia and set up a practice in medicine. In Philadelphia, Elizabeth attended a Friend's school where "she manifested a particular fondness for literary pursuits, and very early gave evidence of a rare talent for poetical composition".[2] Although the importance of primary education was widely accepted for boys, the enrollment of girls in formal schools remained uncommon until the mid-century.[3] When she was nine her father died, leaving her in the care of her grandmother and three aunts, Ruth, Jane and Amelia Evans, the sisters of her deceased mother.

As a child, Elizabeth was unusually solemn. In her early years she was highly introspective, subjecting every action and thought to examination. Undoubtedly the Friend's meeting which she attended with her grandmother and aunts impressed on her the importance of humility and the necessity to guard against worldliness. Elizabeth, like her young Quaker companions, wore the drab gray Quaker dress with an unornamented bonnet. But, the dull, colorless garb could not diminish the bright and sensitive features of the young Elizabeth. A portrait of her shows a full oval face with large dark eyes under heavy arching brows, dark hair, and bow mouth.

Elizabeth's grandmother took care that Elizabeth's religious training did not fall into arrears.[4] In addition to that religious training, Elizabeth also studied literature, art, music, and "figures", or arithmetic, an important skill for city Friends many of whom were shopkeepers, carpenters, or merchants.

In her training she gained knowledge and appreciation for her religious ancestors, particularly for their belief in the dignity of all beings and their commitment to social justice. Whether in Friend's school or in weekly meetings, Quaker children came to learn the history of the Society of Friends; George Fox and William Penn were familiar names to Quaker children. Elizabeth herself described the Friends as the "despised sect of Fox and Penn" suggesting her knowledge of the sect's history of persecution and the opposition that confronted the Society from the beginning.

Elizabeth left the Friend's school at the age of twelve or thirteen; however, she was an avid reader which allowed her to continue her education on her own. After the death of her grandmother in 1827, Elizabeth lived with her aunt Ruth and brother Thomas still in Philadelphia.[5] (The other two aunts also lived in Philadelphia, aunt Jane having married and aunt Amelia teaching. Her eldest brother, William, did leave the Philadelphia area spending some time in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, where he married Sarah Taylor in 1829).[6]

At the age of nine Elizabeth wrote her first piece entitled, "Reflections on a Thunder-gust", inspired by the occurrence of a violent storm. As her writing progressed, friends and relatives, impressed by its quality, solicited and occasionally obtained permission to publish selected articles. Benjamin Lundy, editor of The Genius of Universal Emancipation and Elizabeth's biographer wrote that, "Some of the most popular periodicals of the day were thus enriched by the production of her pen", probably referring to the gift annuals which published a number of her poems.[7]

As Elizabeth herself recalls, "The Slave Ship", was her "first piece written upon the subject of slavery...and was the effect of reading a sermon delivered"[8] at a meeting of the Friends. At the age of eighteen she submitted this poem for a competition sponsored by the Casket, however, was quite insulted when it was judged third. According to Frank L. Mott, the affording of prizes was a common device the early magazines used to attract original work in both poetry and

prose.[9] Shortly afterward Benjamin Lundy published the poem in The Genius and it was her first piece published in the abolitionist press. Elizabeth was introduced to Lundy at which time he requested that she regularly submit works for publication.

Benjamin Lundy began The Genius in 1821 and it was only the fourth philanthropic journal published in the United States, and the second which was devoted exclusively to the destruction of slavery.[10] Lundy, a Quaker, was first employed as a young man in the leather trades. As an apprentice saddler in Wheeling, Virginia, Lundy became increasingly upset by the slave trade. Wheeling was a center of slave traffic at the time and the young Lundy saw the "coffles", or gangs of manacled slaves, sold and driven off. In 1816, at the age of twenty seven, Lundy left Wheeling and moved west to Ohio where he organized an antislavery society he called the Union Humane Society.[11]

Not long after the move Lundy became a contributor to The Philanthropist, a paper begun by the Quaker minister, Charles Osborn, in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio in 1816. Lundy and Osborn intended to become partners in the publication of the paper, but Lundy instead traveled to Missouri where he remained until the fate of the new southwestern state had been settled. After the defeat of the antislavery cause there Lundy returned to Ohio and published the first issue of The Genius. He published only eight issues in Ohio and then moved to Tennessee where he used the printing press of recently

deceased, Elihu Embree, founder of the short-lived paper, The Emancipator.[12]

After attending the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery in 1823 in Philadelphia, Lundy was convinced that his antislavery opinions would find more support in the East. Shortly he moved The Genius to Baltimore and renewed the publication in the fall of 1824.[13] The editorials and letters published in the paper demonstrated Lundy's increasing commitment to the plan of colonization. Lundy wrote numerous articles supporting plans to colonize Haiti, Liberia, and areas of Canada with the black freed slaves. This plan of gradual emancipation found almost universal support among his fellow Quakers as well as the general population of the North. It was also in Baltimore that Lundy met William Lloyd Garrison who shared Lundy's commitment to the antislavery cause and soon lent his writing and editorial skills to Lundy's paper.[14]

It was at approximately the same time that the young poet, Elizabeth Chandler, responded to Lundy's request for her work and in 1826 became a regular contributor to The Genius. Elizabeth commonly signed her earlier works with the pen name "Emily". In an introduction to "The Wife's Lament" published July 8, 1826, Lundy wrote, "I have seldom met with anything more touching or better calculated to awaken the feelings of sensibility, than the following beautiful lines from my fair correspondent 'Emily'".[15] Lundy, increasingly impressed by her "chaste and virtuous" pen asked Elizabeth to assume responsibilities of the women's department of The Genius. On

September 2, 1829, Elizabeth was introduced to the readers of the paper with much praise by Lundy. As editor Elizabeth could now publish both her poems and essays.

Though studiously inclined and habitually reserved, she had selected a few female acquaintances, as her intimate and confidential friends. According to Lundy, "With these friends, particularly Hannah Townsend and Anna Coe, both of Philadelphia, she spent a portion of her time in social intercourse, and also corresponded with them freely".[16] Carroll Smith Rosenberg found in her study of nineteenth century women's diaries and letters that female friendships provided women with intimate relationships with other women and such relationships were socially acceptable. Rosenberg insisted that in the nineteenth century women carried on distant relations with men, particularly before marriage, which allowed for long-lasting often emotionally intensive relationships with other women.[17] The exchange of letters among Elizabeth and her female friends did indicate that such friendships were a source of emotional support and involved a certain degree of intimacy. Anna Coe wrote to Elizabeth, "Mind Lizzy, write to me once a month, and do not write any formal letters to me, but let it be as though we were conversing, and thee was by my side".[18] When about to leave Philadelphia, Elizabeth presented Hannah with a piece she wrote entitled, "Remember Me". Elizabeth and Hannah adopted a plan of keeping regular journals which they shared whenever possible. Hannah wrote of their friendship; "My intimate

acquaintance with Elizabeth, previous to her removal, and our regular correspondence afterwards, afforded me the opportunity of understanding the bent of her mind...as we came to an agreement to journalize, we were accustomed to writing without much formality, under different dates".[19]

Elizabeth joined these friends as a member of the Free Produce Society in Philadelphia whose members consisted of primarily Quaker women. While the Quakers had a long-standing opposition to slavery and were generally regarded as presenting a united front in the vanguard of the antislavery movement, this was not the case. The slavery question agitated, confused, and divided the Society of Friends, even as it did other denominations. Even though Quakers condemned slavery they could not agree on the means or manner of opposing it. In the early nineteenth century, many Friends belonged to manumission societies and other mild organizations for the gradual abolition of slavery. However, such societies were increasingly condemned by more conservative Friends because they were "mixed societies", accepting members from different religious denominations. A controversy ensued over Quaker membership in the abolition societies which resulted in disownment for some individual Friends. In seeking a satisfactory form of activity many Friends formed free produce societies, in which they agreed to boycott all products raised by slave labor, so far as that was possible.[20]

Even before the last Quaker had manumitted his/her slaves, the most advanced members of the Society, among whom

was John Woolman, argued that the use of slave produced goods was a bad as slaveholding itself, for it gave to the owner tacit approval of his actions and served as an economic support of the system. As long as it was in the interest of the slaveholder to use slave labor, Woolman argued, he would continue to do so. John Woolman joined with fellow Quakers Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford in abstaining from slave products. Woolman wrote, "...the oppression of the slaves which I have seen...hath from time to time livingly revived on my mind, and under this exercise I for some years past declined to gratify my pallate with those sugars".[21] His boycott of slave products elicited reactions varying from outright opposition to bewilderment, particularly when Woolman offered the slaves themselves reimbursement for services rendered to him on his travels in the South.[22]

The Free Produce Society of Philadelphia to which Elizabeth refers in her writings was organized in 1827 with the intent that abolition would be promoted by the use of free labor products, and that the South should be convinced that the use of free labor was as profitable as slave labor. The society presented a boycott of slave produced goods as a proper, just and reasonable means of opposing slavery. At the meeting of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race in December, 1829, the Free Produce Society of Philadelphia asserted that, "It is no more than the exercise of an elective franchise, for the free man to purchase the products of the

labour of freemen, in preference to that of Slaves".[23] In support of the cause, delegates announced the formation of the Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton which quickly shortened its name to the Female Free Produce Society.[24]

Whether Elizabeth was among the small group of women present at the first meeting in January, 1829, is uncertain, but her early commitment to free labor as an abolitionist measure wholly suited to women was clear. In that same year Elizabeth wrote in an essay to her female readers of The Genius:

> Let societies be formed among you to promote this... It is true, some inconveniences will at first be unavoidable, the texture of your garments will perhaps be coarser than that which you were accustomed, but they will cling less heavily around your forms, for the sighs of the broken hearted will not linger among their folds.[25]

Elizabeth and other members undoubtedly felt they had met with some success at the opening of the first free-produce store in Philadelphia before the close of that year.

As Elizabeth notes in her many essays on free produce, women were particularly suited to supporting free produce and by purchasing only those goods they might work towards the extinction of slavery in the United States. Elizabeth's statements concerning free produce reflect nineteenth century women's new role as consumer. Elizabeth, whose family was involved in "store-keeping" and to which even Elizabeth, perhaps, gave some of her time, appreciated the fact that urban women in the last few years might increasingly buy

products that they had formerly produced themselves or done without. She wrote that, "Yet, as close attention to household economy is certainly the duty of every female, let us enquire if it is not possible to indulge their feelings of humanity, and satisfy the claims of justice, without extending the limits they have prescribed for their expenses".[26]

Elizabeth's writing on domestic economy attempted to appeal to women's moral nature, sought to motivate women out of their own sense of guilt, and at the same time, hoped to convince women that they as individuals were important to bringing about the abolition of slavery. Elizabeth insisted that one "might change from slave to free produce...without adding one item to the expenditure...It is but to forego some paltry gratification, to resign some trifle in which the vanity only is concerned...and a fund is at once provided".[27] While appealing to nineteenth century women as consumers, she applied moral pressure by demanding that women be introspective and self-denying.

As a young writer, Elizabeth did not look only to antislavery journals to publish her work, nor did she limit her writing to antislavery poems and prose. Elizabeth submitted her poetry to both The Pearl and The Atlantic Souvenir, finding the latter more receptive to her work. Both The Pearl and The Atlantic Souvenir were gift books, also known as gift annuals, published yearly by various publishing companies. Carey and Lea, the renowned Philadelphia publishing house, issued the first copy of The Atlantic

Souvenir in 1826 with the purpose of fostering "native literature and art".[28]

Elizabeth actively sought publication in these annuals and her reference to their publication suggest a degree of self-confidence in her writing ability. On May 19, 1829, while she was visiting relatives in Brandywine, she wrote that she was trying "to get something ready for the Pearl" and requested in the same letter that her brother, Thomas, ask Carey and Lea "how they liked the entitles sent to them--and what will be published".[29] Evidently Elizabeth did receive some form of remuneration for her efforts for on February 12, 1830, her brother Thomas explained to their brother William that the families trip to the Michigan territory was delayed because Elizabeth was "engaged in a little work which will probably bring her something handsome."[30]

The cost book of Carey and Lea confirms Elizabeth's receipt of remuneration by the appearance of her poems and revealing the amount that she received for them. According to the accounts of the Philadelphia publishing house, five and a half pages of her poetry were printed in The Atlantic Souvenir for 1829 and brought her $12.00. Two pages of poetry--"Night"-- in the 1830 Souvenir brought her two free copies of that publication and five pages in the 1831 annual--"The Brandywine"--earned her three copies of the book.[31] These amounts seem consistent with findings that writers of this period received, in general, very low sums of money for their work if they were paid in cash at all.[32]

Publication in the gift annuals gave Elizabeth a more varied audience, including abolitionists and a growing, literate middle-class. In the 1830s the publication of magazines, journals, newspapers and pamphlets increased rapidly in an attempt to create a body of peculiarly American literary work.[33] One observer who lived at the time noted: "The United States are fertile in most things, but in periodicals they are extremely luxuriant".[34] Elizabeth's poems, then, were being read by a greater percentage of the general population and gaining recognition in the same annuals which published the work of renowned authors such as Nathanial Hawthorne and Henry Longfellow. Publication in the annuals gave Elizabeth not only a more varied audience but also a larger one. Ten thousand or more copies of The Souvenir were published annually in 1830, 1831, and 1832,[35] while Lundy's publication The Genius had in 1827 subscriptions totaling less than a thousand.[36]

Elizabeth's career as a writer, though not necessarily at odds with her Quaker commitment, led to a struggle with her own pride. Elizabeth struggled with Quaker teachings on humility and self-denial while at the same time recognized her own ambitions and the personal gratification which accompanied a degree of notoriety. She wrote to Hannah that she was "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...such fresh shoots of selfishness where I hoped the plant itself was

eradicated".[37] Not only did Elizabeth struggle with her Quaker ideals, but many men in the antislavery ranks discouraged her from "professional" writing on the topic of slavery by charging her with impropriety. In what Lundy described as a "tale of fancy" Elizabeth described women's position as she saw it in the fight against slavery in rather surprising ways in her piece entitled, "The Tears of Woman":[38]

> The Angel of Justice stood before the throne of the most High. Father, said she, behold the creature whom thou hast made. Lo! The children of earth have lifted up their hearts to oppression; their hands are full of wrong and violence, and they have laden their brother with heavy fetters, that he might be to them a bondman forever. I called unto them; I warned them of the evil of their way, but they refused to hearken to my voice; give me, my sword, oh Father! that I may smite them before they fall.
>
> Oh not yet, my sister! exclaimed the pleading tones of a sweet voice:--and the young Angel of Philanthropy bowed himself before her, and looked up from the midst of his fair curls with a face filled with beseeching earnestness. Not yet, beloved sister, said he, do thou unsheathe thy sword for vengeance. I will descend to the earth by thy side, and plead with the erring one for his unhappy brother. I will win for thee an offering of penitence from the hearts of the guilty, and with thy blade break asunder the heavy fetters of the slave. The eyes of the beautiful boy were suffused with tears while he addressed her, and Mercy bent over him as he turned towards the heavenly throne, joining her appealing glance to his petition. (my emphasis)

In the allegory the Angel of Justice, a female, asked that her sword might end the oppression of the slaves by their white brothers. But, the Angel of Philanthropy, a boy, asks that he might first descend to earth that he might change the hearts of the oppressors. It is a child, a young boy, who was yet innocent and unspoiled by the "world" who Elizabeth chose to portray philanthropy. Significantly, the young boy was

endowed with a "sweet voice and fair curls" which are typically considered feminine features. Perhaps the femininity of the boy was necessary to convince the reader of his virtuous character while reaffirming the prevailing claim of females on the character of virtue. Demonstrating the influence of Enlightenment thought Elizabeth emphasized the innocence of the child. Elizabeth, who had found Locke's treatise on the mind quite convincing, was apparently rejecting the strict Calvinist teaching on the depravity of children and original sin accepting instead the Enlightenment writers' view on the unspoiled nature of youth. Reflecting popular sentiment, the allegory suggested the moral life might be found in a state of perpetual childhood. It was a boy, who was likely not yet old enough to enter the public world of commerce and industry, who could yet speak out against slavery, a sin that industrial capitalism had not yet condemned.

Even though the style of Elizabeth's writing and the degree of religiosity was similar to those writers described by the historian Ann Douglas, the topic Elizabeth chose to concentrate on in her writing, slavery, makes it impossible to categorize her with Douglas' control group who "determined modern mass culture and defined consumerism".[39] According to Douglas, female writers of the nineteenth century reacted to the "disestablishment" of women as producers by heightening the importance of women as consumers. Through their sentimentalized fiction they used the argument of motherhood,

pointing out that while women's role as producer and practically disappeared middle class women's role was transformed into one of moral and psychic nurture. In their verse these writers prescribed, as Douglas points out, that a "lady's pre-occupation is to be with herself: her clothes, her manners, her feelings, her family".[40] But this was not Elizabeth's message. Elizabeth agreed with her contemporaries that women's sphere was the domestic sphere and that her responsibility was to her family, but her vision for women of her century included more. She asked women to cross the barrier between the public and private worlds by becoming public advocates for the anti-slavery cause. The female Victorian writers idealized middle class women not as doers but as display cases for the accoutrements they might purchase. On the contrary, Elizabeth asked women to be participants in a cause that affected not only their own families but was also a national concern.

It is interesting that Elizabeth placed a woman, the Angel of Justice, in a position to strike down the oppressors of the slave. It is a female who will take up "the sword" in defense of the black brother and sister and mete out punishment on his white oppressors to restore all men to their created state of equality. Placing a woman as the Angel of Justice, even though an appreciation for justice was typically a masculine characteristic, suggested that women had the capacity to think and reason and were able to act justly. Woman as judge contradicted the popular, contemporary

literature of the nineteenth century which denied woman's rational powers. In her essay, "Anti-Intellectualism and the American Woman" Barbara Welter insisted that popular literature of the nineteenth century accepted and perpetuated a dichotomy between rational and non-rational powers, the former a characteristic of men and the latter of woman. Welter found that men were portrayed as actors while women simply reacted; men reasoned and were just while women loved and were merciful.[41] Elizabeth's portrayal of women's activity in the antislavery movement insisted that women understand the injustice of slavery.

Ironically, the other female in the allegory was an angel of Mercy who assisted the young boy, the Angel of Philanthropy, in his attempt to stir the consciences of the guilty oppressors. According to Elizabeth's portrayal women could judge and declare punishment but also love and extend mercy. In a subtle way Elizabeth was presenting the dichotomy between the rational and non-rational, realizing that women's involvement in the antislavery movement might challenge traditional beliefs about women's nature and duties. In this allegory Elizabeth, though probably without intent, was setting the stage for a new dialogue for women based on new images and these images would continue long after the antislavery action ended. The allegory continued:

> It was well nigh to eventime. The sunlight fell in yellow gleamings through the branches on the gliding waves of the stream beside which the Angel of Justice stood leaning on her empty scabbard--She was watching with a calm eye the eager and untiring attempts of Philanthropy as he strove to free the shackled limbs

> of a sad group who wept before him. He called on man to aid him in his exertions. He pointed to the threatening attitude of Justice as she lifted up her stately brow and stretched out her hand with a stern glance towards the sun, whose setting was to be her signal. But prejudice and selfishness were strong in the human heart; and they to whom the earnest appeal was sent gazed on oddly for a few moments and departed. Already the hand of Justice was extended to resume her blade, and her eye bent in lowering anger on the inpenitent oppressor. Yet still the unwearied boy with the passionate earnestness of approaching despair, steadily persisted in his exertions.
>
> Then he called on woman. He pointed to her sister--suffering--miserable--and stretching out her manacled hands to her for succour. The call was heard. Slowly, and with uncertain steps, and eyes averted from the sad spectacle before her, woman approached him. Her heart was touched with the wrongs of the injured ones, but she felt that her arm was weak, and her strength powerless; and, bowing down her head, she wept in pity and sorrow over the objects of her compassion. But her aid was not in vain. The tears shed rusted the chains on which they fell!--and the exulting shout of the young angel, as he again snatched up the sword of Justice, rung like a victorious battle-cry upon the ear of the oppressor. (my emphasis)

Surely the allegory is to some extent typical of the sentimental, flowery writing which reigned as the predominant and accepted style of many of Elizabeth's female contemporaries, but she, having as her purpose "usefulness", and having dedicated her writing to the cause of humanity undoubtedly sought to present a moral issue and impress on women the importance of duty in the above lines.

According to the allegory the woman moved with "uncertain steps" to aid the slave, but this should not suggest that women doubted the immorality or evil of the institution of slavery. Instead, the uncertain steps were the recognition that activity on the part of women, particularly on an issue to which men had remained indifferent, was undoubtedly foreign

territory. Perhaps Elizabeth realized that such steps to bring about the abolition of slavery would meet with opposition and charges of female impropriety.

Even though the woman of whom the allegory spoke desired to aid the slave the lines point out that she was overwhelmed by her "powerlessness". Elizabeth acknowledged that women of the nineteenth century had no real power, only influence. Although Elizabeth insisted that woman's influence was great it could not directly bring about social, political, or economic reform. Nineteenth century woman did not have the vote by which she might alleviate the bitterness of the slave, nor did she, if she were a married woman, have a legal voice regarding the estate she lived on or the purchase and selling of the slaves in her own home.[42] Perhaps the subsequent "tears" were out of pity for the slave as the lines suggest. Perhaps, they were also out of the frustration that she felt being unable to free the black slaves that included many of her own sex. In his book, The Antislavery Appeal Ronald Walters maintained that the middle-class woman was frustrated "by the fact that she was excluded from the world of public event while being told she had spiritual qualities it desperately needed".[43] Regardless, the "tears" held a power of their own for they rusted the chains binding the slave thus illustrating how women might indirectly, through influence, achieve gains in the antislavery movement.

Elizabeth herself was not content to limit women's influence and activity to the power inherent in "womanly"

tears. Elizabeth did not depend on such tears for too much sentimentality might alienate her brother in the cause whom she would work with if at all possible. Elizabeth's seriousness, demonstrated by the brevity with which she addressed the topic of slavery in her poems and essays, motivated her to a reasonable and logical attack on slavery. Wholly consistent with Quaker teaching it was action, or as Elizabeth referred to it, exertion, that was the fruit of one's faith and necessary to liberate the southern slaves. Elizabeth assured her readers in The Genius that in working for the antislavery cause "your exertions will not be wasted--you can do much".[44] That individuals must act in accordance with one's conscience was a recurring charge in her essays; a charge significantly directed toward woman.

Elizabeth's own action did not go unrewarded. Shortly after the formal acknowledgement of her position as editor in The Genius in the fall of 1829, she received a letter from a free black woman, Sarah Douglass, who lived in the Philadelphia area. Sarah and her mother Grace Douglass were Friends and attended the Arch street meeting. Since 1796, Philadelphia Friends agreed to accept applications for membership without "distinction of color". Negro membership thus became possible among Quakers but not common. Sarah and her mother were consigned to "Negro benches" in Quaker meetinghouses. The segregation of blacks and whites upheld by the Quakers own actions led the famous abolitionists, Angelina and Sarah Grimke', to join with Sarah and Grace Douglass in

their criticisms of the Friends on this matter in 1839. In her letter to Elizabeth, Sarah Douglass thanked Elizabeth and referred to her ongoing work as editor as Elizabeth's "untiring work in the cause of Emancipation", encouraging her to continue on the same course.[45] While Elizabeth did not refer to the letter she was undoubtedly encouraged by such a measure of support.

Support for her antislavery work by friends and family, not to mention her supervising editor, Lundy, came at an important time for within the Society of Friends a division was taking place. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Quaker beliefs came increasingly under the influence of evangelical teaching. Up until this time, Quakers had been able to reconcile Scriptural teaching with their insistence on an "inner light". George Fox had believed in the compatibility of Christ as revealed by Scripture and Christ's presence in; the individual believer. However, Friends who were influenced by evangelical thought became convinced that Scripture was the final authority and should be regarded as the direct revelation of God. Even though the evangelical movement did emphasize a direct religious experience, it also demanded that the believer accept the divinity of Christ and understand that Christ's crucifixion was an act of atonement for the sins of all believers.[46]

The division of 1827-28 centered on an individual, Elias Hicks, a rural minister from Long Island and a strong opponent of slavery and of the new evangelicalism. Hicks's

controversial opinions included the primacy of the Christ within the believer over the Christ of Scripture, and his refusal to acknowledge the significance of the crucifixion.[47] Hicks, a strong supporter of free produce, traveled to numerous Friends' meetings wearing unbleached linen to avoid the use of slave products and taught his more radical, to some even heretical, beliefs. In the following years, Yearly, Monthly and Weekly meetings split into two groups: Orthodox Friends and Hicksite Friends, the latter attracting the greater number of followers. By some accounts, the schism that divided the Friends was not simply the result of doctrinal differences. Lydia Maria Child went so far as to suggest in 1853 that the Hicksite separation resulted from differences over the use of slave produce rather than over religious beliefs.[48] Child was not a Quaker herself so it is not surprising that she did not know that both Orthodox and Hicksite Friends supported the use of free produce; however, her interpretation of the division reflected the disagreement among Quakers over the manner in which slavery should be abolished.

Elizabeth and her relatives were numbered among the Hicksite Friends.[49] It was evident from her writing that Elizabeth drew from her Quaker heritage its commitment to the antislavery cause; her poems that celebrate Quaker figures, such as "John Woolman" and "Anthony Benezet", demonstrated the relationship she saw between her faith and her views on slavery. It is not surprising she and other Philadelphia

Friends, included among them the well-known abolitionists James and Lucretia Mott, were attracted to the more radical teaching of Elias Hicks and his willingness to speak out for the slave. Perhaps Elizabeth recognized that she would be given greater freedom to become involved in public activity for, according to Margaret H. Bacon, Hicksite Quaker women became "more assertive [than Orthodox Quaker women], initiating actions and undertaking concerns".[50]

Elizabeth continued her writing for The Genius and her involvement in the Female Free Produce Society when, in the spring of 1830, her brother, Thomas, decided to move to the western territories. After reading articles in the Saturday Evening Post and the Atlantic Monthly he was convinced of Michigan's beautiful landscape, the fertility of the soil, and the ease of transportation. He explained to their brother, William, that he was "heartily sick of store-keeping and have every reason to believe that I should like the life of a farmer better than any other..."[51] Elizabeth had lived with her brother, Thomas, and her aunt Ruth for the past three years so as Thomas made preparations to leave Philadelphia so too did she and her aunt Ruth. While her brother spent the summer as an "apprentice" to a farmer outside the city, Elizabeth visited friends and family whom she might not see for some time. No doubt she and her aunt Ruth packed those items they would need for their new household in the Michigan Territory. Elizabeth also packed books and papers. Finally she made arrangements to continue her editorial duties for The

Genius so that the move to Michigan would not interrupt her work on behalf of the slave.

NOTES

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[4]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 8.

[5]Ibid., p. 10.

[6]William Chandler in Lancaster, Pennsylvania to Elizabeth Chandler in Philadelphia, March 18, 1829 in Chandler Papers.

[7]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 10.

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[13]Ibid., p. 85.

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[15]The Genius of Universal Emancipation, American Periodical Series, reel 1272, June 3, 1826, p. 319.

[16]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 10-11

[17]Carroll Smith Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America" Signs, Autumn 1975, Vol. I, pp. 9-13

[18]Anna Coe in Philadelphia to Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan August 30, 1830 in Chandler Papers.

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[20]Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, The Free Produce Movement, a Quaker Protest Against Slavery (Durham: Duke university Press, 1942), p. 3. On Free Produce see also Norman B. Jackson, "The Free Produce Attack upon Slavery" The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXVI, No. 3 (July, 1942), pp. 294-313.

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[23]American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the condition of the African Race, Minutes (1829), pp. 57-60 quoted in Nuermberger, The Free Produce Movement.

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[27]Chandler, Essays, "Domestic Economy" p. 75.

[28]The Atlantic Souvenir of 1828 (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea), p. ii, in the Special Collections of the Michigan State University Library.

[29]Elizabeth Chandler in Brandywine to Thomas Chandler in Philadelphia May 19, 1829 in Chandler Papers.

[30]Thomas Chandler in Philadelphia to William Chandler in Lancaster February 12, 1830 in Chandler Papers.

[31]David Kaser, The Cost Book of Carey and Lea, 1825-1838 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), pp. 279, 281, 282, 284.

[32]Mott, A History of American Magazines 1741-1830, p. 30.

[33]Ibid., p. 31.

[34]New York Mirror, VI 151 (November 15, 1828) quoted in Mott, A History of American Magazines.

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[36]Dillon, Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom, p. 128.

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[38]Ibid., pp. 25-27

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III. A Voice in the Wilderness 1830-1834: Domesticity, Women's Moral Rights and Duties, Education

"I sat at the side of the vessel, gazing on the scenery that was passing before me with my thoughts divided between the land I had left, and that which was in view, now reverting to the past, and now dwelling on the untried future".[1] In August of 1830 Elizabeth moved with her brother, Thomas, and her aunt, Ruth Evans, to the Michigan Territory. They had reached Detroit by steamship, still a fairly costly mode of travel but which would, in the next few years, become less expensive and highly practical as thousands of new settlers would make a similar trip to Michigan. Expecting to find a significant amount of work in their new home they also took with them a young girl, a bond servant, Emily.

Elizabeth detailed the trip to Hannah in a letter explaining their less than favorable first impression of the Territory:

> Detroit is a rather dirty looking place; here we remained, however, only one night, and set off early the next morning for Tecumseh. After proceeding a short distance, the stage suddenly stopped, and the passengers began, very orderly, to make preparations for leaving it. For what cause this was done, I was at a loss to determine, as, besides that it was much too early for breakfast, there was no appearance of a house anywhere in the vicinity. However, we quietly imitated the example of our fellow travelers, and descended to terra firma, when it appeared the measure

> was one of prudence, required by our approach to a long series of worn, loose, and uneven logs, denominated a bridge! and stretching across a stream dignified by the appelation of the river "Rough"! A real back-woods bridge! (her emphasis)[2]

Elizabeth's apparent disgust with the ill-kept roads was repeated six years later by the English writer, Harriet Martineau, who made her visit to the Michigan Territory. In her highly critical book, Society in America, she too complained of the roads and wrote in 1836 that it took her six days rather than the advertised four to travel the road from Detroit to Chicago.[3]

When the family reached their destination Elizabeth's brother, Thomas, was pleased more by the land in the vicinity of Adrian rather than that surrounding Tecumseh, so he chose eighty acres near Adrian.[4]. Not an entirely practical decision for the only grist mill in the area lie in Tecumseh which was six miles to the northeast; however, the region he chose was settled by a strong Quaker community led by Darius Comstock. Since Darius' son, Addison, had founded Adrian in 1826, the interests of that group were in large measure drawn to that town.

Even though the region of southwestern Michigan was not dominated by Quakers, numerous Friends were instrumental in the early settlement of the area. Michigan, thanks to the energetic advertising campaign of her territorial governor Lewis Cass, was just beginning to look attractive to Easterners seeking new land.[5] Up until the mid-twenties settlers had been discouraged by adverse government reports,

bypassing Michigan's "swamps and sandhills" in favor of Indiana or Ohio. However the denominated, "Tecumseh Company", made up of Musgrove Evans and Joseph Brown, and financed by Austin E. Wing, founded the interior settlement of Tecumseh in 1824.[6] By the end of the first year the settlement boasted about a dozen families, each family adding to the security of the settlement. Evans, a Quaker, had migrated from New York and before leaving that state had campaigned strongly for others to come. Records of land sales for the area showed that out of one hundred-ninety individuals who bought land by 1830 one hundred thirty-seven were from the state of New York.[7]

While by no means yet a town, Tecumseh did gain in that first year a sawmill and a store, perhaps reflecting the immediate needs of the settlement. By 1825, the settlement acquired neighbors. Hervey Bliss and two other families had settled in the lower Raisin river to form the nucleus of the town of Blissfield, and Joseph Brown was assisting a brother Quaker, Darius Comstock, in starting a settlement south and west of Tecumseh.[8]

Darius Comstock, a neighbor of the Chandler family and who Elizabeth referred to in letters as "Uncle Darius", settled in a region he named "Pleasant Valley". He had completed only a few months earlier an excavation and building contract for a portion of the Erie Canal which opened in the fall of 1825.[9] The completion of the Erie Canal, connecting Lake Erie with the Hudson River, was an event of major importance to the

Michigan Territory because it facilitated the transportation of passengers and freight between the eastern seaboard and Michigan ports. Elizabeth wrote repeatedly of the rapid increase of families into their settlement, noting once that "Tecumseh and Adrian both seem to have nearly doubled in size since we came here last summer..."[10]

The Chandler family, after a short stay at the Company House owned and operated by Musgrove Evans and his family, lodged with the Comstock's until their own home was completed.[11] After completion they were undoubtedly proud for the house was pronounced a "real slick one" by their neighbors.[12] Thomas, trying his skill at carpentry, made some furniture, while Elizabeth and Ruth Evans completed the furnishings with "aunt Ruth's rocking chair...A whisk broom--brushes are not in vogue. Some kitchen utensils, and the red chest placed on one of its ends against the partition to support my desk, with Benjamin Rush and thy landscape hanging over it..."[13] Elizabeth, as much as possible, went about recreating the comfortable surroundings the family had enjoyed in Philadelphia. Elizabeth promptly assured friends and relatives that even though Michigan was a semi-wilderness, and by her own definition "out of the world", "bumpkins" were very scarce. Elizabeth found that resuming their religious routine also was not difficult because the Friends community of which they were now a part had already erected a meeting house.

It was after this move to Michigan in the period between 1830 and 1834 that Elizabeth Chandler produced the bulk of her

writing. While focusing much of her writing on the topic of slavery, she also wrote some purely sentimental verse on death, nature, and friendship. In her essays on slavery she repeatedly called women to work on behalf of the slave but this should not suggest that Elizabeth proposed a significantly different social role for women of nineteenth century American society. The "Female Repository" of The Genius of which she was editor carried essays and articles of a decidedly domestic nature. The American woman, according to Elizabeth, gained her strength and influence in the home; woman's sphere of activity was appropriately the home which likely included raising children. It should be, then, a woman's goal to acquire the proper domestic skills for only then can she fashion a home that is pleasant and nurturing. Such thought reveals that Elizabeth was influenced by and sought to perpetuate through her writings the canon of domesticity.

Unlike others of this period who felt that the ideology of domesticity was irreconcilable with women's expanding rights, Elizabeth found that women's traditional domestic role made it even more important for women to recognize their rights as moral beings. The ideology of separate spheres and women's moral rights were made compatible through religious arguments, the popular ideology of republicanism, and an emphasis on the family. Elizabeth used a highly religious argument for women's moral right and for expanding women's sphere stressing the individual accountability of women as moral beings made in God's image. But, in maintaining women's rights

and responsibilities as moral beings she did not deny that men and women operated in separate spheres determined by different social, political and economic roles. However, on religious and moral matters women had responsibilities equal to men to act according to their consciences. Such a sphere of activity, a third sphere, afforded women the opportunity to act and speak at times, in places, and on matters that they had formerly been told to keep silent. Elizabeth also argued for women's moral rights and duties as citizens of a republic. Although women's sphere expanded to include teaching the republican argument primarily heightened the importance of women in their role as wives and mothers. Finally, Elizabeth insisted that the viability of the republic was intricately woven with the future of the family and that it was the task of women to protect and sustain the home.

Education became important to Elizabeth as a means by which she as a single woman might answer the call to moral and civic responsibility. Women as educators, whether that be a mother instructing her children or a young single woman teaching children in a school, could demonstrate their commitment to a Christian republic. Particularly significant for single women was that teaching offered the opportunity for a career which was compatible with women's domestic role. Teaching children at school came to be seen as merely an extension of the education they received in the home; therefore, teaching was appropriately women's work. The call for female education grew as the number of women sought careers as teachers.

Elizabeth was one of a small percentage of young women in the early nineteenth century who had received a formal education and out of her experience argued for all women to be educated. Women's education would, according to Elizabeth, give women a greater appreciation for their moral and civic responsibilities to the young republic while not taking them one step beyond their appropriate sphere.

Domesticity

Historians of women and the family of nineteenth century American society agree that the central convention of domesticity was the contrast between the home and the world.[14] The home was a shelter; a refuge from the pressures of the world while the world was ruthless and a place where men might compromise their principles for the sake of financial or political interests. However, the home was also a source of power for women during this period. The role of wife and mother gave women influence over her children and husband. Woman's influence affected not only her own home but could also have social ramifications. "The influence of Woman, in determining the amount of human felicity, is perhaps," Elizabeth wrote, "even more powerful than that of her brethern. <u>They</u> must go out, and endure the rudest buffetings of the world, in nerving their minds to a stern pursuit of their various purposes; but she, in the sheltered bower of her domestic retirement, has

leisure to analyze the strange workings of the human heart, and to instill into it high principals of virtue".[15]

Elizabeth defended the existence of separate men's and women's spheres but she did regret the lower status typically attached to women's activity and women's sphere. Rather than advocating identical rights for men and women, a demand made a decade later by more radical proponents of women's rights, Elizabeth called for a greater recognition for women's domestic activities. Her vision for women's rights did not involve equal civil rights; she hoped to keep alive the differences between men and women. She believed that men and women could be equals in their respective spheres and the status of women could be raised if women's contributions were given greater recognition. Elizabeth supported female education explaining that "the great effort of female education should be, to qualify woman to discharge her duties, not to exalt her till she despises them; to make it her ambition to merit and display the character of the most amiable and intelligent of her sex, rather than aspire to emulate the conduct and capacity of men".[16] One way that women's contributions, intelligence, and "amiability" would be recognized was through literature. In a review of the renowned poet, Felicia Hemans, Elizabeth found most noteworthy her piece titled, "Records of Women" noting that "for in what should female genius be supposed capable of excelling if not in dwelling proudly on the exalted merits of her own sex, or extracting from their heart's chords all their hidden melody..."[17] She went on to explain that the "merits

of her own sex" included a woman's "buoyant spirt and womanly affection".

Women's character because of nature and custom was, according to Elizabeth, different than the character of men. While men were ambitious, active, and destined for "sterner pursuits", women "have patience, [a] fondness for children, and are accustomed to seclusion, and inured to self-government."[18] Giving even greater evidence of her belief in men's and women's differences was Elizabeth's description of women in the role of nurse. As various historians have suggested, nursing the sick was seen as a central aspect of the woman's domestic role in the nineteenth century and both men and women viewed nursing as women's work.[19] But understanding why nursing was women's work, as Elizabeth described, was due to her peculiarly feminine qualities:

> The woman feels no weariness, and owns no recollection of self...and thus, night after night she tends him like a creature sent forth from a higher world: when all earthly watchfulness has failed, <u>her</u> eye never winked, <u>her</u> mind never palled, <u>her</u> nature, that at other times is weakness, now gaining a superhuman strength and magnanimity; herself forgotten, and her sex alone predominant. (her emphasis)[20]

By performing the tasks assigned, not by men, but by the "hand of Providence", women could achieve true "female excellence".

The true standards of female excellence, according to Elizabeth, were frugality, usefulness, and selflessness. It was not men alone who were the cause of women's marginal status but women themselves through unthoughtfull, frivolous, and inconsistent behavior could not expect the admiration and respect of men. A specific concern that she addressed

frequently in essays which, in part, reflected her Quaker heritage was women's preoccupation with fashion. Her essay "Fashion Spectacles" was highly critical of the votaries of fashion at the expense of their domestic duties as wives and mothers. The "Temple of Fashion", as described in the essay, housed a despotic goddess whose power dictated not only the proper dress, but held a powerful sway over manners and opinions. Her dress and manner were instantly imitated by the females at her side. But she would quickly become dissatisfied with an article and discard it and this too was copied by the female followers. Outside the temple "were heard the clamour of many voices, uttering murmurs and revilings against" the goddess and the obsequious compliance with which her orders were attended to. "These were the fathers and husbands, who had been ruined, both in happiness and wealth, by the folly and extravagance" of their wives and daughters.[21] Elizabeth held home and the family in high esteem; consequently, she was consistently critical of "worldly" influences which threatened the home and encouraged women in vain pursuits. Not only was such frivolous behavior a threat to home and family but also stood in the way of achieving "female excellence".

Even though the family and domestic sphere were women's proper place, the family did not escape all criticism, particularly the institution of marriage. Elizabeth believed that, unfortunately, idealism often characterized women's expectations of marriage which could only result in disappointment. She explained in her essay titled, "Harriet Rogers", that

young Harriet "wedded in her bright youth, with a high hope that life should be to her a long and sunny dream of happiness. But she had leaned her heart upon a broken reed, and it gave way and crushed her".[22] Although Elizabeth does not give an account of the faults of the husband, she insisted that "long before Harriet Rogers became a widow, her husband had ceased to be worthy of her".[23] Criticisms of marriage were not unique to advocates for women's rights but abolitionists, too, criticized the institution of marriage. According to Ronald G. Walters abolitionists' critique of marriage was a part of their wider desire for domestic reform. Since abolitionists' rhetoric heralded the family as the one morally reliable institution in a fluid and diffuse society, domestic reform became viewed as essential to preventing social disorder.[24]

Abolitionists of the early nineteenth century were quick to point out that slavery was to blame for what appeared to them to be the uncertain future of family life. "Destruction of the home fit with slavery's symbolic function as the exemplar of what could go wrong with society".[25] Pamphlets such as "Slavery and its Effects on Women and Domestic Society" and Elizabeth's own essay titled, "Influence of Slavery on the Female Character" successfully combined the abolitionists' rhetoric regarding the sanctity of the home and slavery's destruction of it with an illustration of the adverse influence slavery had on the very character of women. In her essay, Elizabeth maintained that the system of slavery gave women

undue leisure time so that what might have been "noble energies" and "habits of industry and extensive usefulness" are "frittered away on trifling excitements of vanity and fashion".[26] She concluded that "with a heart undisciplined by self-control, a mind enervated to frivolous pursuits, and a temper accustomed to indulgence of all its humours...How imperfectly is she calculated to fill the station and perform the duties assigned her by the hand of Providence".[27] Such adverse effects and a leading away from the true standards of female excellence were not only the fate of Southern women who lived in such close proximity to the slave system, but Northern women's character was also threatened. Elizabeth claimed that "the ladies of the north imitate those of the south, and a fondness for show, ornament, and extravagance, almost to the exclusion of a desire for the better wealth of substantial acquirements and moral excellence, invades all classes of society".[28]

Slavery, then, was a national problem that upset families in the North as well as the South. Seeing slavery as more than a regional problem was important for abolitionists, particularly the Garrisonians, who argued that race prejudice in the North was effectively supporting the slave system in the South. Elizabeth, too, saw slavery as a national ill and made accusations of racial prejudice against men and women both North and South. Using the theme of national guilt for the continued existence of slavery she hoped to mobilize all women, regardless of region, to work on behalf of the slave.

"Or should we not," she declared, "every woman of us, north and south, east and west, rise up with one accord to demand that the system of slavery be destroyed".[29]

But there was something of a paradox here. Throughout her writings Elizabeth sought to mobilize women presumably for action, but, action of what nature? If woman's sphere was the home and it was precisely the home and her seclusion from the world that allowed for her moral excellence and incomparable virtue how was she to demand that slavery be brought to an end? As Aileen Kraditor points out women in the nineteenth century who were involved in the reform movements were guilty of inconsistencies. "Most of the time they accepted the cult of domesticity and the doctrine of inherent sexual differences in temperament and talents, while they demanded freedom to work outside the domestic sphere and to be recognized as individuals with temperaments and talents as varied as men".[30] But women's demand for freedom as an outgrowth of nineteenth century individualism was not the theme of Elizabeth's writing. She called for women's activity because it was precisely women and the family, the domestic sphere, who were the victims of slavery in as much as the black slave and his family. Elizabeth was not asking for female "autonomy" as Kraditor interprets the writings on women's action in the nineteenth century, but instead, asked women to oppose slavery through avenues already open to them. Her essay titled, "Tea-Table Talk" illustrated her adherence to domesticity for it was at the tea-table, a strong symbol of women's domestic life, that

women might oppose slavery. For some women it would be enough to spread the demand for the abolition of slavery through conversation with friends and family in their own homes.

Elizabeth, being single, did not use only those avenues traditionally open to women of the nineteenth century, thus, she could become a role model for a new type of woman. Even though she remained largely true, in theory, to the social prescriptions of her day, she expanded her own role in society to include public activity. Elizabeth's sense of moral duty and "calling" convinced her that her work as editor was within the proper sphere of her activity. Elizabeth's belief in the moral rights and duties of every human being provided the ideological underpinning for both her call to liberate the slave and her demands for women's public activity. The connection between women's status in society and that of the slave would become increasingly important in the antebellum period as Garrisonian abolitionists rallied for the emancipation, and eventually, the vote for both groups.

Women's Moral Rights and Duties

Although she was able to recreate familiar surroundings in their home in the Michigan territory and found company in a community of Friends, Elizabeth did not find the break from family an easy one. "I have been thinking so much about Philadelphia," she wrote to Jane Howell, "that I am almost bewildered in finding that I am not actually among you".[31] As

Marilyn Motz points out in her study of Michigan women in the nineteenth century, female kin networks proved to be viable and stable family units even in the face of geographic separation brought about by the settlement of the West.[32] Elizabeth's correspondence with her aunt Jane indicates that female kin did provide emotional support and gave practical advice on managing household affairs. According to Motz, female kin networks also offered married women some independence from their husbands because they had an alternative means for economic support.[33] But, in Elizabeth's case, her female kin afforded her a community of support while providing a model of self-supporting single women. It is significant that Elizabeth was raised by her grandmother and three single aunts. Even though Elizabeth wrote of friends' marriages she makes no mention of a desire for such a relationship for herself. In moving to Michigan, she did not improve her chances for marriage for by the 1830s Michigan was being settled primarily by families.

The move to Michigan distanced her not only from family but also from fellow advocates of the antislavery movement, and yet, she continued writing antislavery prose and poetry. An acquaintance suggested to her that perhaps the move would end her work for the antislavery movement which inspired Elizabeth to write her piece titled, "Oh Tell Me Not, I Shall Forget" in which she insisted that she could not forget the plight of the slave. After her arrival in Michigan and a short time previous to one of its stated meetings, she

addressed these lines to the Ladies Free Produce Society in Philadelphia:

> You're gathering day! and I am not,/ as erst, amid you set;/ But even from this distant spot,/ my thoughts are with you yet,/ Oh faint you not, ye gathered band!/ Although your way be long,/ And they who raged against you stand,/ are numberless and strong;/ While you but bear a feeble hand,/ unused to cope with wrong.[34]

Communication through letters, newspapers and books was extremely important to Elizabeth, particularly in her work as editor. At the time of her coming to Logan township (later Lenawee County) there was yet no library in either Adrian or Tecumseh and she listed among her greatest grievances the scarcity of books.[35] The lack of books, but especially the absence of current newspapers, worried Elizabeth because she often gleaned topics of her antislavery poems and essays from these sources. Elizabeth noted that the Saturday Evening Post and other correspondence from Philadelphia took almost two weeks to reach the Michigan territory.

Not long after Elizabeth became editor of the "women's department", she received an uncomplimentary letter from a young woman who did not agree that women should pursue an active role in the antislavery movement. The young woman charged that such behavior rendered women unfeminine or "unsexed". The woman also claimed that slavery was a topic of law and politics; therefore, it should be left to the "energies of men". Stimulated by the criticism Elizabeth responded to such charges with an analysis of women's moral rights and duties and argued that women's position both in the North and the South was inextricably bound with the condition

of the female slave. Elizabeth maintained that a sisterhood existed among black and white women which rested on their common roles as wifes and mothers. In her call for women's action on behalf of the slave Elizabeth insisted that, "In fact, if we confine our views to female slaves, it is a restitution of our own rights which we ask--their cause is our cause--they are one with us in sex and nature".[36]

Even in advocating a public role for women, Elizabeth did not propose a radical reordering of roles for women in society. She consistently stressed the compatibility of both a domestic role and a broader, societal role. "It is on all sides acknowledged that, the domestic circle is the proper sphere of woman," she wrote, "[but] we do not say that her talents and influence should be confined within these boundaries".[37] She still did not seriously question either the definition of the family or the appropriateness of some special spheres for men and women. But, she advocated a third sphere, a public sphere, shared equally by men and women. Elizabeth's appreciation for a third sphere was undoubtedly influenced by the Quaker's stand on spiritual equality. She argued that the cause of emancipation did require the "energies of men" but "it requires also the influence of women. She was given to man to be a helpmeet for him; and it is therefore her duty...to lend him her aid..In this her cooperation may be of essential service, without leading her one step beyond her own proper sphere".[38] Even though the word "helpmeet" has since taken on negative connotations in the

Quaker tradition "helpmeet" was used to describe a relationship in which men and women operated as equals.

Spiritual equality, for Elizabeth, was translated into individual accountability. In other words, as both men and women are independently instructed by the "inner light" and the light dwells in each person, the individual, both male and female, were accountable for their actions or inactions. Elizabeth argued that if "men refuse to abide by the laws of God, our responsibility to do so is not in any degree lessened, because custom or even nature has made us subordinate to them".[39] Hence, this third sphere is a sphere not determined by society but by a woman's own religious need to follow the dictates of her faith, whether that means acting in concert with men or independently of them.

Elizabeth asked questions of her female readers that made them aware not only of their duties to the antislavery movement but also to make comparisons between themselves and the black female slave of the South. She asserted that women should not seek "to direct, or share with men the government of the state; but she should entreat them to lift the iron foot of despotism from the neck of her sisterhood".[40] It is not wholly surprising that Sarah Grimke' used the same phrase but instead of the iron foot crushing the neck of the black female slave she extended the metaphor to include the oppression of women in general. Grimke' stated in her Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women that, "All I ask of our brethern is that they will take their feet

off our necks, and permit us to stand upright on the ground which God has designed for us to occupy".[41]

Although Elizabeth did not extend her analysis of the oppression of the female slave to include all women, her statements do imply that her thoughts did entertain such a possibility. She posed the question in her essay titled, "Opinions" by asking: "Should our wise lawgivers see fit to reduce us to the same condition as our southern female slaves, would the dread of violating the softness and propriety of the female character, deter us from remonstrating against the tyranny and demanding an immediate restitution of our rights and privileges?"[42] Even though the question she posed was, in her mind, purely hypothetical she was emphasizing a sisterhood that would transcend distinctions of race. "We should feel her indignity," she wrote, "as though nature had placed no distinguishing colour [sic] between us".[43]

Elizabeth, then, fashioned an argument in which women not only had the right but also the duty to extend the antislavery cause. Her response to society's criticism served to introduce many of the questions on the status of women and the appropriateness of women's sphere that were taken up later by women in the women's rights movement of mid-century. However, Elizabeth's use of the word "rights" was not identical with the meaning it held for women two decades later. Throughout her writing she had called women to exercise their rights most often referring to these rights as "privileges of the sex". These "privileges" were by no means political privileges but

they were privileges of both a private and public nature. Moreover, Elizabeth stressed that such privileges went hand in hand with duties. Elizabeth used the model of moral rights/duties, a popular argument for most women moral reformers of the nineteenth century, to broaden the sphere of women's actions. She used the concept of moral rights to claim for women duties which included a public realm of action.

Elizabeth began her argument for women's action by first appealing to the nurturant, highly conventional view of nineteenth century woman. She wrote, "Woman was not formed to look upon scenes of suffering with a careless eye..."[44] That the character of women was one of moral uprightness embodying a concern for the less fortunate was supported by the popular literature of the day. Women were perceived as the more sensitive, emotional sex ruled by the "Heart" rather than the head. Because women were of this character, "it is alike her privilege and her duty to impart consolation to the sorrows of the afflicted, and relief to the necessities of the destitute."[45]

Elizabeth moved from the nature of women being particularly sensitive to the less fortunate to insist that women practice benevolence and exercise their gifts in the area of philanthropy. She had faith that women would not ignore the duties that accompany the privileges of being a woman. "Can you be insensitive", she pleaded, "to the bliss of pouring the oil of gladness over the heads of them that are despised and

afflicted? No: it is impossible that you should be thus dull to the pleasures of benevolence."[46] According to her argument, philanthropic work would reaffirm women's worth and demonstrate her moral nature. According to Kathryn Kish Sklar's study of Catharine Beecher, devotion and service to others, selflessness and sacrifice were seen as a positive good and as the nineteenth century female equivalent to self-fulfillment.[47] Elizabeth was especially attracted to this formula for it described her own experience.[48]

Elizabeth then sought to convince her female readers that the slave should be the object of their work. She asked, "whose cup is so crowded with wretchedness as that of the slave? From whom may he hope for sympathy if her heart is closed against the cry of his agony".[49] Elizabeth concluded that the slave had been forced to occupy the lowest rungs on society's ladder. The slave was given no rights, and what was worse, he was not even afforded measures of common decency. The slave worked not for himself, but only to provide luxuries and wealth for the slaveholder. His position was at all times unsure, she argued, for without provocation he might be separated from his family, his wife and children taken from him and sold to distant plantations.

Elizabeth believed that the slaves' state was far worse than the laboring poor in the North. On the topic of free labor she insisted, "what matters it that, from the rising to the setting of the sun, they may have bent their limbs to the service of another? The twilight brings them their reward,

they go onwards to their humble homes with an unstooping mien, and the blessed consciousness that no hand dare invade the privileges of their home sanctuary. But the slave--how may he lift up a glad eye to yon bright messenger? A release from toil, if release indeed it bring him, lifts not the heavy yoke of servitude off his neck. He too may have a home, a wife, and a smiling group of young loving ones...but the threshold that he left at the early dawn...may now be stripped and desolate".[50] Elizabeth maintained that to hold another being in subjection as the South held the slaves was a crime against humanity. She countered the popular Southern argument that the slaves were happy with their lot by insisting that one's dignity and sense of security were necessary for human happiness.

Women, therefore, must work against the institution of slavery for this is her privilege and her duty. "American women," she wrote, "Your power is sufficient for its extinction! and, oh! By every sympathy most holy to the breast of woman, are ye called upon for the exertion of that potency!"[51] Elizabeth then encouraged women to form societies, like that of her sisters in England, so that their action might be unified. She believed that forming women's societies was not only proper for women but also imperative because a united voice would have a greater effect on public sentiment and public opinion. In calling for women's societies, Elizabeth supported women as public advocates who must influence public opinion against slavery. She asserted that societies gave

"the supporters of that cause an opportunity of numbering their friends--they are evidence that the opinions expressed are not merely the effervescence of excited feeling in scattered individuals...[52] Moreover the societies provided women with a supportive network out of which to act.

Elizabeth did agree that slavery was a political issue. She wrote, "It is true that it is a question of government and politics". [53] But she insisted that "it also rests upon the broader basis of humanity and justice; and it is on this ground only, that we advocate the interference of women."[54] She argued that endeavors to alleviate the bitterness of the slave borne out of a condition of injustice can never be unfeminine. She stated, "Let her not give credence to those who would persuade her that her interference is uncalled for and unfeminine; that the existence of slavery is no concern of hers, and the attempt to alleviate the condition of its victims, without the pale of her duties".[55]

And yet, Elizabeth appreciated the emptiness of moral suasion without changes in policy and the legal structure; therefore, she did encourage agitation in the form of articles and pamphlets which might put pressure on those in government. Before the gag-rule of 1836 which effectively cut off discussion of slavery in Congress pamphlets and petitions were a popular means of opposing slavery.[56] Elizabeth wrote, "By forming societies for the publication and distribution of tracts and pamphlets relative to that subject, information respecting slavery might be largely disseminated..."[57]

Elizabeth's own verse was printed on the pamphlet "Slavery in its Effects Upon Women and Domestic Society".[58] The frontispiece bore the seal first adopted by the British female antislavery societies showing a kneeling slave with the inscription: "Am I not a Woman and a Sister?" On the frontispiece of this highly inflammatory pamphlet, printed above and below the seal, were quotations, one from "E.M. Chandler", and one from "L.M. Child".

Even as Elizabeth was writing these sentiments to her female readers in The Genius, changes were occurring in the editorial staff of the paper. Not long after Elizabeth reached her western home, Philadelphia relatives sent word that William Lloyd Garrison, who had formerly been one of Lundy's editorial assistants, had been in the city publicizing plans to establish a new abolitionist journal. On January 1, 1831, less than five months after the chandlers arrived in Michigan, the first issue of his Liberator was published in Boston.

The concept of immediatism which Garrison adopted a few short weeks before he joined Lundy and his paper in Baltimore provoked the split between these two abolitionists. Taken aback by Garrison's move toward immediate emancipation Lundy decided, "Thee may put they initials to thy articles, and I will put my initials to mine, and each will bear his own burden".[59] The Lundy-Garrison partnership lasted only from September 2, 1829, until March 5, 1830. While Lundy was gone canvassing for new subscriptions, Garrison was jailed for libel and ordered to pay $100. Garrison refused to pay but

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 while Garrison thought Lundy too gentle to be effective.[60] 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.

Lundy, desiring that Elizabeth be kept informed of all important developments in antislavery thought, requested that Garrison make sure she received a copy regularly.[61] Thus, from the start of its publication, Garrison's Liberator reached southern Michigan. Garrison, no longer an advocate of gradual emancipation, allowed the newspaper to reflect a militancy that Quakers ordinarily did not indulge in; yet the Liberator was read with favor by the Quaker settlers in Lenawee County. Both Elizabeth and Thomas corresponded with Garrison and he published Elizabeth's "Letters to Isabel", a series of free-produce essays, in the Liberator early in 1832.

Although Elizabeth was able to continue her editorial duties for The Genius by mail, Lundy was troubled that she had removed herself from much of the antislavery activity occurring in the East. My valued friend," he wrote, "if thee but knew half the good thee is going in the holy cause..., 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".[62] However, Lundy himself described his own position as an "itinerant" editor. He traveled a great deal and 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. In 1826, when Elizabeth began contributing to The Genius the newspaper was a weekly publication; however by the end of 1831 it was published only once a month due largely to Lundy's own pre-occupation with the antislavery fight in Texas.

Yet, before his removal to Texas, Lundy stopped in Michigan. In February 1832, after touring the Negro settlement in Ontario, Lundy arrived at the Raisin river community, where he was a guest of the Chandler family. While he was there he discussed recent events in the antislavery movement, particularly those concerning the colonization effort, while also renewing friendships and persuading some members of the community to subscribe to his paper. Elizabeth anticipated important results from Lundy's visit, believing that he might organize an antislavery society before he continued his travels. Even though he did not do this, Elizabeth was encouraged because the wider circulation of The Genius among her neighbors was a step toward extending the Emancipation spirt.[63]

Education

While Elizabeth kept up her writing she found that concentrating on writing and participating fully in the work and life of the farm and community was draining. She wrote to Jane Howell, "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...I have continued at my desk...I wrote until the dusk last evening and then laid aside my pen till the return of the daylight".[64] Elizabeth took an interest that year in spinning while also occupied by gardening and housework which might include an afternoon of candle-making with her aunt Ruth. In addition, Elizabeth wrote to her aunt Jane, in May, 1832, that she had "had several invitations to keep school".[65] She requested that she be sent some additional books so that "now while I have the opportunity of doing so, I wish to fit myself to become a teacher, if at any time it should be necessary or advisable for me to follow that occupation". Evidently she no longer considered pursuing a literary career the prospect of which had led her to struggle with pride and ambition a few years prior. Perhaps, still a single woman, she sought an occupation with more financial security for she took some satisfaction in noting that she could "always depend upon herself and her own resources for support".[67]

Elizabeth's numerous essays on education demonstrated her interest in this area. Echoing the sentiments of Catharine

Beecher, an educator writing at the same period, Elizabeth noted that, "while there are so many pursuits, more lucrative and agreeable to active and ambitious young men, there will be a lack of good instructors--of those who are willing to make it their business. Let, then, the employment of school-keeping be principally appropriated to females".[68] Perhaps at the time that she wrote these lines she was even then considering the occupation of teacher for herself. According to Keith Melder, however, the opportunity to teach was ambiguous in the nineteenth century because women could not expect to earn decent wages. "As teachers, women could achieve the prestige awarded to a noble calling, yet practically speaking they were servants of a frequently unappreciative public".[69] The educational system that emerged in the 1830s exhibited a pattern of discrimination against women that became entrenched in American society's views on education. Women would teach particularly younger children where their emotions rather than the intellectual capacities would be valued. Elizabeth's thoughts on women as teachers substantiate the claim that women's experiences as child nurturer, one of woman's traditional tasks, was what equipped her for school teaching. Elizabeth defended female teachers by insisting that "they are both by temper and habit admirably qualified for the task--they have patience, [and] a fondness for children".[70]

Female education by the second quarter of the nineteenth century promised to train women in the skills needed to fill their "stations" as daughter, sister, wife, and mother. As

Nancy Cott points out women of this period were educated for social usefulness; therefore, women's education had to be functional.[71] Elizabeth's argument for female education, then, was not fundamentally different than the fairly accepted philosophy underlying female education. In defense of female education she argued that only through education may women "hope to take their true, their most dignified stations as the helpers, the companions, of educated and independent men."[72] True to the tenets of domesticity even the rationale for female education was gender specific; women should be trained to fulfill the societal role ascribed to her sex, and likewise, should the training for men suit him for his role in society. If it was argued that female education would prepare women for her "station" in life, then female education could be seen as useful and, moreover, train women in social usefulness.

Elizabeth argued that a deficiency of the mind was not the reason for women's supposed lack of intellect, but instead, the result of social prescriptions. She insisted that young women "be assured that, to sing, to dance, to dress, to troll the tongue, and roll their eyes, is not all that is required to make young ladies agreeable or sought by gentlemen".[73] Around the turn of the century, according to Cott, most all-female schools provided courses in social "accomplishments" which seemed to contradict the emergent ideology of functional education for women.[74] Such a direction in female education did not please the young, pious Quaker. Elizabeth agreed with her contemporary critics that women's

"accomplishments are showy, superficial, frivolous...[but] the fault is their education, not in the female mind".[75] In short, women should be expected to be rational and required to be useful.

Elizabeth was an early advocate for universal public education. She wrote, "It is necessary that all our people should be instructed, as universal education is the main pillar that must eventually support the temple of our liberty. It is therefore a duty sacredly binding on our legislators to provide for the instruction, during childhood and youth, of every member of our republic."[76] Elizabeth combined the call for universal education with the fate of the nation. The republican argument advocating female education, made popular by Catharine Beecher, but even before her by the famous Quaker educator Benjamin Rush, proposed that the welfare of its citizenry demanded that the United States educate women. "While our citizens are endeavoring so to improve their inestimable privileges, that the men of future ages may be better and happier for their labours," she insisted, "have women no share in the important task. Their influence on the manners is readily and willingly conceded by every one; might not their influence on the <u>mind</u> be made quite as irresistible..."[77] What was needed, according to Elizabeth, was female education that recognized women's mental capacities and appreciated women's own destiny.[78]

Educating women was important, then to the still relatively young republic. In good Revolutionary style, Elizabeth

argued that women's education should not encourage women toward vanity and the love of luxury. Luxury and its incompatibility with an industrious republic had been a concern for the revolutionary statesmen. Revolutionary Americans had placed their greatest emphasis on industry for it was luxury and idleness which had been the ruin of countries such as Britain.[79] Such revolutionary rhetoric continued into the nineteenth century and as the security of the republic became increasingly tied to the family, women's political value increased. Not only were educated wives and mothers important for maintaining social order but also for furthering political stability. The citizenry of a republic must be educated and since primary responsibility for educating the youth was often left in the hands of their mothers the argument for educated women was powerful.

Women's task in restoring social order was, according to Elizabeth, no more necessary in any other area than the cause of emancipation. Her essays on education capitalized on the impressionability of children and the importance of women's role as guardian and instructor. She wrote, "will not the name of Africa--poor injured Africa--rise to her thoughts, and that she, at least, will never lead the young beings who are sporting by her side to become instruments in the work of oppression?"[80] Elizabeth demanded that mothers keep their children from worldly pleasures, especially those encumbent on the slave system. Self-denial must reign over gratification. "To instill juster sentiments into the minds of those who are to

be the future guardians of her welfare, her statesmen and her counsellors, should be the task of woman".[81]

Women's tasks as educator did not stop with her own children, nor according to Elizabeth, should it be restricted to the white race. Elizabeth was an early advocate for the education of blacks and called women, particularly of the South, to educate their slaves:

> Let not his [the slave's] moral character be complained of, nor his intellectual powers be vilified, until the experiment of his instruction has been fairly tried...Let it be her task--the task of those who wish to behold their country freed from a crime in which they are perhaps compelled to participate--to extend the hand of compassionate guidance to those unfortunate beings.[82]

Her commitment to educate the slaves demonstrated her right to claim the title "abolitionist". As Larry Gara explained in his essay "Who was an Abolitionist?" it is difficult to form a strict definition of an abolitionist, but as most abolitionists defined themselves they included in the litany of requisites a belief in the equality of the races.[83] Elizabeth upheld the call for race equality in her essays on educating the slaves. She recognized that "there are many who are perfectly convinced of the injustice of the system of slavery, and who would joyfully aid in its abolition, did they not consider its victims...totally unfitted for liberty..."[84] As Elizabeth rightly concluded and historians have since supported one of the most formidable obstacles to the abolition of slavery and the extension of equal rights to free blacks was the widespread popular belief, North as well as South, in the innate inferiority of the black race.

Beside the racist argument, southern slaveholders refused to educate their slaves for they associated knowledge with rebellion. The uprisings of Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner challenged the slaveholders' belief in their own paternalistic benevolence toward the slaves who, in turn, were supposed to be happy in the slaveholders' home. Southerners, seeking to explain these uprising, thought Northern abolitionists had incited the slaves to rebel and also concluded that educating the slaves led to discontent. In her essay entitled, "Ignorance", Elizabeth repeated the argument in order to reject it:

> But if mention is made of the propriety of emancipating the slaves in their present condition, then instantly their masters are alarmed at the consequences that they are pleased to think must necessarily ensue, if so many uneducated and degraded beings were, as they term it, "let loose upon society". Thus although they acknowledge that slavery is an evil...they cannot consent that it should be abolished, until their slaves are fitted for emancipation by a preparatory education, and still, on account of a just regard to their own safety, cannot suffer them to receive the blessings of instruction.[85]

As most abolitionists agreed, it was prejudice and the "effects of long continued habits" in the South, rather than innate deficiencies, which were responsible for the seemingly apparent inferiority of the black race in American society. Therefore, the responsibility for any intellectual or moral deficiency on the part of the slaves rested squarely on the shoulders of the entire white race.

While generally arguing that the slaves would respond with gratitude when given their freedom Elizabeth did not believe that the institution could operate indefinitely. Abolitionists also knew the history of slave revolts both in the

United State and Haiti and almost universally sensed that the race situation in the South was explosive. Indeed, they believed that slavery would end in bloodshed. Elizabeth's poem, "The Slave's Wrongs", which described a slave revolt, was reprinted and put to music by George Clark in his The Liberty Minstrel first published in 1844:

> Then came the scene! Oh! such a scene
> I would I might forget
> The ringing sound of the midnight scream,
> And the hearthstone redly wet!
>
> The mother slain while she shrieked in vain
> For her infants threatened life;
> And the flying form of the frighted child,
> Struck down by the bloody knife.
>
> Ah, know they not, that the tightest band,
> Must burst with the wildest power?--
> That the more the slave is oppressed and wronged,
> Will be fiercer his rising hour?

Elizabeth's work in this antislavery songbook support Lundy's claim that her verse was commonly sung at meetings of antislavery societies. The editor of the collection, George W. Clark, on occasion a preacher and teacher, began singing at temperance and antislavery meetings in New York and the Midwest in the 1830s and continued such activity all his life.[87]

To avoid the dire consequences of a slave uprising and to alleviate the heavy consciences of men, both North and South, the abolition of slavery should be immediate. If gradual emancipation was to be adopted, she argued, prejudice and discrimination would be qualified only by time and no longer considered an issue of right and wrong. Elizabeth, then, called for a "desire for its immediate extinction, and an individual resolution to promote that end".[88] Such was Garrison's

influence on Elizabeth's antislavery thought that the female editor of The Genius, a paper which championed the cause of gradual emancipation by colonization, would demand immediate emancipation. By the spring of 1833, she repeated her commitment to the immediate abolition of slavery for she no longer asked Southern women to educate their slaves, but instead, insisted that "his emancipation must first be accomplished, for till then," the slaves' intellectual and moral elevation "cannot be effectually secured".[89]

In the summer of 1832 her aunt Jane responded positively to Elizabeth's desire to be a teacher noting that, "my friends all approve of thy keeping a school"[90]; however, Elizabeth did not pursue the idea. Perhaps her decision was influenced by the introduction of an "Academical School" which opened in Tecumseh in the fall of 1832, only months after she had written of her interest in teaching. Perhaps it was due to the increasing receptivity of her community to antislavery ideas for in October, 1832, a group of Quakers under her leadership founded the first antislavery society in Michigan Territory which they named the Logan Antislavery Society.[91] At the time of its inception the society proposed that they hold meetings at least once a month. It was expected that twelve new members would be added only a few weeks after the society's first meeting.[92] Antislavery principles continued to gain ground in the community, particularly among the Quakers who made up a substantial number of the Raisin river settlers. In the spring of 1834, Daniel Smith, the Quaker preacher in the

settlement, delivered a public sermon on the subject.[93] But, later that year, Elizabeth fell victim to a fever and her work in the movement in her own community as well as her work as editor came to an end.

NOTES

[1]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Hannah Townsend in Philadelphia, Summer, 1830 in Chandler Papers.

[2]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Hannah Townsend in Philadelphia, Summer, 1830 in Chandler Papers.

[3]Harriet Martineau, Society in America (New York: Saunders and Otley, 1837) vol. I, pp. 233-238.

[4]Thomas Chandler in Michigan to William Chandler in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, September 8, 1830 in Chandler Papers.

[5]F. Clever Bald, Michigan in Four Centuries (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 146

[6]Clara Waldron, One Hundred Years: A Country Town, the Village of Tecumseh, Michigan 1824-1924 (published by Thomas A. Riordan, 1968), p. 13-15.

[7]Ibid., p. 20.

[8]Bald, Michigan in Four Centuries, p. 168.

[9]Memoirs of Lenawee County, Michigan, from the Earliest Time Down to the Present, Including a Genealogical and Biographical Record of Representative Families in Lenawee County edited by Richard Illendon Bonner (Madison, 1909) vol. I, p. 311.

[10]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia, April 15, 1831 in Chandler Papers.

[11]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia, December 23, 1830 in Chandler Papers.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.

[14]The home as woman's sphere is the organizing concept in Nancy Cott's The Bonds of Womanhood, Women's Sphere in New England 1780-1835, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). See also Mary Ryan's Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973).

[15]Chandler, Essays, "Time" pp. 90-91.

[16]Chandler, Essays,"Female Education" p. 8.

[17]Chandler, Essays,"Review of Mrs. Hemans Poetry" p. 70.

[18]Chandler, Essays,"Female Education" p. 9.

[19]See Marilyn Motz True Sisterhood: Michigan Women and their Kin 1820-1920, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), pp. 97-100. Also Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1800-1860" American Quarterly, vol. 18 (Summer, 1966) p. 162.

[20]Chandler, Essays,"Female Character" pp. 50-51.

[21]Chandler, Essays,"Fashion Spectacles" p. 41.

[22]Chandler, Essays,"Harriet Rogers" p. 36.

[23]Ibid., p. 36.

[24]Ronald G. Walters, The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), pp. 92-95.

[25]Ibid., p. 95.

[26]Chandler, Essays,"Influence of Slavery on the Female Character", p. 117.

[27]Ibid., p. 117.

[28]Ibid., p. 117.

[29]Ibid., p. 117.

[30]Aileen Kraditor, Up From the Pedestal: Landmark Writings in the American Woman's Struggle for Equality (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), p. 8-11.

[31]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia, April 4, 1831 in Chandler Papers.

[32]Marilyn Motz True Sisterhood: Michigan Women and their Kin 1820-1920 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1893), p. 14.

[33]Ibid., p. 14.

[34]Chandler, Poetical Works, "To the Ladies' Free Produce Society", p. 175.

[35]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia, February 12, 1832 in Chandler Papers.

[36]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 23.

[37]Chandler, Essays,"Influence of Slavery on the Female Character" p. 116.

[38]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 22.

[39]Ibid., p. 24.

[40]Ibid., p. 23.

[41]Sarah Grimke', Letters on the Equality of the Sexes quoted from Gerda Lerner The Grimke' Sisters from South Carolina (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 192.

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

[43]Ibid., p. 23.

[44]Chandler, Essays,"The New Year" p. 34.

[45]Ibid., p. 34.

[46]Chandler, Essays,"Letters on Slavery No. III" p. 48.

[47]Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973), p. xiv.

[48]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 36.

[49]Chandler, Essays,"The New Year" p. 34.

[50]Chandler, Essays,"The Favourite Season", p. 120.

[51]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 19.

[52]Chandler, Essays,"Associations", p. 70.

[53]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 22.

[54]Ibid., p. 23.

[55]"Slavery" in The Genius of Universal Emancipation, American Periodical Series, reel 1272, April 1831, p. 188.

[56]Gerald Sorin Abolitionism: A New Perspective (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972) pp. 132-33.

[57]Chandler, Essays,"Opposition to Slavery", p. 28.

[58]Issac Knapp, (Boston) 1837.

[59]William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879 The Story of His Life Told by His Children (New York): The Century Co., 1885) vol. I, p. 140.

[60]Russell B. Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1955) pp. 26-27.

[61]Benjamin Lundy in Philadelphia to Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan April 2, 1831 in Chandler Papers.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia February 12, 1832.

[64]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia September 8, 1833 in Chandler Papers.

[65]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia May 5, 1832 in Chandler Papers.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Chandler, Essays,"Female Education", p. 9.

[69]Keith Melder, The Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement 1800-1850 (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 27.

[70]Chandler, Essays,"Female Education", p. 9.

[71]Nancy Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood Woman's Sphere in New England 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 105-109.

[72]Chandler, Essays,"Female Education", p. 9.

[73]Ibid., p. 9.

[74]Cott, Bonds of Womanhood, p. 115.

[75]Chandler, Essays,"Female Education", p. 9.

[76]Ibid., p. 9.

[77]Ibid., p. 9.

[78]Carl F. Kaestle, Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society 1780-1860, (New York: Hill and Wayng, 1983).

[79]Drew R. McCoy, The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1980). Or, Gordon S. Wood The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969).

[80]Chandler, Essays,"Maternal Influence", p. 98.

[81]Chandler, Essays,"Associations", p. 69.

[82]Chandler, Essays,"Education of Slaves", p. 52.

[83]Larry Gara, "Who Was an Abolitionist?" in The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists edited by Martin Duberman (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 41.

[84]Chandler, Essays,"Education of Slaves", p. 52.

[85]Chandler, Essays,"Ignorance", p. 42.

[86]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 14.

[87]George Washington Clark, The History and Geneology [sic] of our Branch of the Clark Family and Its Connections (Detroit: Press of Morrison Printing Co., 1898), pp. 25-58.

[88]Chandler, Essays,"Letters on Slavery No. II" p. 45.

[89]Chandler, Essays,"Selfishness" p. 68.

[90]Jane Howell in Philadelphia to Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan June 3, 1832 in Chandler Papers.

[91]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 40.

[92]Ruth Evans in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia October 22, 1832 in Chandler Papers. See also Laura Haviland A Woman's Life Work: Including Thirty Years' Service on the Underground Railroad and in the War (Grand Rapids, 1897) p. 32.

[93]Elizabeth Chandler in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia March 9, 1834 in Chandler Papers.

IV. A Legacy

In the fall of 1834, Elizabeth contracted a "remittant fever" which brought her writing and her work in the antislavery movement to an end. She died on November 2, 1834 at the age of twenty-seven after an extended illness of almost four months. The illness came on so gradually and progressed so slowly that she and her family had strong hopes that she would recover. Her aunt Ruth wrote to family in Philadelphia that, "a few weeks before her departure, she asked me if I supposed she would recover. I told her that I supposed she would be spared, if no new complaints set in".[1] But, her fever climbed and her body weakened.

After Elizabeth's death, her brother Thomas wrote in a letter to William Lloyd Garrison that, "after an illness of eleven weeks, during which time she was wholly confined to her bed, on the morning of the First day and 2d inst., she breathed her last".[2] Garrison published an obituary in the Liberator of November 29, 1834 entitled, "Death of a Meritorious Female Abolitionist". Lundy, who had been absent in Texas and Mexico during her sickness and death, received the news on his return in 1835 and also published an obituary in The Genius. Both Garrison and Lundy expressed their desire that

Elizabeth's best works would soon be collected and published with a biography of her life, "so that she being dead, may yet speak warningly to the oppressor, and soothingly to the slave".[3]

William Lloyd Garrison's admiration for Elizabeth Chandler and his appreciation for her work in the antislavery movement was reflected in the words he used to describe her. "Elizabeth M. Chandler is a name not familiar either to the eye or the ear even of abolitionists," he wrote, "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..."[4] Lundy echoed Garrison's sentiments: "Well may the philanthropist mourn; and long will the enslaved have cause to lament the loss of one who was...a powerful and efficient advocate of the cause of suffering humanity."[5] Lundy listed Elizabeth second only to Elizabeth Heyrich, English author of "Immediate, no Gradual Emancipation" printed in 1824, on his list of philanthropic writers.[6]

Garrison was equally impressed by Elizabeth's humility, a quality he perhaps appreciated in others because it was something he himself lacked. "It was owing to a modesty, as rare as it is admirable, that her name was not given to the public - for she cared not for her own celebrity, but only for the triumph of mercy and justice".[7] Through her antislavery poems she sought to place the slave, stripped of his dignity, as the centerpiece. It was her wish that her poetry and prose might be "useful" in awakening other's senses to the injustice of

the institution of slavery and the bitterness of the slave. It was out of such a purpose that she chose not to come between that message and the reader. Assurances from family and close friends that her writing had resulted in forwarding the cause of emancipation was enough. "Deserved praise," she wrote, "may be pleasant, when it is on account of benefit that has been imparted to others".[8]

Elizabeth Chandler, then, was little known by her contemporaries and has been almost completely ignored by historians of the antislavery movement. She had published the majority of her work either with only her initials or under numerous pen names. In addition to "Emily" which she chose to sign to many of her early works, she also credited her writing to "Gertrude", "Agnes", "Bertha", "Constance", Edna", and "Catherine". She undoubtedly felt that she had chosen wisely when she set out on the path of the reformer, but must have also realized that in limiting her writing almost entirely to "philanthropic" matter and refusing personal acknowledgement of her work, she was turning her back, not only on recognition of her literary achievement, but on a literary career itself. Perhaps it was a conscious sacrifice for the holy cause.

After her death, her family had considered asking Garrison to prepare a memoir of her life and serve as editor of a collection of her works, but they found sentiment against Garrison's antislavery views exceedingly strong in Philadelphia. Jane Howell, Elizabeth's aunt, was particularly concerned for Elizabeth's reputation and that her work for the slave might

not be marred with too close of an association with Garrison. She wrote, "I applied to three of the editors of our city papers, but they all made one objection, and that was to the name of William Lloyd Garrison...they thought it would be great disadvantage to the memory of the departed to have his name in any manner connected with it. Would it then be proper, my dear sister, for him to publish her biography?"[9] Ruth Evans was at first undecided because she knew of Elizabeth's respect for Garrison and was assured that her own community held him in the highest esteem. She was disappointed that her former acquaintances in Philadelphia "generally feel so much hardness toward him" for she "did not give credence to all that [was] said against him".[10]

Meanwhile, Benjamin Lundy again approached Elizabeth's family asking for permission and assistance in publishing a book on Elizabeth's life and writings. Seven months after their apprehension regarding Garrison as editor Jane Howell wrote that Lundy "was very desirous to take upon himself the publication of the book...He says he would like to have her biography" and any of the papers that her brother, Thomas, had collected.[11] Lundy insisted that "the best plan that we can probably adopt, will be to sell the copyright, for the first edition, to some popular and influential bookseller".[12] Lundy admitted that his own work in the antislavery movement meant that he was too busy to oversee the printing and sales of the book himself. He mentioned to Elizabeth's family the possibility of the publishers, Carey and Lea, taking over

distribution of the book because they had shown interest in her work in the past.

Lundy proceeded to complete the piece, taking care that Elizabeth's antislavery work as well as her sentimental and generally philanthropic endeavors were represented. He assured Elizabeth's brother, Thomas, that "thy aunt and Lucretia Mott have both seen the completed manuscript, and expressed their satisfaction with it".[13] However, by the spring of 1936 Lundy had found that the mood in the North was not conducive to printed material concerning antislavery. Frustrated, Lundy wrote, "I have, after preparing the biography of our dear lamented Elizabeth, endeavored to dispose of the copyright of her writings, but I have not found a book seller willing to take it in that way, and I may add, they are afraid to touch the "unpopular" subject of slavery" (his emphasis).[14] Finally the collection of works was published by subscription. Elizabeth's Poetical Works with a memoir by Lundy was published in Philadelphia in 1836. Another volume, consisting of her essays, entitled Essays, Philanthropic and Moral, principally related to the Abolition of Slavery in America was published in the same year.

Even though the family had decided against asking him to serve as editor, Garrison bought several copies of the published collection to give to friends as gifts.[15] Garrison himself continued to refer to Elizabeth's writings in his work among the antislavery societies which were growing in numbers across the northern United States. In a letter to "The Aboli-

tionists of Massachusetts" on July 17, 1839 Garrison quoted Elizabeth's verse in his argument for equal participation for men and women in that state's antislavery society:[16]

> Think of the frantic mother
> Lamenting for her child,
> Till falling lashes smother,
> Her cries of anguish wild
> Shall we behold, unheeding,
> Life's holiest feelings crushed?
> When woman's heart is bleeding,
> Shall woman's voice be hushed?[17]

Using these lines, Garrison went on to emphasize the unreasonableness of asking women not to speak out against slavery, a sentiment that repeated Elizabeth's own call to women for action on behalf of the slave.

Had she enjoyed a longer life no doubt she would have had an opinion on the "woman question". Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine what her opinion would have been. While she did regret the inferior status that society had assigned her as a woman and she did advocate a public sphere for women, she also demonstrated in her writing a respect for the separate spheres and duties of men and women.

In a trip West in the fall of 1853, Garrison visited Adrian, Michigan and stayed with Thomas Chandler and his family. Garrison requested that he might visit Elizabeth's gravesite. He spent "an hour alone at the grave of Elizabeth and pencilled a Sonnet on the post of the railing erected around the deceased, expressive of my estimate of her virtues, and the feelings of my heart". [18] In the Liberator, December 2, 1853 Garrison detailed his visit to Michigan and included the sonnet that he had written in her honor:

Tribute to the Memory
of
Elizabeth Margaret Chandler

In thee what glorious attributed combined,
To make thy life, (though all too brief in years
A blessing to the lowliest of mankind,
That earth no more might be a vale of tears!
Intrepid heroine in the noble cause,
Of outraged nature and the rights of man,
Shunning no cross, and seeking no applause;
In every conflict always in the van!
Here rest the body--dust to dust returned--
What soul more pure e'er tool its flight to heaven?
A deathless fame most nobly hast thou earned--
All honor to thy memory be given!
I consecrate anew, beside thy grave,
My life to bring redemption to the slave.[19]

Garrison noted that the reception the Raisin river community gave him and his antislavery views was encouraging and heart-warming. An antislavery agent from Oberlin College who had completed a tour of Michigan in 1837 reported similar findings that "in no part of the state have I found fairer beginnings made" than in Lenawee County.[20] According to Merton Dillon, "Antislavery sentiment in Lenawee County had been placed on too firm a basis for its progress to halt with the death of its principal exponent".[21] Lenawee County had for so long contained a center of both Quaker and Garrisonian antislavery ideas; the appeals of both Lundy and Garrison had become popular in that part of the state through the agency of Elizabeth Chandler and other Quakers.

Although the initiative for establishing the Michigan Antislavery Society in 1836 apparently came from Presbyterians, members of the Quaker settlement in Lenawee County took a leading role in its formation. One hundred and six Lenawee

County citizens--more than twice as many as from any other county in Michigan--signed the call to hold the antislavery convention that organized the state society. Darius Comstock acted as chairman of the organizational meeting held in the Presbyterian church at Ann Arbor on November 10, 1836. Thomas Chandler served on the three-man committee that drew up the society's constitution; Darius Jackson, a neighbor of the Chandlers, was made a member of the executive committee; and Darius Comstock was elected vice president.[22]

In choosing to write almost exclusively on the topic of slavery, Elizabeth Chandler became America's first poet to concentrate her creative activity on this theme. Although other writers had published poems about slaves at the time that Elizabeth's poems were appearing they had not limited their work to this subject. Lydia Sigourney, for instance, did offer a number of antislavery poems but she generally wrote more sentimental verse, often with nature as a theme. Although Elizabeth's works were not published until 1836, they had appeared in several national newspapers in the period 1826-1834. However, John Greenleaf Whittier usually claims the title of America's first antislavery poet. Almost a decade after Elizabeth made her choice, he chose a similar course and put his literary ability in the service of the abolitionist movement. Initially he was associated with the Garrisonian antislavery vanguard and let his poetry carry a message of reform. A collection of his antislavery verse appeared as Poems Written During the Progress of the Abolition

Question in 1838, and another, Voices of Freedom in 1846. The publication date confirms Elizabeth's prior concentration in the field.

Although both Elizabeth Chandler and John Greenleaf Whittier served as editors of abolitionist newspapers, the former for The Genius (1829-1834) and the latter for the Pennsylvania Freeman (1838-1840), Elizabeth had more in common perhaps with other women editors at this time, for instance Lydia Maria Child and Jane Grey Swisshelm. While Whittier might have received criticism for the antislavery views he supported, Elizabeth and other women editors were criticized on two counts. Women editors met opposition not only for their views on slavery but also as women in a traditionally men's occupation. And yet, these women were impressed by the special obligation women had in speaking out against slavery and proceeded to arrange their lives around such a conviction. Although the opposition Elizabeth experienced was not comparable in its extent to Jane Grey Swisshelm, whose press was smashed by a mob and thrown into the Mississippi River in 1858 in an attempt to silence the St. Cloud Visiter [sic]. Nor had she given up a writing career that had enjoyed the success of Lydia Maria Child's who had published two novels and her children's magazine before she directed her energies to the theme of slavery.[23] However, she stood alongside these women to ask that freedom and rights be given to the slave and in doing so saw to varying degrees that they too had rights which had been withheld.

Elizabeth, too, walked a similar path of reform activity that other Quaker women would walk for a variety of causes. A recent study found that 14 women out of 30 of the abolitionists in the nineteenth century were Quakers, numbered among them were Lucretia Mott and Abby Kelly Foster.[24] The Quaker tradition encouraged Elizabeth and other Quaker women to uphold the cause of humanity in order that equality between the sexes as well as among different races might be restored. The tenets and members of the Society of Friends provided examples of moral independence and reliance on an inner conscience, as well as a guide to survival as a righteous but unpopular minority. Elizabeth's own sense of moral rights and duties translated into a challenge of society's view of woman's proper sphere because it expanded woman's sphere to include both public work and private duties.

NOTES

[1]Chandler, Poetical Works, p. 42.

[2]William Lloyd Garrison, The Liberator, American Periodical Series, reel 391, November 29, 1834, p. 191.

[3]Ibid., p. 191.

[4]Ibid., p. 191.

[5]Benjamin Lundy, The Genius of Universal Emancipation, American Periodical Series, reel 1273, July 5, 1835, p. 6.

[6]Chandler, Poetical Works, P. 13.

[7]William Lloyd Garrison, The Liberator, American Periodical Series, reel 391, November 29,1834, p. 191.

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

[9]Jane Howell in Philadelphia to Ruth Evans in Michigan January 21, 1835 in Chandler Papers.

[10]Ruth Evans in Michigan to Jane Howell in Philadelphia March 5, 1935 in Chandler Papers.

[11]Jane Howell in Philadelphia to Ruth Evans in Michigan July 20, 1835 in Chandler Papers.

[12]Benjamin Lundy in Philadelphia to Thomas Chandler in Michigan August 6, 1835 in Chandler Papers.

[13]Benjamin Lundy in Philadelphia to Thomas Chandler in Michigan February 16, 1836 in Chandler Papers.

[14]Benjamin Lundy in Philadelphia to Thomas Chandler in Michigan February 16, 1836 in Chandler Papers.

[15]The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison 1836-1840 edited by Louis Ruchames (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1971) Letter No. 51, p. 163.

[16]Ibid., Letter No. 158, p. 518.

[17]Chandler, Poetical Works, "Think of Our Country's Glory" second and fourth stanzas, p. 64.

[18]The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison 1850-1860 edited by Louis Ruchames (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1971), Letter No. 64, p. 262.

[19]William Lloyd Garrison, The Liberator, American Periodical Series, reel 396, December 2, 1853, p. 190.

[20]John P. Cowles in Oberlin to "Friend [Darius] Comstock" in Michigan February 16, 1837 in Chandler Papers.

[21]Merton L. Dillon, "Elizabeth Chandler and the Spread of Antislavery Sentiment to Michigan" Michigan History, December, 1955, p. 492.

[22]For a discussion of antislavery development in Michigan see Merton L. Dillon "Elizabeth Chandler and the Spread of Antislavery Sentiment to Michigan" and Maurice Ndukwu, unpublished Phd Dissertation, Antislavery in Michigan: A Study of its Origins, Development, and Expansion from Territorial period to 1860, Michigan State University, 1979.

[23]Dorothy Langdon Yates, "Belles of Freedom Three Women Antislavery Editors: Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Lydia Maria Child, and Jane Grey Swisshelm, MA Thesis, Michigan State University, 1969.

[24]Carol Stoneburner, The Influence of Quaker Women on American History (New York: Mellon Press, 1987), p. 477.

V Conclusion

Elizabeth Chandler's life and writings demonstrated both her commitment to the ideology of separate spheres and to women's participation in the antislavery movement, which in turn, prompted women to step outside their prescribed sphere. She recognized that slavery was a political issue yet she called women to action so that woman could fulfill their duties as moral beings. Thus, Elizabeth made two different arguments for women's action, one gender specific and one based on the humanity of both men and women, black and white. Elizabeth argued that women in her societal role as wives and mothers should use their "station" to oppose slavery whether that be by educating her children on the injustice of slavery or by purchasing only free produce. But, Elizabeth also argued that women should oppose slavery not only because it was necessarily a threat to the home and the family, but because woman was a moral, individually accountable being. Despite woman's role as daughter, sister, wife, and mother, woman had a moral obligation to work on behalf of the slave even if men chose not to join her. Therefore, although Elizabeth defended the existence of separate spheres for men and women she also proposed a third sphere, a sphere in which men and women functioned as equals.

Although her argument was not a feminist argument she did introduce in her writings some of the issues which became important to later feminist ideology. In addition to her argument for the moral equality of the sexes, she also advanced the belief in a sisterhood of all women, regardless of race. In the following years, feminists would make even more explicit comparisons between themselves and the black female slave. These comparisons would lead them to demand equality for both the slave and themselves. Elizabeth's antislavery argument held the implicit assumption that slaveholding was a male institution; southern white woman were seen most often as victims, not perpetrators, of the system of slavery. She came quite close to an idea that would be expressed a few years later and that became the underlying principle of the feminist rhetoric: women, like slaves, were in bondage.

Elizabeth's own personal experience as an editor made her a role model for other women who sought out public activity. Although she was criticized for her writings on women's public activity, particularly for calling women to form antislavery societies, she was strengthened by a supportive female community, an abolitionist community, and her own moral purpose and sense of "calling" to work against slavery. As a female editor, she sought to influence public opinion. Although she left many of her articles unsigned she still placed herself in a position that was daring for women in the early nineteenth century. She sacrificed her own personal ambition as a writer to direct all her creative energies into writing antislavery

verse. Such a decision led into what she viewed as a righteous but unpopular cause. But it was in her position as editor that she became a pioneer in many senses - a settler in the western territories, an editorial fighter for equality for women, an early advocate for universal education, and a pioneer writer in the antislavery movement.

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APPENDIX A

Dating of Essays, Elizabeth M. Chandler

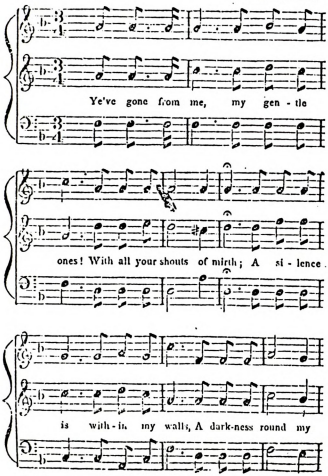
Essays as found in Essays, Philanthropic and moral	Signature	Genius of Universal Emancipation
Effects of Slavery p. 7	Margaret	September 2, 1829 p. 4.
Female Education p. 8		September 2, 1829 p. 4.
Female Character p. 50		September 18, 1829 p. 14.
Education of Slaves p. 51		September 26, 1829 p. 20 as "Education"
Dreaming p. 10	Gertrude	October 9, 1829 p. 37.
Review of Mrs. Hemans' Poetry p. 70		October 16, 1829 p. 68 as "Mrs. Hemans"
Indifference p. 12.		October 30, 1829 p. 60.
Letters to Isabel - No. 1 p. 53	Agnes	October 30, 1829 p. 60.
Letters to Isabel - No. 2 p. 54	Agnes	November 6, 1829 p. 68.
Our Duties p. 14.		November 6, 1829 p. 68 as "Duties"
Letter to Isabel - No. 3 p. 56	Agnes	November 13, 1829 p. 76.
Charity p. 15		November 13, 1829 p. 76.
The Harmans p. 17	Margaret	November 13, 1929 p. 77.
Wilhelmine p. 21	Bertha	November 20, 1829 p. 85
Woman p. 64		November 29, 1829 p. 92.
Letters to Isabel - No. 4 p. 57	Agnes	November 27, 1829 p. 92
Letters to Isabel - No. 5 p. 58	Agnes	December 4, 1829 p. 100.
Letters to Isabel - No. 6 p. 60	Agnes	December 18, 1829 p. 116.
John Woolman p. 25	Gertrude	December 18, 1829 p. 116
The Sightless p. 26		December 18, 1829 p. 117
The Legend of Brandywine p, 29	E.M.C.	December 25, 1829 pp. 124-125.
Opposition to Slavery p. 27		January 1, 1830 p. 132.

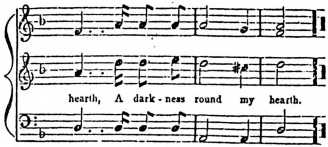
Right and Wrong p. 34		January 8, 1829 p. 144.
Letters to Isabel p. 61 No. 7	Agnes	January 15, 1830 p. 148
Associations p. 68		January 22, 1830 p. 156.
Harriet Rogers p. 35	Bertha	January 22, 1830 p. 156-157.
Fashion Spectacles p. 39	Geraldine	January 29, 1830 p. 164 as "The Spectacles"
Mental Reminiscences p. 65	Geraldine	January 29, 1830 p. 164.
Letters on Slavery - No. 1 p. 43		February 5, 1830 p. 172,
Ignorance p. 42		February 5, 1830 p. 172
Letter on Slavery - no. 2 p. 45		February 12, 1830 p. 180.
Excuses p. 49		February 19, 1830 p. 188-89.
Letter on Slavery - No. 3 p. 47		February 19, 1830 p. 189
The Enfranchisement p. 78	Margaret	April, 1830 p. 11.
Star Light p. 81	Ela	April, 1830 p. 12.
Spring flowers p. 84	Margaret	May, 1830 p. 26.
The Dying Slave p. 85	Ela	May, 1830 p. 27-28.
Prejudiee p. 81		June, 1830 p. 42-43.
Obediance p. 82		July, 1830 p. 57-58.
Time p. 90		July, 1930 p. 58.
Sunset p. 91	Ela	July, 1830 p. 59.
Maternal Influence p. 98		October, 1830 p. 105.
Slavery p. 37	Margaret	November, 1830 p. 123
Importunity p. 99		November, 1830 p. 121
The Voice of Conscience p. 107.		November, 1830 p. 121-122.
Men-Selling p. 109	Ela	November, 1830 p. 124.
Well-Wishers p. 110		December, 1830 p. 137.
A Prison Scene p. 111		December, 1830 p. 137-138.

Doing as Others do p. 86		January, 1831 p. 154.
Sources of Influence p. 93		January, 1831 p. 154 as "Sources"
The Slave-Trader p. 94	Ela	January, 1831 p. 155.
Inconsistency p. 76		January, 1831 p. 153.
Domestic Economy p. 75		January 1831 p. 153-54.
Consumers p. 113		February, 1831 p. 169.
Influence on Female Character p. 115		February, 1831 p. 170-171.
Mental Metempsychosis p. 118		February, 1831 p. 171.
Conversation p. 80		February, 1831 p. 171.
Slave Luxuries p. 87	Margaret	December, 1831 p. 108.
The New Year p. 32		February, 1832 p. 148.
Tea-Table Talk p. 94	Agnes	November, 1832 p. 14-15.
The Parting p. 102	Ela	December, 1832 p. 30-31.
Spring p. 107		April, 1833 p. 93.
Selfishness p. 66	Catharine	June, 1833 p. 126.
Hannah Kilham p. 105		September, 1833 p. 111
Reasons for Flogging the slaves p. 101		December, 1833 p. 28.

THE BEREAVED FATHER.

Words by Miss Chandler. Music by G. W. C.





Woe to the hearts that heard, unmoved,
The mother's anguish'd shriek!
And mock'd, with taunting scorn, the tears
That bathed a father's cheek.

Woe to the hands that tore you hence,
My innocent and good!
Not e'en the tigress of the wild,
Thus tears her fellow's brood.

I list to hear your soft sweet tones,
Upon the morning air;
I gaze amidst the twilight's gloom,
As if to find you there.

But you no more come bounding forth
To meet me in your glee;
And when the evening shadows fall,
Ye are not at my knee.

Your forms are aye before my eyes,
Your voices on my ear,
And all things wear a thought of you,
But you no more are here.

You were the glory of my life,
My blessing and my pride!
I half forgot the name of slave,
When you were by my side!

Woe for your lot, ye doom'd ones! woe
A seal is on your fate!
And shame, and toil, and wretchedness,
On all your steps await!

Christian Mother.

BY MRS C.

Christian mother, when thy prayer,
Trembles on the twilight air,
And thou askest God to keep
In their waking and their sleep,
Those, whose love is more to thee
Than the wealth of land or sea—
Think of those who wildly mourn
For the loved ones from them torn.

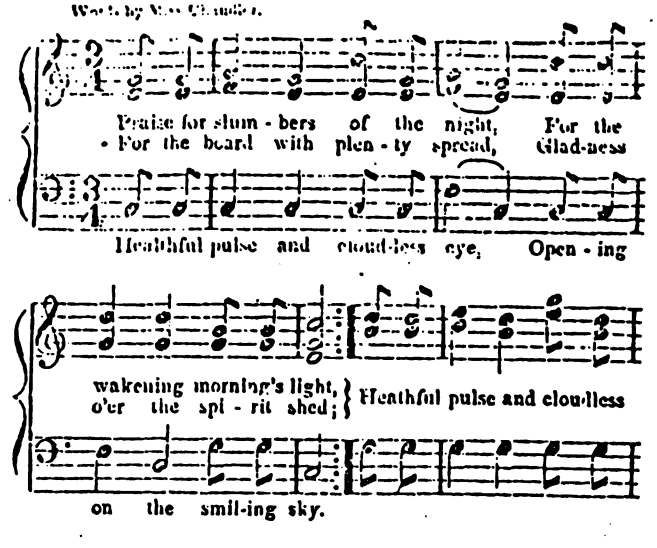
Christian daughter, sister, wife,
Ye who wear a guarded life,
Ye, whose bliss hangs not, thank God,
On a tyrant's word or nod,
Will ye hear, with careless eye,
Of the wild, despairing cry,
Rising up from human hearts,
As their latest bliss departs.

Blest ones, whom no hands on earth,
Dare to wrench from home and hearth
Ye, whose hearts are sheltered well,
By affection's holy spell;
Oh, forget not those for whom
Life is nought but changeless gloom!
O'er whose days, so woe-begone,
Hope may paint no brighter dawn.

Appears as "The Slave's Appeal," in Chandler, PW, p. 57. Liberty Minstrel, p. 131

PRAISE AND PRAYER.

Words by Miss Chandler.



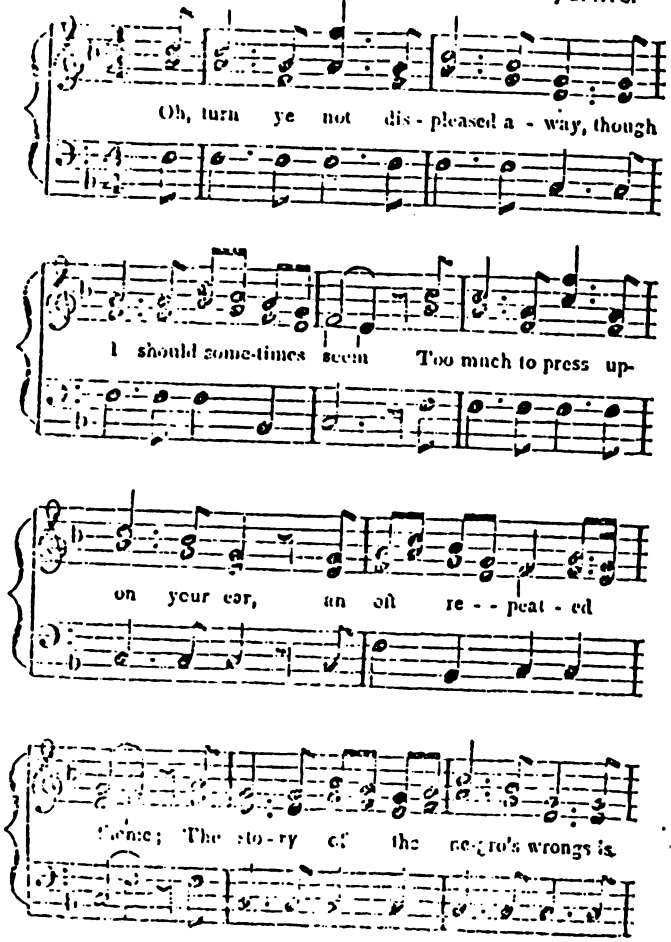
Praise! for loving hearts that still
With life's bounding pulses thrill;
Praise, that still our eyes may know—
Earthly joy and earthly woe.
Praise for every varied good,
Bounteous round our pathway strew'd!

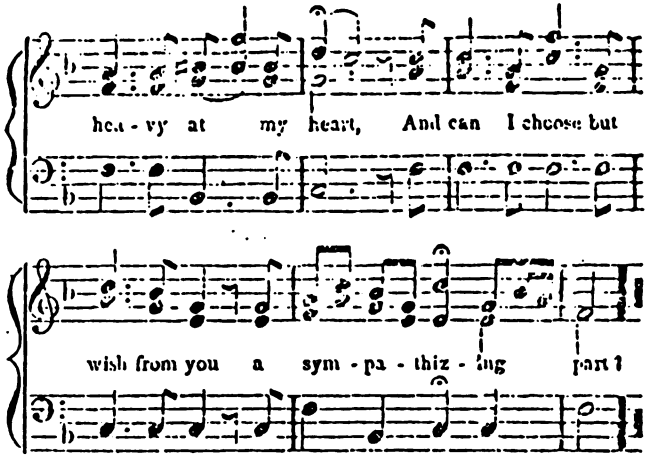
Prayer! for grateful hearts to raise
Incense meet of prayer and praise!
Prayer, for spirits calm and meek,
Wisdom life's best joys to seek;
Strength amidst devious paths to tread—
That through which the Saviour led.

Prayer! for those who, day by day,
Wet their bitter bits away;
Prayer, for those who bind the chain
Rudely on their throbbing vein—
That repentance deep may win
Pardon for the fearful sin.

TO THOSE I LOVE

Words by Miss E. M. Chandler. Music from an old air by G. W. C.





I turn to you to share my joy,—to soothe me in my grief—
In wayward sadness from your smiles, I seek a sweet relief:
And shall I keep this burning wish to see the slave set free,
Locked darkly in my secret heart, unshared and silently?

If I had been a friendless thing—if I had never known,
How swell the fountains of the heart beneath affection's tone,
I might have, careless, seen the leaf torn rudely from its stem,
But clinging as I do to you, can I but feel for them?

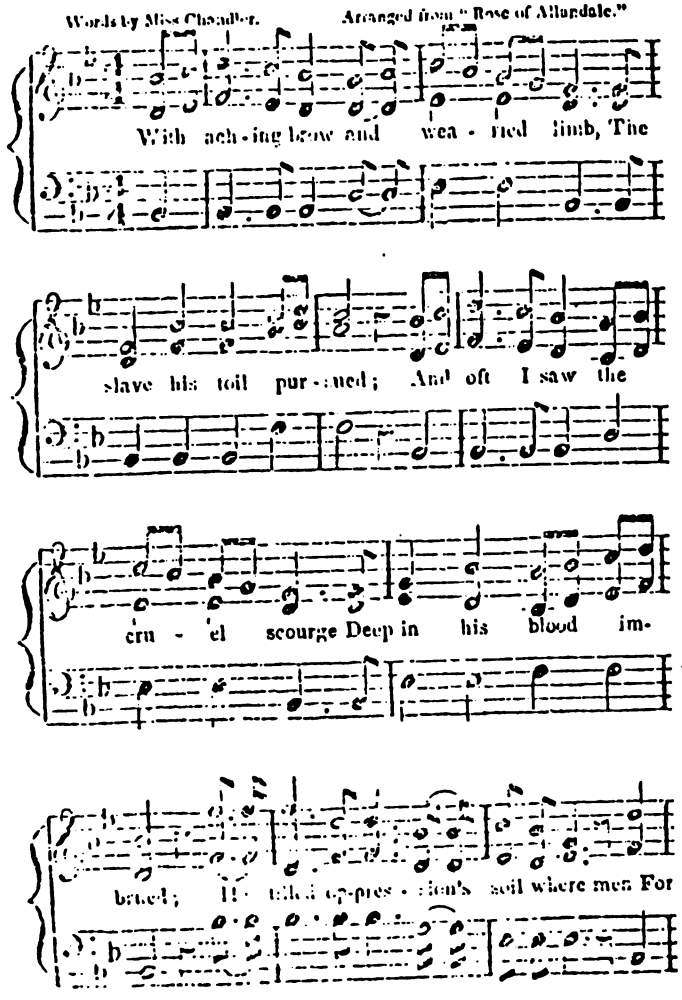
I could not brook to list the sad sweet music of a bird,
Though it were sweeter melody than ever ear hath heard,
If cruel hands had quenched its light, that in the plaintive song,
It might the breathing memory of other days prolong.

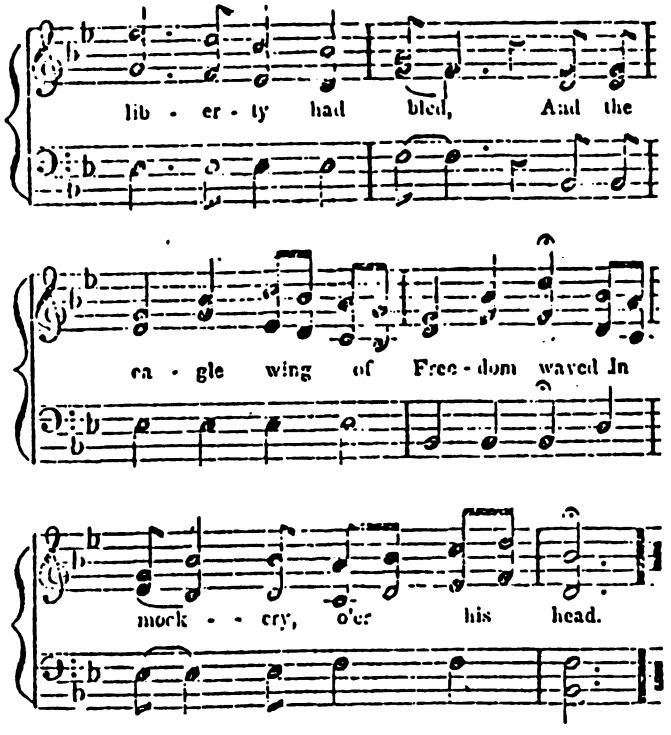
And can I give my lip to taste the life-bought luxuries, wrung
From those on whom a darker night of anguish has been flung—
Or silently and selfishly enjoy my better lot,
While those whom God hath bade me love, are wretched and forgot?

Oh no!—so blame me not, sweet friends, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear an oft repeated theme;
The story of the negro's wrongs hath won me from my rest,—
And I must strive to wake for him an interest in your breast!

SLAVE'S WRONGS.

Words by Miss Chandler. Arranged from "Rose of Allandale."



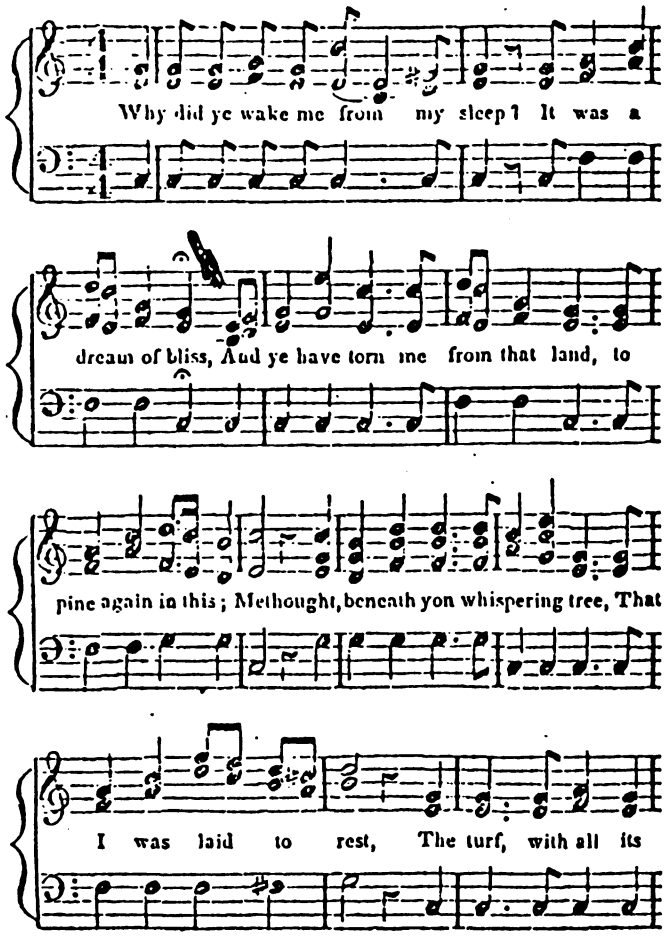


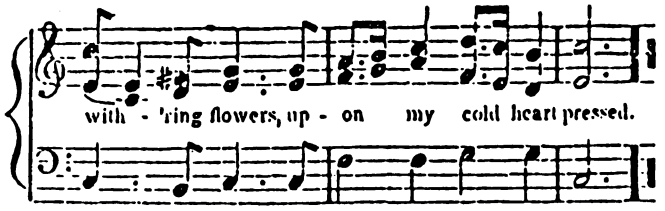
The earth was filled with the triumph shout
Of men who had burst their chains;
But his, the heaviest of them all,
Still lay on his burdened veins;
In his master's hall there was luxury,
And wealth, and mental light;
But the very book of the Christian law,
Was hidden from his sight.

In his master's halls there was wine and mirth,
And dance for the newly free;
But his own low cabin was devoted
Of all but misery.

THE AFRIC'S DREAM.

Words by Miss Chandler. "Emigrant's Lament," arranged by G. W. C.





My chains, these hateful chains, were gone—oh, would that I might die,
So from my swelling pulse I could forever cast them by!
And on, away, o'er land and sea, my joyful spirit passed,
Till, 'neath my own banana tree, I lighted down at last.

My cabin door, with all its flowers, was still profusely gay,
As when I lightly sported there, in childhood's careless day!
But trees that were as sapling twigs, with broad and shadowing bough,
Around the well-known threshhold spread a freshening coolness now.

The birds whose notes I used to hear, were shouting on the earth,
As if to greet me back again with their wild strains of mirth;
My own bright stream was at my feet, and how I laughed to lave
My burning lip, and cheek, and brow, in that delicious wave!

My boy, my first-born babe, had died amid his early hours,
And there we laid him to his sleep among the clustering flowers;
Yet lo! without my cottage-door he sported in his glee,
With her whose grave is far from his, beneath yon linden tree.

I sprang to snatch them to my soul; when breathing out my name,
To grasp my hand, and press my lip, a crowd of loved ones came!
Wife, parents, children, kinsmen, friends! the dear and lost ones all,
With blessed words of welcome came, to greet me from my thrall.

Forms long unseen were by my side; and thrilling on my ear,
Came cadences from gentle tones, unheard for many a year;
And on my cheeks fond lips were pressed, with true affection's kiss—
And so ye waked me from my sleep—but 'twas a dream of bliss!

Appendix C : Dating of Poems

Title of Poem, Page No. in *Poetical Works*	Date of Composition	Signature	In *Genius of Universal Emancipation*	In Garrison's *Liberator*	Elsewhere
Lines on the Death of Two Children, p. 141	1822-23				
The Slave Ship, p. 136	1825	Emily	Feb. 4, 1826, p. 183 Repr. from *Post*	Mar. 31, 1832, p. 50	*Casket*, Feb. 1826, p. 57
The Treaty of Penn, p. 137	Phila., 5th mo. 25th 1826	Emily	June 3, 1826, p. 319		
The Wife's Lament, p. 135	Phila., 6th mo. 1826	Emily	July 8, 1826, p. 359		
Gayashuta to the Sons of Onas, p. 164		Emily	Oct. 21, 1826, p. 48		
The Negro Father's Lamentation over the Body of his Infant Son, p. 140		Emily	Nov. 4, 1826, p. 56		

Title, Page No.	Date	Signature	In Genius	In Liberator	Elsewhere
Where Are They?, p. 160	Phila., Jan. 18th, 1827	Emily	Jan. 27, 1827, p. 136		
A Paraphrase of Part of the Nineteenth Chapter of II Kings, p. 13		Emily	Feb. 24, 1827, p. 144		
Midnight, p. 138		Emily	June 2, 1827, p. 240		
My country! I behold thee now, p. 15		Emily	July 4, 1827, p. 8 (complete version)		
Pharoah, p. 88			Nov. 10, 1827, p. 152		
The Depths of the Sea, p. 92	Phila., 11th mo 15th 1827	Emily	Dec. 8, 1827, p. 184		
The Recaptured Slave, p. 93	Phila., 1st mo 23d 1827	Emily	Feb. 2, 1828, p. 32		
Jephtha's Vow, p. 95	Philad, 5th mo 6th 1828	Emily	May 24, 1828, p. 120		
The Outcast, p. 167		Emily	Nov. 15, 1828, p. 60		
Noah, p. 85		Ela.	Jan. 15, 1829, p. 149		

Title, Page No.	Date	Signature	In *Genius*	In *Liberator*	Elsewhere
Soliloquy of a Duellist, p. 133		E. M. Chandler			*Atlantic Souvenir for 1829*, p. 232
The Conscript's Farewell, p. 127		E. M. Chandler			*Atlantic Souvenir for 1829*, p. 82
Stanzas, p. 168		E. M. C.	Sept. 2, 1829, p. 5		
The Indian Mother to Her Son, p. 179		E. M. C.	Sept. 26, 1829, p. 20		
The Devoted, p. 79		Margaret	Oct. 2, 1829, p. 29		
The Slave, p. 165		E. M. C.	Oct. 16, 1829, p. 44		
A Sketch, p. 172		Gertrude	Oct. 23, 1829, p. 52		
Deaf and Dumb, p. 80		E. M. C.	Nov. 20, 1829, p. 85		
The Anointing, p. 80		E. M. C.	Nov. 27, 1829, p. 93		
The Soldier's Prayer, p. 82		E. M. C.	Dec. 18, 1829, p. 117		
The Appeal of the Choctaw, p. 83		Gertrude	Dec. 25, 1829, p. 125		
A New Year's Greeting, p. 158		E.	Jan. 1, 1830, p. 133		
The Battle Field, p. 86		E.	Jan. 29, 1830, p. 157		

Title, Page No.	Date	Signature	In *Genius*	In *Liberator*	Elsewhere
The Sylvan Grave, p. 116		Bertha	Jan. 29, 1830, p. 165		
Moonlight, p. 87		Gertrude	Feb. 12, 1830, p. 181 (Revised from original)		*Casket*, p. 195 May, 1827
The Cherokee, p. 162		E. M. C.	Feb. 26, 1830, p. 197		
Emancipation, p. 161		Agnes	Feb. 26, 1830, p. 196		
The Slave's Appeal, p. 57		Agnes	April 1830, p. 11	Mar. 26, 1831, p. 49	*Liberty Minstrel*, 131
Christian Love, p. 58		Agnes	May 1830, p. 27	Feb. 12, 1831, p. 26	
Heaven Help Ye, p. 58		Margaret	May 1830, p. 26	Feb. 26, 1831, p. 35	
Story-Telling, p. 59		Gertrude	June 1830, p. 44		
The Kneeling Slave, p. 59		Margaret	June 1830, p. 44	Jan. 28, 1832, p. 14	
Doom, p. 62		E.	July 1830, p. 59		
Our Father, p. 61		Margaret	July 1830, p. 59; March 1833, p. 72		
Night, p. 117	Miss E. M. Chandler				*Atlantic Souvenir for 1830*, p. 153
Remember Me, p. 146	Late Summer, 1830				

Title, Page No.	Date	Signature	In *Genius*	In *Liberator*	Elsewhere
Think of Our Country's Glory, p. 64		E.	August 1830, p. 76 As "Think"	Jan. 8, 1831, p. 6	
The Grave of the Unfortunate, p. 63		Margaret	August 1830, p. 76		
The Brandywine, p. 47	Before Oct. 1830	Miss E. M. Chandler			*Atlantic Souvenir for 1831*, p. 153
To Those I Love, p. 66		Margaret	Jan. 1831, p. 157	Mar. 10, 1832, p. 38	*Minstrel*, p. 66
The Kingfisher, p. 74		Constance	Jan. 1831, p. 156	Feb. 5, 1831, p. 1	
Sadness, p. 67		Margaret	Feb. 1831, p. 171		
Think of the Slave, p. 68		Agnes	Feb. 1831, p. 172	Feb. 19, 1831, p. 31	*Minstrel*, p. 10
The Bereaved Father, p. 68		Margaret	March 1831, p. 90		
Reminiscence, p. 118		Gertrude	April 1831, p. 199		
Oh Tell Me Not I Shall Forget, p. 69		Gertrude	May 1831, p. 12	June 18, 1831, p. 97	
Washington City Prison, p. 75		E. M. C.	May 1831, p. 14		

Title, Page No.	Date	Signature	In *Genius*	In *Liberator*	Elsewhere
What Is a Slave, Mother?, p. 70		Margaret	May 1831, p. 13	June 4, 1831, p. 90	
The Child's Evening Hymn, p. 72		E. M. C.	June 1831, p. 31	May 7, 1831, p. 75	
Twilight Thoughts, p. 144		Agnes	June 1831, p. 30		
Slave Produce, p. 111		Bertha	July 1831, p. 44	Sept. 3, 1831, p. 141	
Little Sado's Story, p. 112		E.	Sept. 1831, p. 75	July 30, 1831, p. 123	
Summer Morning, p. 74		Margaret	October 1831, p. 90		
The Enfranchised Slaves to Their Benefactress, p. 73		Gertrude	October 1831, p. 90	Dec. 3, 1831, p. 196	
The Afric's Dream, p. 50		Miss E. M. Chandler	October 1831, p. 92	Nov. 19, 1831, p. 188	*Minstrel*, p. 20
The Sunset Hour, p. 78		Gertrude	Dec. 1831, p. 109		*Atlantic Souvenir for 1832*, p. 149
New Year's Eve, p. 55		E.	Feb. 1832, p. 149		
Confessions of the Year, p. 42		Gertrude	March 1832, p. 164	May 19, 1832, p. 80	
John Woolman, p. 51		Gertrude	April 1832, p. 182		
The Indian Camp, p. 180				April 21, 1832, p. 64	
An Appeal for the Oppressed, p. 114		Gertrude		April 28, 1832, p. 66	
Looking at the Soldiers, p. 109		Margaret	Nov. 1832, p. 14	Dec. 1, 1832, p. 191	

Title, Page No.	Date	Signature	In Genius	In Liberator	Elsewhere
Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again, p. 109		Ela.		Dec. 1, 1832, p. 199	
The Sugar-Plums, p. 108		Margaret	Dec. 1832, p. 31	Jan. 26, 1833, p. 16	
Anthony Benezet, p. 98		E. M. C.	Jan. 1833, p. 41		
Gloom, p. 100		Ela.	Feb. 1833, p. 63		
The Sold, p. 99		Gertrude	Feb. 1833, p. 62		
Evening Thoughts, p. 100		Gertrude	June 1833, p. 127		
Storm, p. 102		Ela.	Aug. 1833, p. 159		
To a Crocus, p. 171		Margaret	Sept. 1833, p. 176		
To A******, p. 145		Gertrude	Oct. 1833, p. 190		
To a Stranger, p. 110		"E"	Oct. 1833, p. 190		
Christmas, p. 124		Margaret	Jan. 1834, p. 18	Feb. 15, 1834, p. 28	
To Prudence Crandall, p. 176		Ela.	Jan. 1834, p. 18		
Aline, p. 106		Ela.	March 1834, p. 51		
My Cottage Home, p. 125		Gertrude	March 1834, p. 50		
A True Ballad, p. 103		Gertrude	April 1834, p. 66	May 24, 1834, p. 84	

Title, Page No.	Date	Signature	In Genius	In Liberator	Elsewhere
Juan de Paresa, p. 119		E. M. C.		May 17, 1834, p. 80	
Repentance, p. 123		E. M. C.		May 24, 1834, p. 84	
The Woods Wanderer, p. 129		E. M. C.		May 31, 1834, p. 88	
Thy Thunder Pealeth o'er Us, p. 105		Ela.	June 1834, p. 99	Aug. 9, 1834, p. 128	
The Forest Vine, p. 131	Written in Fall, 1834				
Praise and Prayer, p. 43	Written in Fall, 1834		December 1836, p. 184		