

“THERE IS DEATH IN THE POT”: WOMEN,
CONSUMPTION, AND FREE PRODUCE
IN THE TRANSATLANTIC
WORLD, 1791-1848

by

JULIE LYNN HOLCOMB

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

August 2010

Copyright © by Julie Holcomb 2010

All Rights Reserved

To Stan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Researching and writing this dissertation has been a long journey. Fortunately, it has not been a lonely one. I am pleased to have an opportunity to recognize the many kindnesses and the valuable support received along the way.

The University of Texas at Arlington provided a great environment in which to develop as a scholar. I have benefitted from the patience, generosity, and scholarship of my committee. My chair Sam W. Haynes modeled the ideal balance of academic rigor and nurturing support. I profited as well from the advice of Stephanie Cole and Christopher Morris. Words cannot begin to convey how much I appreciate my committee's encouragement and advice throughout this process. I have also received valuable assistance from James Cotton and Robin Deeslie in the history department and Diana Hines and Rachel Robbins in the library's interlibrary loan department.

I have also had the opportunity to study at Pacific University and the University of Texas at Austin. Pacific is an incredible place to study. The small classes and equally small departments provide unparalleled opportunities for academic and personal development. I am particularly grateful to Lawrence Lipin and Alex Toth for their mentorship during my time at Pacific. At UT, I had the opportunity to study with the outstanding David B. Gracy, II.

For the past two years, I have taught in the department of Museum Studies at Baylor University. Kenneth Hafertepe and Ellie Caston have provided the perfect mix of

support, collegiality, and humor. They along with my other faculty colleagues, Gary Smith and Joy Summer-Smith, and our administrative assistant Marcia Cooper have made the transition to teaching and to Baylor a delight. The Museum Studies department shares space with the Mayborn Museum Complex. As a result, I have the gift of working with an outstanding group of museum professionals. I appreciate the support and friendship of Anita Benedict and Denise Seaman, in particular. I am especially grateful to Tom Haddad for the thoughtfully designed monkey diorama he left on my desk during a particularly stressful period. I know he did not act alone. I have benefitted as well from my students in the MST program. Our discussions inside and outside the classroom have shaped my thinking about this project and my development as a teacher and scholar. One group of students in particular played an important role in my transformation from museum administrator to teacher — Ca-Caw!

I appreciate the support I have received from my colleagues in other departments at Baylor. In the history department, T. Michael Parrish and Stephen Sloan have provided encouragement and advice. While working on this dissertation, I had the opportunity to participate as a fellow in Baylor's Summer Faculty Institute, a unique and important opportunity to focus on my development as a teacher, scholar, and individual. Tom Hanks and Lenore Wright and my colleagues in the SFI provided support and friendship at a critical turning point in the writing of this dissertation.

I began this dissertation while working at the Pearce Civil War and Western Art Museums at Navarro College. I appreciate the encouragement I received from Tommy Stringer, Tim Kevil, Richard Sanchez, Kenneth Martin, and Cubie Ward. I also

benefitted from the community of the museum's board and volunteers: Helen and Oliver Albritton, Doug Tiller, Jimmie Buchanan, and Jay and Lucy Waterman. I am particularly grateful for the friendship of the museum's benefactors, the late Charles and Peggy Pearce.

I appreciate the support of scholars outside my immediate academic communities. Carol Faulkner and Stacey Robertson have given generously of their time and scholarship. Both have taken time out of their busy schedules to read papers or chapter drafts and give thoughtful comments. They have played an important role in shaping my thinking about women abolitionists and free produce. I am grateful to Bruce Laurie and Lynne Getz for their comments on a paper I presented at the 14th Berkshire Conference on the History of Women. Seth Offenbach, Winifred Connerton, and Julie Turner provided insightful comments on various drafts of this dissertation. As well, I appreciate Christopher Densmore's willingness to aid a novice Quaker scholar. The models of teaching and scholarship given by Steven E. Woodworth, Charles Gear, Susannah Ural, and Bonnie Laughlin-Schultz have been invaluable. I want to thank Kenneth Corfield as well for responding positively to my queries about Elizabeth Heyrick. I appreciate the supportive environment created and maintained by Thomas B. Jankowski at *PhiniseD*.

I received research funding from the American Historical Association; the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Texas, Fort Worth Town Chapter; Trudy and Ben Termini Graduate Student Research Grant, University of Texas at Arlington; and the History Department, University of Texas at Arlington. Funding from the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History allowed me to participate in the

summer seminar, *Passages to Freedom: Abolition and the Underground Railroad*, directed by David W. Blight, James Oliver Horton, and Lois Horton. The seminar influenced my professional and academic development and reinforced my belief that the fields of public and academic history are not and should not be antithetical.

No project of this magnitude happens without the support of friends and family. Sarah Canby Jackson, Mary Hayes, Amanda Morrison, Rosalie Meier, Sue Sanders, and Susan Humphrey have been with me through this whole process. Their patience, friendship, and support are priceless. Rosalie kept me humble and laughing, reminding all who would listen that I was writing about liberating broccoli. Terra Garza provided limitless amounts of coffee and a comfortable home away from home. I also appreciate the support and friendship of my co-dissertators, the “Great-Eights.” My family has been an important part of this process. Mark Holcomb and Sara Eckel, David Holcomb, Steven and Debra Holcomb, Mike and Barbara Dumford, and Keith and Evona Parsley have been especially supportive. My mothers, Laura Thorne, Chris Holcomb, and Barbara Zank, were among the earliest supporters of my education. They taught me to find strength in any situation and to never lose sight of my dreams. I wish they had lived to see the completion of this degree.

Some dissertators mark their progress by the birth and growth of their children. In my case, it was the birth of my grandchildren. Noah Steven arrived in the early months of dissertation research; Paige Addison was born in the final months of writing. They remind me that my most important role is just to be Grams. My daughter Jennifer has been an incredible force for good in my life. I am forever amazed by her generosity

and her compassion. My son-in-law Eric Sfetku and his parents Robert and Joyce have been welcome additions to our family.

My husband Stan Holcomb, more than anyone, has felt the stress of this particular project. Nearly thirty years ago, he walked into the drugstore where I worked and back into my life. Words cannot sufficiently express my appreciation for his laughter, his faith, his patience, and his reassurance throughout this process. My friends would also remind me that I have benefitted from Stan's incredible gourmet meals. I would agree that great food is important. However, more than anything, I appreciate Stan's unwavering, unconditional love. I think only he can understand what I mean when I say this dissertation is, like its author, his.

June 28, 2010

ABSTRACT

“THERE IS DEATH IN THE POT”: WOMEN,
CONSUMPTION, AND FREE PRODUCE
IN THE TRANSATLANTIC
WORLD, 1791-1848

Julie Holcomb, PhD

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2010

Supervising Professor: Sam W. Haynes

Abstention from slave-labor products, along with petitioning, was a popular and consistent form of anti-slavery activism for British and American abolitionists, especially women. Despite renewed interest in the British and American free-produce movements, historians continue to focus on either eighteenth- or nineteenth-century British or American abstention, only briefly referring to the transatlantic and generational connections between the movements. Limiting questions about free-produce in this way overemphasizes the connection between abstention and the Society of Friends and privileges the nineteenth-century period of the movement. While Quakers were the primary proponents of abstention from slave-labor products, attempts by both Quakers

and non-Quakers to establish an international free-produce movement are essential to understanding transatlantic abolitionism.

This dissertation recovers and critically interprets the transatlantic free-produce movement from the late-eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth century, revealing the key role women played in the protracted battle for the abolition of slavery. Recognizing the importance of abstention to the abolitionist movement broadens the period of women's activism to the eighteenth century, more than forty years prior to the organizational activity of the 1830s that serves as the traditional starting point for histories of women's abolitionism. Abstention reveals the ways in which British and American women crossed generational, gender, geographic, religious as well as class and racial boundaries on behalf of the slave. This study places abstention and abolitionism within the context of the market revolution, examining abstainers' debates about the morality of the marketplace. Rather than political economy, abstainers urged Britons and Americans alike to create a moral economy, which privileged humanity and justice over financial profit. Asserting the importance of moral suasion and consistency in abolitionist activity, abstainers challenged the greed and racism that supported the transatlantic economy in this period. In doing so, abstainers called for the radical reform of society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | v |
| ABSTRACT | x |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS | xiv |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | xv |
| PREFACE | xvi |

PART I: THE BRITISH ABSTENTION MOVEMENT

Chapter

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. “VITAL BLOOD”: THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ABSTENTION CAMPAIGN | 2 |
| 2. “I AM A MAN YOUR BROTHER”: ELIZABETH HEYRICK AND THE SECOND BRITISH ABSTENTION CAMPAIGN | 48 |

PART II: THE AMERICAN FREE-PRODUCE MOVEMENT

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3. “WHEN WOMAN’S HEART IS BLEEDING”: ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER AND THE EARLY AMERICAN FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT | 92 |
| 4. “OH FAINT YOU NOT, YE GATHERED BAND!”: CREATING AN AMERICAN FREE PRODUCE COMMUNITY | 133 |

PART III: THE TRANSATLANTIC FREE-PRODUCE MOVEMENT

| | |
|--|-----|
| 5. I CAST MY WHOLE SPIRIT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC: CONFLICT AND COMMUNITY IN THE TRANSATLANTIC FREE-PRODUCE MOVEMENT..... | 184 |
| 6. CONCLUSION..... | 213 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 225 |
| BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION..... | 260 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| Figure | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. James Gillray. “Anti-Saccharites, - or – John Bull and His Family Leaving off the Use of Sugar,” 1792. Courtesy of British Museum, London. | 26 |
| 2. Isaac Cruikshank. “The Gradual Abolition off [sic] the Slave Trade, - or Leaving of Sugar by Degrees,” 1792. Courtesy of British Museum, London. | 28 |
| 3. James Gillray. “Barbarities in the West Indias,” 1791. Courtesy of British Museum, London. | 39 |
| 4. Cover, <i>Immediate Not Gradual Abolition</i> . Courtesy of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. | 49 |
| 5. Label, American Free Produce Association. Courtesy of Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown, Connecticut. | 172 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| AFPA, HSP | American Free Produce Association, Minutes and Correspondence, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania |
| BAA | <i>British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding</i> , edited by Clare Taylor. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974 |
| BPL | Boston Public Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division |
| BLS | Records Relating to the Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, 1825-1919, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, England. |
| FHL | Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College |
| LWLG | <i>The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison</i> , edited by Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames. 6 vols. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971-1981 |
| PFASS, HSP | Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Minutes and Correspondence, Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania |
| RTD | <i>Remember the Distance That Divides Us: The Family Letters of Philadelphia Quaker Abolitionist and Michigan Pioneer Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, 1830-1842</i> , edited by Marcia J. Heringa Mason. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2004 |
| <i>Selected Letters</i> | <i>Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott</i> , edited by Beverly Wilson Palmer. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2002. |
| TQC | The Quaker Collection, Haverford College |

PREFACE

The grocer takes your 6d. [for sugar], and retaining a fraction as his profit, hands all the remainder to the wholesale dealer; the dealer hands it to the importer; the importer to the Cuban merchant; the merchant to the Slaveholder, to whom it becomes a premium for the maintenance of Slavery.

–Anna Richardson, *There is Death in the Pot!*, c. 1850

It is a mode of anti-slavery action in which every man, woman, and child may take a part every day, at every meal, in every article of dress they wear and enjoy. And this silent, daily testimony would tend to keep their anti-slavery sentiments active, out-spoke, and ever working in their spheres of influence.

–Elihu Burritt, “Twenty Reasons for Total Abstinence from Slave-Labour Produce,” c. 1852

To live means to buy, to buy means to have power, to have power means to have responsibility.

–Florence Kelley, National Consumers’ League, c. 1914

In May 1840, New York businessmen Thomas McClintock and Richard P. Hunt presented William Lloyd Garrison with four yards of olive wool suiting manufactured at Hunt’s Waterloo Woolen Mill. Garrison planned to have the fabric made into a “free suit” to wear at the upcoming World’s Anti-Slavery Convention in London.¹ McClintock and Hunt were anti-slavery Quakers who supported abstention from the products of slave

¹ William Lloyd Garrison to Thomas McClintock, May 1, 1840, McClintock-Neeley Collection, Women’s Rights National Park Historic Park, Seneca Falls, New York.

labor. McClintock helped establish the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia while Hunt owned a textile mill in Waterloo, choosing to manufacture free-labor wool rather than slave-grown cotton. McClintock and Hunt were also related by marriage, Hunt having married McClintock's niece, Sarah, in 1837.² In a letter thanking Hunt for his gift, Garrison noted the fabric "cannot fail to be regarded with interest and pleasure on the other side of the Atlantic, as well as on this." Garrison continued, "How melancholy is the thought that oppression, violence and fraud taint almost all the products of human industry throughout the earth!"³ Yet Garrison's support of free produce was situational at best. It is unclear exactly when Garrison rejected free produce as an anti-slavery tactic; however, articles in the *Liberator* suggest his disaffection developed in the mid- to late-1830s.⁴ In 1835, for example, Garrison published a letter he received from Rowland T. Robinson, a Vermont Quaker and supporter of free produce, encouraging Garrison to give "more than a mere recommendation" to abstain from slave-labor products.⁵ In a letter to Elizabeth Pease in August 1839, Angelina Grimké lamented

² Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, *Constitution of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: D. & S. Neall, 1827); Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 74, 93.

³ William Lloyd Garrison to Richard P. Hunt, May 1, 1840, in *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, eds. Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971-1981), 2:594-596, hereafter cited as LWLG.

⁴ Ruth Ketring Nuernberger argues that Garrison was responsible for the inclusion of a free-produce resolution in the American Anti-Slavery Society's "Declaration of Sentiments" in 1833, a view Carol Faulkner challenges noting the presence at the convention of free-produce supporters, Lucretia Mott, Sidney Ann Lewis, and Lydia White. See Ruth Ketring Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest against Slavery* (New York: AMS Press, 1942), 21; Carol Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil: Free Produce and Radical Antislavery, 1820-1860," *Journal of the Early Republic* 27 (2007), 390-391. See also Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (New York: Walker, 1980), 56-57.

⁵ *Liberator*, July 18, 1835.

Garrison's rejection of free produce "because the weight of his example & his influence are very extensive."⁶

When the American Free Produce Association held its first annual meeting in October 1839, Lucretia Mott and Sarah Pugh were among the delegates selected to represent that group at the World Anti-Slavery Convention. Mott was also selected to serve as vice president of the association. Garrison, however, was not among the Massachusetts representatives in attendance at the AFPA meeting. The published report of the meeting, which was reprinted in the *Liberator*, emphasized Garrison's absence. His dismissal of free produce frustrated abolitionists such as Daniel L. Miller Jr. who wondered how the abolitionist could reject such a basic principle, one which targeted the economic foundation of slavery.⁷ Garrison later defended his stance, arguing that free produce would not convince slaveholders who were motivated "not [by] the love of gain, but the possession of absolute power, unlimited sovereignty."⁸

Property in slaves and in slave-labor goods generated enormous wealth in the transatlantic world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Slave-labor goods such as

⁶ Angelina Grimké Weld to Elizabeth Pease, August 14, 1839 in *British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding*, ed. Clare Taylor (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 1974), 79. *British and American Abolitionists* hereafter cited as BAA. Garrison's strongest statement against free produce came rather late in the history of movement. See *Liberator*, March 5, 1847. See abstainers' response in *Non-Slaveholder*, April 1847, 85-89. In June, Garrison declared he was "unwilling to prolong a controversy respecting that which it is allowed on hands cannot be fully carried out, and which must be left, like many other questions of conscience, to individual conviction of duty." *Liberator*, June 18, 1847.

⁷ October 15, 1839, Minutes of the American Free Produce Association, Reel 31, Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, hereafter cited as AFPA, HSP; *Liberator*, November 15, 1839, October 16, 1840. See also Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 21, 102.

⁸ *Liberator*, March 1, 1850.

cotton and sugar were essential commodities. Abolitionist Elizur Wright claimed complete abstinence from slave-labor products would force “merchants and manufacturers [to] throw perhaps half their stock and their capital into the fire.”⁹ From international trade to local commerce, slave-labor goods were impossible to avoid. For example, ships used slave-produced cotton and hemp for their sails and ropes. Sailors on those ships were clothed in cotton while slave-produced sugar and rum provided essential calories and offered diversion from the long voyage. Once in port, those ships and sailors delivered cotton, sugar, and other goods produced by slave- and free-labor, for sale and consumption in the local market. And the profits produced by all of those commercial exchanges assured a continual flow of goods and people throughout the Atlantic economic world. As Garrison argued, slave-labor products were “so mixed up with the commerce, manufactures and agriculture of the world — so modified or augmented in value by the industry of other nations, — so indissolubly connected with the credit and currency of the country” that abstaining from them was “preposterous and unjust.”¹⁰ Still, abstainers like Lucretia Mott continued to assert the importance of free produce as

⁹ Elizur Wright, Jr., “On Abstinence from the Products of Slave Labor,” *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine* 1 (July 1836), 395. Wright argued that abstention taken to its logical extreme would bring the abolitionist movement to a halt. “No anti-slavery agent, or other abolitionist, must now travel in stage or steam-boat, for the sheets and table cloths of the latter are of cotton, and the former has its top lined with calico. No abolitionist can any longer buy a book, or take a newspaper printed on common paper. The [American Anti-Slavery Society] must suspend all its publications till it can import or manufacture, at a greatly enhanced expense, paper of linen. Indeed, if the principle that the use of slave labor products is sinful, had been adopted at first, the anti-slavery reformation could not have started an inch.”

¹⁰ *Liberator*, March 5, 1847.

an anti-slavery tactic, one which, according to Mott, would strike at “the root of the evil.”¹¹

As American and British abolitionists prepared for the world’s first international anti-slavery convention in June 1840, American abolitionists including Mott, Pugh, and Miller hoped the meeting would support expanded action against the products of slavery. The World Anti-Slavery Convention is best remembered for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society’s (BFASS) decision to exclude the American female delegates.¹² At an informal gathering to discuss the women’s exclusion, Mott reminded British abolitionists that immediate emancipation began with British Quaker Elizabeth Heyrick, who in 1824 authored *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, linking the immediate abolition of slavery to abstention from the products of slave labor.¹³ By invoking Heyrick’s memory, Mott reminded both British and American abolitionists of the important connection between abolitionism and abstention and women’s activism. On June 20, the ninth day of the meeting, Convention delegates debated a resolution recommending “the disuse of slave-

¹¹ Lucretia Mott to Phebe Post Willis, September 13, 1834, in *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott*, ed. Beverly Wilson Palmer (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 27, hereafter cited as *Selected Letters*.

¹² See for example, Douglas H. Maynard, “The World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (1960), 452-471; Donald R. Kennon, “‘An Apple of Discord’: The Woman Question at the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840,” *Slavery and Abolition* 5 (1984), 244-266; Kathryn Kish Sklar, “‘Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation’: American and British Women at the World Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840,” in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women’s Political Culture in Antebellum America*, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 301-333.

¹³ Frederick B. Tolles, ed., *Slavery and “The Woman Question”: Lucretia Mott’s Diary of Her Visit to Great Britain to Attend the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840* (Haverford, Penn.: Friends’ Historical Association, 1952), 23-24; Elizabeth Heyrick, *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition; or, an Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery* (London: Hatchard & Son, 1824).

labour produce . . . as far as practicable.”¹⁴ After much debate, the resolution was replaced by a weaker version that instead recommended forming a committee to identify sources of free-labor produce. In her diary Mott noted, “Many [delegates were] unsound on abstinence from Slave products.” “Our Free Produce society,” she concluded, “will have to double their diligence & do their own work — and so will American Abolitionists generally — & especially women.”¹⁵ For Mott, Pugh, and other abstainers, abolitionism began with abstention, the personal pledge of commitment to the slave. When the BFASS refused to acknowledge the female delegates, the group rejected not only the women representatives but a core principle of transatlantic abolitionism, one which had been a vital part of the movement since the eighteenth century.

Abstention, along with petitioning, was one of the most popular, and consistent forms of female anti-slavery activism. Considering women’s free-produce activity as an important part of the transatlantic campaign against slavery broadens the period of women’s activism to the eighteenth century, more than forty years prior to the organizational activity of the 1830s that traditionally serves as the starting point for histories of women’s abolitionism. The eighteenth-century abstention movement linked domestic consumption and slavery and established women as key activists in the abolitionist campaign. Women’s free-produce associations established in the 1820s influenced the development of women’s anti-slavery societies in the 1830s. Expanding

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention Called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Held in London, from Friday, June 12th, to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840* (London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1841), 437.

¹⁵ Tolles, *Slavery and “The Woman Question”*, 39-40.

the chronology of women's activism has implications beyond writing women back into the eighteenth-century movement against the slave trade and slavery. Historians traditionally treat the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British and the nineteenth-century American abstention movements as distinct temporal and geographic moments. Recognizing women's role in the abstention movement highlights the protracted transatlantic battle for emancipation.¹⁶ Even when prominent abolitionists like Garrison substituted polite responses for true support for free wool, and despite the declining influence of abstinence after the World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840, women remained active in the free-produce movement through the American Civil War, representing nearly one hundred years of female consumer activism against the products of slave labor.

Abstention from the products of slave labor developed in the mid-eighteenth century as American Quakers worked to separate the Society of Friends from slavery. American Quaker John Woolman, a man described by historian Thomas Drake as “the most Christlike individual Quakerism has ever produced,” led the reformation of the

¹⁶ Historian Steven Hahn challenges the traditional argument of two emancipations in the United States – one as a result of the Revolution and the other as part of the Civil War. Hahn suggests viewing emancipation “as a connected and remarkably protracted process, one far more protracted than anywhere else in the Americas” will lead to “a major reconceptualization of emancipation,” which has significant implications for our understanding of nineteenth-century social and political history. For example, Hahn argues that understanding emancipation as a protracted process blurs the sectional lines of conflict, which have traditionally shaped the debate about emancipation, and instead recognizes the boundaries of slavery as national rather than sectional. Steven Hahn, *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1-53. The free-produce movement underscores the national, rather than sectional, boundaries of slavery in the United States by highlighting northern economic support of slavery through the purchase of slave-labor goods.

Society of Friends.¹⁷ In 1754 Woolman wrote *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, which was circulated extensively in America as well as England. The golden rule applied equally to all, Woolman argued; thus, slavery violated Christian principles of universal brotherhood. That same year Philadelphia Yearly Meeting published its own statement against slavery.¹⁸ In the 1750s, other yearly meetings also took action against slavery. New York Yearly Meeting, for example, ended slave trading by its members in 1759. Most Quakers freed their adult slaves by 1775 as the Society of Friends made slaveholding an offense punishable by disownment.¹⁹ In addition to eliminating slave trading and slaveholding among members of the Society of Friends, some Quakers including Woolman, as well as Benjamin Lay and Anthony Benezet, also urged Friends to stop using of the products of slave labor.²⁰ Woolman compared slave-labor products

¹⁷ Thomas Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (Gloucester, Mass., 1965), 51. For a full biography of Woolman, see Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51-58; Maurice Jackson, *Let This Voice Be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of Atlantic Abolitionism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 52-55; Christopher Densmore, Hugh Barbour, Thomas Bassett, Arthur Worrall, "Slavery and Abolition to 1830," in *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*, ed. Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, et. al. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 65-70. The preparative meeting, or individual congregation, formed the foundation of Quaker organizational structure. Friends often referred to the preparative meeting simply as the meeting. One or more meetings made up the monthly meeting, which was the basic unit of the Society of Friends' organization. Monthly meeting had the power to receive and to disown members, solemnize marriages, and own property. Quarterly meeting, which consisted of one or more monthly meetings, dealt with matters of doctrine or organization believed too important to be handled by the monthly meeting. Several quarterly meetings made up a yearly meeting, which was the ultimate authority for Quakers in the nineteenth century.

¹⁹ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 48-67. See Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 30 (1973), 223-256. Nash argues that the number of Quakers who owned slaves did not decrease after 1755 and the percentage of Quakers who owned slaves in the 1760s was higher than that of the general population. See also David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 213-254.

²⁰ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 48-67, 71-72, 115.

to “prize goods.” Removing men, women, and children from the coast of Africa by force was an act of war. As a result, any products of their labor were “prize goods” and contrary to Quaker discipline.²¹

Historians have argued that American Friends’ anti-slavery campaign in the mid-eighteenth century was part of a larger program of reformation in American Quakerism, which influenced the development of abolitionism among British Quakers. Rural American Friends, who owned few slaves and had limited contacts with trade or politics, were influenced by Anthony Benezet and John Woolman’s anti-slavery testimonies. In contrast, wealthy Quaker merchants in urban centers such as Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore worried that Friends were losing their distinctive identity as many married out of meeting or adopted other worldly habits. Significantly, these two strands of reform were mutually reinforcing and emphasized change *within* the Society.²² Both Benezet and Woolman traveled to Britain, sharing their anti-slavery and anti-slave-produce views with British Friends. The extensive transatlantic connections among American and British Quakers have led historians to conclude that early anti-slavery initiatives among British Friends were the result of American Quakers’ anti-slavery activism.²³ These two

²¹ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 115-116; Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 4. For example, the sixth query of Quaker discipline (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) addresses the use of illicit trade and prize goods. See “Philadelphia Yearly Meeting,” *The Old Discipline: Nineteenth-Century Friends’ Disciplines in America* (Glenside, Penn.: Quaker Heritage Press, 1999), 106. *The Old Discipline* reproduces and traces the revisions of the nineteenth-century disciplines for the eight oldest yearly meetings in America.

²² Jean Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 171.

²³ David Brion Davis argues that British Friends’ early anti-slavery initiatives were the manifestation of “the antislavery international.” See Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 213-254. In contrast, Christopher Leslie Brown argues that English Friends were less

strands of Quaker reform continued into the nineteenth century and were reflected in debates about the relationship between the Society of Friends and the radical abolitionist movement.

Despite Quaker efforts to stop consumption of slave-labor products within their communities, abstention remained an isolated, individual anti-slavery tactic until 1791, after Parliament failed to pass the slave trade abolition bill. In the wake of that failure, many British abolitionists urged a boycott of West Indian sugar. While the movement was influenced in part by the Quaker testimony against slavery, the British abstention movement in this period had a broad base of support, attracting as many as 400,000 supporters in 1791 and 1792. Dozens of abolitionist tracts were published by Quaker and non-Quaker abolitionists urging consumers to abstain from slave-grown sugar.²⁴ The premise of abstention rhetoric was straightforward: removing the market for the products of slave labor would strike at the very root of slavery forcing planters to use free labor, which in turn would lead to wider availability of free-labor goods. Abstainers also suggested that slave-grown sugar, for example, was tainted with the blood, bodily fluids,

cooperative than first appears. “The London leadership evinced no more than a hesitant embrace of colonial abolitionism, despite their supportive words.” The British Society of Friends, dominated by wealthy, patrician Quakers, found “John Woolman an embarrassment rather than a source for inspiration.” Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 404, 406.

²⁴ For an extensive bibliography of these works, see Peter C. Hogg, *The African Slave Trade: A Classified and Annotated Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Articles* (London: Frank Cass, 1973), 169-175.

and even the flesh of the slaves who produced these goods for British domestic consumption.²⁵

Abstainers hoped to engage the support of domestic consumers, primarily women, in the campaign against slavery by influencing their choice in the marketplace. English potter Josiah Wedgwood, for example, manufactured ceramics with abolitionist designs, which served as a visual reminder at ladies' tea tables of the relationship between sugar and tea and slavery.²⁶ In attempting to influence women, however, abstainers granted women a political voice in the abstention campaign. Consuming or abstaining from slave-grown sugar became a political choice either for or against the slave trade and slavery.

In the eighteenth century many critics worried whether women were capable of making the moral choice. As opportunities to consume material goods expanded in the Atlantic world in this period, critics questioned the impact such changes had on society and, in particular, on women. The "consumer revolution" unfolded concurrently with the development of domestic ideology, which, as historian Nancy Armstrong argues, "recentered the scattered community at myriad points to form the nuclear family, a social organization with a mother rather than a father at its center."²⁷ The link between

²⁵ Quaker writers did emphasize the blood-stained character of slave-grown sugar and cotton, but the more graphic, cannibalistic rhetoric such as Andrew Burn's *A Second Address to the People of Great Britain* was produced by non-Quakers. Burn is discussed in chapter 1.

²⁶ Sam Margolin, "'And Freedom to the Slave': Antislavery Ceramics, 1787-1865," *Ceramics in America* (2002), 80-109; L.A. Compton, "Josiah Wedgwood and the Slave Trade: A Wider View," *Northern Ceramic Society* 100 (1995), 50-69; Mary Guyatt, "The Wedgwood Slave Medallion: Values in Eighteenth-Century Design," *Journal of Design History* 13 (2000), 93-105.

²⁷ Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 95. The historiography of the consumer revolution is quite extensive. For the most useful works see Neil

domestic consumption and women naturalized abstention as a female concern. Yet, as historian Karen Harvey argues, rather than a period of declining male influence in the home, the late eighteenth century instead was a period of shifting relationships between the home and the polity. The home, she notes, retained political significance in ways that destabilize historians' ideas about the "privacy" of the domestic sphere.²⁸ Eighteenth-century abstention rhetoric highlights how Britons debated the relationship of men and women to the "world of goods." In turn, the unsettled character of domestic and political economy and gender roles informed debates about the consumption of slave-labor goods.

In the nineteenth century, women's purchasing power continued to capture the attention of abstainers. The ideological association of women and domesticity had gained ascendancy by 1824 when Elizabeth Heyrick suggested a more radical use for abstention, the immediate abolition of slavery.²⁹ The ideology of "separate spheres" described men as rational, competitive, and independent. In contrast, "true womanhood" was based on the qualities of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Because

McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1988); T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Ann Smart Martin, "Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28 (1993), 141-157; Cary Carson, "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America: Why Demand?" in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 483-697.

²⁸ Karen Harvey, "Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Gender and History* 21 (2009), 520-540.

²⁹ Heyrick, *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition*.

women possessed these characteristics, the true woman was deemed morally superior to man and was expected to wield virtuous influence over husbands, brothers, and sons through her guidance and example.³⁰ As the naturalized primary consumers of domestic goods, women were seen as important role models for abstention from slave-grown products. Nineteenth-century women, however, used assumptions about female nature to expand their participation in the boycott of slave-labor products. While grassroots organizing was essential to abstention in both the 1790s and the 1820s, nineteenth-century women redefined such organizing efforts. Rather than merely expressing their political views in the marketplace and at the tea table, women canvassed their neighborhoods, organized boycotts, distributed anti-slavery literature and lists of free-labor grocers, and established associations to support abstention and anti-slavery. Nineteenth-century women's abstention work in Britain also challenged the male anti-slavery leadership's support for gradual abolition as women's associations led the call for the immediate abolition of slavery.³¹

In the 1820s and 1830s, American abolitionists attempted to transfer British success to American soil. Benjamin Lundy, editor and publisher of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, reprinted Heyrick's work and promoted women's anti-slavery

³⁰ Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966), 151-174. An extensive literature examines the concept of "separate spheres." For two of the most helpful, see Linda Kerber, "Separate Worlds, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (1988), 9-39; Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?: A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993), 383-414.

³¹ Claire Midgley compares eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British women's free produce activism. See Claire Midgley, *Women against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1992) and Claire Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865* (London: Routledge, 2007), 41-64.

efforts throughout this early period.³² Like their British counterparts, American women promoted free-labor produce through associations, solicited friends and neighbors, and operated stores offering alternatives to slave-produced goods. Lundy and Quaker Elizabeth Margaret Chandler were key figures in interpreting British abstention rhetoric for an American audience. Chandler, in particular, provided an important female voice, influencing women to support free-labor produce.³³ American abstainers expanded the British focus on slave-grown sugar to include a broader array of slave-labor products, most notably cotton.

In the 1830s, abolitionists included abstention from slave-labor produce in the constitutions of their anti-slavery societies. The American Anti-Slavery Society's (AASS) Declaration of Sentiments, for example, promised to "encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions."³⁴ In attendance at the AASS's founding meeting in December 1833 were Lucretia Mott, Sidney Ann Lewis, and Lydia White. Free-produce supporters, these three women helped form the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (PFASS) later that same month. The following month the women of the PFASS added a free-produce resolution

³² For more on Lundy, see Merton Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966). See also Kenneth Corfield, "Elizabeth Heyrick: Radical Quaker," in *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930*, ed. Gail Malmgreen, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), 49.

³³ Chandler remains an overlooked individual in American abolitionism. For discussions of Chandler, see Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 21; Blanche Glassman Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 7-10; Beth Salerno, *Sister Societies: Women's Antislavery Organizations in Antebellum America* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005), 21-23.

³⁴ *Liberator*, January 4, 1834.

to their constitution recommending that “the Members of this society should, at all times and on all occasions, give the preference to free produce over that of slaves believing that the refusal to purchase and use the products of slave labour is one of the most efficient means of abolishing slavery.”³⁵ The women of the PFASS deliberately echoed the title of Heyrick’s work in their resolution, which was much stronger than the AASS resolution. Likewise, the black abolitionist founders of the American Moral Reform Society, established in 1836, included free produce in their broad reform agenda.³⁶

While free produce attempted to build a broad base of support, the American movement relied primarily on the support of the Society of Friends. The organized American free-produce movement developed in the midst of the Hicksite schism of the late 1820s. Quaker reformer Elias Hicks had advocated abstention from slave-labor products since the 1790s. Hicks’s free-produce activism as well as his broader campaign against the increasing worldliness of American Quakers led to schism in 1827-1828. Followers of Hicks sought a return to traditional Quakerism, emphasizing individual conscience and purity. In contrast, Orthodox Quakers, influenced by evangelical Christianity, stressed the importance of scriptural authority and doctrinal conformity. Both Hicksite and Orthodox Quakers supported anti-slavery. In the 1830s, however, Quaker debates about abolitionism increasingly focused on defining the appropriate

³⁵ *Liberator*, December 25, 1863; December 14, 1833 and January 15, 1834, Minutes of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Reel 30, Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter PFASS, HSP).

³⁶ Faulkner, “The Root of the Evil,” 391. See also Jean R. Soderlund, “Priorities and Power: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society,” in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women’s Political Culture in Antebellum America*, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 67-88; Julie Winch, *Philadelphia’s Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787-1848* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 105-106.

relationship between Friends and the radical abolitionist movement. Hicksite Quakers joined the secular anti-slavery societies that formed in this period in much larger numbers than their Orthodox brethren. Still, Quakers on either side of the schism supported free-produce as a potentially apolitical protest against slavery.³⁷ The “fragmentation of Friends” created unprecedented opportunities for American Quaker women, especially Hicksites, to participate in the many reform movements of the antebellum period.³⁸

By the late 1830s, American abolitionists believed they had enough support to establish a national free-produce association. Led by the PFASS and the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society, American abstainers gathered at Pennsylvania Hall in May 1838 for the Requisite Labor Convention. Despite attempts to recruit a broad cross-section of delegates from anti-slavery and free-produce associations, the men and women who resolved to form a “National Requisite Labor Association” were primarily members of the Society of Friends. Lewis C. Gunn, Henry Grew, William Bassett, William Jackson, and Alice Eliza Hambleton were appointed a committee to draft a constitution for the new association.³⁹ The meeting, however, was interrupted when anti-abolitionist mobs burned the hall. In October of that year, abstainers met again to establish the American Free

³⁷ H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill Publications, 1998); Ryan Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820-1865* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007).

³⁸ Nancy A. Hewitt, “The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America,” in *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries*, eds., Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 93-119.

³⁹ *Minutes of Proceedings of the Requisite Labor Convention, Held in Philadelphia, on the 17th and 18th of Fifth Month, and by Adjournment on the 5th and 6th of Ninth Month* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838), 3-6.

Produce Association. Mott, Pugh, and White were among the women elected to leadership positions.⁴⁰

A year later, British reformers established the British India Society to promote land and labor reform in India. Reforming labor practices in India, supporters believed, would provide an ethical alternative to slave-grown cotton and sugar from the United States. Although women were not appointed to leadership positions in the BIS, British abolitionist Elizabeth Pease along with her father Joseph Pease and George Thompson promoted the goals of the Society in Britain and the United States.⁴¹ Through her correspondence with American abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison, William Bassett, Maria Weston Chapman, and Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Pease almost single-handedly managed the distribution of information about the BIS in America.

Together these associations were an attempt by supporters to build on the early success of the free-produce movement, to create a national and, ultimately, an international movement against the products of slave labor. As British and American delegates prepared for the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, many abolitionists looked forward to the opportunity to make a strong international statement against the products of slave labor. The first annual meeting of the British India Society, scheduled to convene in the days immediately after the convention, added to that optimism. However, that hope faded in the wake of the rejection of the American women

⁴⁰ *History of Pennsylvania Hall, Which Was Destroyed by a Mob on the 17th of May, 1838* (Philadelphia: Printed by Merrihew and Gunn, 1838); *Minutes of Proceedings of the Requisite Labor Convention*, 13.

⁴¹ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 122; Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 255.

and the weak resolutions against slave-labor products passed by convention delegates. Free-labor products, like Garrison's "free suit," went unnoticed in the divisive atmosphere of the convention as British and American abolitionists focused on the woman question.

Despite Garrison's waning interest and the disappointment of the World Anti-Slavery Convention, abstainers demonstrated incredible resilience. After the BIS and the AFPA dissolved in the mid- to late-1840s, many British and American abolitionists continued to support the free-produce movement. In the mid-1840s, American Quakers established a Quaker-only free-produce association hoping to revive the movement among Friends by avoiding any connection with radical abolitionism.⁴² Among the radical abolitionists, Mott led the fight for abstention, influencing the passage of a free-produce resolution by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in 1850.⁴³ In this period, the women of the PFASS including Mott continued to assert the importance of free produce as a radical statement of abolitionist purity and racial identification.⁴⁴ In the early 1850s, black abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet toured England on behalf of the free-produce movement. British abolitionists Henry and Anna Richardson established dozens of free-produce societies in the months following Garnet's tour.⁴⁵ Garnet also worked with American Quaker Benjamin Coates on a plan to establish a free-labor

⁴² Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 35-39.

⁴³ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, October 24, 1850; Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 398.

⁴⁴ Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 397-398; Soderlund, "Priorities and Power," 67-88.

⁴⁵ R.J.M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 119-123; Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 396-397, 400-403.

colony in Africa.⁴⁶ Scorned even by their fellow abolitionists, abstainers continued to assert the importance of purity and consistency in abolitionist work and the cultural and economic value of a moral economy.

The British and American abstention movements have received scant attention from historians. Ruth Ketring Nuermberger's *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest against Slavery* is the only full study of the American abstention movement. Nuermberger traces the free-produce movement from its eighteenth-century Quaker origins to its nineteenth-century Quaker demise concluding that the movement was more significant for its impact on the Society of Friends than its influence on the abolition of slavery.⁴⁷ Similarly, Kenneth Corfield characterizes the British abstention movement as predominantly female occupying only a "minor place" in the history of abolitionism.⁴⁸ Charlotte Sussman and Lawrence Glickman place the British and American abstention movements within the larger history of consumer protests. Sussman focuses on the intersection of gender, nationalism, and commerce in Britain. British anxieties about personal and national contamination developed around colonial goods suggesting protests against slave-grown sugar were not solely expressions of abolitionist sentiment.⁴⁹ Glickman argues that the American free-produce movement was most successful in

⁴⁶ Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner and Margaret Hope Bacon, eds. *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in American, 1848-1880* (University Park, Penn.: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

⁴⁷ Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 115.

⁴⁸ Kenneth Corfield, "English Abolitionists and the Refusal of Slave-Grown Goods, 1780-1860," MA diss., University of London, 1983, 53.

⁴⁹ Charlotte Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties: Consumer Protest, Gender, and British Slavery, 1713-1833* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

giving political voice to consumers regardless of their abolitionist sentiments. While the movement was ultimately a failure, free-produce activists developed tools used by later consumer activists.⁵⁰ In each of these studies, free-produce is of little influence on the larger anti-slavery movement.

Sussman and Corfield highlight the link between women and abstention in their work on the British movement. Yet, even in histories of women's abolitionist activity, abstinence from the products of slave labor, if mentioned at all, is often accorded a minor mention.⁵¹ There are, however, notable exceptions to this historiographical neglect. Abstention campaigners, according to Clare Midgley, were vital in transforming Britain from a nation that accepted slave-produced goods into a nation of anti-slavery households. As British women united in support of imperial goals, they laid the foundation for the later development of what Midgley describes as "imperial feminism."⁵² In *Sister Societies*, Beth Salerno suggests the importance free-produce activism had for development of American women's anti-slavery organizations. Because free produce "help[ed] to erase the distinctions between the economic, moral, and political aspects of the fight against slavery, the free-produce movement provided important justifications for women's antislavery activism." The free-produce associations of the 1820s were important precursors to the later women's organizations

⁵⁰ Lawrence B. Glickman, *Buying Power: A History of Consumer Activism in America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 61-89.

⁵¹ See Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism*, 20-22.

⁵² Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 41-64. See also Midgley, *Women against Slavery*; Clare Midgley, "British Abolitionism and Feminism in Transatlantic Perspective," in *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation*, eds. Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 121-139.

that are the focus of Salerno's study.⁵³ Likewise, Stacey Robertson focuses on the connections fostered by female free-produce activists. In her study of women abolitionists in the Old Northwest, Robertson emphasizes the importance of the free-produce movement in connecting western women abolitionists to the local black community as well as the broader American and British abolitionist community.⁵⁴ Carol Faulkner acknowledges the failure of the American free-produce movement to develop a broad base of support; still, she argues that the American free produce movement "attracted the most committed, most diverse, and arguably most radical abolitionists." Faulkner contextualizes American abstention within the broader abolitionist movement. Free produce, she argues, is vital to understanding the history of Garrisonian abolitionism. In the 1820s, free produce was linked to the earliest calls for immediatism; in the 1840s, after the anti-slavery movement divided, free produce served as a test of moral consistency for many abolitionists.⁵⁵ Rather than a "quiet" Quaker movement the free produce movement instead was a mark of abolitionist radicalism.⁵⁶

The free-produce movement offers a new way to examine women's anti-slavery activism. Because the free-produce movement emphasized integration by gender and by

⁵³ Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 19.

⁵⁴ Stacey Robertson, *Hearts Beating for Liberty: Women Abolitionists in the Old Northwest* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), ch. 3.

⁵⁵ Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 377-405. Quote is from 404.

⁵⁶ Carol Faulkner, "Lucretia Mott and the Problem of Moral Suasion," paper presented at 14th Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 14, 2008. Faulkner challenges historians' description of Lucretia Mott as a "quiet Quaker." Mott's unwavering commitment to moral suasion and racial equality, according to Faulkner, are evidence of her radicalism.

race in many of its associations and because the movement stressed the importance of individual purity, free produce challenges an abolitionist historiography that remains deeply influenced by the idea of “separate spheres.”⁵⁷ Indeed, there are a lot of binaries in abolitionist historiography: male or female activism, politics or moral suasion, violent or peaceful measures. Women’s activism remains defined by peaceful means such as petitions to Congress, anti-slavery fairs, and moral suasion. Such a definition, however, precludes any hint of radicalism except as those activities led to the call for women’s rights. Much of the scholarship on abolitionist women in general remains segregated and marginalized in a history of anti-slavery that is still interpreted by its male activists.⁵⁸ While the field of abolitionist studies is, as Manisha Sinha argues, “much richer” as the result of new research focusing on women and African Americans, it is at the same time “considerably more fragmented.”⁵⁹ The free-produce movement offers an opportunity to synthesize the various divisions within the historiography of abolitionism and highlight the radicalism of women activists.

⁵⁷ See Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds. *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women’s Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) and Julie Roy Jeffrey, “Permeable Boundaries: Abolitionist Women and Separate Spheres,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 21 (2001), 79-93.

⁵⁸ For example, see the recent body of John Brown scholarship: John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); David Reynolds, *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights* (New York: Vintage, 2006). For a notable exception in Brown scholarship, see Bonnie Laughlin-Schultz, ““Could I not do something for the cause?”: The Brown Women, Antislavery Reform, and Memory of Militant Abolitionism,” PhD diss., Indiana University, 2009. For another perspective on gender and violent abolitionism, see Kristen Tegtmeier Oertel, *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender, and Violence in Pre-Civil War Kansas* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009).

⁵⁹ Manisha Sinha, “Coming of Age: The Historiography of Black Abolitionism,” in *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism*, ed. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Stauffer (New York: The New Press, 2006), 37.

Unlike earlier histories of abstention, this dissertation studies the free produce movement within its transatlantic context from 1791 through 1848.⁶⁰ Earlier histories of free produce tend to focus either on the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries and British or American abstention only tangentially referring to the transatlantic connections. Exploring abstention from its eighteenth-century origins to the formal start of the women's rights movement reveals the transformation in female activism in the Atlantic world. In the eighteenth century, women's abstention focused on the immediate domestic circle as women convinced friends and family to abstain from slave-grown sugar. In the 1820s, as Elizabeth Heyrick revitalized the free produce movement and linked it to immediate abolition, women moved beyond the domestic circle to form gender-segregated societies to support their abolitionist reform work. In the late 1830s, women's abstention work transformed once again as American women used segregated and integrated free-produce and anti-slavery associations to assert their identification with African Americans.

Women's market activities on behalf of the slave served as rites of community often crossing generational, gender, geographic, and on occasion, class and racial barriers. In the confluence of domesticity, reform, and market activities, women developed formal and informal networks of support for the anti-slavery cause.

⁶⁰ Though he does not discuss the free-produce movement specifically, Steven Hahn suggests the importance of an extended temporal and geographical discussion of emancipation: ". . . emancipation and its consequences were international in their unfolding and significance. But the 'two emancipations' and 'sectional conflict' models that have dominated the historiography of the United States may well have prevented us from taking the full measure of this. . . . The difficulty with such an approach is that a crucial international dynamic of change, communication, and influence may then be overlooked. . . . Slavery and emancipation in the United States, that is, not only developed in an international context, but also shaped and were shaped by that context." Hahn, *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom*, 19-22.

Abstention from the products of slavery required a substantial commitment. Free-labor produce was expensive, difficult to identify, and often less palatable than its slave-produced counterpart. Patronizing a free-labor store, moreover, blurred the boundaries between the public and private spheres. Though petitioning was important in raising political awareness of a growing popular anti-slavery culture first in Britain and then in the United States, the daily market activities of anti-slavery women were equally important to the development of that culture. While not as overtly political as petition drives, these activities expanded women's understanding of political action and citizenship and contested accepted norms of women's proper sphere of influence. The networks developed by abstention campaigners created an anti-slavery culture that crisscrossed the Atlantic and encouraged conservative and radical women to remain involved in the cause in a way that petition drives and other more explicitly political activities did not.

By focusing on the convergence of domestic, reform, and market activities, my research will highlight the commitment anti-slavery activism required of conservative and radical women, the communities British and American women formed, and the chronology of their activities. Additionally, my research will expand historical understanding of the role of the Anglo-American connection within the individual movements as well as the broader, transnational movement. My research moves beyond the traditional question of the value of free produce in the achievement of emancipation and instead considers how free produce shaped abolitionist activity and influenced women's reform work. Examination of domestic, reform, and market activities within

the context of the Anglo-American anti-slavery movement will reveal that British abolitionist George Stephen was correct in saying that women “formed the cement of the whole Antislavery building — without their aid we never should have kept standing.”⁶¹ Free produce encouraged and sustained many women abolitionists throughout the period of abolitionist activity and they in turned sustained the movement.

My dissertation consists of six chapters arranged thematically as well as chronologically. I focus on the most intense period of free-produce activism, 1791 through 1848. The first two sections focus on the British and American movements respectively. In section one, chapter one examines the eighteenth-century British campaign while chapter two examines Elizabeth Heyrick and nineteenth-century British abstention. In section two, chapters three and four focus on American attempts to transfer British success in the free-produce movement to the United States. Chapter three focuses on American Quaker writer Elizabeth Margaret Chandler who promoted free produce in Great Britain and the United States in poems, essays, and morality tales published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and the *Liberator*. Chapter four focuses on American and British organizational activity in the 1830s, in particular the work of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, the American Free Produce Association, the British India Society, and the Society of Friends. In the final section, I shift attention to abstainers’ attempts to build an international movement against slave-labor products. Chapter five examines the moments of community and conflict in the

⁶¹ George Stephen to Anne Knight, November 14, 1834, as quoted in Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire’s Slaves* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 327.

American and British free-produce movements in the 1840s, beginning with the highly anticipated World Anti-Slavery Convention and ending with the quiet demise of the AFPA and the BIS.

Ideologies of race, gender, and commerce, as well as ideas about morality and sectarianism, intersected in the abstention movement in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To displace the tainted productions of slavery from the marketplace, free-produce activists experimented with new ideas for organizing society and providing consumer goods. Reformers disseminated abstention literature, organized boycotts of slave-grown products, and formed free-labor associations and stores, published lists of free-labor grocers, and established utopian communities. Significantly, free-produce supporters asserted the importance of continual self-examination and moral suasion as the means to abolish slavery and achieve racial equality. In the process, free-produce supporters suggested a radical re-ordering of society that challenged the greed and racism that had supported the Atlantic economy and instead promoted self-sacrifice for the good of the global community.

PART I
THE BRITISH ABSTENTION MOVEMENT

CHAPTER 1

“VITAL BLOOD”: THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ABSTENTION CAMPAIGN

In 1791, Ferdinand Bayard, his wife, and infant son escaped the upheaval of revolutionary France to tour the United States. Bayard avoided the cities, which he described as places “where everything is imitation, where the inhabitants, communicating constantly with Europe, remain still imbued with English prejudices, and reveal in their customs as in their opinions, the traces of the irons which they had the courage to break.” In the Shenandoah Valley, Bayard found what he described as a “promised land,” where dependence on the land liberated Americans from aristocracy and European influence.¹ Imagine, then, his wonder at encountering that British female ritual, the tea party, in rural Bath, Virginia:

They go to tea-parties at five o’clock. The strictest formality is observed there. All the ladies, decked out in their finest, are arranged in a semicircle on the right of the mistress of the house. A deep silence follows the entrance of each invited guest; and all those ladies are as grave as judges on the bench. Vessels of silver contain the tea and the hot water. The hot water is used to weaken the tea, or to wash the cups. A servant brings in, on a silver tray or a tea service, the cup, the sugar bowl, the cream pitcher, round slices of buttered bread and slices of smoke-cured

¹ Ferdinand M. Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia with a Description of Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1791 or Travels in the Interior of the United States, to Bath, Winchester, in the Valley of the Shenandoah, etc., etc. during the Summer of 1791*, trans. Ben C. McCary (Williamsburg, Va.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1950), 1. For more about Bayard’s American tour, see also Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 336-337.

meats which are presented to each person, and which must be held on the lap. Frenchmen are greatly embarrassed when, in one hand they hold the cup and saucer, and with the other they must take slices of bread and butter and smoke-cured meats cut in very thin slices. When everything is ready for serving, the ladies pull out their handkerchiefs, and spread them out on their laps. When the cup is sent back, care is taken to place the spoon in such a manner that it indicates whether you wish another cup, or whether you have had enough. A Frenchman who did not speak any English, and not being acquainted with this sign language, and very distressed to see the sixteenth cup arrive, hit upon the idea after having emptied it, of keeping it in his pocket until they had finished serving.²

Bayard's description illustrates the growth of ritualized tea drinking in the Atlantic world in the eighteenth century. Of the three stimulant beverages introduced into Europe in the seventeenth century — tea, coffee, and chocolate — tea quickly outpaced the other two in consumption.³ Tea benefitted from its intrinsic qualities; it was easily enhanced with sugar, cream, or milk and was tolerable even when served weak. Tea was also more economical than coffee or chocolate. Aided by government protection and the monopoly held by the East India Company, supplies of tea increased and prices declined throughout the eighteenth century.⁴ Tea drinking influenced the consumption of sugar, which rose four hundred percent during this period, and fueled the demand for

² Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman*, 47.

³ Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish, and Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1997), 268. According to Wees, between 1725 and 1800 annual tea imports into Britain increased from 250,000 pounds to 24 million pounds. See also Agnes Reppelier, *To Think of Tea!* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1932), 3-4; Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 19-69.

⁴ Rodris Roth, *Tea Drinking in Eighteenth Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage*, Bulletin 225, Paper 14, Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1961), 66; Wees, *English, Irish, and Scottish Silver*, 267; Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 112-113.

specialized tea brewing equipment.⁵ Tea drinking also opened the market for mahogany and other exotic woods, which were used to manufacture matching tables and chairs as well as smaller pieces such as kettle stands and locking tea boxes.⁶ Bayard described in detail the tea equipment of the Virginia tea party noting, for example, that the tea pot was made of silver rather than the more common porcelain.⁷ Bayard also highlighted women's behavior at the tea table: men and women both consumed tea, yet women wielded the teapot and controlled the tea ritual. The tea ritual and its related luxuries had spread even to the peripheries of the Atlantic world, as Bayard noted.⁸ An important site for sugar consumption, the tea table became the focus of the slave trade debate when eighteenth-century British abolitionists urged consumers to boycott slave-grown sugar.⁹

Bayard's visit to Bath coincided with the beginning of the organized abstention movement in Britain. Shifting the site of debate about the African slave trade from Parliament to the tea table, abstainers placed the tea ritual at the center of an intense

⁵ Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 67; Wees, *English, Irish, and Scottish Silver*, 267. See also Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 46. Midgley suggests the spread of the tea ritual, which often included the consumption of pastries and other baked goods, aided the popularity of cookbooks such as Hannah Glasse's *The Compleat Confectioner: or the Whole Art of Confectionary*, first published in 1760.

⁶ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 46; Jennifer L. Anderson, "Nature's Currency: The Atlantic Mahogany Trade, 1720-1830," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2007, 415.

⁷ By mid-century, demand for porcelain tea pots outpaced silver though tea sets frequently included both porcelain and silver pieces, even in upper class households. Wees, *English, Irish, and Scottish Silver*, 269.

⁸ At another tea party in western Virginia, Bayard noted the sharp distinctions between the luxurious equipment of the tea ritual and the otherwise primitive conditions of the home: "We were served tea in beautiful china cups, in a parlor the floor which was full of holes, and where daylight came in through cracks in the walls. The sugar-bowl, the cream-pitcher, and everything was tastefully arranged on a round, and extremely clean, mahogany table." Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman*, 35.

⁹ "Boycott" is actually a late nineteenth-century term. See Monroe Friedman, *Consumer Boycotts: Effecting Change through the Marketplace and the Media* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

debate about the nature of commerce and consumption, gender and sentiment as well the slave trade. The tea table embodied the tensions of a rapidly expanding consumer society. When abstention writers introduced the violence of the slave trade into the cozy tea scene, they reminded readers that the apparent domestic harmony of the tea table was created by a violent form of consumption, one often driven by female desire for fashion. Yet abstainers believed women could serve as both the nation's moral guardian and its commercial control. The tea table, they hoped, could serve as the transformation of female sensibility from self-indulgent to self-sacrificing; in turn women would influence a new form of commerce, defined as much by its moral and cultural qualities as its financial exchange.¹⁰ Thus, Bayard described the American tea table at a critical moment of redefinition.

The first abstention campaign illuminates the dynamic relationship between slavery and the ideologies of commerce and gender. Shifting ideas about the nature of commerce as well as new opportunities to consume — regardless of race, class, or gender — provided unprecedented opportunities for expression of individual values, particularly

¹⁰ See Brycchan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment and Slavery, 1760-1807* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 7-8; G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 37. Carey suggests that in this period the discourse of sensibility served “as a site for the working out of changing gender relationships.” Similarly, Barker-Benfield argues that sensibility attempted to reform female *and* male manners. In her analysis of women's involvement in the first abolition campaign, Kate Davies argues that female behavior represented “authoritative moral constancy.” Thus, abolitionists positioned feminine sympathy apart from the marketplace and defined abolition as a moral question. While I agree with Davies's assessment of female behavior, I disagree that such behavior was “apolitical.” See Kate Davies, “A Moral Purchase: Femininity, Commerce and Abolition,” in *Women and the Public Sphere: Writing and Representation, 1700-1830*, ed. Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Cliona O'Gallchoir, and Penny Warburton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 133-159.

in the marketplace.¹¹ Women's marketplace behavior could model the virtue of the family by boycotting sugar, or could instead reflect an uncontrolled pursuit of fashion. Bayard, for example, noted that American women's "mania for luxury [had] reach[ed] such an extent that the wife of the laboring man wishes to vie in dress with the wife of the merchant, and the latter does not wish to be inferior to the wealthy women of Europe." Yet, earlier in his narrative, Bayard had noted the patriotic behavior of American women who used homespun rather than purchase British goods.¹² These seemingly contradictory descriptions of female economic behavior suggest that the language of commerce in this period was entangled with other social, political, and cultural concerns.¹³

Emphasizing women's economic behavior challenges Thomas Clarkson's interpretation of the first slave-sugar boycott. In his 1808 history of the abolition of the slave trade, Clarkson argued that public outcry over Parliament's rejection of the slave trade abolition bill led consumers to reject slave-grown produce. Spurred on by William

¹¹ See Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1," and "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2," 107-135, 136-160; John Ashworth, "The Relationship between Capitalism and Humanitarianism," all in *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*, ed., Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 180-199; Clare Midgley, "Slave Sugar Boycotts, Female Activism and the Domestic Base of British Anti-Slavery Culture," *Slavery and Abolition* 17 (1996), 150-152. Midgley, building on the arguments of Haskell and Ashworth, suggests that the rise of consumer society with its concomitant emphasis on individual choice was necessary for the development of the abstention campaign.

¹² Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman*, 130, 73.

¹³ See Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor, *The Ties That Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 192. Hartigan-O'Connor argues that the language of "commerce was shot through with other concerns, including affection, family obligation, and ideas about appropriate 'masculine' or 'feminine' interests. . . . If a market ethos permeated social and emotional lives, so, too, did social and emotional concerns influence commercial decisions."

Fox's fiery pamphlet, Britons abstained from the products of oppression.¹⁴ William Dickson, who toured Scotland in Clarkson's stead, noted that the London Committee did not organize the boycott of sugar or commission the publication of Fox's pamphlet; yet, the response to the boycott "had shewn that many people over the Whole kingdom of Engd. wished well to our cause."¹⁵ Clarkson and Dickson understood the sugar boycott as one more step in the progression of anti-slavery sentiment. As Clarkson explained in 1808: "... we are taught the consoling lesson, that however small the beginning and slow the progress may appear in any good work which we may undertake, we need not be discouraged as to the ultimate result of our labours."¹⁶ Clarkson contrasted Parliament's failure of moral nerve to the virtuous community of consumers rising up in protest. Abstainers, he noted, believed it "a truth . . . that if each would abstain, the people would have a complete remedy for this enormous evil in their own power."¹⁷

Interpreting widespread abstention from sugar as a spontaneous protest against the slave trade, as Clarkson did, simplifies the influence material goods had on eighteenth-

¹⁴ Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1808), II: 347, 349-350. See also Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 193. Hochschild, using contemporary estimates of participation, suggests that "well over half a million Britons joined the boycott." Moreover, "... grocers reported sugar sales dropping by a third to a half in a few months' time. Over a two-year period, the sale of sugar from India increased more than tenfold." Hochschild notes the habit of one clergyman who carried at all times a packet of East India sugar in case his parishioners offered him tea.

¹⁵ William Dickson, entry for January 16, 1792, "Diary of Journey to Scotland, January-March 1792," Friends House Library, London, England.

¹⁶ Clarkson, *History*, I:263-264.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II: 348. See also Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 10. Carey notes: "Clarkson held that abolition was a triumph of Christian humanitarian ethos that naturally came to the fore when the true facts about slavery were revealed to the public by campaigners such as himself. This self-congratulatory position was orthodox throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries."

century transatlantic society. This period witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of complaints against materialism. While critics of luxury had lodged similar complaints in earlier centuries, the tone of eighteenth-century jeremiads against consumption suggests the presence of new tensions.¹⁸ Material goods took on a gendered dimension in this period as function and setting influenced design and meaning.¹⁹ The widespread availability of credit and currency as well as advertising encouraged consumers to participate in the expanding marketplace.²⁰ Consumers could accept or reject goods for any number of reasons. Consumption of or abstinence from goods was often contextual and rarely static. New ideas about gender and commerce stressed the Atlantic world in critical ways. Thus, the rejection of slave-grown sugar may have been as much an expression of anxiety over the development of the world of goods and shifting gender roles as a statement of anti-slavery or anti-slave trade sentiment.

¹⁸ Martin, "Makers, Buyers, and Users," 151.

¹⁹ Anderson, "Nature's Currency," 418: "The ways in which individual objects were contextualized, and how in turn they were interpreted by eighteenth century viewers, was further influenced by such factors as their setting, form, style, and gendered design aspects. For example, a man's desk in a counting house would be scaled differently (usually larger and heavier) than a smaller, more delicate desk or sewing table designed for a woman's parlor."

²⁰ T.H. Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology, and Community on the Eve of the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50 (1993), 488. In her analysis of retail trade in eighteenth century Virginia, Ann Smart Martin notes that slaves made up a significant portion of merchant John Hook's business: "The number of slaves who made purchases had grown so large and their activity so regular that by the turn of the century, Hook's storekeeper at Hale's Ford began keeping a separate account book for their purchases." See Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 8, 173-193.

William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Sugar Boycott, 1791-1792

Historians have argued that abstention was seen from the first as a female concern.²¹ Yet, early abstainers did not appeal specifically to female consumers or invoke the familiar space of the tea table. They did, however, draw supporters' attention to the link between domestic consumption and colonial slave labor. The gendered nature of the abstention movement identified by historians developed instead in response to William Fox's first abstention tract.

In July 1791, three months after parliamentary defeat of the slave trade abolition bill, William Fox composed and published anonymously *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Utility of Refraining from the Use of West India Sugar and Rum*.²² Fox's pamphlet quickly came to symbolize the eighteenth-century rejection of slave-grown sugar. Thomas Clarkson estimated 300,000 Britons abstained from West Indian

²¹ See Corfield, "English Abolitionists and the Refusal of Slave-Grown Goods," iv; Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 78-79; Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 35. As Drescher argues, abstention "brought women and children directly into the orbit of the campaign." While abstention did bring women into the eighteenth-century abstention movement, abstainers such as William Fox did not specifically seek women's support, at least in the early weeks of the campaign.

²² The anonymous author of *A Vindication of the Use of Sugar*, published in 1792 in response to Fox's *Address*, claimed, "the Author of the pamphlet in question is well known to be a Mr. F***, formerly an eminent Bookseller in Holborn." The author also noted that Fox "has not been a little remarkable for the singularity of his opinions in general," implying that Fox's politics were well known in London. See *A Vindication of the Use of Sugar, the Produce of the West-India Islands in Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled Remarkable Extracts, &c.* (London: T. Boosey, 1792), 9. Fox, the bookseller and author of the *Address*, has been the subject of mistaken identity. His works have been attributed to William Fox, an attorney-at-law; William Fox, a Baptist and founder of the Sunday School Society; and his son, William Fox, Jr. For an analysis of Fox's identity, see Timothy Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse of the 1790s," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42 (2009), 404-408. William Fox has also been confused with his contemporary, William Bell Crafton of Tewksbury, author of *A Short Sketch of the Evidence Delivered Before a Committee of the House of Commons. To Which is Added, a Recommendation of the Subject to the Serious Attention of the People in General*, 3rd ed., with additions (London: M. Gurney, 1792). Fox's *Address* and Crafton's *Sketch* were published almost simultaneously. Both advocated abstention from West Indian produce. The first edition of *Sketch* was most likely printed in Tewksbury in 1791. See Clarkson, *History*, II: 348.

sugar at the height of the boycott.²³ In January 1792, Clarkson wrote and circulated a private letter acknowledging the influence of Fox's tract and requesting Josiah Wedgwood arrange for the printing of another 1000 copies of the pamphlet. "I have seen the effects of the work in the course of my travels, and I am so convinced that the like effects will be produced upon others if it still be more circulated," he told Wedgwood. Clarkson also suggested that abstention might lead to more signatures on petitions.²⁴ Even Fox's critics noted the rapid dissemination of the *Address*. As one author wrote, "this pamphlet claims particular attention [for] the rapid and extraordinary manner in which it has been circulated in all parts of the kingdom."²⁵

Historians acknowledge Fox's influence on the eighteenth-century abstention movement; however, often missing from their analyses is any mention of the circumstances that brought his pamphlet to print.²⁶ In a partnership of abolitionist elite and radical outsider, the first four editions of Fox's pamphlet were printed and sold by Quaker James Phillips, printer for the London Committee, and Baptist Martha Gurney, London's only female dissenting printer.

²³ Clarkson, *History*, II: 349-350. Methodist Samuel Bradburn estimated that more than 400,000 people participated in the boycott. Samuel Bradburn, *An Address to the People Called Methodists Concerning the Evil of Encouraging the Slave Trade* (Manchester: T. Harper, Smithy-Door, 1792).

²⁴ As quoted in Earl Leslie Griggs, *Thomas Clarkson: The Friend of Slaves* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1938), 69; J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Portland, Or.: Frank Cass, 1988), 58. In this same letter, Clarkson noted that sugar revenue was down £200,000. In reply, Wedgwood proposed printing 2000 copies and adding a woodcut of the seal of the kneeling slave. Wedgwood also offered to pay the cost of preparing the print.

²⁵ *Strictures on an Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Propriety of Abstaining from West-India Sugar and Rum* (London: T. Boosey, 1792), 3.

²⁶ Timothy Whelan's article is a notable exception. See Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse," 397-411.

The partnership of Gurney and Fox transformed their printing and bookselling business into one of the most important voices in the slave trade debate. In 1782, Gurney moved her printing and bookselling business into Fox's bookshop on Holborn Hill. Gurney was the only daughter of Thomas Gurney, a high Calvinist Baptist and a shorthand writer at the Old Bailey, and the sister of Joseph Gurney, who became the leading court stenographer in the late eighteenth century. Joseph operated a bookshop on Holborn Hill near Fox; indeed, the younger Gurney may have introduced Fox to his sister. In 1785, Fox published the dramatic version of Aphra Behn's *Oronoko*; three years later, Gurney published James Dore's *A Sermon on the African Slave Trade*.²⁷ These two publications marked the partnership's public affirmation of their abolitionist sympathies. Over the course of their partnership, Gurney and Fox published sixteen political pamphlets on various topics including abstention, the abolition of the slave trade, and Britain's war with France. In addition to publishing and selling anti-slave trade pamphlets, Gurney displayed in her shop an engraving of the slave ship *Brookes*.²⁸ Fox and the Gurneys also supported the American abolitionist movement. In 1794, Fox as well as seven English Baptist ministers, including the Gurneys' pastor, James Dore, joined the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. A year later, Joseph Gurney and his eldest

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 398-401. See also Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades, 1775-1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (Kent, England: Dawson, 1977), 84, 97.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 401. Whelan notes, "Of all the London printers and booksellers involved in publishing or distributing more than five works during the slave trade controversy, only Gurney, Phillips, and James Ridgway could boast of never issuing any work that advocated its continuance." For more on the history of the engraving the *Brookes*, see Cheryl Finley, "Committed to Memory: The Slave Ship Icon in the Black Atlantic Imagination," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2002; Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

son also became members of the Pennsylvania group. In all likelihood, the Baptists were influenced by their association with James Phillips and other London Quakers who had joined the Quaker-influenced Pennsylvania association in the late 1780s.²⁹

As a member of the London Committee and printer/bookseller, Quaker James Phillips was responsible for publishing works that promoted the group's abolitionist view. Phillips also served as a member of a six-man group loosely associated with the London Committee, which published anti-slavery literature independent of the formal group. This independence allowed the informal committee to publish works by non-Quakers.³⁰ According to William Dillwyn, a member of both the formal and informal committees, some Quakers were uncomfortable printing abolitionist literature written by non-Friends. The informal committee hoped to gain a wider audience for their publications by remaining unaligned with a particular religious group. In the wake of parliamentary defeat, the formal Committee broadened its membership and began to align

²⁹ *Act of Incorporation and Constitution of the Pennsylvania Society, for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery; and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race; Also a List of Those who have been Elected Members of the Society* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1860), 22, 23; Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse," 400. Whelan notes that Joseph Gurney was also a subscriber to the London Committee. James Phillips and William Dillwyn, for example, are listed on pages 16 and 17. For the origins of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, see Richard S. Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), ch. 1. Initially composed of Quaker antislavery theorists, the PAS soon developed into a powerful, politically-oriented organization.

³⁰ Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse," 402, 401; Jennings, "Joseph Woods," 163-164. Phillips, Joseph Woods, William Dillwyn, Samuel Hoare, George Harrison, and Dr. Thomas Knowles were members of this group. Of the six, only Woods was not a member of the Abolition Committee. For more on Phillips and the Abolition Committee's publishing efforts, see Oldfield, *Popular Politics*, 42-46. Christopher L. Brown lists Woods, Dillwyn, Hoare, Harrison, and Knowles as members of the committee. Instead of Phillips, however, Brown identifies John Lloyd as the sixth member of the committee. Nonetheless, given Phillips's prominence in the London printing community, Phillips was most likely involved with this group even if he was not a member. See Brown, *Moral Capital*, 418.

itself more with the abstention movement. In the weeks following Parliament's action, the Committee added new members, many of them evangelicals, and issued a report questioning, for the first time, whether goods such as sugar must only be produced by slaves.³¹ Fox and Gurney's partnership with Phillips, most likely the work of the informal committee, suggests the respect their work had achieved in the British abolitionist community.

Fox's pamphlet was reprinted widely. A note in the tenth edition indicated 50,000 copies had been printed in the first four months. Historian Timothy Whelan suggests Martha Gurney alone may have printed 130,000 copies by the twenty-sixth edition. In addition to the Gurney editions, approved and bootleg copies were published throughout Great Britain and the United States in the early 1790s as well as private printings such as the one requested by Thomas Clarkson. In his analysis of the Fox-Gurney partnership, Whelan estimates at least 250,000 copies of the *Address* were printed by Gurney and others during 1791-1792.³² The Fox-Gurney partnership with Phillips may have aided American distribution of Fox's pamphlet. In 1783, the Library Company of Philadelphia had asked Joseph Woods and William Dillwyn to serve as their

³¹ Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 224; Jennings, "Joseph Woods," 164, 172.

³² Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse," 402; William H. Gurney Salter, ed., *Some Particulars of the Lives of William Brodie Gurney and his Immediate Ancestors* (London: Unwin, 1902), 35. As Whelan argues, "When all these printings are added together, W.B. Gurney's claim that Fox's *Address* reached a circulation of 250,000 copies is credible. See also Charlotte Sussman, "Women and the Politics of Sugar, 1792," *Representations* 48 (1994), 51. Compare these figures to Clarkson's estimate that in the first thirteen months of the London Committee, the group prepared 51,432 copies of books and pamphlets and 26,526 copies of brief reports. See Clarkson, *History*, I: 571.

purchasing agents in London. Many of their orders were placed through James Phillips.³³ Thus, Whelan's claim that Fox's pamphlet "eclipsed" Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* as "the most widely distributed pamphlet of the eighteenth century" is justified.³⁴

Fox's pamphlet outsold every other anti-slave trade pamphlet up to that time and caused a veritable war of words in the months following its initial publication. Nearly twenty pamphlets were printed either challenging or supporting Fox's contention that consumers should reject the produce of slavery.³⁵ Martha Gurney played a key role in shaping abstention rhetoric, printing another thirteen abolitionist pamphlets, many of them promoting the abstention movement, between 1791 and 1794.³⁶ Along with James Phillips, Gurney dominated the printing and selling of abolitionist works in London in this period. As the only female abolitionist printer and bookseller, Gurney attracted attention from both sides of the slave trade debate.³⁷

³³ Jennings, *The Business of Abolishing the British Slave Trade*, 6. The London Committee also sent pamphlets to the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. For discussion of one such instance, see Finley, "Committed to Memory," 57-58.

³⁴ Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse," 397. Sussman reaches a similar conclusion noting that the *Address* was "easily the most successful of the abolitionist tracts." See Sussman, "Women and the Politics of Sugar," 51.

³⁵ For examples, see Hogg, *The African Slave Trade and Its Suppression*, 169-175. Hogg includes four editions of Fox's *Address*, but fails to note the change in title that occurred with the seventh edition. See also Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse," 403. Given the transient character of these pamphlets, many more may have been printed. For more on the London book trade, see Maxted, *The London Booktrades*.

³⁶ See for example, Richard Hillier, *A Vindication of the Address to the People of Great Britain on the Use of West India Produce, With Some Observations and Facts Relative to the Situation of the Slaves* (London: M. Gurney, 1791); Andrew Burn, *A Second Address to the People of Great Britain Containing a New, and Most Powerful Argument to Abstain from the Use of West India Sugar* (London: M. Gurney, 1792); [William Allen], *The Duty of Abstaining from the Use of West India Produce; a Speech Delivered at Coach-maker's Hall, Jan. 12, 1792* (London: M. Gurney, 1792).

³⁷ Whelan, "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse," 403.

Fox's argument for abstention resonated in large part because he engaged contemporary ideas about commerce and gender. He made three assertions in his *Address*. First, he argued the slave trade had corrupted commerce. Sugar, according to Fox, was produced by a corrupt system of manufacture, which produced only "human woe" and "poison." The trade in slaves and in slave-grown sugar surpassed, in brutality and injustice, even "the most barbarous ages."³⁸ Second, consumer desire sustained the slave trade. The traffic in slaves was driven by domestic desire for luxury items, which habit had transformed into essential household goods. Fox reasoned that if one family consuming five pounds of sugar per week abstained from sugar for twenty-one months, that family "would prevent the slavery or murder of one fellow-creature."³⁹ Finally, Fox argued that regardless of parliamentary action, consumers could accept or reject the products of slavery. Criticizing the mercantile system which had protected West Indian sugar, Fox warned that while British law might only provide slave-grown sugar for the domestic market, consumers could choose not to purchase such tainted goods. Fox reinterpreted consumption as a fundamental right rather than an obligation and emphasized individual choice in the transatlantic marketplace. British law might dictate availability of goods, at least temporarily, but such laws could not limit Britons' moral decisions.⁴⁰ While Fox did not appeal specifically to women, he did emphasize the

³⁸ Fox, *An Address to the People of Great Britain*, 10, 2-3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 12. Anti-sugar literature often used statistics such as these to support their claims. For example, see *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, April 25, 1792. The newspaper reporter noted claims that if 37,000 British families would abstain from sugar, slavery would be abolished!

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-3. See also Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties*, 114-115, 43-44. Sussman argues that this passage in Fox's *Address* uses a "rhetoric of pollution" to frame a "concept of consumer rights." The forced consumption of sugar is "an interdicted exchange of nutriments: as cannibalism."

power of individual choice and morality, which opened a space for women's involvement in the abolitionist movement. Though Fox lacked a distinctly gendered argument, he created the opportunity for subsequent abstention writers to appeal specifically to women to support abolition of the slave trade.

Gender, Consumption, and the Sugar Boycott, 1791-1792

In the months following publication of Fox's *Address*, abstainers appealed to women's compassion. This rhetoric drew on cultural ideas about women's inherent ability to sympathize with the oppressed. Pamphleteer William Allen, for example, described Englishwomen as "MODELS of every just and virtuous *sentiment*."⁴¹ As one of the most popular sites for consumption of sugar, the tea table made visible the established triumvirate of women, tea, and sugar. The tea ritual brought out the civilizing quality of English womanhood; yet, the same ritual also encouraged women to consume goods and gossip. When abstainers shifted the site of the slave trade debate to the tea table, they were forced to confront competing cultural ideas about women and the tea ritual.

The ideological association of women and tea emerged in the eighteenth century. Woman's place at the tea table was naturalized by established cultural patterns that characterized areas for food preparation and service as feminine. Eighteenth-century poets affirmed the feminine character of the tea table. Peter Motteux, for example,

⁴¹ [William Allen], *The Duty of Abstaining from the Use of West India Produce, a Speech Delivered at Coach-Maker's Hall, Jan. 2, 1792* (London: T.W. Hawkins, 1792), 23.

praised the effects of tea and implied a connection between tea and woman, suggesting the two humanized the man at the tea table:

I drink, and lo the kindly Streams arise,
Wine's vapour flags, and soon subsides and dies.
The friendly Spirits brighten mine again,
Repel the Brute, and re-inthroned the Man.
The rising Charmer with a pleasing Ray
Dawns on the Mind, and introduces Day.⁴²

Similarly, William Cowper extolled the civilizing qualities of the tea ritual. In his poem, "The Task," Cowper described the quintessential tea table scene and lauded the tea table as a refuge from the world:

Now stir the fire, and close the shutters fast,
Let fall the curtains, wheel the sofa round,
And, while the bubbling and loud-hissing urn
Throws up a steamy column, and the cups,
That cheer but not inebriate, wait on each,
So let us welcome peaceful ev'ning in.⁴³

While the female presence in Cowper's poem is merely implied, this scene is, as historian Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace argues, "culturally encoded as . . . feminine." Yet, this feminized tea table also indicated privilege and leisure, thus the tea ritual provided an opportunity for the upper-class woman to participate in the emerging world of goods.⁴⁴

⁴² Peter Motteux, *A Poem in Praise of Tea* (London: Printed for J. Tonson, 1712), <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/ECCO> (accessed May 19, 2010), 7.

⁴³ William Cowper, "The Task, Book IV," in *Cowper: Verse and Letters*, ed. Brian Spiller (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), 466.

⁴⁴ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 28-29.

The tea table is emblematic of the eighteenth-century development of what historians have called a “consumer revolution.”⁴⁵ As opportunities to consume material goods expanded in the Atlantic world in this time period, critics questioned the impact such changes had on society and, in particular, on women. In a rather wistful look back, Charles Jenner wrote in 1773:

Time was, when tradesmen laid up what they gain'd,
And frugally a family maintain'd;
When they took stirring housewives for their spouses,
To keep up prudent order in their houses;
Who thought no scorn, at night to sit them down,
And make their childrens cloaths, or mend their own;
Would *Polly's* coat to younger *Bess* transfer,
And make their caps, without a milliner:
But now, a -shopping half the day they're gone,
To buy five hundred things, and pay for none⁴⁶

Jenner's distress is clear. “Time was,” Jenner mused, when the household was orderly, even frugal. But commerce preyed on the worst of female and male behavior. Women might have been the driving force behind consumption, as described by contemporary rhetoric; yet, male impotence in curtailing female consumption contributed to the distress described by Jenner.

Critics claimed the tea table corrupted women because of its association with consumption. In a letter in Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator*, published in 1775, John Careful described the tea table as “the Bane of good housewifery.” Women, according to

⁴⁵ See for example, McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.

⁴⁶ Charles Jenner, *Town Ecologues*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Caddell, 1773), 11.

Careful, believed a well-equipped tea table as important as a wedding ring.⁴⁷ Rhetoric in this period frequently satirized women as retiring to “tea and scandal.” Haywood, for example, asked: “Where have the Curious an Opportunity of informing themselves of the Intrigues of the Town, like that they enjoy over a TEA-TABLE, on a Lady’s *Visiting Day*?”⁴⁸ In the late eighteenth century, contemporaries lauded the civilizing effects of conversation with a virtuous woman. However, such examples co-existed with anxieties about the possible excesses of female speech. Evangelicals Hannah More and Thomas Gisborne warned against unguarded female speech and Gisborne, in particular, championed the virtue of female silence.⁴⁹ The tea ritual of Cowper’s poem, with its emphasis on domestic bliss, suggested civilizing conversation could be found at the tea table. Yet, the tea ritual could quite easily slide into social unruliness and neglect as women used the ritual to gossip and to demonstrate their ability to consume.

Many Britons believed commercial expansion had infected British women and weakened the empire. Mary Wollstonecraft claimed women were “rendered weak and

⁴⁷ Eliza Haywood, *The Female Spectator* (London: A. Millar, W. Law, and R. Cater, 1775), II; 80.

⁴⁸ As quoted in Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, “Tea, Gender, and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994), 132; Eliza Haywood, *The Tea-Table; Or, a Conversation Between Some Polite Persons of Both Sexes, at a Lady’s Visiting Day. Wherein are Represented the Various Foibles, and Affectations, which Form the Character of an Accomplish’d Beau, or Modern Fine Lady*. (London: J. Roberts, 1725), 1.

⁴⁹ Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 109-110; Kathryn Gleadle, “‘Opinions Deliver’d in Conversation’: Conversation, Politics, and Gender in the Late Eighteenth Century,” in *Civil Society in British History*, ed. Jose Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 63-64. See also Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 34-36. Kowaleski-Wallace argues that the tea table conversation of working class women is a form of resistance of “patriarchal hierarchy as well as male economic and sexual control. Even though her rebellion operates only within her circle, it nonetheless suggests the subversive power of women’s speech across class lines: women’s voice retains the power to subvert discipline, to speak audibly of needs and desires.”

luxurious by the relaxing pleasures which wealth procures.” Enslaved by a commercial culture that transformed women into “alluring” objects, women were forced to rely upon man to “lend them his reason to guide their tottering steps aright.”⁵⁰ In her poem *Epistle to William Wilberforce*, written after parliamentary defeat in the spring of 1791, Anna Letitia Barbauld suggested the political crisis was a moral crisis. Noting Britain’s “shrinking soul,” Barbauld denounced an indifferent British public, which had been influenced by “[t]he artful gloss, that moral sense confounds.” Barbauld compared colonial and metropolitan corruption and suggested both had been infected by the commercial connection with slavery. The “contagion,” she suggested, was a “monstrous fellowship” of female virtue and corruption:

Lo! Where reclin’d, pale Beauty courts the breeze,
Diffus’d on sofas of voluptuous ease;
With anxious awe, her menial train around,
Catch her faint whispers of half-utter’d sound

. . . See her, with indolence to fierceness join’d,
Of body delicate, infirm of mind,
With languid tones imperious mandates urge;
With arm recumbent wield the household scourge;
And with unruffled mien, and placid sounds,
Contriving torture, and inflicting wounds.

In Barbauld’s narrative, “voluptuous ease” slid easily from civilized to savage. Under the influence of the “seasoned tools of Avarice,” manners melted and hearts hardened until

⁵⁰ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, in *The Vindications: The Rights of Men, The Rights of Woman*, ed. D.L. Macdonald and Kathleen Scherf (Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Literary Texts, 1997), 282.

the “spreading leprosy taints ev’ry part.”⁵¹ Writing at the height of the slave sugar boycott, Wollstonecraft and Barbauld suggested that women’s use of the products of oppression contributed to this process of female declension.

Anxieties about the corruption of virtuous womanhood were heightened with the publication of the sensational stories of female cruelty presented to the House of Commons during the slave trade debates in 1790 and 1791. According to testimony, colonial women of all ranks were responsible for ordering and supervising, and even inflicting punishment on their slaves; one colonial woman was accused of routinely prostituting her female slave. The evidence of female cruelty was described in grim detail in the abstract published by Parliament in 1791.⁵² In his abbreviated version of the evidence, William Bell Crafton noted but did not detail women’s role in punishing their slaves.⁵³ Mary Wollstonecraft questioned the integrity of female sensibility in light of the evidence: “Where is the dignity, the infallibility of sensibility, in the fair ladies, whom, if the voice of rumour is to be credited, the captive negroes curse in all the agony of bodily

⁵¹ Anna Letitia Barbauld, *Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq. On the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade*. (London: T. Johnson, 1791).

⁵² House of Commons, Select Committee Appointed to Take the Examination of Witnesses Respecting the African Slave Trade, *An Abstract of the Evidence Delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in the Years 1790 and 1791; On the Part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (Edinburgh: Glasgow and Edinburgh Societies Instituted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1791), 70-72. See also Coleman, “Conspicuous Consumption,” 356. Coleman argues that “women’s cruelty was not random and indiscriminate”; rather, women’s punishment of their slaves was “for sexual reasons.” She continues, “The slave-master husband who has right of sexual access to his wife also has right of access to his slaves; thus it comes about that oppressed white women victimize their even more oppressed women slaves.” Portions of the testimony reporting colonial women’s cruelty were reprinted on Alexander Anderson’s engraving, *Injured Humanity; Being a Representation of What the Unhappy Children of Africa Endure from Those Who Call Themselves Christians* (New York: Samuel Wood, c. 1805), http://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/doc.php?doc_id=68#desc (accessed November 20, 2009).

⁵³ William Bell Crafton, *A Short Sketch of the Evidence for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Delivered before a Committee of the House of Commons. To Which is Added a Recommendation of the Subject to the Serious Attention of People in General* (Philadelphia: Daniel Lawrence, 1792), 17.

pain, for the unheard of tortures they invent?” She criticized colonial women who “after the sight of a flagellation, compose[d] their ruffled spirits and exercise[d] their tender feelings by the perusal of the latest imported novel.”⁵⁴ Such women, Wollstonecraft argued, lacked true sensibility. This evidence of female cruelty caused supporters of abstention to question whether British women could exercise true female sensibility and to suggest that continued contact with the products of oppression might corrupt virtuous womanhood.

As a result of these cultural anxieties, abstainers worried whether women had the discipline and compassion necessary to boycott slave-grown produce. In his pamphlet, *The French Constitution*, Benjamin Flower recommended Fox’s address to “the LADIES. They are formed to feel *more* than men are.” Yet, such laudable qualities were little more than “pretensions,” according to Flower, if women continued “to sweeten their tea, and the tea of their families and visitors, with the blood of their fellow creatures.”⁵⁵ In his brief overview of the slave trade debate, William Bell Crafton worried that the “extreme DELICACY” of many Britons would render “compassion a painful, useless thing, and [make] beneficence fruitless.” Crafton noted that many readers were “inclined to lend an ear to tales of human woe” when “represented by their favourite bards”; yet, such creative expressions often led to responses that revealed too much in “gratification in beholding the exhibitions of tragedy.”⁵⁶ For Crafton, an appeal to sensibility risked

⁵⁴ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men*, in *The Vindications*, 79.

⁵⁵ Benjamin Flower, *The French Constitution* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1792), 453.

⁵⁶ Crafton, *A Short Sketch of the Evidence for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, 26-27. Like Fox’s *Address*, Crafton’s pamphlet was reprinted widely in Great Britain and the United States.

rousing readers to feel sympathy but not take action. Crafton, like Clarkson and other abolitionists, distinguished between the “squeamish ear” and the “disposition of heart.” Only the latter ultimately led to action.⁵⁷

Abolitionists struggled to define the appropriate role for female sensibility in the slave trade debates. In her poems “Sensibility” and “Slavery,” evangelical Hannah More distinguished between false and true sensibility. The former, according to More, was superficial and feigned while the latter was natural and active. More rejected false sentiment and insisted her readers weep and then act when confronted by suffering.⁵⁸ In his lecture on the slave trade, Samuel Taylor Coleridge noted that “true Benevolence is a rare Quality among us. Sensibility indeed we have to spare — what novel reading Lady does not over flow with it to the great annoyance of her Friends and Family.”⁵⁹ Like More, Coleridge attacked false sensibility. More and Coleridge’s critiques of false sensibility were attempts to use the rhetoric of sentiment to garner support for abolition while simultaneously countering pro-slavery critics, who argued that anti-slavery writing was based on emotion rather than reason.

Pro-slavery literature suggested that women’s sensibility had rendered them susceptible to the arguments of abolitionists and abstainers. “No Planter,” a widely quoted essay published in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1789, satirized abolitionist

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* See also Clarkson, *History*, I: 44-242.

⁵⁸ Hannah More, *Slavery, a Poem* (London: T. Cadell, 1788), <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/ECCO> (accessed May 30, 2009); Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 38-39, 84-88.

⁵⁹ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “Lecture on the Slave Trade,” in *Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion*, ed. Lewis Patton and Peter Mann (London: Princeton University Press, 1971), 249.

sentiment: “The vulgar are influenced by names and titles. Instead of SLAVES, let the Negroes be called ASSISTANT-PLANTERS; and we shall not then hear such violent outcries against the slave trade by pious divines, tender-hearted poetesses, and short-sighted politicians.”⁶⁰ Writing at the height of the boycott, the pro-slavery author of *Strictures on an Address to the People of Great Britain* suggested that Fox’s argument was successful because he worked on “the passions.” According to the anonymous author, Fox owed his success to the patronage of his female readers who “were pierced to the heart with the sufferings of the oppressed Africans.”⁶¹

The rhetoric of sensibility thus became a battleground for pro- and anti-slave trade writers. False sensibility made women particularly vulnerable to the passionate arguments of the abolitionists; yet that same false sensibility rendered women unable to take an active role in response to abolitionist rhetoric. Pro-slavery supporters used false sensibility to dismiss the popularity of the abolitionist movement as just another example of overwrought female sensibility. In this view, the horrors of slavery and the slave trade were fabricated by abolitionists in much the same way novelists and poets created works meant to generate an emotional response, usually in female readers. Abolitionists did not deny the presence of false sensibility; instead, abolitionists sought to transform false sentiment into true benevolent action. The implications of this debate were the same: women were unreliable abolitionists. For both pro- and anti-slave trade writers, questions remained about the true character of female sensibility. The ambiguity of women’s

⁶⁰ As quoted in Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 90.

⁶¹ *Strictures on an Address to the People of Great Britain*, 4.

benevolence is reflected in two political cartoons published in 1792, at the height of the abstention campaign.

James Gillray's "Anti-Saccharites,– Or, – John Bull and his Family Leaving off the Use of Sugar," published in 1792, reflects the intertwining of contemporary debates about slavery, gender, and domestic consumption. (See Fig. 1) Focusing on Queen Charlotte, Gillray highlighted the importance of women in the boycott. In the cartoon, the Queen attempts to convince the recalcitrant princesses to accept unsweetened tea, and reminds them that abstaining from sugar would "save the poor Blackamoors." The Queen also emphasizes the economics of the boycott, noting that abstaining from sugar would "save you[r] poor Papa" "much expence [sic]," a reference to the rising cost of sugar in this period. Yet, Gillray's cartoon was not a laudatory statement of female abstention. Just under the title of the cartoon, Gillray urged Britons to pay heed to the royal family's "Noble Example of Oeconomy." Though the discourse of oeconomy was in transition in the late-eighteenth century, the term retained its traditional definition of male domestic management. Thus, Gillray's use of oeconomy underscored the unsettled nature of women's benevolence and domestic authority in this period.⁶²

⁶² For a discussion of the discourse of oeconomy, see Harvey, "Men Making Home," 532-536.



Figure 1. James Gillray. “Anti-Saccharites, - or - John Bull and His Family Leaving off the Use of Sugar,” 1792. Courtesy of British Museum, London.

The second political cartoon, “The Gradual Abolition off [sic] the Slave Trade, or leaving of Sugar by Degrees,” makes similar references to the problematic presence of women at the tea table and in the sugar boycott. (See Fig. 2) Once again, Queen Charlotte’s behavior at the tea table is the focus of attention. Carefully weighing the sugar, the Queen tells Mrs. Schwullenberg, Keeper of the Robes, to take “only an ickle Bit” and to reflect on “de Negro Girl dat Captain Kimber treated so Cruelly.”⁶³ The

⁶³ Cruikshank referenced a contemporary case involving Captain John Kimber, who was tried for his part in the murder of an African woman who refused to dance naked for him on the deck of his ship. A week before Cruikshank published “The Gradual Abolition of the Slave Trade,” he published a satire of the

careful weighing of the sugar and Mrs. Schwollenberg's assertion that she has taken only a small amount reminds the viewer of the luxurious history of sugar. Often upper-class families kept expensive goods such as sugar and tea in locked boxes to prevent theft by servants. On the left side of the image, Princess Elizabeth refuses to give up sugar, claiming that she cannot forgo a "good thing." Her sister, however, turns away in disgust emphasizing her rejection with dramatic facial expressions and hand gestures. As in Gillray's cartoon, women's support of abstention is ambiguous.

Kimber case, "The Abolition of the Slave Trade." For a discussion of Kimber and of the Cruikshank satire, see Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 179-185; Oldfield, *Popular Politics*, 175.



Figure 2. Isaac Cruikshank. “The Gradual Abolition off [sic] the Slave Trade, - or Leaving of Sugar by Degrees,” 1792. Courtesy of British Museum, London.

Despite lingering questions about women’s ability to boycott sugar, by late 1791 abstention rhetoric was clearly gendered. Increasingly, tracts and other literature targeted women. For example, one pamphlet attempted to capitalize on the popularity of the new Duchess of York, hoping to enlist her support and bring attention to the abstention movement through a public appeal to her “heart of sensibility.”⁶⁴ Newspapers carried

⁶⁴ *An Address to Her Royal Highness the Dutchess [sic] of York, against the Use of Sugar* (London: n.p., 1792), 10. In the fall of 1791, Princess Frederica of Prussia wed Prince Frederick, Duke of York. See H.M. Stephens, “Frederick, Prince, duke of York and Albany (1763-1827),” rev. John Van der Kiste, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2007, <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2422/view/article/10139> (accessed February 28, 2008); *Lady’s Magazine, or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriate Solely to their Use and Amusement*, October 1791.

stories of husbands and fathers returning home to find sugar had been banished from the tea table.⁶⁵ Fox's pamphlet created the opportunity for a gendered response by supporters and critics; in turn, Fox's pamphlet was influenced by that response. In mid-1791, the title of Fox's pamphlet changed. The first six editions were published as *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Utility of Refraining from the Use of West India Sugar and Rum*. Beginning with the seventh edition, the tract was published as *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining from the Use of West India Sugar and Rum*. Replacing "utility" with "propriety" and "refraining" with "abstaining," the new title emphasized the morality of the abstention campaign rather than its more utilitarian aspects. Shifting the emphasis to the morality of abstention also reinforced the gendered nature of the abstention campaign.

Debating Gender and Commerce

Questions about women's economic behavior rested on assumptions that commerce had a cultural narrative as well as its traditional explanation of profit and loss. Historian Phillip Gould traces the late eighteenth-century development of the "commercial jeremiad," which he argues "represents the gradual process of secularization of . . . Protestant discourses in antislavery writing."⁶⁶ *Thoughts on the Slavery of*

⁶⁵ See for example *Newcastle Courant*, January 7, 1792: "Happening lately to be sometime from home, the females in my family had in my absence perused a pamphlet, entitled 'An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Utility of Refraining from the Use of West India Sugar and Rum.' On my return, I was surprised to find that they had entirely left off the use of Sugar, and banished it from the tea table." J.R. Oldfield suggests this letter was apocryphal. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery*, 140.

⁶⁶ Philip Gould, *Barbaric Traffic: Commerce and Antislavery in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 13-14.

Negroes, written by British Quaker Joseph Woods in 1784, linked Protestant ideas about morality and sinfulness to commercial ideologies. Woods called the slave trade “a disgraceful commerce” that exceeded humanitarian limits. The evil of the slave trade called into question all forms of trade and the expansion of the market economy had led to a decline in civic virtue: “The . . . motives of commercial policy [require] that the claims of religion and morality ought to be subservient to those of avarice and luxury, and that it is better a thousand of poor unoffending people should be degraded and destroyed [than] the inhabitants of Europe should pay a higher price for their rum, rice, and sugar.” Woods demanded that humanity rather than profit set the standard for financial exchange. Christian principles, he argued, required consumers choose free-labor goods regardless of price.⁶⁷ Linking anti-slavery, sentiment, commerce, and gender, eighteenth-century abstainers created a vision of a moral economy that benefitted all members of society.

Two pamphlets, published in response to Fox’s *Address* in late 1791, reflect the intertwining of the language of gender with commerce and slavery. The first pamphlet, a work titled *An Answer to a Pamphlet Intituled [sic] An Address to the People of England against the Use of West India Produce*, was printed by W. Moon of Whitechapel in 1791. This tract has not been discussed in either the secondary literature or in *The African Slave Trade and Its Suppression*, Peter C. Hogg’s substantial bibliography of the slave trade debate.⁶⁸ *An Answer to a Pamphlet* is perhaps the only pro-slave trade response to Fox’s

⁶⁷ Joseph Woods, *Thoughts on the Slavery of Negroes* (London: James Phillips, 1784), 7, 18-19.

⁶⁸ For a list of abolitionist pamphlets published during this period, see Hogg, *The African Slave Trade*, 169-175.

Address allegedly authored by a woman. Shortly after *An Answer* was published, Richard Hillier published *A Vindication of an Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Use of West India Produce*. *A Vindication* has been included in Hogg's bibliography and is mentioned in the historiography of the abolitionist movement; however, historians often omit Hillier's subtitle, *In Reply to a Female Apologist for Slavery*. *An Answer* and *A Vindication* each went through two editions. Read together these three tracts — *An Address to the People of Great Britain*, *An Answer to a Pamphlet*, and *A Vindication of an Address* — highlight the importance of the domestic world to the political campaign against the slave trade.

The female apologist used sentimental diversion to argue against abstention from West Indian sugar. A boycott against slave grown sugar, the female apologist argued, would have a devastating effect on Britons. She described the British trade in slave-grown sugar as a “vast and extensive branch of commerce.” Abstention would force West Indian planters to find another market for their sugar and force thousands of British businessmen into bankruptcy or prison. Moreover, the boycott would “effectually cramp the spirit of industry and enterprise,” as the market for slave-grown sugar disappeared. In her *Answer*, the female apologist made a careful distinction between support of slave-produced goods and the slave trade. Aligning herself with the ascribed female qualities of “humanity” and “Christian principles,” she denied that she supported the slave trade just because she did not support the boycott. In a rather tortured discussion of scriptural authority, the female apologist suggested that the availability of slave-produced goods in the marketplace indicated a divine sanction of the consumption of such goods. She

denied Fox's claim for a high rate of death among African slaves in the Caribbean and instead argued that more working class men in Britain died young "either by hazardous employments, by working in infectious trades, or by extreme labour." Calling English miners "underground slaves," she argued that if the labor conditions of these working men were examined, their situation would be found "unenviable, even by the West Indian slave." By privileging white laborers and emphasizing the impact abolition would have on white Britons, the female apologist placed her tract within an established rhetorical tradition.⁶⁹

Emphasizing the importance of slave-goods, pro-slave trade writers created what historian Brycchan Carey has described as a "hierarchy of suffering." By diverting attention to miners, for example, the anonymous author used a common rhetorical device in pro-slave trade writing. Carey argues that child chimney sweeps and miners were most often singled out for comparison with slaves because all three groups shared harsh labor conditions, child labor, high mortality rates as well as having "black faces in common." Relief for child chimney sweeps was supported by abolitionists and pro-slavery supporters alike; however, pro-slavery supporters used their concern for child chimney sweeps to argue, like the female apologist, that "charity" should begin at home.⁷⁰

In his *Vindication*, Hillier did not challenge the female author's right to speak out publicly against abstention from sugar; however, he did challenge her femininity and

⁶⁹ *An Answer to a Pamphlet Intituled [sic] An Address to the People of England against the Use of West Indian Produce* (Whitechapel: W. Moon, 1791), 4-7.

⁷⁰ Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 130, 124, 127.

sensibility. He declared, “*Your* charity, my good Lady, may *begin* at home, and *end* at home, and *stay at home* for ever.”⁷¹ Hillier referred to the now-familiar testimony in the House of Commons about the cruelty of colonial women. “The ladies in the West-Indies have a happy dexterity in flipping off their shoes, and beating the heels of them about the heads of their negroes,” Hillier wrote. “Now, with a very little practice upon your bed-post or dressing table, you will make a tolerable proficiency in the art.” He contrasted the unknown author with anti-slave trade writers such as Helen Maria Williams, who linked anti-slavery to the moralization of politics and commerce.⁷² Hillier, moreover, connected abstention to the salvation of Europeans and Africans.⁷³

The way gender is used in each tract is significant. In *An Answer*, the female apologist’s gender is apparent in an early reference on the first page.⁷⁴ Otherwise, the anonymous author does not highlight her feminine identity. Anonymity was common among political authors in the eighteenth century. Many pieces of pro- and anti-slave trade rhetoric were published anonymously or pseudonymously. Generally, women adopted a male identity; however, by the late eighteenth century, women’s experience

⁷¹ Richard Hillier, *A Vindication of an Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Use of West India Produce. With Some Observations and Facts Relative to the Situation of the Slaves. In Reply to a Female Apologist for Slavery* (London: M. Gurney, 1791), 18.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 3; Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 26.

⁷³ Hillier, *A Vindication*, 23.

⁷⁴ *An Answer to a Pamphlet Intituled [sic] An Address to the People of England against the Use of West Indian Produce*, 3: “The Writer of this little piece, considering that God made of one blood all the nations which dwell on the face of the earth, has no more partiality to the colour of the skin than the Author of the Pamphlet can have; nor is *she* so devoid of the feelings of humanity or of Christian principles, as to wish slavery and oppression to any individual of the human race.” Emphasis mine. This is the only reference to the author’s gender.

increasingly held an authority that tempted men to appropriate it.⁷⁵ If the female apologist was a man appropriating a female identity, it is significant that the author did not emphasize gender more. Hillier, in contrast, emphasized the author's gender in his title and in his argument. He highlighted her feminine identity and argued that she had violated appropriate gender ideals in her rejection of the boycott of slave-grown sugar. Criticizing the female apologist allowed Hillier to implicitly censure other women who failed to support the boycott.

If *An Answer* was authored by a man using a female identity, it suggests the power of sentimental rhetoric in the slave trade debates. For example, when the female apologist and Hillier debated the relative situation of West Indian slaves and British miners, the two authors suggested divergent responses to suffering, one focused on distant pain and the other focused on nearby distress. The anonymous author consciously created a "hierarchy of suffering" and may well have decided to use a feminine authorial identity to strengthen the argument privileging white laborers over black slaves. In the second edition of *A Vindication*, Hillier revealed his knowledge of the apologist's identity and, in refusing to identify the author, suggested again that the author was indeed female. Hillier also noted that the author "retail[ed] a commodity," which might well be affected by the boycott thus implying her arguments against the boycott might be more self-

⁷⁵ Susan Staves, "'The Abuse of Title Pages': Men Writing as Women," in *A Concise Companion to the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cynthia Wall (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 162-182; John Mullan, *Anonymity: A Secret History of the English Language* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007), 128-129.

interested than she admitted.⁷⁶ Whether authored by a man or a woman, the anti-boycott argument of *An Answer* suggests growing awareness of the importance of gender and sentiment as well as commerce in the slave trade debates.

Still, the gender of the female apologist might have escaped the notice of the careless reader had Hillier not given it such prominence in his tracts. This along with the apparent relationship between the anonymous author and Hillier raises questions about this particular debate. *An Answer to a Pamphlet* — regardless of the author’s gender — may have been written in conjunction with Hillier’s pamphlet in an attempt to use gender to bring attention to the abstention campaign. In her study of the slave trade debates, historian Srividhya Swaminathan argues pro- and anti-slave trade writers used “complex ideological shifts to petition their audience in a more persuasive manner.” As writers on either side of the debate addressed arguments from the opposition, the authorship and form of these pro- and anti-slavery appeals changed. In the process, ideologies of gender and sentiment and commerce and trade intertwined within the slave trade debates to create competing ideas of national identity.⁷⁷ Eighteenth-century abstention rhetoric developed within this abolitionist/anti-abolitionist interchange. Abstainers used the “commercial jeremiad” to challenge men and women to re-think their relationship to the world of goods and to envision a national economy based on standards of humanity rather

⁷⁶ Richard Hillier, *A Vindication of the Address to the People of Great-Britain on the Use of West India Produce with Some Observations and Facts Relative to the Situation of the Slaves. In Answer to a Female Apologist for Slavery. The Second Edition, with Strictures on Her Reply to a Reply* (London: M. Gurney, 1791), 24.

⁷⁷ Srividhya Swaminathan, “Transforming Arguments: Rhetoric of National Identity in the British Slave-Trade Debates, 1767-1808,” Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2002, 33, 104.

than profit and loss. In 1792, as the violence of the French Revolution escalated, abstention rhetoric evolved in response to the bloodshed and the British critique of events in France.

The Spectacle of Death: Gender, Violence, and Abstention

The ultimate failure of female sensibility was perhaps most graphically depicted in descriptions of blood-sweetened sugar. Historian Ian Haywood argues that eighteenth-century abolitionists developed a repertoire of “bloody vignettes,” which traced the slave’s passage from freedom to enslavement, from Africa to the West Indies.⁷⁸ “Bloody vignettes” also described the slave’s transformation from producer of consumer goods to that which is consumed, thus completing a triangle of trade from the West Indies to Britain. Richard Hillier described a slave, forced to eat so that he might live to produce: “The *speculum oris* is resorted to; a broken tooth gives an opportunity for its introduction, his mouth is forced open, rice is crammed down his throat and he is forced to live.”⁷⁹ Forced to eat and to live, the slave produced goods for domestic consumption.

⁷⁸ Ian Haywood, *Bloody Romanticism: Spectacular Violence and the Politics of Representation, 1776-1832* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 11.

⁷⁹ Hillier, *A Vindication of an Address to the People of Great Britain*, 13. Originally designed to open the mouth in cases of lock jaw, the *speculum oris* was adopted by slaveholders to force open the mouths of slaves who refused to eat. See Clarkson, *History*, I:375-377. In his history of the abolition movement, Clarkson included an illustration of this scissor-like device, which he had purchased while in Liverpool. The *speculum oris* was one of several tools used in slave restraint and torture included in Clarkson’s chest. In addition to these horrific artifacts, Clarkson also collected objects that symbolized the potential for more civilized trade with Africa. For more on Clarkson’s chest, see Marcus Wood, “Packaging Liberty and Marketing the Gift of Freedom: 1807 and the Legacy of Clarkson’s Chest,” in *The British Slave Trade: Abolition, Parliament, and People*, ed. Stephanie Farrell, Melanie Unwin, and James Walvin (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, 2007), 203-223; D.C. Devenish, “The Slave Trade and Thomas Clarkson’s Chest,” *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 6 (1994), 84-89. Parliament has an online exhibit of Clarkson’s chest. See “Parliament and the British Slave Trade, 1500-1807,” under “Explore/Objects,”

“[Are] we justified in transporting men in chains from one country, to be tortured for the gratification of our appetites in another?” Hillier asked.⁸⁰ Samuel Taylor Coleridge argued that consumption, especially female consumption, had cost eight million lives in the East Indies. In exchange for that “most foul and heart-inslaving guilt,” Coleridge claimed, British consumers received “gold, diamonds, silks, muslin & calicoes for fine Ladies and Prostitutes. Tea to make a pernicious Beverage, Porcelain to drink it from, and salt-petre for the making of gunpowder with which we may murder the poor Inhabitants who supply all these things.”⁸¹ In Coleridge’s narrative, “fine Ladies and Prostitutes” shared the commercial benefits of an expanding empire, suggesting the world of goods blurred the distinction between virtuous and corrupt womanhood. Abstention rhetoric linked the violent exchange of the slave trade to the violent exchange of murderous, cannibalistic consumption.

The ideological association of women and consumption, especially in the feminized space of the tea table, lent itself to graphic descriptions of ladies’ sugar bowls contaminated by the flesh and blood of slaves. In *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, published at the height of the sugar boycott, Mary Wollstonecraft asked, “Is sugar always to be produced by vital blood?” Femininity based on “propriety” rather than reason sweetened male space in much the same fashion as African blood sweetened tea. Thus,

<http://slavetrade.parliament.uk/slavetrade/assetviews/objects/thomasclarksonsafricanbox.html?ref=true/> (accessed November 18, 2009). William Cowper described the speculum oris as “a notable engine.” See Cowper, *Sweet Meat has Sour Sauce; or, the Slave Trader in the Dumps*, <http://www.brycchancarey.com/slavery/cowperpoems.htm#sweet> (accessed November 18, 2009).

⁸⁰ Hillier, *A Vindication of an Address to the People of Great Britain*, 13.

⁸¹ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “Lecture on Revealed Religion,” in *Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion*, ed. Lewis Patton and Peter Mann (London: Routledge & Princeton University Press, 1971), 226.

Wollstonecraft implied, feminine virtue based on reason would rid the home of false femininity and colonial produce.⁸² Ultimately, the decision to abstain from slave-grown sugar would affirm the virtue or barbarity of individual women.

The threat of blood-stained sugar turned British commerce and culture upside down. In his poem, “The Negro’s Complaint,” William Cowper suggested that the bodily fluids of African slaves nourished the sugar cane:

Why did all-creating Nature
Make the plant for which we toil?
Sighs must fan it, Tears must water,
Sweat of ours must dress the soil.

The usually nourishing qualities of water are replaced by the tears and sweat of the slave. Cowper’s poem was reprinted on the cover of many editions of Fox’s *Address* and was included in a small privately circulated publication, *A Subject for Conversation and Reflection at the Tea Table*.⁸³ In his “Lecture on the Slave Trade,” Coleridge mocked the Christian who called for divine blessing of his meal:

Gracious Heaven! . . . A part of that Food among most of you is sweetened
with the Blood of the Murdered . . . O Blasphemy! Did God give Food
mingled with Brothers blood! Will the Father of all men bless the Food of
Cannibals — the food which is polluted with the blood of his own
innocent Children?⁸⁴

⁸² Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 282. See also Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties*, 125-126. Srividhya Swaminathan argues that Wollstonecraft’s text is evidence of “the link between the abolitionist boycotts and the proliferation of women’s voices” as well as the incorporation of “‘femaleness’ . . . in the concept of the Briton.” Swaminathan, “Transforming Arguments,” 246-247. See also Moira Ferguson, *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670-1834* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 186-189.

⁸³ *A Subject for Conversation at the Tea Table* (n.p., n.d.), [2]; Clarkson, *History*, II: 190-191.

⁸⁴ Coleridge, “Lecture on the Slave Trade,” 248.

give you a warm bath to cure your Ague, and a Curry-combing afterwards to put Spunk into you.” A note at the bottom of the image claims that the scene was based on testimony given by “Mr. Frances.” In his *History*, Clarkson noted that Phillip Francis reported the case of an overseer who punished a slave by throwing him into a pot of boiling cane juice. Gillray, however, embellished the story Francis reported, which casts doubt on the veracity of the source and renders Gillray’s political cartoon an ambiguous commentary on slavery and the slave trade.⁸⁵ Still, Gillray’s cartoon is evidence that contaminated slave-grown sugar was an established trope from the beginning of the abstention campaign.

Hoping to build on the momentum of the boycott, abolitionists brought the issue of the slave trade before the House of Commons again in the spring of 1792. In a matter of weeks, 519 anti-slave trade petitions bearing at least 390,000 names were presented to Parliament. In contrast, Parliament received just four petitions supporting the trade. Abolitionists’ hopes were high when the debate began on April 2. To their dismay, however, home secretary Henry Dundas inserted the word “gradually” into Wilberforce’s bill. Ultimately, the House of Commons passed the gradualist proposal postponing debate about the slave trade until 1796 when the trade was supposed to end. When the slave trade abolition bill came before the House of Lords, the Lords insisted on holding

⁸⁵ Clarkson, *History*, II: 269; Oldfield, *Popular Politics*, 174-175. Oldfield suggests that by embellishing Francis’s testimony before the House of Commons, Gillray “cast doubt on the authenticity of the story and the reliability of source.” Gillray’s ambiguity, according to Oldfield, reflected the ambiguity of popular feeling about the slave trade. Francis’s testimony was reported in the United States. See “Observations upon Negro Slavery,” *The Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*, November 1790.

their own hearings about the trade. The hearings were monopolized by pro-slavery interests until Parliament adjourned, effectively ending any hopes of passing the bill.⁸⁶

As British abolitionists regrouped after defeat in the spring of 1792, events in France took a violent turn. In the summer of 1792, King Louis XVI was taken prisoner. In September, two thousand French royalists, clergy, and aristocrats were killed. Conservatives in Britain were horrified by the events. The *Times* reported: “The streets of Paris [are] strewed with the carcasses of the mangled victims . . . Read this yea ENGLISHMEN, with attention and ardently pray that your happy constitution may never be outraged by the despotic tyranny of Equalization.” On January 21, 1793, as British abolitionists were attempting to schedule another hearing on the abolition of the slave trade, the French king was executed. “Every bosom burns with indignation in this kingdom against the ferocious savages of Paris,” declared the *Times*. The French ambassador was expelled from Britain, and conditions between Britain and France spiraled downward ending in France’s declaration of war against Britain on February 1.⁸⁷

The popular abstention writer William Fox took a strong anti-war stance arguing that Britain was the aggressor and wished to destroy the new French republic because the revolution held dangerous possibilities for Great Britain. Fox mocked a British government that worried about the affairs of other European nations while neglecting British issues such as the slave trade. It was, Fox noted, easier “to express the warmest emotions, and the most indignant feelings against *them*, . . . than to pursue the thorny path

⁸⁶ Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 226-234.

⁸⁷ Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 235-236. The *Times* as quoted in Hochschild.

of virtue, and steadily resist the temptations to which we are exposed.” Britons wept for the king and sobbed at tragedy of Oronooko, yet failed to act against the slave trade, a crime which British consumers daily committed. Indeed, through the consumption of Oronooko and other sentimental literary works about the African slave trade, Britons relived their crimes, “gratifying [their] appetite with a despicable luxury.”⁸⁸ The false sensibility, which had worried many abolitionists, had indeed traveled full circle as events in France distracted Britons away from their own crimes.

The boundary between titillation and sympathy was very fine, Fox pointed out. Noting that Britons sympathized with the victims of the very crimes they committed, Fox raised uncomfortable questions about the nature of sympathy and the pleasure that the spectacle of death could invoke. In 1793 and 1794, three tragedies were written about the execution of the King of France. Thus, the institution of the monarchy had become heavily invested in the language of sentiment, which was the only way to communicate a sense of the dangers of revolution. Yet, using the language of sympathy to evoke love for king and country also evoked a range of other disturbing emotions.⁸⁹

In the wake of violent revolution in Haiti and France, conservative members of the London Committee distanced its members and the movement from grassroots protests such as signing petitions and boycotting sugar. The London Committee attempted to

⁸⁸ William Fox, *Thoughts on the Death of the King of France* (London: J. Ridgway, W. Richardson, T. Wheldon and Butterworth, and M. Gurney, 1793), 16. See John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1, 81. Barrell describes Fox as the “wittiest of the reforming pamphleteers” and his pamphlet on the death Louis XVI as “the most intelligent commentary on the attempt to define public policy in the language of private sentiment.”

⁸⁹ Barrell, *Imagining the Death of the King*, 82, 86.

revive the slave trade debate again in 1793, but the House of Commons refused. In June of that year, the Committee set up a group to draft a letter encouraging supporters to continue the boycott. In July, the Committee decided against sending the letters and by August suspended all boycott activities. In 1793, the Committee met thirty-three times. The following year that number fell to nine and by 1797 the Committee ceased operations.⁹⁰

Historians argue that events in Haiti and France had a stagnating effect on the transatlantic abolitionist movement.⁹¹ Writing in 1793, the Reverend Samuel Hopkins worried that nothing more could be said about slavery. The *Gentleman's Magazine* made a similar observation describing the slave trade as “this most exhausted topic.”⁹² Rather than languishing, however, abolitionist and abstention rhetoric appropriated the language of revolution. Until early 1792, violent imagery was primarily associated with abolitionism; however, as reports of events in France and Haiti started appearing in British and American publications, abolitionists lost their monopoly on violence.⁹³

While the trope of blood-stained sugar had been part of anti-sugar rhetoric from the beginning, the publication in 1792 of Andrew Burn's tract, *A Second Address to the*

⁹⁰ Coleman, “Conspicuous Consumption,” 342; Oldfield, *Popular Politics*, 185-187.

⁹¹ Coleman, “Conspicuous Consumption,” 342; Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 329.

⁹² Samuel Hopkins, *A Discourse upon the Slave-Trade, and the Slavery of the Africans. Delivered in the Baptist Meeting-House at Providence, before the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave-Trade, &c. At their Annual Meeting, on May 17, 1793* (Providence: J. Carter, 1793), 3; *Gentleman's Magazine*, as quoted in Davies, “A Moral Purchase,” 141-142.

⁹³ Carey, *British Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 89; Rachel Cleves, *The Reign of Terror in America: Visions of Violence from Anti-Jacobinism to Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 104-152; Haywood, *Bloody Romanticism*.

People of Great Britain, marked a shift from the metaphorical to the literal.⁹⁴ Burn planned “to excite very opposite *emotions*” from those caused by Fox. Rather than encouraging a sentimental response, which may or may not lead to action, Burn hoped to disgust people into abstention by convincing his readers that “either in Puddings, Pies, Tarts, Tea, or otherwise, that they literally, and most certainly in so-doing, eat large quantities of that last mentioned Fluid [blood], as it flows copiously from the Body of the laborious slave.” However, Burn went beyond the standard trope of blood-stained sugar, as he described in great detail the physical conditions of slavery in the sugar colonies. Sweat, lice, and jiggers all contaminated the sugar produced by African slaves in the West Indies and were in turn consumed by Britons. After piling horror upon horror, Burn concluded with the story of a British wine merchant who opened a cask of West Indian rum and discovered inside “the whole body of a roasted Negro.”⁹⁵ Burn’s *Address* highlights the shift toward a more literalist, anti-sentimental interpretation of the slave-sugar boycott.

Critics of Burn, however, suggested that abstainers were inconsistent because sugar was not the only product produced by slave labor. One critic asked, “[H]ow anybody who will not eat Sugar because it is eating Negro flesh, can handle gold or silver, or feed themselves with silver spoons or forks; for if eating Sugar is eating Negroes flesh, sure every time anybody puts a fork or spoon in their mouths, it is putting

⁹⁴ Charlotte Sussman describes Burn’s tract as the “paranoid double” of Fox’s *Address*. Sussman, *Consuming Anxieties*, 119.

⁹⁵ Burn, *A Second Address*, 1-12.

a poor dead Negro's finger or toe there."⁹⁶ Such criticism mocked abstention rhetoric that saw blood and flesh in every bowl of sugar; yet, such criticism used the very rhetorical devices of the anti-slave trade writing it mocked.

Ex-slave trader Thomas Branagan more than any other writer in this period brought together the violence of anti-Jacobinism and abolition in his writings.⁹⁷ *Preliminary Essay*, Branagan's first anti-slavery book published in 1804, consciously used the language of the Gothic genre, which had emerged in the late eighteenth century contemporaneous to the slave trade debates. Branagan adopted the Gothic genre because reason alone could not accomplish the task.⁹⁸ Language, he argued, failed to describe adequately the horrors of slavery. In typical anti-Jacobin fashion, Branagan described his *Essay* as a "catalogue" of terrors. He included selections from the *Abstract* published by Parliament in 1791 detailing the punishments inflicted on slaves, including those imposed by colonial women.⁹⁹ His use of the parliamentary testimony, especially descriptions of female cruelty, suggests the ongoing power of cultural anxieties about female barbarity. Reminding readers of the effect of slavery on white women, Branagan reinforced earlier

⁹⁶ *The European Magazine and London Review*, March 1792, 185-186.

⁹⁷ Cleves, *The Reign of Terror*, 139.

⁹⁸ Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," *The American Historical Review* 100 (1995), 311; Thomas Branagan, *A Preliminary Essay, on the Oppression of the Exiled Sons of Africa. Consisting of Animadversions on the Impolicy and Barbarity of the Deleterious Commerce and Subsequent Slavery of the Human Species; to which is added, A Desultory Letter Written to Napoleon Bonaparte, Anno Domini, 1801* (Philadelphia: Printed for the author by John W. Scott, 1804), 22-23. According to Halttunen, Gothic literature linked torture with beauty and cruelty as well as sexuality "in a manner calculated to arouse maximum revulsion and disgust."

⁹⁹ Branagan, *A Preliminary Essay*, 169, 59-68; Cleves, *The Reign of Terror*, 141.

abstention rhetoric that suggested metropolitan women might easily engage in such behavior if they continued to consume the produce of slaves.

In the wake of the Haitian and French Revolutions, abstention writers found the rhetoric of sensibility ineffective. When confronted with the graphic bloodshed of white citizens in the Caribbean and France, violence against slaves slid down the “hierarchy of suffering.” After 1792, abstention rhetoric became more entwined with critiques of Jacobin violence than female behavior. Yet the line between violence and femininity remained uncomfortably thin for many eighteenth-century Britons. In a letter to *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, “Polinus” ridiculed “Poetesses, who can oppress and abuse one another when opportunity offers [yet] unite in opposition against oppression,” when fashion or opportunity dictated.¹⁰⁰ Thus, when William Fox and Richard Hillier interjected the violence of slavery into women’s tea tables, they reminded readers that the domestic bliss of the white woman’s tea ritual relied upon the destruction of black slave bodies. Invoking the terrors of cannibalism and the disgust of contaminated colonial goods, abstainers such as Andrew Burn attempted to repulse their readers, especially women, into abstaining from slave-grown sugar. As historian Philip Gould argues, abolitionists’ language in this period bordered on the “hyperbolic,” often “staking the fate of ‘civilized’ society on both its commercial relations and habits of consumption.”¹⁰¹ Eating blood-stained sugar, or worse, after abstainers had made clear the link between slave production in the colonies and domestic consumption in the metropolis, suggested

¹⁰⁰ As quoted in Davies, “A Moral Purchase,” 141.

¹⁰¹ Gould, *Barbaric Traffic*, 30.

that female consumers had themselves been consumed by the “world of goods.” Blood-stained sugar as well as cotton remained a powerful trope in abstention rhetoric into the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 2

“I AM A MAN YOUR BROTHER”:

ELIZABETH HEYRICK AND THE SECOND BRITISH ABSTENTION CAMPAIGN

British Quaker convert Elizabeth Heyrick’s first anti-slavery pamphlet, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, published in 1824, marked the beginning of the second abstention campaign. Frustrated with the gradualist and conciliatory measures of the British anti-slavery leadership, Heyrick called on consumers to reject the slave-grown produce of West India. “The hydra-headed monster of slavery,” Heyrick claimed, “will never be destroyed by any other means than the united expression of *individual* opinion, and the united exertion of *individual resolution*.”¹ Heyrick’s tract graphically signaled a shift in the use of abstention as an anti-slavery tactic; the first British edition of *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition* featured on the cover an illustration of a muscular African slave, a broken chain and a discarded whip at his feet. (See Fig. 4) Framed by the words, “I am a man, your brother,” the man faced forward, looking directly at the viewer.² Both the text and the illustration reminded readers of the eighteenth-century origins of the abstention

¹ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 23.

² The “provocative image” featured on the cover of the first British edition was not reprinted on subsequent American editions. See Faulkner, “The Root of the Evil,” 380-381. Lucy Townsend used the phrase in a letter to the *Christian Observer* in 1825 to encourage women’s involvement on behalf of the slave. Townsend urged women to “apply *their whole strength* to raise the fallen African, instead of merely stretching out, as it were a finger, to aid him to rise and say, ‘I am a man and a brother!’” *Christian Observer* 12 (1825), 750.

movement; yet both simultaneously subverted Josiah Wedgwood's iconic profile of the kneeling chained slave, which symbolized the first abolition movement.

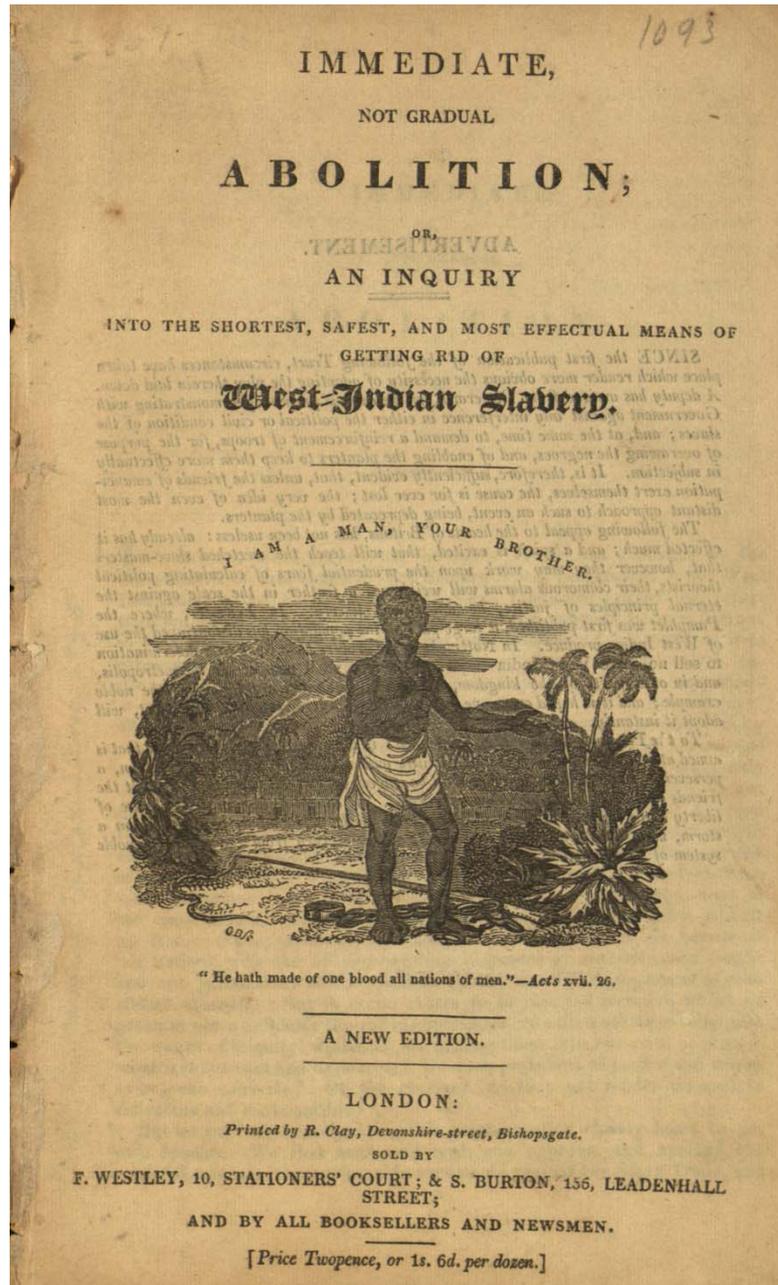


Figure 4. Cover, *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition*. Courtesy of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

The image on the cover of Heyrick's pamphlet reflects the continuities and changes within the British abstention movement. Like their eighteenth-century predecessors, abstainers in the 1820s were linked to a radical critique of slavery. The character of radicalism changed, however, due in large part to the efforts of Heyrick. She was not the first to describe slaves as possessors of universal human rights, but she was the first white Briton to argue that as rights bearers slaves were entitled to immediate emancipation and a just wage. In a series of pamphlets written in the 1810s and 1820s, Heyrick linked the fate of free white and enslaved black laborers demanding both be granted their full universal human rights, which she believed were ultimately based on a "just recompense" for labor performed.³ Heyrick's writing was a radical break from earlier anti-slavery rhetoric, which called for slaves to be educated into their responsibilities as rights bearers *before* emancipation.

Heyrick emphasized women's role in the abolitionist movement. In the eighteenth century, abolitionist leaders identified women's support as essential to the success of the boycott of slave-grown sugar. But those same abolitionists worried whether women could overcome their desire for consumer goods and make the moral choice on behalf of the slave. In the 1820s, women like Heyrick claimed the moral high ground in the home and the marketplace. Female sympathy was described as rippling outward from the home until it extended "to the verge of the earth," as Heyrick wrote in

³ Elizabeth Heyrick, *Enquiry into the Consequences of the Present Depreciated Value of Human Labour, &C., &C. in Letters to Thos. Fowell Buxton, Esq. M.P.* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1819), p. 26.

the pages of *The Humming Bird*, in 1825.⁴ Women did more than assert their superior moral influence, however. Heyrick and her female co-workers formed ladies' associations, canvassed neighborhoods, disseminated information, and raised funds to support the anti-slavery cause. Some members of the British Anti-Slavery Society supported women's efforts. Others, however, worried where such activism might lead. Tensions heightened as women, influenced no doubt by Heyrick, grew frustrated with the moderate measures advocated by the male anti-slavery leadership. Beginning in 1825, Heyrick's female voice became part of a feminine chorus demanding an immediate end to slavery.

Heyrick is an important transitional link between the eighteenth and nineteenth century movements. The women's anti-slavery societies that formed in the 1820s included two or even three generations of female activists. While younger activists provided much of the leadership, older activists like Heyrick and Lucy Townsend provided vital first-hand experience of the eighteenth-century abstention campaign. The historical record is silent about Heyrick's participation in the earlier movement; however, given her abolitionist views and age, it is likely that Heyrick participated in the eighteenth-century boycott in some fashion. In the 1820s, Heyrick demanded women step away from the tea table and take a more public role in the abstention campaign. Rather than merely encouraging friends within the comfortable confines of the tea ritual, Heyrick encouraged women to canvass friends, neighbors, and strangers alike. She wrote

⁴ "Address to the Ladies of Great-Britain, in Behalf of the Negro Slaves, Particularly the Females," *The Humming Bird*, June 1825, 196.

two pamphlets supporting women's associational activity, served as a leader of the Leicester Anti-Slavery Society, and as district treasurer for the Female Society for Birmingham.⁵

Heyrick, like William Fox before her, placed the consumer at the head of a series of actions that supported slavery. While Britain had by protest and negotiation attempted to persuade other nations to end the slave trade, such demands were meaningless so long as slavery continued in the West Indies. "Before we can have any rational hope of prevailing on our guilty neighbours to abandon this atrocious commerce," Heyrick argued, "we must purge ourselves from these pollutions." To do that, Heyrick urged her readers to "bring this great question home." Rather than a private decision in the marketplace, consumption was, according to Heyrick, a social act with consequences that resonated throughout the Atlantic world. Individual abstention from the products of slave labor would influence friends and neighbors; ultimately, "the example," she wrote, would "spread from house to house . . . city to city, — till, *among those who have any claim to humanity*, there will be but one heart, and one mind, — one resolution, one uniform practice."⁶ Heyrick claimed, moreover, abstention from slave-labor products would increase the market for the products of free-labor, ultimately improving the situation for

⁵ Corfield, "Elizabeth Heyrick," 43.

⁶ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 3, 4, 7. In other words, marketplace activity promoted what historian Thomas Haskell calls the "circle of responsibility." Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2," 128. See also Glickman, *Buying Power*, 3. In his discussion of Haskell, Glickman notes, "In this way, consumer activists, in spite of their differences, have been political theorists, offering a context and a narrative to educate consumers about the meaning of the goods they buy, or choose not to buy, and the social impact of their shopping choices."

Britain's working class as well as emancipating the slave.⁷ Thus, abstention from the products of slave labor served as the foundation for the development of a moral economy, which benefitted all members of society.

In seven specifically anti-slavery tracts, Heyrick ranged across a number of socio-cultural, economic, and political concerns including industrialization, free and slave labor, individual morality, national regeneration and virtue, extra-parliamentary action, and gender. Heyrick rejected political economy. Instead, she argued for a Christian economy, which placed humanitarian principles ahead of the financial exchange that traditionally defined commerce. Unlike many of her contemporary abolitionists, Heyrick attacked wage labor as little more than slavery.⁸ She challenged the idea of “moral distance” suggesting instead that consumers serve as a regulatory force in the transatlantic world, consuming goods while simultaneously assuring justice for all workers regardless of race or physical location.⁹ As a result of Heyrick's influence,

⁷ *The Second Report of the Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves* (Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1827), 14.

⁸ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 60; Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 107. Heyrick challenged the prevailing link between the emerging capitalist class and anti-slavery. David Brion Davis has convincingly argued that the development of the anti-slavery movement in England was in part “a function of the fit between antislavery ideology and the interests of the emergence capitalist class.” David Brion Davis, “The Perils of Doing History by Ahistorical Abstraction: A Reply to Thomas Haskell's *AHR* Forum Reply,” in *The Antislavery Debate*, 308. See also Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*; Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*.

⁹ Robert Wright, “The Death of Moral Distance: How the Globalization of Fear Will Make Us All Better People,” *Slate*, December 30, 1999. <http://www.slate.com/id/68014>. (Accessed December 31, 2009.) Wright claims, “The 21st century may even witness what you could call the death – or at least the decline – of moral distance.” However, as Lawrence Glickman points out, consumer activists were discussing the decline of moral distance by the early nineteenth century: “No matter how far away physically, victims of deleterious consuming practices were not unrelated to consumers in a moral sense. Consumer activists, in effect, proposed a new physics of time and space, highlighting the real-time effects of consumption and suggesting that in an increasingly global market economy, the moral impact of one's actions was not determined by physical propinquity but by the market based effects of one's economic

abstention transformed from something women *could* do as consumers, as it was in the eighteenth century, to something women *must* do as Christians. Linking anti-slavery to a broad agenda of social reform, Heyrick reinvigorated and radicalized the British and American anti-slavery and abstention movements and contributed to the polarization of anti-slavery sentiment in Britain in the 1820s.

Immediatism and Slave Rebellion

In the wake of abolition of the slave trade by Britain in 1807 and the United States in 1808, the organized abstention movement further waned. In the early nineteenth century, writers such as American Quaker Elias Hicks encouraged abstinence, and individuals, usually Quakers, continued to abstain from slave-labor products. Still, the popular boycott of the 1790s had run its course by the early nineteenth century and many individuals who had so diligently abstained from slave-grown sugar turned their attention to other matters.¹⁰

Immediate Not Gradual Abolition appeared at a critical moment in the nineteenth century British abolitionist movement. In January 1823, realizing that abolition of the slave trade had not had the desired effect on slavery, abolitionists reorganized into the London Anti-Slavery Society. Following the establishment of the Anti-Slavery Society,

actions. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the logic of consumer activism held that consumption might and probably did influence the morality of one's relationship with distant and unknown workers . . . who produced the goods they bought, as it did with relations with neighbors." Glickman, *Buying Power*, 7.

¹⁰ Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 10-12; Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 309-324; Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 106-167; Alice Dana Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964).

Thomas Clarkson once again toured Great Britain to generate support for the cause.¹¹ By the time the Anti-Slavery Society held its first major meeting in 1824, more than two hundred auxiliaries had been established throughout the country and nearly eight hundred petitions sent to Parliament.¹² In May 1823, Thomas Fowell Buxton, who had replaced William Wilberforce as the anti-slavery leader in Parliament, introduced a resolution calling for the immediate emancipation of the children of slaves and the implementation of measures that would prepare adult slaves for emancipation.¹³ Despite the conciliatory nature of Buxton's resolution, Foreign Secretary George Canning offered an alternative resolution, which emphasized the need to prepare West Indian slaves for emancipation and the importance of maintaining property rights and civil order in the colonies. Canning's resolutions called for religious instruction for slaves, prohibited work on Sundays, and abolished the flogging of female slaves. Canning opposed Buxton's resolution to free upon birth the children of slaves believing such a proposal was not feasible. In an attempt to shape parliamentary action, the West Indian interest in

¹¹ Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 168-177; Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 322-324; Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 237. Heyrick's pamphlet, Fladeland claims, "was hurled like a bomb into the midst of the battle. Slavery was a moral issue, she contended, and must be emphasized as such. Neither immediatism nor the sinfulness of slavery was a new idea, of course, but the timing of Mrs. Heyrick's appeal was all-important, for it caught at its full the tide of disillusionment with gradualism." See Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 181.

¹² *Ibid.* Despite their gender neutral name, auxiliary, or local, anti-slavery societies were in practice associations run by an all-male committee. Thus, the auxiliaries or societies established in this period were associations established by men for men. According to Clare Midgley, ". . . women were excluded but in a way which rendered their exclusion invisible and taken for granted, rather than a matter for debate." "In contrast," Midgley explains, "when the first women's groups were set up in 1825 their titles made clear their sex-specific nature, thus indirectly drawing attention to the sexual division of labour in the anti-slavery movement." Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 45.

¹³ Buxton's speech as well as the full debate of May 15, 1823 is recorded in *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, new ser., 9 (May 15, 1823), 257-360.

Parliament proposed their own measures to improve the conditions of slavery. After much debate, several resolutions were approved. The resolutions, which were statements of good intentions rather than enactments with the force of law, were forwarded to the colonies in July 1823.¹⁴

Renewed anti-slavery activity coincided with one of the largest slave revolts in the Caribbean. As news reached the West Indies that Parliament had passed measures improving the treatment of slaves, planters reacted with their usual resentment of interference in the affairs of the colonies. Slaves overheard planters' discussion of the measures and soon the rumor spread that the King of England had freed the slaves. When no information was forthcoming from the planters, the slaves assumed their masters were withholding their freedom. On August 18, 1823, between nine and twelve thousand slaves from at least sixty plantations in the East Coast region of Demerara rebelled. The governor of the colony immediately organized a military response to the revolt. During the three day uprising, only two or three whites were killed. In contrast, colonial troops killed or wounded more than 255 slaves during the rebellion. After white West Indians regained control, mock trials and summary executions on various plantations claimed the lives of more than twenty slaves. In the official trials that followed the rebellion, another thirty-three slaves were executed. Ten were decapitated and their heads displayed as a warning to other slaves.¹⁵

¹⁴ Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 173-176; Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 324; Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 237; Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 177-178.

¹⁵ Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood*, 197-202, 219-220, 222-227, 242-244; Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 217-218. Da Costa's is the most complete account of the rebellion in Demerara. David

It was the trial of missionary John Smith, however, that galvanized pro- and anti-slavery supporters in England and the United States. Smith and his wife, Jane, had lived in the sugar colony since 1817 when the London Missionary Society sent him to replace John Wray. While Smith remained loyal to the Society's goals to not endanger public safety and to teach slaves to obey their masters, Smith was nonetheless horrified by the plight of the slaves. His popularity with the slave population and his advocacy on behalf of slaves as well as his private journal entries denouncing slavery were used as evidence to support accusations that he had led the slave rebellion. Smith was tried by court martial, found guilty, and sentenced to death. While waiting for word from England regarding his appeal, Smith died of consumption in jail in early 1824. In the months following Smith's death, the missionary became a martyr for the abolitionist cause.¹⁶

The martyrdom of John Smith united dissenters and Anglicans in England in a defense of Christian missionaries to the slaves. As soon as word reached England of Smith's conviction and subsequent death, the London Missionary Society and their co-religionists inundated the religious press with evidence of Smith's innocence.¹⁷ The

Brion Davis notes the dramatic difference between white casualties during the Demerara rebellion in 1823 and the Berbice rebellion in 1762-1763 when revolting slaves "slaughtered large numbers of whites and won control of the colony for nearly a year before a very bloody Dutch repression." Davis credits missionary John Smith with maintaining black self-discipline during the rebellion. Smith, according to Davis, was the "pacifist prototype" for John Brown. Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 218. Recent studies place the Demerara rebellion within a transatlantic context. See Edward Bartlett Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008); Gelien Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

¹⁶ Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood*, 252-274; Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 215-218.

¹⁷ Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation*, 65, 98-91; David Brion Davis, "Review: The Role of Ideology in the Anglo-American Connection," *Reviews in American History* 1 (1973), 386; Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood*, 274-292.

editor of the Anglican *Christian Observer* expressed his hope that the nation would not continue “to support the present system, which has been clearly proved to be as unprofitable and impolitic as it is unconstitutional and unchristian.” In addition to including editorials about Smith in their publications, Wesleyans, Baptists, and Anglicans gathered signatures on parliamentary petitions in support of Smith.¹⁸

British news stories were reprinted in the United States. British and American religious newspapers did not deny the violence of the Demeraran rebellion, but instead placed blame for the violence on the slaveholders. In April and May 1824, the Congregationalist *Religious Intelligencer*, published in New Haven, and the Presbyterian *Christian Advocate*, published in Philadelphia, provided extensive coverage of Smith’s trial and death. In one lengthy article, the *Religious Intelligencer* concluded that the causes of the revolt could be reduced to four primary issues: “*immoderate labour, severity of treatment, opposition on the part of the planters to religious instruction, and withholding from the slaves certain instructions of the English government, which they supposed to be in their favour.*”¹⁹

The defense of Smith that developed in the religious press was a direct denial of Bryan Edwards’s thesis that abolitionism led to slave rebellion. In 1797, Edwards published *Historical Survey of the French Colony of St. Domingo*.²⁰ A West Indian

¹⁸ *Christian Observer*, 24 (January 1824), 67; Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood*, 281.

¹⁹ *Religious Intelligencer*, May 8, 1824, 775 (emphasis in original); Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation*, 65, 87-91.

²⁰ The classic account of the Saint-Domingue revolution is C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963). Important recent studies include: Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) and Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and*

planter, Member of Parliament, and historian of the Caribbean, Edwards's account of the Haitian Revolution was the standard pro-slavery account of the revolution in the transatlantic world well into the nineteenth century. Edwards's history was widely disseminated in Britain and the United States, going through several printings well into the nineteenth century. According to Edwards, the Amis des Noirs, the French abolitionist society, was responsible for the slave insurrection in Saint-Domingue. Edwards's theory was transformed by pro-slavery supporters into a general theory about the relationship between abolitionist agitation and slave insurrection.²¹

In writing *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, Heyrick was influenced by the defense of Smith that developed in the religious press as well the Edwards's thesis. Slave rebellion, Heyrick claimed, was the result of enslavement not abolitionists' agitation for emancipation. Clearly confronting Edwards's theory of slave insurrection, Heyrick cited a pamphlet published by Clarkson in 1823 and an earlier work, published in 1814, by the planter Malenfant.²² Clarkson and Malenfant both noted the lack of violence after the slave insurrection in Haiti. Malenfant, in particular, wrote that the freed slaves continued to work after emancipation thus challenging traditional ideas that Africans would only

Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). See also Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation*, 42-53.

²¹ Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation*, 42-53. Though Rugemer focuses on Edwards's influence on the United States, his argument is also relevant to discussions of the British response.

²² Thomas Clarkson, *Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Conditions of the Slaves in the British Colonies, with a View to their Ultimate Emancipation; and on the Practicality, the Safety, and the Advantages of the Later Measure*, 2nd edition corrected (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1823); [Colonel] Malenfant, *Des Colonies, Particulièrement de celle de Saint-Domingue; Mémoire Historique et Politique* (Paris: Audibert, 1819). Heyrick discussed Malenfant's description of post-revolutionary Saint-Domingue; however, she may have learned of his account by reading Clarkson's discussion of Malenfant's pamphlet. See Clarkson, *Thoughts on the Necessity*, 22.

work when forced to. “The history of emancipation in St. Domingo, and of the conduct of the emancipated slaves for thirty years subsequent to that event,” Heyrick concluded, “is a complete refutation of all the elaborate arguments which have been artfully advanced to discredit the design of *immediate* emancipation.” Accounts written of the “*immediately* emancipated slaves” served as evidence that not one had “abused their freedom,” according to Heyrick. Thus the common fears of immediate emancipation were invalidated by the example of Saint-Domingue, Heyrick believed. Moreover, she noted that the “frightful massacres and conflagrations [attributed to the Haitian Revolution] . . . *occurred during the days of slavery.*”²³ That violence, she claimed, originated with the planters and not the slaves.

“Insurrection of all the blacks” and “massacre of all the whites,” Heyrick argued were “bug-bears” used by pro- and anti-slavery supporters in their arguments. Insurrection and massacre were cited by pro-slavery supporters during the slave trade debates and remained a consistent argument against even gradualist measures. However, Heyrick’s accusation that abolitionists had been infected is surprising. She charged the abolitionists with timidity, cold-heartedness, and excessive politeness. The conditions of enslavement gave slaves reasons to rebel; yet, abolitionists’ protracted discussion of emancipation also contributed to rebellion. Continued discussion of freedom while withholding liberty, she noted, simply added to slaves’ frustration. Heyrick argued that the rebellion in Demerara was the result of new restrictions and rumors of freedom. The slaves suffered more punishment as slaveholders retaliated against their slaves for

²³ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 7-8. Emphasis in original.

continued abolitionist agitation. Thus, gradualism, with its emphasis on compromise, was its own “bug-bear.”²⁴

Heyrick, like Clarkson, justified slave rebellion as self-defense. Slave rebellion was not the result of indiscriminate black male violence, but rather male slaves’ expression of frustration at their inability to protect their families. Heyrick retold the story of “Respectable Billy,” married to his wife for eighteen years and the father of ten children. His separation from his family, Heyrick argued, turned him to rebellion. Another male slave was separated from his wife, who was forced to become the mistress of the overseer. Other slaves were threatened with the breakup of their families. Many more were punished for participating in church services, or were refused passes to attend services. Given these conditions, Heyrick noted, the spread of rumors of freedom denied took on powerful meaning. Yet, the slaves did not resort to violence, Heyrick insisted, but instead refused to work until news of their future was given to them.²⁵

In outlining the honorable actions of the slaves and interpreting their rebellion as a strike, Heyrick rendered the rebellious slaves the true martyrs of Demerara. She portrayed the rebelling slaves as “sacrificial victims” and “Christian martyrs.”²⁶ In her opening discussion of events in Demerara, Heyrick noted that sentences had already been

²⁴ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 12; Heyrick, *Enquiry Which of the Two Parties Is Best Entitled to Freedom*, 5, 16-19.

²⁵ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 22; Heyrick, *Enquiry Which of the Two Parties Is Best Entitled to Freedom*, 10. See also *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, new ser., 10 (March 16, 1824), 1133; Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts*, 82; Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 58.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29. The conduct of the slaves at the time of rebellion, Heyrick argued, proved that their white oppressors were more “in need of reformation” and that “Justice must now decree that the whips and chains’ shall change hands . . . and be tried upon the *White* West-Indian insurgents.”

passed for the rebels. Some slaves had been sentenced to “one thousand lashes,” Heyrick wrote, and others “were condemned to be worked in chains for the the residue of their lives!!” Heyrick used the injustice of the sentences to push her call for abstention, demanding to know whether the public would allow such severe punishments to stand as a precedent and challenging her readers to refuse the products of slave labor.²⁷

Heyrick linked abstinence from the products of slavery to slave rebellion. Consumers, she charged, had become accomplices in the guilt and bloodshed of slave rebellion. The slaves’ rebellion and the injustice of their punishment should drive Christians to either abstain or renounce their faith altogether. The sacrifice inherent in abstinence was minor compared to what the slaves had suffered, she claimed.²⁸ Much as slaves were right to rebel, consumers were right to refuse to consume the products which encouraged those conditions, in effect staging their own rebellion. Moreover, since Parliament was infected with the “bug-bear” of gradualism, consumers had to step forward and refuse to further support slavery. Thus, in Heyrick’s argument, abstinence

²⁷ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 21- 22. Heyrick’s initial discussion of the rebellion in Demerara took to the form of a lengthy postscript in *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*. The Demeraran rebellion was, for Heyrick as for many Britons in this period, a transformative event. Heyrick referred explicitly or implicitly to the rebellion in each of her anti-slavery tracts. Her pamphlet, *Enquiry Which of the Two Parties Is Best Entitled to Freedom*, also published later in 1824, focused entirely on the rebellion in Demerara. Historian Moira Ferguson suggests that Heyrick’s postscript discussion of Demerara in *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition* “might be more than the tacked-on addition of late-breaking news and could suggest some suppressed personal-political conflict.” See Ferguson, *Subject to Others*, 255. Placement of the discussion, Ferguson argues, reveals a tension between Heyrick’s sympathy for the slave and her desire to maintain social hierarchies. More likely, however, Heyrick’s initial discussion of the rebellion was the result of late arriving news rather than some suppressed internal conflict as Ferguson argues. Ferguson did not include *Enquiry* in her discussion of Heyrick or, for that matter, any of Heyrick’s earlier pamphlets about working class reform and other social issues.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 25, 23-24.

was linked directly to slave rebellion: abstain from the products of slave labor and the fear of insurrection is alleviated as slavery is abolished.

Heyrick sympathized with the rebelling slaves because she believed in the fundamental sinfulness of slavery and the natural right of slaves to liberty. In this regard Heyrick did not differ markedly from other abolitionists. Yet within the mainstream abolitionist movement, immediatism guided theoretical ideas of emancipation while gradualism dominated the actual practice of abolition. Heyrick, in contrast, argued that theory and practice should be one and the same. Because abolitionists had distinguished between the theoretical and the practical, abolition had become a political matter subject to “human patronage.” Separating politics and morality, Heyrick argued, rendered defeat of emancipation inevitable.²⁹ Linking gradualism to slave rebellion, Heyrick blamed the anti-slavery leadership for the bloodshed in the Caribbean. She also blamed consumers who continued to purchase the goods that kept slaves in bondage. Heyrick recognized that her attack on gradualism opposed the “universal sentiment of abolitionists,” but truth and justice, she declared, were “inflexible.”³⁰ Heyrick claimed the moral high ground and distanced herself from the anti-slavery leadership, a position which increasingly became identified with women as the ladies’ associations formed in the late 1820s adopted Heyrick’s immediatist approach to slavery.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 18. See also Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 103-107; David Brion Davis, “The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 49 (1962), 209-230.

³⁰ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 7.

Immediatism and Gender

Women's anti-slavery activity in Britain was framed by the rebellion in Demerara and given urgency by the writings of Heyrick. In the months following the rebellion and publication of *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, British women organized the first female anti-slavery associations.³¹ In April 1825, women in Birmingham formed the Female Society of Birmingham (later renamed the Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friends Society). The Society, which included women from Birmingham and its surrounding communities, established a network of committees, district treasurers, visitors, and collectors to solicit donations and disseminate anti-slavery literature. The Birmingham association identified three goals: promote and distribute information about slavery, provide direct aid to female slaves in the West Indies, and encourage abstention from the products of slave labor.³² The establishment of the Female Society of Birmingham reflected an important shift from individual to collective action.

³¹ Louis Billington and Rosamund Billington note that the widespread reporting in the religious press of the persecution of missionaries and the mistreatment of slaves by planters propelled many women into the anti-slavery movement in Britain. Many British women were already involved in denominational auxiliaries supporting missionary efforts in the West Indies. As the Billingtons argue, "These [women] were now drawn into the anti-slavery campaign, and for example, the overwhelming majority of Wesleyan Methodist women members signed their denominational anti-slavery petitions." Louis Billington and Rosamund Billington, "'A Burning Zeal for Righteousness': Women in the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1820-1860," in *Equal or Different: Women's Politics, 1800-1914*, Jane Rendall, ed. (New York: Basic Blackwell, Inc., 1987), 91.

³² *The First Report of the Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves* (Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1826), 14-17. Heyrick claimed, "There are two very important branches of action in this grand cause, exactly adapted to the ability and power of every female, whatever may be her rank and situation in life, without a single exception, – viz. the extension of a just, faithful, sober, unanswerable knowledge of the subject among your friends, families, children, dependents, &c. in conversation, by the distribution of tracts, & c. . . . [and] [b]y religiously abstaining from polluting your lips with sweets produced by sufferers under a state of bondage so galling as this." See Heyrick, "Address to the Ladies of Great Britain," 198.

The Female Society for Birmingham functioned as an unofficial national anti-slavery organization for women, influencing the formation of other ladies' associations. The vast organization of officers and committees as well as the extensive correspondence maintained by Society founder Lucy Townsend enabled Birmingham women to communicate with other like-minded women in Great Britain, the United States, and beyond.³³ The network of district treasurers grew from ten women in 1825 to forty-nine by 1830 spread throughout England as well as Wales, Ireland, France, Sierra Leone, and Calcutta. Treasurers were urged to establish local anti-slavery associations, a plan which proved successful in expanding the network of ladies' associations. Elizabeth Heyrick, for example, served as district treasurer from Leicester for the Birmingham group and helped establish Leicester's local women's anti-slavery society.³⁴ Other ladies' associations not directly affiliated with the Birmingham group such as the Sheffield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves (1825), the Colchester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association (1825), and the Liverpool Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society (1827) also relied on the Birmingham women for information and support in establishing their groups.³⁵ Between 1825 and 1833, at least seventy-three ladies' associations were

³³ For example, Benjamin Lundy reprinted numerous articles about the Birmingham group in the pages of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The Society's *First Report* was reprinted in its entirety in the September 8 and 15, 1827 issues of the *Genius*.

³⁴ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 46-47.

³⁵ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 47, 218 n.24; *The Third Report of the Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves* (Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1828), 18. Midgley notes the adoption by the Sheffield, Colchester, and Liverpool women of a resolution related to female slaves. The women promised to continue their efforts "till the time may come when the lash shall no longer be permitted to fall on the persons of helpless Female Slaves, when our fellow-creatures shall no longer be advertised like beasts for sale, and sold like beasts at a West India slave Market, and when every Negro Mother, living under British

established. Of those, twenty were organized under the direction of the Female Society for Birmingham.³⁶

In addition to aiding the establishment of ladies' associations, the complex organization of the Female Society for Birmingham facilitated the arduous work of canvassing entire communities on behalf of the anti-slavery cause. The visitors and collectors of the women's associations, including the Birmingham group, proved essential to spreading the anti-slavery message and encouraging the boycott of the products of slavery. In 1827, the Birmingham women reported that more than half of the households in the Birmingham area had been visited; in 1828, the number of households visited rose to eighty-three percent. In 1829, they completed their canvas of their entire Birmingham area.³⁷ Heyrick and her friend and co-editor Susanna Watts were credited with canvassing most of Leicester. Women in Sheffield conducted a similar canvas. Door-to-door canvassing was a uniquely female method for distributing anti-slavery tracts, most likely adopted from the system of female district visitors to the poor used by

Laws, shall press a free-born infant to her bosom." According to Midgley, the "word for word" resolution suggests that the three later groups copied the resolution from the Birmingham association, further evidence of the influence of the Birmingham group.

³⁶ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 47.

³⁷ *The Second Report of the Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves* (Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1827), 17; *Third Report of the Female Society of Birmingham*, 17; Minutes, November 26, 1829, Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, Minute Book, Reel 2, Records Relating to the Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, 1825-1919, Birmingham Reference Library, hereafter cited as BLS. See also Karen I. Halbersleben, *Women's Participation in the British Antislavery Movement, 1824-1865* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), 89.

benevolent associations in this period. Male auxiliaries did not use this method to distribute information or solicit support for the anti-slavery cause.³⁸

In addition to neighborhood canvassing, British anti-slavery women made use of traditional female networks. For example, the Female Society for Birmingham made work-bags for sale to “the affluent and influential classes of the community,” as the women noted in their meeting minutes.³⁹ Work-bags, which were generally used to store embroidery and other needlework, were made from free-labor East India cotton, silk, or satin by the women of the organization. One side of the bag featured an image of a slave woman; on the reverse a label admonished the slave woman to “call upon [God] from amidst thy bonds, for assuredly he will hear thee.” The bags were then filled with anti-slavery literature along with a note explaining the contents of the bag.⁴⁰

The work-bags were a significant fundraiser and form of outreach for women’s associations; indeed, the work-bags produced by British women drew the attention of American editor Benjamin Lundy, who noted in the pages of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* that the project was worthy of “particular notice.”⁴¹ In 1827 the Birmingham society reported that during the preceding two years, the association had

³⁸ Catherine Hutton Beale, *Catherine Hutton and Her Friends* (Birmingham, U.K.: Cornish Brothers, 1895), 206.; *Report of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society* (Sheffield: J. Blackwell, 1827), 3. See also Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 58-59. Heyrick and Watts edited *The Humming Bird*, a short-lived literary publication, which included anti-slavery articles.

³⁹ As quoted in Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 57.

⁴⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, October 20, 1827. See also Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 57. Swarthmore College has an example of one of these bags with this particular image and verse. See “Anti-Slavery Bag,” Relic 295, John Greenleaf Whittier Manuscripts, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

⁴¹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, October 20, 1827.

spent nearly four hundred pounds printing anti-slavery literature. Nearly all of that cost, they noted, had been covered with proceeds from the sale of work-bags.⁴² The work-bags were also an effective means of disseminating information about slavery, countering the numerous “misrepresentations” carried in the press.⁴³ In 1826, the group reported that nearly 2,000 bags had been distributed throughout England, Wales, and Ireland.⁴⁴ In addition to selling work-bags, members of the women’s anti-slavery associations often presented influential women, and on occasion men, with work-bags. The King, Princess Victoria, Mrs. Thomas Clarkson, Mrs. William Wilberforce, and author Maria Edgeworth were among the named recipients of work-bags from the Birmingham group.⁴⁵ The women of the Calne association reported in 1827 that seven work-bags had been presented to “ladies of influence in the neighbourhood” in the past year.⁴⁶

Funds from the sale of work-bags were used to provide aid to female slaves in the West Indies, one of the Society’s primary objectives. In 1827, for example, the Society reported a donation of thirty-two pounds to the Society for the Relief of Distressed and

⁴² *Second Report of the Female Society of Birmingham*, 10.

⁴³ *Second Report of the Female Society of Birmingham*, 10. The Ladies’ Association for Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and their Respective Neighborhoods, in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation reprinted this same phrase word-for-word in their report, also published in 1827. See *The Second Report of the Ladies’ Association for Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and their Respective Neighbourhoods, in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation* (Calne: W. Baily, 1827), 14.

⁴⁴ *First Report of the Female Society of Birmingham*, 7.

⁴⁵ Minutes, April 8, 1828, April 12, 1831, Birmingham Ladies’ Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, Minute Book, Reel 2, BLS; Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 57.

⁴⁶ *The Second Report of the Ladies’ Association for Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and their Respective Neighbourhoods*, 14.

Discarded Negroes in the Island of Antigua.⁴⁷ Prior to 1823, the relationship between the anti-slavery movement and missionary societies was ambivalent as missionaries often condoned rather than condemned slavery.⁴⁸ The link between anti-slavery and missionary work was actually stronger in Sierra Leone than in the West Indies. In the mid-1820s, British Quaker Hannah Kilham's efforts in Sierra Leone, as well as the trial of John Smith in Demerara, strengthened this connection.⁴⁹ The practice of including "Relief of Negro Slaves" in the titles of women's associations further reinforced the link between anti-slavery and missionaries though these organizations, unlike Kilham, focused their efforts in the West Indies rather than Africa, at least initially.⁵⁰

Women such as Lucy Townsend worried that missionary work and education among the enslaved would distract women from their primary effort of the abolition of

⁴⁷ *First Report of the Female Society of Birmingham*, 7. According to the Sheffield Anti-Slavery Society, the Antigua association was organized in 1812, primarily by the Society of Friends in London, to aid West Indian slaves. Friends were influenced by reports of the "shocking nature and number" of slaves "who, from age, disease, or both, become incapable of earning their maintenance, are deserted by their owners, and left either to provide for themselves, or to perish from want." See Sheffield Anti-Slavery Committee, "Preface," in *The Negro's Friend, or the Sheffield Anti-Slavery Album* (Sheffield: J. Blackwell, 1826), vii. James Cropper and his family were subscribers of the association. See *Report of the Association for the Relief of Some Cases of Great Distress in the Island of Antigua, among the Discarded Negroes, &c.* (London: n.p., 1823-1827). Interestingly, Elizabeth Heyrick was not a subscriber of the Antigua group

⁴⁸ Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787-1834* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), ch. 1 and 3. This ambivalence is clear in the instructions given to John Smith by the London Missionary Society. When Smith was dispatched to Demerara to replace John Wray, he was cautioned to support the social status quo. Even though Smith was careful to remain loyal to the LMS, his popularity with the slave population led to accusations that Smith provided vital leadership during the slave rebellion of 1823. See Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood*, 252-274; Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 215-218.

⁴⁹ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 54-55. See also Mora Dickson, *The Powerful Bond: Hannah Kilham, 1774-1832* (London: Dobson, 1980).

⁵⁰ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 55. Midgley points out that only one male association included this phrase in their organization's title.

slavery. In 1825, the *Christian Observer* announced the establishment of the Ladies' Society for the Education of Negro Children, organized by evangelical Anglicans. In a letter to the *Christian Observer*, Townsend claimed that focusing on education rather than emancipation of slaves deflected time and energy away from the more important cause of liberation. Townsend blamed the colonial system for the slaves' current condition, noting that schools attempted to teach "chastity" to female slaves; yet, slave women continued to suffer sexual abuse in order to provide British women with "luxuries."⁵¹

Other women shared Townsend's concerns. Heyrick had noted in *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition* that slaves would not accept Christian education so long as their teachers violated their own lessons by supporting the sin of slavery.⁵² The women of Calne supported education, but were clear that education alone was ineffective: "As well we might attempt to arrest the march of a pestilence with a barrier of straw as to counteract the moral contagion of the West India system by *instruction* alone."⁵³ Throughout the 1820s, women continued to support missionary and educational work among West Indian slaves; however, doubts about its efficacy led women's groups to shift their focus, in terms of missionary and educational efforts, from the West Indies to Africa. Increasingly in the late 1820s, women's support for aid to West Indian slaves

⁵¹ *Christian Observer* 11 (1825), 715-717, 751, 750.

⁵² Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 8.

⁵³ *The Second Report of the Ladies' Association for Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and their Respective Neighbourhoods*, 5. Italics in original.

focused on emancipation, claiming that education must remain collateral to their primary objective of the abolition of slavery.⁵⁴

Women's organizational work worried some members of the national Anti-Slavery Society. In a letter written in January 1826, Wilberforce wrote that organizing associations and gathering signatures for petitions were activities "unsuited to the female character." Wilberforce urged other male abolitionists to omit women's anti-slavery activity from the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, the Anti-Slavery Society's publication. Wilberforce thought "it would be better not to speak of the ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations for discouraging the use of slave-grown sugar." He confessed that he felt "considerably uncomfortable" about women's public anti-slavery efforts because of "the political character of the subject."⁵⁵

Despite Wilberforce's misgivings, the national Anti-Slavery Society attempted to direct the establishment of ladies' anti-slavery associations by publishing guidelines. Two undated tracts, most likely published in 1825, provided a generic set of resolutions for anti-slavery associations distinguished by gender. The guidelines are nearly identical except one. Women were encouraged to disseminate information through a series of collectors and visitors while men were to use public meetings and the press to distribute

⁵⁴ *The Second Report of the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society for Birmingham* (Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1827), 31-34.

⁵⁵ Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce*, 5 vols. (London: John Murray, 1839), V: 264, <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY104868611&srchtp=a&ste=14>, (accessed December 8, 2009); R.I. and S. Wilberforce, eds., *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1840), ii: 494, 501, <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY104816593&srchtp=a&ste=14/>, (accessed December 8, 2009).

anti-slavery information.⁵⁶ In 1828, the Anti-Slavery Society issued a fuller set of guidelines for establishing ladies' associations. Interestingly, those rules used the resolutions adopted by the Ladies Association for Liverpool as a model. Like the earlier guidelines, the Anti-Slavery Society urged women to focus on the dissemination of information about slavery and the collection of subscriptions through their district representatives. Men, however, were encouraged to submit petitions and use the press and public meetings to distribute anti-slavery information.⁵⁷ The Anti-Slavery Society's guidelines might have been an attempt by the male anti-slavery leadership to establish unity in goals and structure and to direct women's work nationally.

The national society's *Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations* presented three aims appropriate for women's associations: dissemination of information about slavery, dissemination of information about the financial protections given by Parliament to the products of slavery, and abstention. The second was not mentioned as a goal by the ladies' associations; rather, it was primarily a goal of the male societies. The pamphlet also urged women to visit homes only where they were welcome, which stands in sharp contrast to the district plan outlined by the ladies' association themselves. *Ladies' Anti-*

⁵⁶ *Anti-Slavery Ladies Association* (London: Knight and Bagster, n.d.); *Anti-Slavery Society* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, n.d.).

⁵⁷ *Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations* (London: Bagster and Thomas, [1828]). The tract includes a plan of association based on resolutions adopted by the Ladies' Association for Liverpool and its Neighbourhood in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation. See *Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations*, 6. In their first report, the Ladies' Association for Liverpool noted that the resolutions were adopted at a meeting on January 17, 1827. See *The First Report of the Ladies Association for Liverpool and Its Neighbourhood in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation* (Liverpool: George Smith, 1828), 13. See also Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 48-49; Clare Midgley, "'Remember Those in Bonds, as Bound with Them': Women's Approach to Anti-Slavery Campaigning in Britain, 1780-1870," in *Women, Empire, and Migration*, ed. Joan Grant (Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England: Trentham Books, 1996), 73-102.

Slavery Associations also listed tracts appropriate for each anti-slavery society's library; interestingly, all of the tracts listed were endorsed by the national Anti-Slavery Society. Heyrick's tracts are noticeably absent.⁵⁸

Publication of the Anti-Slavery Society's guidelines coincided with the publication of Heyrick's *Apology for Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations*, in which she urged women to ever greater levels of anti-slavery activity. The national society's guidelines promoted amelioration and gradual abolition.⁵⁹ In contrast, *Apology*, continued Heyrick's argument for immediate emancipation. Heyrick dismissed gradual abolition as "a delusive phantom." "No mutilated offerings on the altar of duty will be accepted," Heyrick wrote. The number of women's anti-slavery associations, according to Heyrick, needed to be "greatly multiplied" and their "zeal and exertion must be greatly accelerated" to achieve their "ultimate object," the abolition of slavery. Women's efforts to date had been inadequate, she claimed. Rather than individual abstinence, women needed to "unite in some . . . mutual pledge" like that adopted by women in Worcester who had collaborated in a general boycott of grocers and confectioners who sold or used West Indian sugar.⁶⁰

Heyrick consistently urged immediate abolition of slavery, a tactic adopted early on by women's associations. The first anti-slavery society, regardless of gender, to

⁵⁸ *Ladies Anti-Slavery Associations*, 1, 3. An earlier tract, published in 1826, suggested that women petition the legislature. See *Negro Slavery. To the Ladies of the United Kingdom* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, c. 1826), 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Heyrick, *Apology for Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations* (London: J. Hatchard and Sons, 1828), 6, 8, 15.

officially adopt immediatism was based in Calne. In a letter to Heyrick, association member Martha Gundry distinguished between the gradualism proposed by men's associations and the immediatism of women's associations. "*I trust no Ladies' association will ever be found with such words attached to it,*" Gundry declared.⁶¹ Women had a moral obligation to oppose the gradualism of men's associations, according to the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society. Women, they claimed "ought to obey God rather than man." The Sheffield women encouraged women to remain strong against the national anti-slavery society because their stance was based on Christian principles.⁶² Like Heyrick, the Sheffield women argued that universality, numbers, and authority were insufficient reasons for perpetuating the sinfulness of slavery, thus defining slavery as a pre-eminently moral question.

Bolstered by Heyrick's unequivocal call for immediate abolition, women's associations exerted their influence on the national anti-slavery movement in the most significant way possible, through the use of financial pressure. Of the women's associations formed in the 1820s, the Female Society for Birmingham was the largest and most influential. Birmingham women were one of the largest donors to the national anti-slavery society. Moreover, because the Birmingham group had played such an important role in the establishment of other ladies' associations, the women held great influence over the funds raised by those societies as well as their own. The network of women's associations accounted for more than one-fifth of the national society's income from

⁶¹ As reprinted in Heyrick, *Letters on the Necessity of a Prompt Extinction of British Colonial Slavery*, 164. Emphasis in the original.

⁶² *Report of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society* (Sheffield: J. Blackwell, 1827), 10-11.

donations and subscriptions in 1829.⁶³ In 1830, the Birmingham women, frustrated with the gradualist policies of the national society, passed a resolution to withhold their annual contribution to the Anti-Slavery Society unless “they are willing to give up the word *gradual* in their title.”⁶⁴ Labeling the Anti-Slavery Society a “Gentleman’s Anti-Slavery Society,” the women distinguished between the policies of male and female associations, clearly identifying men with the failed gradualist policies that had dominated anti-slavery discourse up to that time. Seven weeks after the Birmingham women passed their resolution, the Anti-Slavery Society resolved to drop “mitigation and gradual abolition” from the Society’s title. While pressure from male provincial delegates influenced the Society’s change of title, the financial pressure from women surely had an impact as well.⁶⁵

Immediatism and Commerce

British Quaker James Cropper’s campaign to equalize sugar duties contrasted with Heyrick’s radicalism, emphasizing the different directions male and female anti-slavery associations took in the 1820s.⁶⁶ Heyrick rejected revision of tariffs because such

⁶³ *Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Anti-Slavery Society, for the Years 1829 and 1830; with a List of Subscribers* (London: S. Bagster, Jr., 1830).

⁶⁴ Minutes, April 8, 1830, Birmingham Ladies’ Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, Minute Book, Reel 2, BLS.

⁶⁵ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 115.

⁶⁶ See Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 61. According to Midgley, equalization was emphasized by men’s associations; abstention from West India sugar and consumption of East India sugar, however, were the focus of ladies’ associations. See also Hochschild, *Bury the Chains*, 327. Hochschild describes ladies’ associations as “almost always bolder than those of men” because of their emphasis on direct action through abstention. David Brion Davis suggests that Cropper was embarrassed by “such unwanted allies” as Heyrick. Yet, Cropper expressed admiration of the moral scruples of Heyrick and other radicals. “It is

measures were simply more of the “slow and solemn process of Parliamentary discussion.”⁶⁷ The Ladies’ Association for Liverpool and Its Neighborhoods in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation estimated Liverpool residents paid £5,000 annually in duties and bounties to support West Indian slavery.⁶⁸ Despite such statements, however, women’s associations emphasized the moral imperative of withdrawing economic support for slavery trusting in consumer demand to provide resolution. Cropper admired the moral scruples of those who avoided slave produce; yet, he was a businessman and understood how dependent British commerce was on the products of slavery.⁶⁹ Instead, he called for the opportunity for the products of free labor to compete equally with the products of slavery. Convinced of the superiority of free labor, Cropper believed free labor would prevail in the long-term and West Indian planters would be forced to emancipate their slaves.⁷⁰ Cropper and Heyrick reflect two competing strains of consumer activism.⁷¹ Emphasizing an ascetic approach to the market, Heyrick

possible that Cropper and other abolitionist leaders recognized that radicals like Heyrick had helped them appear more moderate,” Davis argues. See David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 183-184.

⁶⁷ Heyrick, *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*, 24.

⁶⁸ *The First Report of the Ladies’ Association of Liverpool*, 7-8. Noting that Liverpool residents gave only £200 to the anti-slavery cause in the previous year, the women asked, “Can we then any longer wonder that so little good is effected?”

⁶⁹ Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, 183.

⁷⁰ Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 162-164; Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, 181.

⁷¹ See Glickman, *Buying Power*, 9. Glickman discusses both strains of consumer activism. “Even as they have vested extraordinary power in individual consumers a majority of consumer activists have at the same denigrated the self and its desires, along with the practices of consumption that mediate that relationship. This strand of thinking holds to the original meaning of consumption as destruction, and emphasizes the dangers of consumption, usually in both personal and social terms.” While asceticism remains the dominant tradition, Glickman argues, “A steady stream of consumer activists has argued that posture of asceticism undervalues the potentially positive social impact of consumption . . . If individuals

emphasized the dangers of consumption and advocated withdrawal and sacrifice.

Cropper, however, argued that withdrawal from the marketplace would devastate the British economy and fail to demonstrate the economic and moral advantage of free labor. Their differing approaches to the marketplace highlight the difference between male and female activism.

Cropper was an important member of the British abolitionist establishment. An East India sugar merchant and member of the Liverpool East India Association, Cropper had substantial economic interests in East India sugar production. Cropper was also a founding member of the Liverpool Society for the Amelioration and Gradual Abolition of Slavery and a member of the London committee of the national Anti-Slavery Society.⁷² This fusion of economic and humanitarian interests has led historians to present Cropper as an example of the link between capitalism and abolitionism. Historian Eric Williams presents Cropper as an important example of an abolitionist motivated more by economic self-interest rather than humanitarian values.⁷³ In contrast, David Brion Davis describes Cropper as a man in whom “the intensity of Quaker Quietism had fused with the economic optimism of Adam Smith.” Cropper became an abolitionist because he

eschew the marketplace, they fail to exercise the force that drives political economy. For these consumer activists, individual or coordinated withdrawal, while sometimes necessary, is far less effective than organizing the consuming power of the market to effect change.”

⁷² Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, 179-191; David Brion Davis, “James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1821-1823,” *The Journal of Negro History* 45 (1960), 241-258; David Brion Davis, “James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1823-1833,” *The Journal of Negro History* 46 (1961), 154-173.

⁷³ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944, 1994), 186-187.

believed in the “unity of moral and material progress.”⁷⁴ Davis emphasizes the conflict between Cropper’s commercial success and Quaker beliefs, which ultimately found resolution in Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*. Thus, for Cropper, Smith resolved the tension between Christianity and profit; the “invisible hand” of the market was in reality the hand of God aiding the flow of goods toward their natural market in an “unfettered interplay of capital, labor, and resources.”⁷⁵

Cropper became involved in the anti-slavery movement in response to a move by the West Indian interest to increase duties on East Indian sugar. Free labor and free trade in legitimate commodities were divinely appointed engines of moral progress, according to Cropper. Discriminatory duties on East Indian sugar manipulated the market and supported slave labor. In a letter to William Wilberforce in May 1821, Cropper claimed West Indian planters asked for increased duties on East Indian sugar because they feared free competition with East Indian sugar. “Is not this a most decided admission that their system of cultivation cannot exist, unless the country is taxed to support?” Cropper asked.⁷⁶ Slavery depended on discriminatory duties on imports and bounties on exports.

⁷⁴ Davis, “James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1823-1833,” 173. See also David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 179-191.

⁷⁵ Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, 180. According to Davis, *The Wealth of Nations* became for Cropper “a second bible, whose laws were to be no more questioned than the Ten Commandments. Though still acutely aware of the corrupting power of wealth, Cropper now saw the hand of God in the flow of goods toward their natural markets, in the unfettered interplay of capital, labor, and resources, and in the contribution of individual self-interest to the irresistible march of human progress.” See also, David Brion Davis, “James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1821-1823,” *The Journal of Negro History* 45 (1960), 244.

⁷⁶ James Cropper, *Letters Addressed to William Wilberforce, M.P.: Recommending the Encouragement of the Cultivation of Sugar in Our Dominions in the East Indies as the Natural and Certain Measures of Effecting the Total and General Abolition of the Slave-Trade* (London: Longman, Hurst, and Co., 1822).

British consumers, Cropper argued, had paid more than one million pounds annually in duties and bounties to support West Indian slavery.⁷⁷

Like early abolitionist writers, Cropper believed abolition of slavery would reform British commerce and allow Britain to emerge as a virtuous nation. Cropper and other members of the Anti-Slavery Society believed West Indians' monopoly of trade had rendered the British colonies a liability rather than an asset to the empire.⁷⁸ An article in the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, published in February 1830, calculated the cost of slavery. Breaking the cost into categories — army, ordnance, commissariat, miscellaneous, and navy — the author concluded that these expenses were “but a part of what it costs to maintain this cruel and criminal system.” Adding the bounties and drawbacks, which favored West Indian sugar, annual expenditures to support slavery were more than three million pounds. Such “mischievous policy,” the author argued, “cramps the commerce of Great Britain, and paralyses the industry . . . of our Asiatic fellow-subjects.”⁷⁹ Leading abolitionist Zachary Macaulay described the West Indian colonies as a “dead weight” upon the country and “a source of enormous expense, without any adequate return.” In contrast, India “pours capital into this country,” Macaulay wrote. Macaulay claimed he avoided comparing the morality of the West Indies and India, suggesting instead that since West Indian planters emphasized their

⁷⁷ Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress*, 181; Davis, “James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1821-1823,” 246.

⁷⁸ Zachary Macaulay, *East and West India Sugar; or a Refutation of the Claims of the West India Colonists to a Protecting Duty on East India Sugar* (London: Printed for Lupton Relfe and Hatchard and Son, 1823), 63-65; *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, October 1826, 247-248; Matthews, *Caribbean Slave Revolts*, 152.

⁷⁹ *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, February 1830, 175-181.

contribution to British economic well-being, he would base his rebuttal on similar grounds.⁸⁰ Other leading male abolitionists were not so circumspect, linking financial support of slavery to a moral drain on the empire. Continued support of slavery would “greatly aggravate the distress of our countrymen at home” and impede the progress of “the general happiness and civilization of mankind” throughout the world, they argued.⁸¹

Heyrick called for abstention from West Indian slave-grown sugar and suggested that East Indian sugar might be substituted, where available. In a response to Heyrick’s tract, an anonymous author noted that Heyrick’s plan while not meant to deprive consumers of a necessary comfort such as sugar was nonetheless thwarted because of the artificially high cost of East India sugar. The author described the discriminatory bounties charged to East Indian sugar as “another rivet [that] has been added to the chain of the slave.” The duties imposed on East Indian sugar were charged to save West Indian planters from financial ruin. Implicitly linking the fate of the poor to emancipation, the author suggested that the poor were more impoverished because they paid a premium to maintain slavery by paying higher prices for sugar.⁸²

Heyrick rejected plans to revise duties on East Indian sugar. Heyrick linked political measures such as the revision of duties to the gradualist status quo. These forms of “commercial speculation,” as Heyrick described them, reduced the question of emancipation to matters of political compromise and financial profitability.

⁸⁰ Macaulay, *East and West Indian Sugar*, 63.

⁸¹ *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, October 1826, 248.

⁸² Anthopos, *The Rights of Man, (Not Paines,) but the Rights of Man, in the West Indies* (London: Knight and Lacey, 1824), 35, 36.

“Speculations on the comparative profitableness of free and slave labour, may *ultimately* effect the destruction of slavery, — but christian charity will not wait the tardy uncertain result,” Heyrick wrote. She welcomed the sacrifice of abstention and substitution as outward demonstrations of the Christian morality she believed ought to serve as the foundation of emancipation. Sacrifice in the marketplace, either through abstention or the substitution of East India sugar, placed the consumers in a better position to sympathize with the slave.⁸³ In effect, then, abstention served as a moral cleansing for consumers.

In her letter to the *Christian Observer* in 1825, Lucy Townsend urged women to “apply *their whole strength*” to emancipation. Like Heyrick, Townsend was suspicious of relying on Parliament’s ability to lead the abolitionist cause. Economic and political solutions, both women believed, lulled women into believing they were doing something for emancipation while in effect doing nothing. In much the same way that education of slaves did little to ameliorate the conditions of slavery, equalization of sugar duties had little effect on the conditions of enslavement, according to Heyrick and Townsend. Mass action, implemented immediately by consumers, would have a much more pragmatic and dramatic effect on slavery. Heyrick and Townsend might be faulted for being overly idealistic. Still, both women believed the heart must be changed first. Political solutions such as equalization of duties would necessarily follow.

⁸³ Heyrick, *Letters on the Necessity of a Prompt Extinction of British Colonial Slavery*, 88, 91.

Immediatism and the Working Class

Grassroots participation formed the foundation of the abstention movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸⁴ Women's role in recruiting popular support, however, changed. Eighteenth-century women urged friends and family to abstain from slave-grown sugar within the domestic space of the tea table. In contrast, nineteenth-century women divided neighborhoods into districts and visited friends and strangers alike to encourage participation in the abstention movement. In their annual reports, ladies' associations acknowledged the support of the working class including their commitment to abstain from slave-grown sugar.⁸⁵ Women also compared the conditions of free and enslaved laborers linking the two within a broad platform of national reform. Elizabeth Heyrick, for example, argued that emancipation would benefit the working class. Heyrick's concomitant advocacy for the working class and for the slave bridged the divide between working-class radicals and the anti-slavery leadership.

Prior to 1817 Heyrick focused her literary efforts on typical philanthropic concerns such as cruelty to animals, penal reform, poor relief, and Christian morality; however, with the publication of her first tract about the working class in 1817, Heyrick made a decidedly radical shift.⁸⁶ Her pamphlet, *Exposition of One of the Principal Causes of the National Distress*, coincided with a period of radical working-class

⁸⁴ See Seymour Drescher, "Cart Whip and Billy Roller: Antislavery and Reform Symbolism in Industrializing Britain," *Journal of Social History* 15 (1981), 6. Drescher notes the continuity of working-class support from the eighteenth century through the Emancipation Act of 1832.

⁸⁵ See Heyrick, *Letters on the Necessity of a Prompt Extinction of British Colonial Slavery*, 161. She noted that nine out of ten poor and laboring families had resolved to abstain from slave-grown sugar.

⁸⁶ Corfield, "Elizabeth Heyrick," 53.

activism. Between 1815 and 1819, wages for framework knitters steadily declined reaching a low of four shillings a week for sixteen to eighteen hours of daily labor. Since 1811, the knitters and leading working-class radicals had attempted to set a minimum wage, criticizing Parliament for maintaining the price of corn but not the price of labor.⁸⁷ In her pamphlet, Heyrick linked rights at home and rights in the colonies. “The Rights of Man – The Rights of Woman – The Rights of Brutes – have been boldly advanced; but the *Rights of the Poor* still remain unadvocated,” she claimed. Heyrick compared the free and the enslaved laborer and noted that both lived and worked in a “state of wretchedness and despair” because the “spirit of the slave-trade” — “the lust of wealth” — continued to frame the relationship between worker and employer.⁸⁸ She called on employers to raise wages claiming that the interests of the manufacturer and the employer were not mutually exclusive.⁸⁹ In a significant break from the traditional philanthropic approach to poverty, Heyrick insisted the claims of the poor be examined. “[W]e may discover,” she wrote, “that, so far from having obeyed the requisitions of *charity*, we have not yet discharged the demands of *justice*.”⁹⁰

Two years later, in 1819, Heyrick published a second pamphlet advocating for the poor laborer using the language of rights rather than philanthropy. The oppressive

⁸⁷ William Felkin, *A History of the Machine-Wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1867), 441-442; Corfield, “Elizabeth Heyrick,” 56.

⁸⁸ Elizabeth Heyrick, *Exposition of One of the Principal Causes of the National Distress* (London: Darton, Harvey and Darton, 1817), as quoted in Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 59.

⁸⁹ Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 59; Corfield, “Elizabeth Heyrick,” 54.

⁹⁰ Heyrick, *Exposition of One of the Principal Causes of the National Distress*, as quoted in Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 59.

conditions of Leicester's framework knitters had been presented to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, according to Heyrick, yet the evidence had failed to address the “*root of the mischief*.” Instead, Parliament preferred to silence rather than remove the cause of dissent. According to Heyrick, the depreciation of the value of human labor was systemic and endangered national health. Providing laborers with an immediate increase to a living wage would eliminate their need for parish support turning laborers into supporters of trade. Heyrick called on Parliament to take up the cause of the poor and enslaved laborer alike, breaking the bonds of *all* oppressed laborers. Writing within the context of the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, a defining moment in government suppression of the working class, Heyrick adopted a radical position.⁹¹ In 1825, Heyrick wrote another tract in support of the framework knitters who were striking after manufacturers lowered wages yet again.⁹²

In comparing slaves and the working class, Heyrick engaged an established rhetorical argument. In the eighteenth century, supporters of the slave trade invoked the working conditions of British miners and child chimney sweeps to argue that charity

⁹¹ Elizabeth Heyrick, *Enquiry into the Consequences of the Present Depreciated Value of Human Labour* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1819). For more on the Peterloo Massacre, see Donald Read, *Peterloo: The “Massacre” and its Background* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958). The Peterloo Massacre occurred on August 16, 1819 when cavalry charged into a crowd of more than sixty thousand men, women, and children who had gathered to demand reform of parliamentary representation. Poor economic conditions after the Napoleonic wars as well as a lack of suffrage in northern England contributed to the development of working-class radicalism in this period. Robert Poole calls the Peterloo Massacre “one of the defining events of its age.” Robert Poole, “‘By Law or By Sword’: Peterloo Revisited,” *History* 91 (2006), 254-276.

⁹² Elizabeth Heyrick, *A Letter of Remonstrance from an Impartial Public, to the Hosiery of Leicester* (Leicester: A. Cockshaw, 1825); Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 60; Corfield, “Elizabeth Heyrick,” 58.

should begin at home.⁹³ Reviewing the tract, *The House of Bondage*, the editor of the *Christian Observer*, noted the argument that the slave is “far better off than the British peasantry” was an “old argument, which has of late been newly refurbished.”⁹⁴ In an article published in the *Christian Observer*, Thomas Clarkson reviewed the comparisons made between the slave and the working-class poor. Drawing examples from the *Jamaica Royal Gazette*, Clarkson noted that slaves could be sold, often to pay for their master’s debts, and that slaves frequently ran away. The British peasantry would hardly agree that the slave had the better position, Clarkson concluded. Moreover, while overwhelmed by their own sufferings the poor would be so shocked by the slaves’ sufferings “*they would absolutely lose sight of their own.*” Clarkson, however, stopped short of claiming that British laborers were a privileged group.⁹⁵

As historian Emilio da Costa argues, such rhetoric “had a double edge.” Worried that planters might deflect attention away from the conditions of the slave, abolitionists privileged the British worker. Working-class radicals, however, worried that such

⁹³ Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, 124-130; Drescher, “Cart Whip and Billy Roller,” 12.

⁹⁴ *Christian Observer* 10 (1824), 620-640. Quote is from 628. See also B. Bailey, *The House of Bondage, a Dissertation upon the Nature of Service or Slavery under the Levitical Law among the Hebrews in the Earliest Ages, and in the Gentile World, until the coming of Christ; the Import of the Words Expressive of Service or Slavery in the Holy Scriptures, with reflections on the Change which Christianity has made, and continues to make in the Condition of that Class of people who are servants* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1824).

⁹⁵ *Christian Observer* 8 (1824), 479-487. Clarkson devoted three pages to cataloging the various scars, brands, and physical devices described in runaway advertisements. See 482-485. Comparing the state of the British peasantry with that of the West Indian slaves, Clarkson asked, “What is it that constitutes the best part of a man’s happiness? It is liberty. It is personal protection. It is the unmolested enjoyment of his family and home. It is the due appreciation of him as a citizen and a human being. It is the sympathy of his fellow-creatures. It is the freedom and enjoyment of religious exercises. It is hope, blessed hope, that balm and solace of the mind.” See 486.

abolitionist rhetoric might distract Parliament from the condition of the poor. Working-class radical William Cobbett, for example, invoked a happy group of “fat and lazy and laughing and singing and dancing negroes” in the West Indies. The “wage slaves” of England would be happy to lick the bowls of such well-fed slaves, Cobbett argued. Protesting labor conditions, the spinners of Stockport claimed to endure “all the horrors of a sullen and hapless slavery.”⁹⁶ While abolitionist rhetoric might tell British laborers that theirs was a privileged lot by comparison with slaves, abolitionist rhetoric also provided laborers with a language to claim their rights to better working conditions.⁹⁷

Prioritizing the suffering of one group led historian Brycchan Carey to conclude that pro- and anti-slavery writers in the eighteenth century created a “hierarchy of suffering.” In the nineteenth century, Heyrick collapsed that hierarchy claiming that suffering in one area of society affected everyone. In an “Address to the Ladies of Great Britain,” Heyrick asserted that each individual consumer supported slavery through their purchase of the products of slave labor. Abstinence from such products would promote and expand the consumption of free-labor products and stand as a statement of principled action against the products of oppressive labor.⁹⁸ According to Heyrick, laborers were only nominally free. Thus, to suggest as some abolitionists did, that working-class reform should wait until slavery had been abolished was misguided. The condition of the

⁹⁶ Both as quoted in Drescher, “Cart Whip and Billy Roller,” 16, 8.

⁹⁷ Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, 145.

⁹⁸ “Address to the Ladies of Great Britain,” 198, 199.

working class and the enslaved African were “*directly contrary to the Divine will.*”⁹⁹ The working class and the enslaved alike must be immediately freed from their unjust situations, according to Heyrick.

Drawing on this idea of shared suffering, Heyrick appealed to the working class in 1824 for support of the boycott of slave-grown sugar. The poor had “tasted the cup of adversity”; therefore, they were especially able to sympathize with the plight of the slave, Heyrick claimed in *No British Slavery; or, an Invitation to the People to Put a Speedy End to It* (1824). Moreover, she dispelled the argument that because the working classes were poor they somehow lacked the ability to fight slavery. Reform, she noted, lay within the power of all men, rich and poor, because all men possessed the qualities of justice and humanity. The distinction, for Heyrick, lay in “the right use or abuse of them, which makes a man truly noble or worthless.”¹⁰⁰

Whether arguing for the rights of the poor or the rights of the slave, Heyrick made three key points. First, avarice was at the root of the problem. The greed of West Indian planters and British manufacturers kept the African enslaved and the laborer impoverished. Second, human rights were more important than the pecuniary interests of the planters and manufacturers. Finally, the depreciation of the value of human labor had infected every area of British society. Emancipating the slaves and paying the laborer a just wage were mutually reinforcing.

⁹⁹ As quoted in Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Heyrick, *No British Slavery; or, an Invitation to the People to Put a Speedy End to It* (London: Hatchard and Son; Darton and Harvey, 1824), 6, 3.

Heyrick and other British women linked the abolition of slavery to working-class reforms. In 1827, the Female Society for Birmingham claimed that increased consumption of free labor goods would provide vital relief to the British working class. Describing the trade in slave-labor goods and slaves as “favoured but unrighteous commerce,” the women called on consumers to reject all “luxuries” and “conveniences” tainted by the “flagrant system of blood-guiltiness and oppression.”¹⁰¹ In the *Third Report*, the Birmingham women once again linked the plight of the working class to the perpetuation of slavery, suggesting that if duties favoring slave-labor goods were removed, “the starving freemen of Ireland would speedily find employment.”¹⁰²

Appeals to the working class suggested the radical potential of abstention. First, such appeals tied abstention to the radicalism of working-class politics and linked the plight of the slave and the poor laborer. More significantly, however, such appeals subverted traditional class and gender divides. Petitioning, a tactic used by laborers and women, to appeal to Parliament on behalf of the poor laborer and the slave, were appeals by those without political power to those with political power. As such petitioning reinforced class and gender divides. Abstention, however, bypassed Parliament altogether and called for popular support for both movements. Boycotting the products of slave labor would increase the market for free labor goods, which would in theory at least, raise the wages of the British laborer.

¹⁰¹ *Second Report of the Female Society of Birmingham*, 14-16.

¹⁰² *Third Report of the Female Society of Birmingham*, 20-21.

The second abstention campaign engaged the rhetoric of the first abstention movement; yet, the second campaign reflected important changes in British society in the thirty year span between the two organized boycotts of slave-produced goods. In the 1790s, East Indian sugar was available but only in limited quantities. Thus, abstainers often urged total abstention from slave-grown sugar rather than substitution.¹⁰³ In the 1820s, with the increased availability of free-grown sugar, activists such as James Cropper urged removal of protective duties so that free and slave labor might compete equally in the market. This position, which involved political appeals, was generally adopted by male abolitionists. In contrast, women emphasized the need for individual abstention, suggesting that individual renunciation of slave-labor products would effect a necessary change of heart that would in turn lead to, or at least be aided by political solutions such as revised duties and bounties.

This division in tactics and emphasis reflects competing strains of consumer activism. Historian Lawrence Glickman suggests consumer activists who advocated asceticism “understood consumption as generating unvirtuous, immoral people and injustice.”¹⁰⁴ Heyrick is reflective of this strain of consumer activism. A parallel strain of consumer activism stressed “individual pleasure and group solidarity” as consistent with justice; thus, pleasure and virtue were not mutually exclusive. To treat the two

¹⁰³ In her pamphlet, *Pity the Negro; or, An Address to Children on the Subject of Slavery*, Charlotte Townsend, daughter of Lucy Townsend, wrote, “When my mother was a little girl, she went without any sugar at all, rather than partake of the sin of slavery, and help to oppress the oppressed: but you need not go without sugar, for East India sugar can now every where be procured.” Charlotte Townsend, *Pity the Negro; or, An Address to Children on the Subject of Slavery*, 6th ed. (London: Printed for Frederick Westley and A.H. Davis, 1826), 6.

¹⁰⁴ Glickman, *Buying Power*, 9.

concepts as distinctive, these activists argued, limits the effectiveness of consumer activism.¹⁰⁵ Cropper's emphasis on equalization of duties on free- and slave-grown sugar suggests this second variation of consumer activism. Free-grown sugar, if allowed to compete fairly with slave-grown sugar, had much to offer: competitive price and moral means of production. These two competing strains of consumer activism would remain a consistent theme throughout the remainder of the movement and would create dissension among the supporters of abstention and free produce.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

PART II
THE AMERICAN FREE-PRODUCE MOVEMENT

CHAPTER 3

“WHEN WOMAN’S HEART IS BLEEDING”:

ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER AND

THE EARLY AMERICAN FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT

Shall we behold, unheeding
Life’s holiest feelings crushed;
When woman’s heart is bleeding
Shall woman’s voice be hushed?

– Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “Think of Our Country’s Glory,” 1830

British and American women used graphic and textual images to support their role in the fight for emancipation. In 1828, British women created the feminine counterpart of Josiah Wedgwood’s iconic image of the kneeling slave framed by the words: “Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?” The image was replicated on handmade and manufactured goods such as tokens, linens, and work bags and reprinted in books, pamphlets, and newspapers including the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and the *Liberator*.¹ “Think of Our Country’s Glory,” written by the young Quaker poet Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, acquired similar iconic status after its publication in the *Genius* in

¹ Phillip Lapsansky, “Graphic Discord: Abolitionist and Antiabolitionist Images,” in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women’s Political Culture in Antebellum America* eds. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 203-206.

1830 and in the *Liberator* in 1831.² Angelina Grimké, Frederick Douglass, and William Lloyd Garrison were among the more prominent abolitionists who used Chandler's poetics to defend women's anti-slavery activism.³ Chandler's vision of sisterhood resonated with rank-and-file abolitionists as well. In 1844, a Miss Smith of Andover, Massachusetts, presented a banner to the West Parish Anti-Slavery Society as part of the community's Fourth of July festivities. Rather than use patriotic imagery, Miss Smith juxtaposed the phrase: "Shall a woman's voice be hushed, while a woman's heart is bleeding?" with an image of slaveholders forcefully separating a slave mother and her children.⁴

In "Think of Our Country's Glory," Chandler linked female sympathy to political activism. The opening lines of the poem depicted the American flag "stain'd and gory" with the blood of Africa's children. In the second stanza, Chandler shifted focus to the personal describing the "frantic mother" who cries out for her child all the while "falling lashes smother" her "anguish wild!" In the fourth stanza, Chandler asked whether "woman's voice be hush'd" responding in the following, final stanza with an emphatic "Oh, no!"⁵ Rather than a sentimental, poetic plea for women's anti-slavery activism,

² [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], "Think of Our Country's Glory," *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, May 1830; *Liberator*, January 8, 1831.

³ Angelina Grimké, *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* (New York: s.n., 1836), <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayanti-slavery;idno=02817604> (accessed April 29, 2009); Frederick Douglass, "American Prejudice Against Color: An Address Delivered in Cork, Ireland, October 23, 1845," *Cork Examiner*, October 27, 1845 in *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One, Speeches, Debates, and Interviews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 1:59; William Lloyd Garrison, "To the Abolitionists of Massachusetts," *Liberator*, July 19, 1839 in LWLG, II: 497-517.

⁴ *True Wesleyan*, August 10, 1844.

⁵ [Chandler], "Think of Our Country's Glory."

“Think of Our Country’s Glory” is Chandler’s searing indictment of American nationalism based on the blood and tears of African slaves.

Like her British contemporary Elizabeth Heyrick, Chandler urged women to take an active role in the anti-slavery movement. Such activism, Chandler believed, did not force women out of their proper sphere but rather was an essential step in women’s moral development. According to Chandler many women held fast to the idea of woman’s proper sphere out of indifference and lack of intellectual independence. She consistently called on her readers “to analyse the strange workings of the human heart, and to instill into it high principles of virtue.”⁶ Like Mary Wollstonecraft, Chandler distinguished between true and false sensibility. An overwrought sensibility, Chandler wrote, led women to “weep over a faded flower” yet refuse to aid “the oppressed.”⁷ Like Heyrick she urged women to use their economic and moral influence to support the purchase of free-labor products and encouraged women to join together in associations to lead the cause of abolition. Chandler re-imagined sentimentalism and domestic ideology as a revolutionary force. If each woman developed herself into a model of domestic values, she imagined, women would then lead the peaceful overthrow of slavery.

The extensive distribution of Chandler’s poems and essays placed her work in the vanguard of abolitionist and free-produce rhetoric in the United States. As an author, Chandler wrote more than two hundred poems and prose pieces between 1826 and 1834.

⁶ Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “Time,” in *Essays Philanthropic and Moral*, by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler: Principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America, ed. Benjamin Lundy (Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836), 91.

⁷ Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “Woman,” in *Essays Philanthropic and Moral*, 64.

As editor of the “Ladies’ Repository” in the *Genius*, Chandler introduced American abolitionists to the work of British women. In his memoir of Chandler, Lundy compared her to Heyrick, noting in 1836 that the two women were heretofore the leading female abolitionists.⁸ In addition to the *Genius*, her poems and essays were published in the *Liberator*, the *Atlantic Souvenir*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, William Lloyd Garrison’s *Juvenile Poems for the Use of Free American Children of Every Complexion*, and, in the 1840s, set to music by George W. Clark in his widely published abolitionist songbooks, *The Liberty Minstrel* and *The Harp of Freedom*. Though her works were directed primarily to women and children, Chandler’s anti-slavery literature had broad appeal making her the most widely read abolitionist author in the antebellum period.⁹

⁸ Lundy, *Poetical Works*, 12-13.

⁹ For a list of publications in which Chandler’s work appeared, see Mary Patricia Jones, “Elizabeth Margaret Chandler: Poet, Essayist, Abolitionist,” Ph.D. diss., The University of Toledo, 1981, 266-268. Significantly, in her history of the American free produce movement Nuernberger fails to note the wide distribution of Chandler’s work. Rather she dismisses Chandler as the movement’s lone poet and as an author of “highly moralistic” prose. See Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 112. George W. Clark was a preacher and a teacher as well as a political abolitionist. *The Liberty Minstrel* was first published in 1844 and reprinted seven times. Clark also published *The Free Soil Minstrel*, which was *The Liberty Minstrel* adapted for the Free Soil Party. Chandler’s works were included in other anti-slavery hymnals and songbooks including *A Selection of Anti-Slavery Hymns, for the Use of Friends of Emancipation* compiled by William Lloyd Garrison; *Songs of the Free and Hymns of Christian Freedom* compiled by Maria Weston Chapman; and *Freedom’s Lyre: Or, Psalms, Hymns, and Sacred Songs for the Slave and His Friends* compiled by Edwin F. Hatfield for the American Anti-Slavery Society. For more information about anti-slavery hymnals and songbooks, see Jon Michael Spencer, *Protest and Praise: Sacred Music of Black Religion* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress Press, 1990, 36-46). For more on George W. Clark, see Geraldine Hopkins, “A Rare Abolitionist Document,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 18 (June 1931), 60-64. Hymnals and songbooks kept Chandler’s work before anti-slavery supporters throughout the antebellum period regardless of their opinions about moral suasion or political abolitionism. Her works were widely anthologized beyond the field of abolitionist works. See Rufus Wilmot Griswold, ed., *Poets and Poetry of America* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842); Rufus Wilmot Griswold, ed., *Gems from American Female Poets, with Brief Biographical Notes* (Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1842); Rufus Wilmot Griswold, ed., *The Female Poets of America* (Philadelphia: Moss & Co., 1849); Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, eds., *Cyclopaedia of American Literature Embracing Personal and Critical Notices of Authors, and Selections from Their Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, Vol. II (New York, Charles Scribner, 1855); Sarah Josepha Hale, ed., *Woman’s Record* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1842); Caroline May, ed., *The American Female Poets: With Biographical and Critical Notices* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1853); Thomas Buchanan Read, ed. *The Female Poets of America*

Chandler's work serves as an important bridge between the British free-produce movement and its early American counterpart. When Chandler reprinted and commented on Elizabeth Heyrick's work in the "Ladies' Repository," she consciously placed herself within an Anglo-American tradition of female free-produce activism. Her work on the "Ladies' Repository" provided an opportunity to work with the two leading abolitionist editors of the period: Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison. As a Hicksite Quaker, Chandler was influenced by the free-produce testimony of Elias Hicks as well as the seemingly more mainstream ministry of eighteenth-century Quakers John Woolman and Anthony Benezet. Chandler's literary work was further shaped by the free-produce activism of fellow Hicksite Quakers Lucretia Mott, Lydia White, and Hannah Townsend.¹⁰ In Chandler's literary work, these American influences — Quaker and non-Quaker alike — merged with British free-produce rhetoric. Rather than the quiet, Quaker activist described by many historians, Chandler played a prominent role in reinterpreting British free-produce rhetoric for an American movement, urging women to ever higher levels of activism.¹¹

with Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of Their Writings, 7th ed. rev. (Philadelphia: E.H. Butler and Co., 1857).

¹⁰ While preparing his memoir of Chandler, Lundy consulted Mott and Hannah Townsend Longstreth. The two women were the only individuals Lundy consulted other than Elizabeth's brother, Thomas, and her uncle, Lemuel Howell. In a letter to Thomas, Lundy noted that Mott had seen the work in progress "and expressed . . . satisfaction with it." The Chandlers' uncle Lemuel Howell ultimately published the completed volume. See Benjamin Lundy to Thomas Chandler, February 16, 1836, RTD, 304-305.

¹¹ See Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism*, 21. Chandler did produce much of her work anonymously, which along with her occasional self-effacing comments has led historians to describe her (like Lucretia Mott) as a quiet Quaker. Chandler is generally accorded an early and minor role in American abolitionism. For example, in addition to Jeffrey's work see Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex*, 7-10; Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 21-23. For a more extensive discussion of Chandler within the context of women's anti-slavery activism, see Alma Lutz, *Crusade for Freedom: Women of the Anti-slavery Movement* (Boston:

Quakers and the Free Produce Movement

Abstention from the products of slave labor began with American Quakers John Woolman and Anthony Benezet as they worked to separate the Society of Friends from slaveholding. In the wake of the Quaker reformation of the eighteenth-century, tensions remained between the Society of Friends and the slaveholding society in which they lived and worked.¹² In the South, Friends' testimony against slaveholding placed them outside the mainstream of society; yet, Friends' economic activities required engagement with the slave-based economy of the region. Southern Friends often found themselves weighing economic practices against spiritual values. Similarly, in the North, growing dependence on the products of slavery required similar compromises of Friends. In the eighteenth-century, Woolman and Benezet attempted to separate Quakers from the economy of slavery by advocating abstention. In the 1780s and 1790s, several American Quakers became involved in business ventures to promote the production of maple sugar

Beacon Press, 1968), 8-20. Ironically, as historians recover more of the story of women's anti-slavery activism, Chandler seems to disappear from the discussion. I differ from these assessments and instead argue for a return to Lundy's analysis which suggests Chandler's reticent attitude derived from her desire for "usefulness." For example, when she wrote "so like a drop in the ocean are my puny efforts," historians have viewed this as an example of Chandler's self-effacing attitude. See Marcia J. Harenga Mason's explanation of this passage in RTD, 408. Rather than self-effacement, comments by Chandler reflect instead her despair at the magnitude of the cause before her and other abolitionists. Chandler worried that her efforts and those of other abolitionists were not "useful" enough in the cause of emancipation. See Lundy, *Poetical Works*, 39.

¹² There is an extensive body of work examining the relationship between the Society of Friends and slavery including: Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (New York: Bergman Publishers, 1968), ch. 9; A. Glenn Crothers, "Quaker Merchants and Slavery in Early National Alexandria, Virginia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 25 (2005), 47-77; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*; Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, et. al., eds., *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), ch. 5 and 11; Jordan, *Slavery and the Meeting House*; Hugh Barbour, ed., *Slavery and Theology: Writings of Seven Quaker Reformers, 1800-1870* (Dublin, Ind.: Print Press, 1985). For an overview, see J. William Frost, "The Origins of the Quaker Crusade against Slavery: A Review of Recent Literature," *Quaker History* 67 (1978), 42-52. For a transatlantic perspective on Quakers, slavery, and anti-slavery, see Brown, *Moral Capital*, esp. ch. 7. See also Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, ch. 5.

as a moral alternative to slave-grown West Indian sugar. Philadelphia Quaker Henry Drinker was among those who hoped to destroy American dependence on tainted British sugar. Drinker's co-religionist and friend, Elias Hicks, took up the campaign against the products of slavery in the 1790s. Ultimately, Hicks's unstinting critique of slave-labor products contributed to theological divisions that separated Quakers in the late 1820s.

In 1789, Henry Drinker partnered with Benjamin Rush and several other Philadelphians as well as New Yorker William Cooper to promote the production of sugar from the maple tree. Troubled by his economic ties to the West Indies, Drinker looked forward to a future when his sugar kettles might support the domestic sugar industry rather than the "polluted and wicked" sugar industry of the British Indies.¹³ Rush, Drinker, Tench Coxe, James Pemberton, John Parrish, and Jeremiah Parker agreed to organize an association to purchase annually a quantity of maple sugar to encourage the manufacture of maple sugar and reduce American dependence on slave-grown West Indian sugar. Ultimately, the group attracted seventy-two subscribers, primarily Philadelphians.¹⁴ Cooper and Drinker touted the moral benefits of maple sugar; yet, both men also hoped to capitalize from the virtuous enterprise. In the 1780s, Cooper, an ambitious frontier businessman, acquired a patent on a large tract of heavily forested land on New York's Lake Ostego. Cooper then sold parcels of land to farmers for commercial

¹³ As quoted in David W. Maxey, "The Union Farm: Henry Drinker's Experiment in Deriving Profit from Virtue," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983), 612.

¹⁴ Benjamin Rush, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush, His "Travels Through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789-1813*, George W. Corner, ed. (Princeton: Published for the American Philosophical Society by Princeton University Press, 1948), 177; Roy L. Butterfield, "The Great Days of Maple Sugar," *New York History* 39 (1958), 156. See also Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).

development.¹⁵ In 1789, Drinker purchased 24,000 acres along the Delaware River and had his agent Samuel Preston establish Stockport on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River.¹⁶ Rather than invest large amounts of capital to start up maple sugar manufacturing operations, Cooper and Drinker relied on farmers motivated by promotional literature.

American interest in maple sugar production coincided with the British sugar boycott, giving men like Cooper and Drinker reason to believe maple sugar would dominate the American market. In 1790, Drinker assisted in the publication of *Remarks on the Manufacturing of Maple Sugar: with Directions for Its Further Improvement*.¹⁷ Rush published a similar tract, *An Account of the Sugar Maple-Tree of the United States, and of the Methods of Obtaining Sugar from It*. Written ostensibly as a letter to Thomas Jefferson, the work was actually created as an address to the American Philosophical Society, which included Drinker, Rush, and Jefferson among its membership.¹⁸ The two pamphlets were reprinted by London printer James Phillips during the first abstention campaign. Both pamphlets promoted maple sugar production as a moral alternative to slave-grown sugar from the West Indies. The two maple sugar pamphlets juxtaposed a

¹⁵ David N. Gellman, *Emancipating New York: The Politics of Slavery and Freedom, 1777-1827* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 92.

¹⁶ Maxey, "The Union Farm," 614; David W. Maxey, "Of Castles in Stockport and Other Strictures: Samuel Preston's Contentious Agency for Henry Drinker," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 110 (1986), 413-446.

¹⁷ *Remarks on the Manufacturing of Maple Sugar: With Directions for Its Further Improvement. Collected by a Society of Gentlemen, in Philadelphia, and Published for the General Information and Benefit of the Citizens of the United States* (London: James Phillips, 1791).

¹⁸ David Gellman, "Pirates, Sugar, Debtors, and Slaves: Political Economy and the Case for Gradual Emancipation in New York," *Slavery and Abolition* 22 (2001), 56.

positive vision of yeoman sugar production against the wastefulness and needless suffering within the system of West Indian sugar production. American maple sugar boosters suggested that Americans could demonstrate their virtue while simultaneously promoting American economic goals and national identity.

Hicks was not involved in Drinker's maple sugar business; however, in 1793, Hicks influenced Jericho Preparative Meeting to endorse his opinion that Friends should give up the use of the products of slave labor. The Monthly and Quarterly Meetings approved the minute from the Preparative Meeting. In 1794, the New York Yearly Meeting also approved the minute and amended the Ninth Query of the Discipline to include a statement asking whether members were implicated in slaveholding through the use of the products of slave labor.¹⁹ From 1797 through 1810, the New York Yearly Meeting discussed abstinence and at the annual Query several Quarterly Meetings reported that some members regretted using slave-labor products.²⁰

The debate among Friends in the New York Yearly Meeting coincided with significant theological debates among British and American Friends. Throughout the 1750s, American Yearly Meetings took action against slave trading. By 1775, most American Quakers had freed their slaves as the Society of Friends began disowning

¹⁹ A minute is a record of a decision made in a business or other meeting. The Jericho minute read: "Tender scruples hath arisen in the minds of Friends with respect to the Trafficing in or making the use of the produce of the Labour of persons held in slavery from a feeling of commiseration of their afflicted state." As quoted in Forbush, *Elias Hicks*, 90. A query is a question, or series of questions to guide individual and communal self-examination. Queries are meant to provide a framework for prayerful reflection rather than a set of outward rules. The content of the queries has varied though queries consistently reflect Quaker witness such as simplicity, peace, and community. In amending the Ninth Query, each meeting was directed to inquire whether or not members had made use of slave-labor produce. See Forbush, *Elias Hicks*, 90.

²⁰ Forbush, *Elias Hicks*, 90, 144.

slaveholders. In addition to eliminating slave trading and slaveholding among members of the Society of Friends, some Quakers urged Friends to stop using of the products of slave labor.²¹ These efforts, led in large part by Benezet and Woolman, were aimed at purifying the sect from the taint of slavery rather than converting others outside the Society of Friends.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the politics of the Age of Revolution, the emerging anti-slavery movement in the United States and Britain, and the religious revivals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which culminated in the Second Great Awakening in the 1820s, intensified theological debates among Quakers. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a strong current of evangelicalism had begun to infiltrate the “quietism” of British and American Friends. Quietism emphasized a personal, mystical knowledge of God through the experience of the Inner Light. The Inner Light relied upon the still, small voice of God within each individual. Quietism, according to Quaker historian J. William Frost, “rested upon the belief that any involvement of the human will, reason, emotions, and intellect contaminated the experience of the Inward Light.”²² Thus, intermediaries such as priests, sacraments, and offerings were unnecessary and interfered with the experience of the Inner Light. Evangelicalism, in contrast, emphasized external rules and behaviors such as Bible reading, settled ministry, temperance, and restraint as a means to instill moral discipline.

²¹ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 115.

²² J. William Frost, “Years of Crisis and Separation: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1790-1860,” in *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1681-1981*, John M. Moore, ed. (Haverford, Penn.: Friends Historical Association, 1981), 65.

Rather than relying on individual interpretation of correct faith, such outward rules would instead, as one historian argues, place authority “in the hands of those in positions to weigh Scripture truth.”²³ Traditional Quakerism emphasized gradual, individual growth into salvation rather than the “crisis experience of a single new birth” sought by evangelicals, according to historian Thomas Hamm. Consistent adherence to Quaker discipline and resistance to worldly influences were essential to the religious life of Friends; however, as Hamm argues, “to shut out the world completely was impossible. And under the assault of the world the older vision began to break down.”²⁴

These conflicting impulses — the Inner Light and evangelicalism — reached a flashpoint when American Quaker Hannah Barnard was silenced by London Yearly Meeting at the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1798, New York Yearly Meeting gave Barnard a minute permitting her to travel to the British Isles.²⁵ In Ireland, Barnard met a group of Friends who had been disowned for their reliance on the Inner Light, a view contrary to the evangelical doctrines that were beginning to exert an influence on British Friends. Her encounter with the Irish Friends corroborated Barnard’s own questions about the divine authorship of parts of the Old Testament. A pacifist, Barnard questioned whether God had commanded the Israelites to make war on their neighbors. She insisted

²³ Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 13.

²⁴ Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 2, 11.

²⁵ A minute was simply a statement of permission for Barnard to travel as a Quaker minister beyond the jurisdiction of her yearly meeting. The minute given to Barnard by Hudson Monthly Meeting assured British friends that “she is a friend in esteem . . . and that her ministry is sound and edifying, attended with a comfortable evidence of her call thereunto.” Thomas S. Foster, *A Narrative of the Proceedings in America, of the Society Called Quakers, in the Case of Hannah Barnard* (London: C. Stower, 1804), 2. Foster was a strong supporter of Barnard’s in England. See also David W. Maxey, “New Light on Hannah Barnard, A Quaker ‘Heretic,’” *Quaker History* 78 (1989), 61-86.

that uncritical acceptance of the scriptures could lead an individual to make moral, and perhaps mortal, errors. Barnard's views were consistent with Quakers' peace testimony; yet, her position implied the Bible was imperfect, a view inconsistent with evangelical doctrines that emphasized the infallibility of the scriptures. When Barnard arrived in London in 1800, she was brought before a committee of ministers and elders and ordered to stop preaching and return home. The official charge against Barnard claimed she denied the authority of the scriptures though unofficially she was attacked as a deist, an atheist, and a Unitarian. After her return to the United States, she faced similar questions by her home meeting. She was again requested to be silent as a minister. Barnard appealed to the Quarterly Meeting. In the end, Barnard was disowned.²⁶

Elias Hicks like Barnard emphasized the quietist tradition of the Society of Friends. Both Hicks and Barnard worried that uncritical devotion to the Scriptures might lead to beliefs that clashed with essential Quaker witness. This can be seen in Barnard's questioning whether God had ordered the Israelites to war. Likewise, this critical approach to the Scriptures can be seen in Hicks's views of slavery. In 1811, Hicks wrote *Observations on the Slavery of Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the*

²⁶ Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, I:281-310; Forbush, *Elias Hicks*, 119-120; Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 9-10; Rycenga, "A Greater Awakening," 34-36; Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1986), 40, 91; Maxey, "New Light on Hannah Barnard," 61-86. Maxey argues that Barnard's problems with the authority of London Yearly Meeting and Hudson Monthly Meeting were the result of Barnard's "sense of her own rectitude." "[I]f the men of the meeting in Hudson thought they had command of the rules of discipline as they moved against Hannah Barnard," Maxey notes, "they were promptly instructed otherwise: she demanded the presentation of formal charges, the reading of the entire record received from England, the opportunity to make a counter-statement, . . . and fair copies of countless documents." Maxey, "New Light on Hannah Barnard," 66. Jennifer Rycenga succinctly sums up the charges against Barnard: "she thought too much." Women like Barnard, she argues, had no vested interest in maintaining social norms. Thus, when women such as Barnard became involved in social movements, they naturally questioned "existing social norms and institutions." Rycenga, "A Greater Awakening," 35-36.

Produce of Their Labour. Slavery, according to Hicks, was established and continued by tradition, normalized as consistent with justice and social order. In a series of queries, Hicks asserted the traditional Quaker argument that slaves were prize goods and, as a result, the products of their labor should also be considered as prize goods and contrary to Quaker discipline. The Meeting for Sufferings approved Hicks's publication, which was widely circulated among American and British Friends. Hicks revised his pamphlet in 1814 and again in 1823.²⁷ With the publication of *Observations*, Hicks reinvigorated the American abstinence movement. Though Hicks's abstinence testimony owed much to Woolman, the tone of *Observations* resembled more closely the uncompromising abolitionist Benjamin Lay.²⁸ *Observations* affirmed Hicks's emphasis on individual conscience and rejection of modern economic interests.

Not all Quakers agreed with Hicks's views on the products of slave labor. In 1810, members of the New York Yearly Meeting approved a revision of the discipline, which omitted the reference to prize goods. New York Friends believed it was

²⁷ Elias Hicks, *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants, and on the Use of the Produce of Their Labour* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1814); Forbush, *Elias Hicks*, 144-149; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 116.

²⁸ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 115-117. Often described as eccentric, Benjamin Lay refused to eat with slaveholders, or to be served by slaves; he also dressed in coarse clothes because he refused to wear garments made by slave labor. In 1742, in a dramatic public forum, Lay smashed his deceased wife's china in protest against "the vanity of tea drinking," an event which was reprinted periodically into the nineteenth century. See, for example, *Register of Pennsylvania*, July 26, 1828. At the 1738 Burlington Yearly Meeting, Lay denounced slaveholding among Quakers and described slavery as great a sin as murder. In a dramatic climax, Lay thrust his sword into his Bible which hid a bladder of red pokeberry juice. The juice splattered Lay and his listeners in fake blood. This story may well be apocryphal; however, it highlights the distinctions made between the peaceful Woolman and the fiery Lay. See David Waldstreicher, "Benjamin Franklin, Religion, and Early Antislavery," in *The Problem of Evil: Slavery, Freedom, and the Ambiguities of American Reform*, Steven Mintz and John Stauffer, eds. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 168. See also Andreas Milke, "'What's Here to Do?': An Inquiry Concerning Sarah and Benjamin Lay," *Quaker History* 86 (1997), 22-44.

impossible to distinguish between free- and slave-labor goods. John Comly, who in the schism of 1827 would take the Hicksite position, saw no value in abstinence. Jonathan Evans, a powerful elder from Philadelphia, became the most outspoken opponent of Hicks's ministry and his abstinence testimony.²⁹ Quakers were as divided in their response to free-produce as non-Quaker abolitionists.

The conflict between Evans and Hicks came to symbolize the Hicksite schism of 1827-1828. Writing in 1801, Evans told his wife Sarah that he felt freed from the obligation of abstaining from the products of slavery, particularly as the line separating free- and slave-labor products was increasingly difficult to discern. The complete "breach of unity," Evans's biographer notes, came eighteen years later at the Pine Street Meetinghouse.³⁰ In late October 1819, Hicks arrived in Philadelphia where he attended several meetings. On October 27, Hicks visited Pine Street meeting where he preached against the products of slave labor and noted that some Friends who had previously abstained from these products had taken a "retrograde course," as his testimony was later described, making a rather pointed reference to the lapsed abstinence practice of Evans.³¹ After Hicks finished his testimony, he asked permission of the meeting to attend the women's business meeting at the other end of the building. All of the members except

²⁹ Forbush, *Elias Hicks*, 89-90, 149; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 115-116. See also Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 49. Ingle describes Comly as the epitome of the cautious reformers among the Hicksites.

³⁰ William Bacon Evans, *Jonathan Evans and His Time, 1759-1839: Bi-Centennial Biography* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1959), 42.

³¹ Jeremiah H. Foster, *An Authentic Report of the Testimony in a Cause at Issue in the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey, between Thomas L. Shotwell, Complainant, and Joseph Hendrickson and Stacy Decow, Defendants* (Philadelphia: J. Harding, 1831), II:39.

Evans agreed to Hicks's request. After Hicks's departure, Evans called for an adjournment of the meeting, suggesting members could finish their business at a later time. Though some members opposed the move, Evans was successful in adjourning the meeting. When Hicks returned to the men's meeting, he was surprised to find the meeting dismissed. Picking up his coat, Hicks observed that it was kind of the men to leave his coat for him. The incident, for Hicks's followers, demonstrated the hostility Evans and his supporters felt toward Hicks.³²

Throughout the 1820s, the divisions between supporters and opponents of Hicks deepened culminating in the schism of 1827. In 1827, as Philadelphia prepared for the yearly meeting, tensions heightened as each side attempted to gain control of the meeting. John Comly, along with other like-minded Quakers, became convinced that the Yearly Meeting as well as the Quarterly Meeting were under the control of Orthodox Quakers.³³ In the last session of the meeting, a special committee was appointed to visit each meeting to test the soundness of the membership. Composed of evangelicals and appointed without the general approval of the meeting, the establishment of the committee marked the beginning of separation between the two factions.³⁴

It was in this atmosphere of theological debate and division that Elizabeth Margaret Chandler developed as an anti-slavery author. After the schism, Chandler and her brother Thomas were received back into Green Street Meeting, the center of Hicksite

³² Foster, *Authentic Report*, I: 354, II: 39-40; Elias Hicks to Valentine Hicks, October 28, 1819, Elias Hicks Papers, FHL. See also Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 84-85.

³³ Forbush, *Elias Hicks*, 244.

³⁴ Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation," 76; Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 183-224.

power in Philadelphia. Both were disowned by Northern District Meeting for joining the Hicksites.³⁵ Influenced by a sermon most likely preached by Elias Hicks, Chandler composed her first anti-slavery poem “The Slave Ship” in late 1825 or early 1826.³⁶ Written under the pen name “Emily,” “The Slave Ship” appeared in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in February 1826 as a reprint from the *Saturday Evening Post*. “The Slave Ship” also appeared in *The Casket* that same month, where it received third prize in a literary contest.³⁷ Despite her Hicksite sympathies, Chandler did not speak publicly against the Orthodox members of the Society of Friends or in support of the Hicksites. She did write essays honoring the work of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet. However, she did not write a similar essay about Elias Hicks, perhaps because American Quakers were still living through the aftermath of the Hicksite schism. After relocating to Michigan in 1831, Chandler lived and worked in a community of Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers. Divisions were downplayed in the small community of Friends. Still, Chandler reflected Hicks’s influence in her insistence on the role of individual conscience in anti-slavery activism.

³⁵ Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records, FHL. In 1825, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler transferred from Green Street Monthly Meeting to Northern District Meeting. In November 1827, Chandler and her brother transferred back to Green Street, after the Hicksite schism. Both Elizabeth and Thomas were later disowned by Northern District Monthly Meeting though the two were no longer members of the meeting.

³⁶ Lundy, *Poetical Works*, 12.

³⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, February 4, 1826; *The Casket*, February 1826. “The Slave Ship” was later reprinted in the *Liberator*, March 31, 1832. See also Lundy, *Poetical Works*, 12.

Domesticity and Free Produce: The “Ladies’ Repository”

In addition to Elias Hicks, Chandler was influenced by Quaker editor Benjamin Lundy. As the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Lundy was probably the most important abolitionist in the United States in the 1820s. Lundy supported gradual emancipation and limited colonization schemes in Haiti and Texas though he did not support the American Colonization Society. Lundy’s *Genius* was an important source of information about women’s anti-slavery activism in this period, most notably by reprinting Heyrick’s *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition* shortly after its British publication.³⁸ He published other British and American female writers and printed information about British women’s anti-slavery societies, as well as guidelines for organizing and running such associations. In September 1829, in keeping with this tradition of supporting women’s activism, Lundy established the “Ladies’ Repository” as a regular feature in the *Genius* and offered editorship of the column to Chandler, who had published numerous works in the paper between 1826 and 1829. Along with Chandler, Lundy hired another young editor, William Lloyd Garrison, to help with the *Genius*.³⁹ The association with Garrison and Lundy influenced Chandler’s intellectual development. She used the forum of the “Ladies’ Repository” to urge a peaceful, domestic revolution to abolish slavery.

³⁸ Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 21. Salerno argues that without Lundy’s “intervention,” Heyrick’s “arguments might have had little direct impact on American women.”

³⁹ Robert Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 142.

From the beginning, the “Ladies’ Repository” used the rhetoric of separate spheres to create a space for women to discuss slavery, abolition, and emancipation. In her first column, Chandler noted her desire to be “useful” in “the advancement of . . . [the] holy cause” of abolition, pledging to “place the tribute of her services on the altar of Emancipation.”⁴⁰ In the pages of the *Genius*, Chandler was not identified as the editor of the “Ladies’ Repository”; however, her editorship was generally known among the abolitionist community. Chandler discussed abolitionism and women’s reform work as well as domesticity and women’s intellectual development, suggesting the issues were intertwined and of potential interest to all readers of the column. Many of the poems and prose pieces authored by Chandler within the “Repository” advocated free produce, as did many of the reprints selected by Chandler. Women’s free-produce activism, therefore, was deeply embedded in the intellectual and political life of the column’s readers.

The “Ladies’ Repository” is often overshadowed by the better-known “Ladies’ Department” even though the former was directly responsible for the development of the latter in the *Liberator* in 1832. Using the iconic image of the kneeling female slave to head the column, Garrison lauded the success of British women in spreading anti-slavery sentiment throughout the nation. “We cannot believe that our own ladies are less philanthropic or less influential” than the women of Britain, Garrison wrote. In establishing the “Ladies’ Department,” Garrison also noted the success of the “Ladies’ Repository” in the *Genius* along with Chandler’s work in editing the column. In this first

⁴⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, September 2, 1829.

column, Garrison reprinted “Our Own Sex,” Chandler’s call for women to unite across boundaries of race, which had been published by Lundy two years earlier.⁴¹ Throughout the early 1830s, Garrison published Chandler’s poems and essays in the “Ladies’ Department,” some appearing in the *Liberator* before they appeared in the *Genius*. Chandler’s influence on both columns is noteworthy. She used the feminized space of the columns to redefine gender ideals and to argue for an expanded form of female political activism. Her connection to both publications meant she played a key role in the nascent women’s abolitionist movement in the United States.

By establishing a separate rhetorical space for women, Lundy and Garrison implicitly segregated women’s concerns from the body of their respective publications. The gendered space of the “Ladies’ Repository” and the “Ladies’ Department” implied that female and male issues were distinct. Separate spheres aided the dramatic increase in publications for women and provided more opportunities for female editors in the 1820s. In 1828, for example, six women began editing American magazines, most notably Sarah J. Hale at the *Ladies’ Magazine*. While many of the female writers published in these periodicals and columns accepted cultural ideals of femininity, they did not accept the gendered distinction between the private and public sphere.⁴² Women used these gendered spaces to engage and simultaneously challenge notions of “true womanhood.” Unlike the *Ladies’ Magazine*, the “Ladies’ Repository” and the “Ladies

⁴¹ *Liberator*, January 7, 1832. “Our Own Sex” was printed in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, March 5, 1830.

⁴² According to Patrica Okker, female editors like Chandler and Hale “worked within a *public* feminine space.” Patricia Okker, *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 9.

Department” harbored radical potential. The *Liberator*, for example, had an African American readership and published writing by African American as well as white abolitionists; thus, rhetoric published in the “Ladies Department” challenged traditional ideology that privileged white, upper-class gender ideals. Female literary spaces expanded opportunities for women reformers and challenged cultural assumptions about the relationship between women and politics.⁴³

The “Ladies’ Repository” and the “Ladies’ Department” were essential forces in promoting women’s activism. In January 1829, Philadelphia women established the Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton, the city’s first female free-produce society and one of the earliest female anti-slavery associations in the United States.⁴⁴ The group’s initial meeting attracted thirteen women; the group’s membership increased to more than one hundred in subsequent months. At the December meeting of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the male delegates of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, announced the formation of the women’s association. The men of the Free Produce Society compared the American women to the laudatory example of British women, noting their distribution of tracts, work-bags, and albums, as well as their labors in visiting every home in some of the

⁴³ Jacqueline Bacon, “The *Liberator*’s ‘Ladies Department,’ 1832-1837: Freedom or Fetters?” in *Sexual Rhetoric: Media Perspectives on Sexuality, Gender, and Identity*, ed. Meta G. Carstphen and Susan C. Zavoina (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 5.

⁴⁴ Alice Adams notes the presence of three Ladies’ Societies in North Carolina in 1825 and 1826: Kennett (1825-1826), Jamestown (1826), and Springfield (1826). Most likely these were manumission societies, which emphasized general but gradual emancipation and foreign colonization. See Adams, *The Neglected Period*, 265, 137-138.

major cities.⁴⁵ James Mott was a founding member of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, thus it seems likely that Lucretia Mott was among the women who organized the Female Association. As a supporter of free produce and as a Philadelphia Quaker, Chandler was also most likely at the meeting.⁴⁶ Her probable involvement in the Female Association is supported by a poem written by Chandler after her move to Michigan in 1830. In the opening stanza of “To the Ladies Free Produce Society,” Chandler laments that it is the association’s meeting day and “I am not, as erst, amid you set.”⁴⁷

After her move to Michigan, Chandler worked with fellow-abolitionist Laura Smith Haviland to establish the first female anti-slavery society in Michigan. Chandler had encouraged Haviland to study the works of well-known abolitionists. In the fall of 1832, Chandler and Haviland organized the Logan County Anti-Slavery Society, the first anti-slavery society in Michigan. The group pledged to hold monthly meetings and add twelve new members each month. The group also pledged to abstain from the products of slave labor to the extent practical.⁴⁸ Chandler used the space of the “Ladies’

⁴⁵ American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Twenty-First Biennial American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race. Convened at the City of Washington, December 8, A.D. 1829. And an Appendix Containing the Addresses from Various Societies Together with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Convention* (Philadelphia, 1829), 57-60.

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the men’s report and the few reports of the association that appeared in the *Genius* do not include a membership list.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “To the Ladies Free Produce Society,” in *Poetical Works*, ed. Lundy, 175. The poem was not published in the *Genius*. Most likely the poem was composed between 1830 and 1833. Chandler moved to Michigan in 1830, and the women’s free produce group dissolved in 1833. For more about the Female Association, see Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 16-18.

⁴⁸ Ruth Evans to Jane Howell, October 22, 1832, RTD, 147; Laura S. Haviland, *A Woman’s Life Work: Labors and Experiences of Laura S. Haviland* (Chicago: C.V. Waite & Company, 1887), 32.

Repository” to promote women’s organizational activity in the United States and Britain, encouraging women to organize and participate in anti-slavery societies.

Many abolitionist women questioned the value of a separate rhetorical space for women. Lydia Maria Child, for example, questioned the limitations of female anti-slavery societies and conventions. In a letter to Lucretia Mott, Child compared gender-specific associations to “half a pair of scissors.”⁴⁹ Lucretia Mott, speaking in 1848 at a meeting of the Woman’s Rights Convention, noted approvingly that the “sickly sentimentality of the ‘Ladies’ Department, is fast disappearing, it being perceived her mind requires more substantial food.”⁵⁰ Lundy stopped publishing the “Ladies’ Repository” after Chandler’s death in 1834. Garrison ended the “Ladies’ Department” in 1837. As more and more items that would have appeared in the women’s column were incorporated into the body of the *Liberator*, the column became irrelevant.⁵¹ This shift away from gendered space reflected the increased activism and radicalism of many female abolitionists, an intellectual development made possible by Chandler’s use of feminine literary space to educate and encourage women in support of the cause of emancipation.

⁴⁹ Lydia Maria Child to Lucretia Mott, March 5, 1839, Lucretia Mott Manuscripts, FHL.

⁵⁰ *Liberator*, September 5, 1848.

⁵¹ Bacon, “The *Liberator*’s ‘Ladies Department,’” 16.

Juvenile Anti-slavery

In addition to encouraging women's activism, Chandler used the gendered space of the "Ladies Repository" and the "Ladies' Department" to promote juvenile abolitionism. Her anti-slavery texts written especially for children highlighted the importance of children to the abolitionist community. Abolitionists recognized that children were an important and receptive audience for anti-slavery literature.⁵² Noting that "[e]very body writes now for children," an editorial in the *Liberator* linked the growth in children's literature in general to the specific need to provide children with "correct information" about slavery.⁵³ Consuming abolitionist literature socialized young boys and girls into the abolitionist community and initiated them into the broader antebellum consumer culture. Henry C. Wright compared abolitionist instruction to religious instruction, calling for children to be "thoroughly imbued with the spirit and principles of Christian abolition."⁵⁴ Writing abolitionist literature for children provided women writers such as Chandler another literary venue to enter into the public debate

⁵² See for example, "Juvenile Anti-Slavery Agent," *The Slave's Friend*, vol. II, no. VIII (1837), 2. Note this article is published on the second page of the cover. The editor of *The Slave's Friend* lauded the appointment of Henry C. Wright as the American Anti-Slavery Society's agent appointed to work with children: "Woe to slavery . . . when the present race of *juveniles* are grown up." See also Henry C. Wright, "Juvenile Anti-Slavery Societies," *Liberator*, January 14, 1837. Wright noted that at that time there were four juvenile anti-slavery societies in New York averaging about 100 members each and that two or three societies were in the process of organizing.

⁵³ *Liberator*, January 22, 1831. See also Mary Lystad, *From Dr. Mather to Dr. Seuss: 200 Years of American Books for Children* (Boston: G.K. Halle, 1980), 50. Lystad notes that in this period sixty percent of books written for children "focused on moral instruction" and thirty-eight percent provided "instruction in social behavior."

⁵⁴ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, August 24, 1837. Children, according to Wright, were essential to the future of abolitionism: "I hope you, and all engaged in this holy struggle in behalf of our afflicted fellow citizens in chains, will never forget that our duty is but half done by struggling ourselves; we must also raise up and discipline a generation to carry this work to complete triumph after we are laid aside from our labors."

about slavery.⁵⁵ As one of the earliest and most widely distributed American authors of children's abolitionist literature, Chandler was influential in encouraging children to abstain from the products of slave labor.

Chandler most likely found inspiration in the work of early British abolitionist writers for children. Eighteenth-century abolitionist writers exploited the expanding market for juvenile fiction.⁵⁶ English Quaker Priscilla Wakefield, for example, authored children's books on natural history as well as travelogues and moral tales often blending popular science writing with juvenile and didactic literature. Many of her works were published by the Quaker publishing firm Harvey and Darton, a leading publisher of children's books. In her travelogue *Excursions in North America* (1806), Wakefield recounted the adventures of two English travelers touring the eastern seaboard. While in Charleston, South Carolina, the two men purchased the slave Sancho at auction and then set him free. Sancho became their servant, quickly revealing himself an expert guide and authority on local flora and fauna.⁵⁷ Wakefield's *Mental Improvement* appeared in three volumes between 1794 and 1797. In a series of conversations among Mr. and Mrs. Harcourt and their four children, the father selects the subjects while the mother provides moral and spiritual commentary on a variety of subjects. The tenth conversation focuses

⁵⁵ Deborah De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature, 1830-1865* (New York: Statute University of New York Press, Albany, 2003), 1. According to De Rosa, women took advantage of the developing market for children's literature and the cult of domesticity to discuss political issues such as slavery. In turn women and children were politicized: "Through their publications, these authors politicize women and children, transcend the ideology of separate spheres, and enter into the public discourse about slavery to which they had limited access."

⁵⁶ Ferguson, *Subject Others*, 133-134; Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery*, 142-148.

⁵⁷ Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery*, 145-146.

on sugar transforming a lesson in the cultivation of sugar into a discussion of slavery. The conversation concludes with a pledge by the Harcourt children to abstain from the products of slave labor. *Mental Improvement* was reprinted by American publishers. As a child Lucretia Mott memorized passages from *Mental Improvement*.⁵⁸

Chandler was also likely influenced by Quaker convert Amelia Opie, a contemporary of Wakefield. Like Wakefield, many of Opie's works were published in England by Harvey and Darton and widely reprinted in the United States. Her poem, "The Negro Boy's Tale: A Poem Addressed to Children," originally published during the slave trade abolition campaign, was reprinted in 1824 by Harvey and Darton during the emancipation campaign.⁵⁹ The poem recounts the story of West Indian slave Zambo, who is driven to suicide by the cruelty of his overseer.⁶⁰ *The Black Man's Lament; or How to Make Sugar*, published by Harvey and Darton in 1826, is an alternative history of sugar making. Like Wakefield's *Mental Improvement*, the cultivation and production of sugar cane is intimately linked to the abuses of slavery. Opie connected "the Black man's woes" to the "White man's crime." The "tall gold stems" of the sugar cane contained:

⁵⁸ Priscilla Wakefield, *Mental Improvement*, Ann B. Shteir, ed. (East Lansing, Mich.: Colleagues Press, 1995), 73-82; Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 13.

⁵⁹ Moira Ferguson dates "The Negro Boy's Tale" original publication to 1795. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* dates the poem to 1802, when it was included in Opie's book, *Poems*. See Ferguson, *Subject to Others*, 361 n.17; Gary Kelly, "Opie, Amelia (1769-1853)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2422/view/article/20799> (accessed February 13, 2010). Deborah de Rosa notes only the 1824 reprint. De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature*, 14.

⁶⁰ Amelia Opie, "The Negro Boy's Tale," *Liberator*, August 11, 1832.

A sweet rich juice, which White men prize;
And that they may this *sugar* gain,
The Negro toils, and bleeds, and *dies*.⁶¹

In giving voice to the victimized slave, Opie rejected earlier children's abolitionist literature, which suggested slavery was acceptable if enforced by a benevolent master or mistress.⁶² Opie also refuted the arguments of pro-slavery authors such as Bryan Edwards who argued that West Indian slaves were better situated than English laborers. In *The Black Man's Lament*, Opie privileged the slave's right to equality and claimed European anxieties about emancipation were outweighed by the moral wrong of slavery.⁶³ In her poem, Opie made clear the link between sugar consumption and slavery; yet, she did not specifically call on children to abstain from sugar, relying instead on the moral weight of her tale to convince children to forgo the sweet substance.

Chandler, in contrast, appealed directly to children to reject slavery and the products of slave labor. Historian Deborah De Rosa argues that Chandler created a new fictional protagonist, the "abolitionist mother-historian." Women such as Chandler used the ambiguity of ideologies of motherhood to create "revisionist histories [that] employ everything from sentimental rhetoric to an increasingly radical, legalistic, and quasi-seditious rhetoric." Rather than the "sentimental, patriotic, or morally correct information" women traditionally used to educate their children, women may have

⁶¹ Amelia Opie, *The Warriors Return; The Black Man's Lament*, ed. Donald H. Reiman (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978), 3-4.

⁶² See for example, Maria Edgeworth's "The Grateful Negro." As Karen Sands-O'Connor argues, Edgeworth argued only for the humane treatment of slaves rather than treating slaves as humans. Karen Sands-O'Connor, *Soon Come Home to This Island: West Indians in British Children's Literature* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), 30-32.

⁶³ Sands-O'Connor, *Soon Come Home to This Island*, 36.

instead opted for “seditious political works.” Central to this revision of motherhood was the abolitionist mother-historian who reinterpreted American history for her children.⁶⁴

Two of Chandler’s most widely reprinted children’s poems — “What is a Slave, Mother?” and “Looking at the Soldiers” — use the abolitionist mother-historian to create alternative historical narratives and encourage juvenile abolitionism. Both poems use a mother-child dialogue to heighten the child’s political awareness of slavery.

The child protagonist of “What is a Slave, Mother?” looks to the abolitionist mother-historian to refute the existence of slavery, particularly the slavery of children. In the first stanza the child asks the mother about slavery:

What is a slave, mother? — I heard you say
That word with a sorrowful voice, one day;
And it came gain to my thoughts last night,
As I laid awake in the broad moonlight;
Methinks I have heard a story told,
Of some poor men, who are bought and sold,
And driven abroad with stripes to toil,
The live-long day on a stranger’s soil;
Is this true mother?

In the second stanza, the child shifts focus from the “poor men” to “children as young as I” asking the mother to disprove that under slavery children were forcefully separated from their parents. However, the mother answers simply, “Alas, yes, my child.”

Clinging to hope, the child asks the mother whether “the master loves the slave child well.” When the mother responds in the negative, the child concludes: “the tales I have heard [must] be true.” Stanza by stanza Chandler, in the guise of the abolitionist mother-historian, emphasized the violent life of the slave child, a life so violent that the mother in

⁶⁴ De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature*, 79-81, 96-97.

the poem can only make the briefest replies to her child's disbelief. In the final stanza, the mother confirms her child's conclusions and completes the child's socialization into American political culture.⁶⁵

In "Looking at the Soldiers," Chandler created a counter-history of the founding of the United States. In the opening stanzas, the child describes the pageantry of the Fourth of July parade. The drums, the trumpets, the soldiers, and the horses are, for the child, a lesson in the history of events that "saw our country set free." But the mother reminds the child that liberty and revolution were "made in man's blood." More than bloodshed, however, the mother is distressed at the hypocrisy of the American Revolution:

Our country, my boy, as you tell me, is free,
But even that thought brings a sadness to me;
For less guilt would be hers, were her own fetter'd hand
Unable to loosen her slaves from their band.

Chandler rejected the mother who uncritically accepted patriotism; instead, she exposed the contradiction of celebrating American independence while holding millions of slaves in chains. Moreover, the abolitionist mother-historian in "Looking at the Soldiers" urged her child to consider the different interpretations of revolution. The American colonists revolted against Great Britain and their success was celebrated by subsequent generations. If American slaves revolted, however, it would be considered rebellion and lead to a much bloodier conclusion:

⁶⁵ [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], "What is a Slave, Mother?" in *Juvenile Poems for the Use of Free American Children of Every Complexion*, ed. William Lloyd Garrison (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1835), 13-14. "What is a Slave, Mother?" was also printed in Lundy, *Poetical Works*, 70-71. See also De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature*, 96.

We joy that our country's light bonds have been broke,
But her sons wear, by thousands, a life-crushing yoke;
And yon bayonets, dear, would be sheathed in their breast,
Should they fling off the shackles that round them are prest.

In the final stanza, the mother asks the child to join her in protest by turning her back on the patriotic scene, thus transforming a moment of patriotism into a moment of abolitionist protest. Turning away in support of the slave, the mother introduced her child to a new form of civic virtue that challenged the child's traditional perceptions of American history.⁶⁶

Yet, Chandler sought more than abolitionist gestures; as in her adult works, Chandler encouraged readers to take pragmatic action against slavery. Abstaining from the products of slave labor could be adopted by children as well as adults. In her poems, Chandler used children's abstention from slave-grown sugar to model ideal abolitionist behavior. In the poems, "Christmas" and "The Sugar-Plums," the child protagonist rejects the gifts of sweets from the mother (or grandmother) and reminds the older women that the while such foods are pleasant to the taste, they were produced by the violence of slavery. "Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again" alludes to the trope of blood-stained sugar noting that "blood is 'neath the fair disguise" of "those luxurious banquet sweets." All three poems were published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and the *Liberator* and published in Lundy's collected works. "Oh Press Me Not to Taste

⁶⁶ [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], "Looking at the Soldiers," in *Juvenile Poems for the Use of Free American Children of Every Complexion*, 47-48. See Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 76; De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature*, 97.

Again” and “The Sugar-Plums” were also published in Garrison’s collection, *Juvenile Poems for the Use of Free American Children of Every Complexion*.⁶⁷

Chandler’s anti-sugar poetry for children coincided with debates about the increasing availability of confectionary. For example, *The Colored American* warned parents of the danger of confectionary shops and, through its advertisements, promoted the purchase of free-labor sugar, which suggests the two issues were mutually reinforcing. In an article published in 1837, the anonymous author despaired of parents withholding money from their children to spend in confectionary shops. “Most parents excuse themselves by saying that they don’t spend a ‘great amount’ in confectionery, and don’t go to a confectionery shop very often,” the author noted. Still, “some men do not go to brothels very often; but then they go; and they go for the same purposes that those do, who go to them every night.” Consumption of confectionery, the author concluded, supported “the whole iniquity” regardless of the number of purchases.⁶⁸ The *Moral Reformer*, the *Christian Watchman*, *The Friend*, and *The Boston Recorder* all published similar jeremiads against the consumption of sugar.

Some warnings linked the consumption of sugar to drinking. The *Temperance Advocate and Cold Water Magazine*, for example, published the story of Henry Haycroft, who began drinking as a youth. In one scene, Henry is offered a glass of peppermint cordial, which he finds so sweet that he takes “a large quantity.” To further emphasize

⁶⁷ [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], “Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again” and “The Sugar-Plums,” in *Juvenile Poems for the Use of Free American Children of Every Complexion*, 68-69, 19.

⁶⁸ *The Colored American*, April 8, 1837. An earlier article in the *Episcopal Recorder* made similar links between confectionary shops and brothels. See “Where Are Your Children,” *Episcopal Recorder*, December 20, 1834.

the connection between the peppermint of the alcohol and the peppermint of candy, the author follows Henry and his friend as they stumble to a candy stand to purchase sweets.⁶⁹ Chandler's abstention poetry as well as the story of Henry Haycroft highlighted the dangers of intemperate consumption of sugar. Such tales urged parents, especially mothers, to instill discipline and virtue in their children. Abstention from sugar would aid the abolitionist cause and protect children from the worst effects of sugar consumption. Thus, anti-sugar literature written for children was intended to train boys and girls into a particular mode of behavior.

One means of training children into virtuous behavior combined the discipline of alphabetization and the literacy of abolitionism. Inspired perhaps by Chandler, Hannah Townsend wrote *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet*, which was sold by the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Fair in 1846 and 1847. *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet* drew on the tradition of alphabet books as a primary method of literacy training. Because women were the primary instructors of the alphabet, nineteenth-century alphabetization was influenced by accepted ideas about domesticity.⁷⁰ In *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet*, alphabetization was also shaped by the politics of abolitionism.⁷¹ The letters of the alphabet were printed 1.5

⁶⁹ Thomas Teetotal, "Henry Haycroft – A Story for Youth," *Temperance Advocate and Cold Water Magazine*, 1 (1843), 38-40.

⁷⁰ Patricia Crain, *The Story of A: The Alphabetization of America from The New England Primer to The Scarlet Letter* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 218, 4, 103-140.

⁷¹ See Martha Sledge, "'A is an Abolitionist': The Anti-Slavery Alphabet and the Politics of Literacy," in *Enterprising Youth: Social Values and Acculturation in Nineteenth-Century American Children's Literature*, Monika Elbert (New York: Routledge, 2008), 69-82. Shirley Samuels connects *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet* to the pedagogical concerns of *The Slave's Friend*, an abolitionist journal printed for children in the 1830s. Shirley Samuels, "The Identity of Slavery," in *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Shirley Samuels (New York and Oxford:

inches high in standard alphabetic order, from the abolitionist to the zealous man, with each letter followed by its quatrain. The text alphabetizes the cultural terrain of slavery including the products of slave labor. For example, “M” represents the northern merchant “Who buys what slaves produce” while “R” and “S” represent the rice and sugar, which the slave “Is toiling hard to make.” Reinforcing the role of children in abolitionism, the final two quatrains call for children to take an active role:

Y is for Youth — the time for all
Bravely to war with sin;
And think not it can ever be
Too early to begin.

Z is a zealous man, sincere,
Faithful, and just, and true,
An earnest pleader for the slave —
Will you not be so too?⁷²

Townsend leaves her readers with this heroic image of the child abolitionist, the final question urging the reader’s participation.⁷³

Juvenile anti-slavery societies developed in response to abolitionist children’s literature. While the editor of *The Slave’s Friend* credited the publication with inspiring the creation of juvenile abolitionist groups, juvenile anti-slavery societies actually pre-

Oxford University Press, 1992), 157-171. Elizabeth Margaret Chandler’s poem, “The Sugar-Plums” was reprinted in *The Slave’s Friend* in 1836.

⁷² Hannah Townsend, *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Anti-Slavery Fair, Merrihew & Thompson, 1847). Deborah De Rosa reprinted the text of the alphabet. See Deborah C. De Rosa, *Into the Mouths of Babes: An Anthology of Children’s Abolitionist Literature* (Westport: Praeger, 2005), 73-76.

⁷³ De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature*, 117.

dated the publication of the newspaper.⁷⁴ For example, in December 1835, the *Liberator* carried a report from the newly-formed Providence Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society. The young women reported reading anti-slavery literature and raising funds for the cause through the solicitation of donations and the sale of handmade items. The Providence group soon opened their membership to include young black women eventually calling themselves a “sugar-plum society,” which most likely referenced their pledge to abstain from slave-grown sugar.⁷⁵ In 1836, young abolitionists in New York organized the Chatham Street Chapel Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, which served as an auxiliary society to the New York City Anti-Slavery Society. The juvenile abolitionists invited Lewis Tappan to address their first meeting.⁷⁶ That same year, young men in Philadelphia formed the Junior Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania.⁷⁷ In 1838, African American juvenile societies were established in Troy, Carlisle, Pittsburgh, and Providence. The Pittsburgh society, for example, was established in July 1838 as a “cent a week” society. By 1839, the group had grown to forty members and had raised money to support *The Colored American*.⁷⁸

Like adult anti-slavery societies, juvenile associations promoted the free-produce movement. In January 1837, for example, the Junior Anti-Slavery Society invited Lewis

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁷⁵ *Liberator*, December 25, 1835; Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 29.

⁷⁶ *The Slave's Friend*, 1837, 66; *The Slave's Friend*, vol. II, no. 5, 1837, 3.

⁷⁷ June 24, 1836, Minutes of the Junior Anti-Slavery Society, Reel 31, Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, hereafter cited as JASS, HSP.

⁷⁸ Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, 30; *The Colored American*, November 23, 1839.

C. Gunn to address the group on the pre-selected discussion question: “Is it consistent with the principles of abolition to partake of the produce of slave labor?” After Gunn’s address, the group resolved to give preference to free-labor produce and abstain “as far as practicable” from slave-labor produce. The following January, the group renewed their commitment to free produce. Despite repeated resolutions against slave-labor produce, however, the group lamented that more members had not made the commitment.⁷⁹ In Boston, a female juvenile anti-slavery society boycotted the products of slavery and raised funds for the cause. In August 1837, the young women “had quite a discussion on self-denial and on the use of sugar and butter and at last came to the conclusion that we would deny ourselves of something so as to contribute one cent weekly to the society.”⁸⁰

Juvenile anti-slavery societies and abolitionist literature were vital to socializing young abolitionists into the cause. Many of these groups either read or sang Chandler’s poems as part of their meetings. The Boston girls’ society, for example, sang a musical rendition of Chandler’s poem, “Peace of Berry”; likewise, Susan Paul’s Boston Juvenile Choir sang a musical version of Chandler’s “The Sugar-Plums.”⁸¹ Reading abolitionist literature to their children fit within the ideals of republican motherhood; yet, when poems such as Chandler’s “Looking at the Soldiers” rejected traditional forms of

⁷⁹ January 20, 1837, Minutes, JASS, HSP; *National Enquirer*, January 14, 1837; January 5, 1838, Minutes, JASS, HSP; June 15, 1838, Minutes, JASS, HSP.

⁸⁰ As quoted in De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature*, 113.

⁸¹ De Rosa, *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature*, 113; Lois Brown, “Out of the Mouths of Babes: The Abolitionist Campaign of Susan Paul and the Juvenile Choir of Boston,” *The New England Quarterly* 75 (March 2002), 72.

patriotism, abolitionist juvenile literature suggested a radical overthrow of American political culture, one which made some women very uncomfortable.

“Our Own Sex”

Chandler’s assumption of editorial responsibilities for the “Ladies’ Repository” marked a watershed moment in her literary career. For example, her children’s poems were written after she assumed editorship. In this period, she also began to work in new genres such as essays, morality tales, sketches, and other prose pieces though she continued to write poems as she had in the mid-1820s. Other changes also point to the significance of her new editorial duties. Prior to 1829, Chandler used the pseudonym “Emily” to sign her works. Beginning with the September 2, 1829 issue of the *Genius*, Chandler stopped using “Emily” and adopted several new pseudonyms and even on occasion used her initials. In more mainstream publications such as the annual gift book, *The Atlantic Souvenir*, Chandler’s work appeared under her own name.⁸² Significantly, Chandler’s literary output increased tenfold. Between 1826 and 1828, Chandler wrote as many as twenty works for the *Genius*. While she may well have published elsewhere during this early period, it is doubtful that she matched her post-1829 output of nearly two hundred identified works written between 1829 and 1834. However, even more significant than output or genre, was the development of a more overt political character to Chandler’s later works. Chandler continued to assert the importance of free-produce

⁸² Jennifer Rycenga cites an 1827 essay written by Chandler “decrying the hypocrisy of celebrating the Fourth of July.” See Rycenga, “A Greater Awakening,” 41. Rycenga may be referencing a poem about the same topic signed by “Emily” and published in the *Genius*, July 4, 1827. I could not locate an essay written by Chandler in 1827 much less one about the Fourth of July. Chandler’s 1831 essay, “Lament,” explores the topic mentioned by Rycenga.

and women's activism in abolitionism. Yet, her later works urged women to use their ascribed moral influence to challenge the boundaries of female activism. In the fall of 1829, Chandler and Sarah J. Hale, editor of the *Ladies' Magazine* debated the role of women in the abolitionist movement.

“An Appeal to the Ladies of the United States” is one of Chandler's most forceful calls for female action against slavery. She blamed women's inaction on a lack of education. Women, she noted, had been educated by custom to believe slavery as a “natural” and “necessary evil.” Thus, improvements in female education would lead to greater intellectual independence. Chandler also used the ideal of republican motherhood. “Are ye not sisters, and daughters, and wives, and mothers?” she asked. Chandler argued that, as the first educators of children, women had the power to save or ruin the nation through the power of their influence. Chandler encouraged women to form associations to promote free produce and abolition. Anti-slavery associations would help women throw off social custom and subvert male authority. “Will you not stand boldly and nobly forth, in the face of the world, and declare that American women will never be tamely made the instruments of oppression?” Chandler demanded.⁸³

Printed first in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in September 1829, Chandler's “Appeal” was reprinted two months later in the *Ladies' Magazine*, edited by Sarah J. Hale. Hale attributed the essay to a “southern lady,” which may explain why this reprint has gone unnoticed in analyses of Chandler's work. Hale abridged Chandler's

⁸³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, September 16, 1829. For a discussion of republican motherhood, see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1986).

essay omitting the final paragraphs of the essay, which explicitly outlined women's organizational activity against slavery. Hale and Chandler shared similar views on women's education and republican motherhood. Hale championed women's education so that women might better fulfill their traditional feminine role; Chandler advocated women's education as a necessary corrective to slavery. Hale, however, denounced women's abolitionist activity as too political. "Let us beware of exerting our power politically," Hale noted in her introduction to Chandler's essay. "The influence of woman, to be beneficial," according to Hale, "must depend mainly on the respect inspired by her moral excellence, not on the political address or energy she may display." Hale claimed a moral position divorced from the male domain of politics.⁸⁴

In response to Hale's criticism, Chandler published "Opinions" in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* the following month. Chandler affirmed women's domestic role but urged women to use that role to aid the cause of the oppressed slave. Free produce, Chandler argued, was an effective abolitionist strategy and relied upon women's traditional domestic responsibilities. Chandler admitted that emancipation was a political question but she argued that abolition of slavery rested upon "the broader basis of humanity and justice." She noted, that "it is on *this* ground only, that we advocated the

⁸⁴ [Sarah J. Hale], "Introduction to 'An Appeal to the Ladies of the United States,'" *Ladies Magazine*, November 11, 1829; [Sarah J. Hale], "Review of *Letters on Female Character*," *Ladies Magazine*, June 1829; [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], "Female Education," *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, September 2, 1829; [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], "Indifference," *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, October 30, 1829. According to Hale, "The domestic station is woman's appropriate sphere, and it will be honorable if she but adorn it with the graces, dignify it by intelligence, and hallow it by sentiment, tenderness, and piety. An ignorant woman cannot do this." See also Lundy, *Poetical Works*, 21. Lundy claimed in that shortly after the publication of "Appeal," Chandler "found herself engaged in a great controversy with a lady of great celebrity, an author, residing in New England." Though neither Lundy or Chandler identified Hale as Chandler's critic, the timing of Hale's reprint and its introduction suggest that the "lady of great celebrity" was most likely Hale.

interference of women.” Chandler denied any desire to transform women into a “race of politicians.” Rather than emulating men, through political behavior, Chandler instead encouraged women to take female values into the world. Like Heyrick, Chandler argued that moral power came before politics.⁸⁵

The debate between Chandler and Hale reflects the flexibility of the rhetoric of domesticity. Both women used domestic ideology; yet, both women sought very different responses from their readers to the issue of slavery. In this regard, the debate bears striking similarities to the later debate between Catharine Beecher and Angelina Grimké. Historians point to the exchange between Beecher and Grimké in 1837 as a watershed moment in the debate about women’s role in reform movements such as abolitionism. In 1836, Grimké had published *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* in which she urged southern women to free their slaves (or at the very least educate them) and to petition their legislatures.⁸⁶ In early 1837, Catharine Beecher published her response to Grimké’s *Appeal*. In *An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism*, Beecher defended the American Colonization Society and gradualism and argued against efforts to organize women into anti-slavery societies. While Beecher shared abolitionists’ belief in women’s role as moral guardian, she believed women’s influence should be limited to

⁸⁵ [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], “Opinions,” *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, December 11, 1829. For a discussion of “female politicians,” see Rosemarie Zaggari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 75-81.

⁸⁶ Grimké, *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*. The classic work on Angelina and Sarah Grimké is Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Woman’s Rights and Abolition* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967). For the Grimké-Beecher debate see 183-187.

the domestic sphere.⁸⁷ In response to Beecher, Grimké authored a series of letters, which were published in the *Liberator* and the *Friend of Man* before being gathered into a pamphlet. Grimké rejected Beecher's restriction of women to the domestic sphere and questioned her assertion of gender inequality, which Grimké argued was socially constructed.⁸⁸

Beecher and Hale presented a more conservative vision of women's role as it related to abolitionism. Hale, like Chandler, believed that women must address moral issues. However, Hale used female public culture to heal sectional rivalries as evidenced in her 1852 revision of *Northwood*. In the new concluding section, Hale wrote: "Let us trust that the pen and not the sword will decide the controversy now going on in our land; and that any part women may take in the former mode will be promotive of peace, and not suggestive of discord." Ultimately, Hale's desire for unity eclipsed her moral objections to slavery.⁸⁹

In contrast, Chandler was troubled by women's indifferent acceptance of tradition, which perpetuated slavery. She embraced the moral absolutism of Heyrick and urged women to use the values of women's moral nature to reform society on a moral basis. While Chandler did not take her arguments to the radical conclusion that Grimké

⁸⁷ Catharine E. Beecher, *An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with Reference to the Duty of American Females* (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1837).

⁸⁸ Angelina Grimké, *Letters to Catherine E. Beecher, in reply to, An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, Addressed to A.E. Grimké* (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838).

⁸⁹ Hale as quoted in J. Bradley Shaw, "The Pliable Rhetoric of Domesticity," in *The Stowe Debate: Rhetorical Strategies in Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. Mason I. Lowance, Ellen E. Westbrook, R.D. de Prospro (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 91. See also Janet Gray, *Race and Time: American Women's Poetics from Anti-slavery to Racial Modernity* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004), 64.

made eight years later calling for women's equality, Chandler did suggest a more radical use for the rhetoric of domesticity.

In 1830, Chandler moved with her brother and aunt to Lenawee County, Michigan, settling along the Raisin River, as part of a larger movement of pioneers into the state. Though the area was relatively unsettled, a large and growing group of Quakers were settling the region. Many of Chandler's friends worried that her removal from Philadelphia to the frontier of Michigan would isolate her from the abolitionist movement. Indeed, because she was in Michigan at the time, Chandler was not in Philadelphia for the inaugural issue of the *Liberator*, was absent from the meetings that established the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, and she did not travel with her friend Lydia White to aid Prudence Crandall.⁹⁰ Still, Chandler remained closely connected to the larger abolitionist community reading as many as eight to ten newspapers regularly, aiding the establishment of a library company in Adrian, and maintaining a close correspondence with her friends and family in Philadelphia. Her ties as well to Lundy and Garrison assured her of a continued connection to the abolitionist movement.⁹¹

After her death in 1834, Chandler was eulogized by Garrison as a "meritorious female abolitionist." In his obituary, Garrison reprinted the first stanza of "Think of Our Country's Glory." He also announced his desire to write her biography and to compile "the best of her productions in a small volume." Initially, the Chandler family welcomed

⁹⁰ For more on Prudence Crandall, see Rycenga, "A Greater Awakening." **[[page numbers]]**

⁹¹ Dillon, "Elizabeth Margaret Chandler," 481-494.

Garrison's offer. In December 1834, Chandler's aunt Ruth Evans wrote from Michigan to her sister Jane Howell in Philadelphia that she was gathering materials to send to Garrison. A month later, Howell reported to her sister that she had been unable to secure a publisher because of the connection to Garrison. Howell proposed rescinding their choice of Garrison so as not "in the smallest degree tarnish the luster of [Chandler's] unspotted character." Instead, Howell turned to Benjamin Lundy to achieve an appropriate memorial to Chandler. Lundy, who in 1834 was touring Texas and Mexico, learned of Chandler's death on his return to Philadelphia in mid-1835. One year later, Lundy with the assistance of Lucretia Mott, Hannah Townsend, and William and Thomas Chandler had produced a volume of Chandler's poetry (with a memoir) and a volume of her essays.⁹²

Chandler fused the Quaker testimony of Elias Hicks and the rhetoric of the British free-produce movement to create an American movement against the products of slave labor. Though important to American abolitionism, Chandler is often accorded only a minor role within the broader history of the movement. Yet, Chandler's poetics and prose provided an important intellectual foundation for the women's anti-slavery movement. Chandler's work, though often unattributed, was widely distributed long after her death. Perhaps that is the ultimate recognition of her importance to the women's anti-slavery movement. Her rhetoric was so embedded into the American anti-slavery movement that abolitionists often quoted her without realizing the source.

⁹² *Liberator* November 29, 1834; Ruth Evans to Jane Howell, December 21, 1834, Jane Howell to Ruth Evans, January 21, 1835, and Jane Howell to Ruth Evans, July 29, 1835, RTD, 258-259, 264-265, 275-276; Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy*, 213.

CHAPTER 4

“OH FAINT YOU NOT, YE GATHERED BAND!”:

CREATING AN AMERICAN FREE PRODUCE COMMUNITY

Oh faint you not, ye gathered band!
Although your way be long,
And they who ranged against you stand,
Are numberless and strong;
While you but bear a feeble hand,
Unused to cope with wrong.

– Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, “To the Ladies’ Free Produce Society,”
1830

Recognizing the limitations of individual effort Elizabeth Margaret Chandler promoted anti-slavery and free-produce societies. Free-produce and anti-slavery associations, Chandler noted, popularized and directed abolitionist sentiment. Associations were critical to the development of the individual abolitionist and, ultimately, to the creation of public anti-slavery sentiment. Chandler believed woman’s task was to instill in her children the sentiments of justice and equality. Yet, she went beyond the ideal of the republican mother, urging women to unite “purpose and sentiment” through active involvement in associations. Joining in free-produce and abolitionist associations united individual effort and sentiment and fortified weaker members, Chandler argued. While anti-abolitionists were seemingly numberless,

associations allowed abstainers and abolitionists to number their friends and find strength in the abolitionist community.¹

Historians of women abolitionists have conclusively demonstrated the importance of associations to women's activism. Women's anti-slavery and free-produce societies provided structure, motivation, and resources for reform work. Through these "sister societies" women developed and maintained local, national, and international friendships. American women established societies and organized national anti-slavery conventions for women, gathered signatures on petitions, and raised funds.² These formal groups were nurtured by important informal networks, which developed in relationship with these associations. These formal and informal networks served as vital communities for British and American abolitionist women.

John C. Walsh and Steven High identified three fundamental elements for understanding the historical significance of community. First, community is culturally constructed around "imagined communities" of shared values, truths, and symbols and is not dependent upon a shared physical place such as a town or neighborhood to establish inclusion or exclusion. Second, community is based on "social interaction" and networks of power, which provide "moral regulation" among members. Finally, communities are inherently fluid, changing over time.³ These three elements help explain the development

¹ [Elizabeth Margaret Chandler], "Associations," *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, January 22, 1830.

² For example, see Salerno, *Sister Societies*; Yellin and Van Horne, eds., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*.

³ John C. Walsh and Steven High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," *Social History* 32 (1999), 255-273.

of the transatlantic abolitionist and free-produce communities, particularly in the 1830s and 1840s. Community was important for abstainers. Free-produce and abolitionist associations sustained women in their individual efforts to forgo slave-labor products. These associations and the informal communities they generated also sustained radical women as they faced criticism for their increasingly public activism. Abstainers attempted to project their moral stance against slave-labor products into the larger abolitionist community. Initially, those efforts were generally welcomed by individuals and associations such as William Lloyd Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society. However, as the American and British abolitionist movements shifted in response to internal and external challenges, the abstention movement was transformed.

In the 1830s, as abolitionists formed associations such as the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (PFASS), their constitutions and their published statements reflected their free-produce origins and their Quaker membership. Free-produce rhetoric also figured prominently in Quaker debates about the proper relationship between Friends and the radical abolitionist movement. Friends' responses to radical abolitionism were deeply influenced by the 1827-1828 schism between Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers. Abstinence from slave-labor products affirmed traditional Quaker tenets. Yet, Quakers were mindful that Elias Hicks had been an ardent proponent of abstinence and that his free-produce testimony had contributed to the divisions among American Quakers.⁴ Many Friends worried that

⁴ Lydia Maria Child, *Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1854), 276-282. Child claimed the Hicksite schism resulted from Quaker differences over the use of slave-labor products. Child was not alone among her contemporaries in pointing to free produce as the cause of division among Quakers. Twentieth-century histories of the Quaker schism, however, illuminate the complex origins of the

Garrisonian abolitionism might lead to national disunion. Quakers on either side of the Orthodox-Hicksite divide supported free produce; however, more radical Quakers believed individual abstinence was inadequate and that Quakers should join with non-Quakers in free-produce and anti-slavery societies such as the PFASS and the AASS.

Quaker abolitionists were instrumental in the organization of the Required Labor Convention and the subsequent formation of the American Free Produce Association (AFPA) in 1838. When British reformers established the British India Society (BIS) a year later, abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic celebrated. British and American abolitionists viewed these two national associations as the foundation of an international movement against the products of slavery. Despite the struggle to form associations and maintain a strict boycott of slave-labor products, abstainers envisioned the eventual success of a transatlantic free-produce community.

The Society of Friends

Garrison and other abolitionists — Quaker and non-Quaker alike — looked to the Society of Friends to provide leadership in the abolitionist movement. The Hicksite-Orthodox schism of 1827-1828 shaped Quaker participation in the abolitionist movement expanding participation among some Friends while limiting participation among others.⁵

Orthodox-Hicksite division and argue that criticism of Hicks's free-produce testimony was intertwined with theological debates among American Quakers. See Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 114-132; Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*.

⁵ Historians of Quakerism have traditionally interpreted the schism as a tragedy. See Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*; Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, xiii. Nancy Hewitt and Judith Wellman, however, suggest that the Hicksite schism of the 1820s as well as other divisions among American Friends “nurtur[ed] and expand[ed] women’s power.” See Nancy A. Hewitt, “The Fragmentation of Friends: The

Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers both agreed that slavery was sinful and must be abolished. However, the two groups differed significantly in defining the proper approach to abolitionism, particularly radical abolitionism. Even within each group — Orthodox and Hicksite — Friends differed significantly over the relationship between the Society of Friends and abolitionism.⁶ Quakers had never accepted the idea that the end justified the means. The rise of radical abolitionism and the often violent response to the movement complicated Quaker definitions of prudent and imprudent means. How might Quakers support abolitionism without adding to the social tensions that threatened to tear American society apart?⁷ Abstinence from slave-labor products seemed a possible compromise for many Quakers. More conservative Quakers emphasized abstinence as means of purifying Friends from the taint of slavery. Quaker abolitionists, in contrast, emphasized abstinence as a means of identification with the slave. For this group, in particular, abstinence became a radical statement of individual and communal

Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America,” in *Witnesses for Change: Women over Three Centuries*, edited by Elisabeth Potts and Susan Mosher Stuard Brown (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 94; Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls*, 102.

⁶ Christopher Densmore warns, “The extent of the division between Orthodox and Hicksites before the 1860s should not be overemphasized. Although the Orthodox in particular were reluctant to do anything to recognize the legitimacy of the Hicksite, individuals on both sides read one another’s publications, occasionally attended one another’s meetings, and shared common practices. The Orthodox tended to be more theologically similar, whereas the Hicksites were more theologically diverse.” Densmore, et. al., “After the Separation,” in *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*, edited by Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, et. al. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 142-143. In his study of Chester County Friends, Densmore argues that leading figures on both sides of the schism were “deeply committed to the core principles of Quakerism, but conflicted about the proper response to the organized abolitionist movement. Absent the external strain of the abolitionist debate, and there would have been no separation.” Densmore, ““Be Ye Therefore Perfect,”” 30.

⁷ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 134-135.

purification, which would reform the Society of Friends and, in turn, American society.⁸

In the 1830s, as the Society of Friends attempted to define the proper approach to abolitionism, free produce became for some Quakers the preferred abolitionist tactic.

In the immediate aftermath of division, American Friends on either side of the Orthodox-Hicksite divide asserted their claim as *the* true Society of Friends. Slavery did not figure prominently in these early statements as each side attempted to receive a thorough hearing of their views, particularly from members of the London Yearly Meeting. Nonetheless, these early pronouncements shaped American Quakers' responses to abolitionism and, in turn, British Friends' response to American Quakers.

In June 1827, two months after the Philadelphia separation, Hicksite Friends gathered at Green Street Meeting to review the state of the Society of Friends within the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.⁹ Members of the Green Street Conference appointed a committee, including John Comly and Thomas McClintock, to draft an epistle to Friends in the quarterly and monthly meetings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.¹⁰ The subsequent

⁸ See also Faulkner, "Lucretia Mott and the Problem of Moral Suasion." In challenging traditional descriptions of Mott as a "quiet Quaker," Faulkner interprets Mott's commitment to moral suasion as evidence of her radicalism. For Mott and other members of the PFASS, moral suasion served as the foundation of a radical statement of racial equality. Rejecting all connections to slavery, including the products of slave labor, prompted members of the PFASS to examine their own lives and to use free produce as an opportunity to imagine an alternative society based on individual sacrifice for the benefit of the community.

⁹ Minutes, Green Street conference, June 4, 1827, Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite), FHL. Hicksite power was concentrated in Green Street Meeting. After the separation, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) laid down (or dissolved) Green Street Meeting. However, Green Street continued as a Hicksite meeting within Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite). See *The Friend*, October 13, 1827; Foster, *Authentic Report*, I: 224, 378-379, 436-437; II: 318.

¹⁰ Minutes, Green Street conference, June 4, 1827, Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite), FHL. In response to support from Abington, Bucks, and Southern Quarterly Meetings as well as members in Philadelphia, Hicksites planned to establish a new yearly meeting. As Ingle notes, "In essence, the group requested that Friends favorable to the views in the epistle [issued by Hicksites]

address proposed that Hicksite Friends create a separate yearly meeting. A “desolating Spirit” had infected individuals within the Society of Friends ultimately spreading into the meetings, Hicksites claimed. As a result, “faithful Friends in the ministry were unjustly charged with preaching infidel doctrines, denying the divinity of Christ, and undervaluing the Scriptures.” The “contagion spread and made its appearance in some of our Meetings for Discipline opening to the exercised members of the Society, scenes of the most painful nature.” Once the infection had spread to the Yearly Meeting, the Hicksites concluded separation was necessary.¹¹ Between 1828 and 1830, Philadelphia Hicksites sent epistles to the London Yearly Meeting emphasizing their Christian faith and attributing the division among American Quakers to an attempt by some members to exercise “oppressive authority in the church.” London Yearly Meeting, however, refused to accept the Philadelphia epistles leading Hicksites finally to abandon their efforts as a group to reach out to London Yearly Meeting.¹²

confer at monthly and quarterly meeting levels, determine their numerical strength, and secure control of their meetings if the larger number was so inclined; if a local group was unable to ‘move as a body,’ those who were reform-oriented should attach themselves to a nearby meeting or request the forthcoming yearly meeting to recognize a new quarter.” Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 213-214.

¹¹ “To Friends of the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings within the compass of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia,” Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Hicksite), FHL. See also Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 213.

¹² Edwin B. Bronner, “*The Other Branch*”: *The London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites, 1827-1912* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1975), 9; John Comly and Lucretia Mott, “To the London Yearly Meeting of Friends,” c. April 14, 1830, reprinted in *Selected Letters*, 17-20. The Hicksites affirmed, “We are not sensible of any dereliction on our part, from the principles laid down by our blessed Lord; the history of the birth, life, acts, death, and resurrection of the holy Jesus, as in the volume of the book it is written of him, we reverently believe: we are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ.” *Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London. Also, An Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in New York, Addressed to Their Subordinate Meetings*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Thomas and White, 1831). See also *The Friend*, July 10, 1830. *The Friend* noted that London Yearly Meeting had rejected another epistle from the “separatists” at Green Street Meeting. “Thus may we reasonably entertain the hope,” the editor noted, “that through the blessing of the Head of the church upon the circumspection and watchful care of the faithful members of the Society in that land, the

Beginning with Indiana Yearly Meeting in the fall of 1827, each Orthodox yearly meeting issued a statement about Hicks and his doctrines and emphasized the evangelical tenets of the Orthodox Quakers. In 1829, Orthodox Yearly Meetings met in Philadelphia to review their position after the schism, assert their claim to be the only Society of Friends, and ultimately set down their statement of belief. *The Testimony of the Society of Friends on the Continent of America* was the first doctrinal statement produced by American Friends and reflected the influence of evangelicalism on members of the Society of Friends. Most likely written by Elisha Bates, clerk of the Ohio Yearly Meeting, *Testimony* included Orthodox Quakers' views of the Fall, the Atonement, the divinity of Christ, the authority of the Scriptures, and the Inner Light.¹³

The post-schism conferences held by Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers demonstrate the impact questions of belief and authority had on the divisions among American Quakers. In 1800, Hannah Barnard's critical reading of the Old Testament contributed to her silencing and disownment by Friends in Britain and the United States. By the 1820s, evangelical Quakers in both countries were emphasizing the divine authority of the Scriptures. Hicks and his supporters compared doctrinal conformity to slavery and tyranny and instead emphasized individual interpretation of the Inner Light.¹⁴ Two years

desolating spirit of infidelity, which has produced so much devastation amongst us, will not be permitted to gain an entrance there, and divide and scatter the flock."

¹³ Hamm, *Transformation of American Quakerism*, 18-19; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 134-135; Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, I: 482-484; *The Testimony of the Society of Friends on the Continent of America* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1830). Elisha Bates was the focus of Donald Good's dissertation. See Good, "Elisha Bates: American Quaker Evangelical in the Early Nineteenth Century," Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1968.

¹⁴ Bronner, "The Other Branch," 2-4; Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, 17-18.

after the schism, Orthodox Quakers organized the Bible Association of Friends. Orthodox Friends blamed the heresies of the Hicksites, in part, on their failure to study the Bible at home. To prevent a repeat of such a tragedy, prominent Orthodox Friends established the Bible Association of Friends in 1829 to distribute Bibles to everyone within the Society of Friends. By 1840, the Association claimed virtually every Orthodox Quaker family in the United States owned a Bible.¹⁵

The Bible Association of Friends affirmed the evangelical vision of American Orthodox Quakers. In the 1820s, epistles from London Yearly Meeting to American Quakers increasingly emphasized scriptural authority and other fundamental evangelical tenets. After the schism among American Friends, British Friends became convinced Hicksites had embraced antichristian doctrines. Along with Orthodox Friends, they accused Hicksites of attempting to undermine the divinity of Christ and the authenticity of the scriptures. In response to Orthodox and British Friends, Hicksites reaffirmed their Christian faith and their acceptance of the Gospel of Christ. Hicksites also reminded Friends that they had remained faithful to the testimonies of early Quakers and the Society of Friends.¹⁶ When British Friends rejected Hicksites and affirmed Orthodox Quakers as the true Society of Friends in the United States, the decision rested in large part on questions of belief and authority.

¹⁵ “First Annual Report of the Bible Association of Friends,” *The Friend*, May 29, 1830; Edwin B. Bronner, *Sharing the Scriptures: The Bible Association of Friends in America, 1829-1879* (Philadelphia: The Bible Association of Friends, 1979); Bruce Dorsey, “Friends Becoming Enemies: Philadelphia Benevolence and Neglected Era of American Quaker History,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 18 (1998), 420-422; Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism*, 25.

¹⁶ Bronner, “*The Other Branch*,” 2-10.

In a similar struggle to ascertain the proper adherence to authority and social order, Quakers on either side of the divide attempted to identify the appropriate individual and communal response to Garrisonian abolitionism. Most Quakers of liberal views — often though not always Hicksites — were active in forming anti-slavery societies. Organized in 1832, the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society was one of several anti-slavery societies in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Chester County had a reputation for anti-slavery as well as participation in the Underground Railroad.¹⁷ The Quaker men and women of the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society were among the most radical members of the Society of Friends.¹⁸ As a community, some Quaker meetings —usually Hicksite — openly endorsed immediatism and petitioned Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The reaction to Friends’ communal anti-slavery statements, however, highlighted the difficulty of balancing traditional Quaker beliefs with radical abolitionism in the 1830s.¹⁹

In November 1835, members of the Caln Quarterly Meeting (Hicksite) in Chester County drew up a petition to the United States Senate praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The Caln petition arrived in January 1836 as the Senate was debating two anti-slavery petitions from Ohio. Senator James Buchanan of Pennsylvania presented the Caln petition asking that the Senate accept the petition but reject the attached prayer. South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun reacted strongly against the

¹⁷ Densmore, ““Be Ye Therefore Perfect,”” 30, 43-44.

¹⁸ Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 23.

¹⁹ *The Friend*, November 12, 1836; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 146.

Ohio and Pennsylvania petitions. Though the Quaker petition was more respectfully worded, Calhoun claimed “the same principles were embodied in [both petitions], and the innuendoes conveyed [in the Quaker petition] were as far from being acceptable as the barefaced insolence” of the Ohio petitions.²⁰

Defenders of the Quaker petition made a clear distinction between Quakers and abolitionists. New Jersey Senator Garrett Wall demanded the Caln petition be heard. The Caln petition, Wall claimed, did not “come from the great laboratory of abolition *incendiarity*. It [did] not spring from the *heated* atmosphere produced by the contention of men struggling for political power; nor [did] it come from men, who under pretence of conscience, cloak worldly, selfish, or unholy designs.” Friends were not seeking “to destroy the constitution or endanger the peace and permanency of the Union.” Using “the calm, mild, and dispassionate voice of *reason*,” Wall suggested the Caln petitioners had exercised their political rights in a manner consistent with the principles of the Constitution and the discipline of their society.²¹ Opponents of the Quaker petition, however, condemned the Society of Friends for agitating the slavery question. On March 9, the Senate voted to receive the Quaker petition and rejected the petitioners’ prayer. Afterward the Senate adopted the rule to lay all anti-slavery petitions on the table, a

²⁰ *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 100.

²¹ *Speech of Mr. Wall, of New Jersey, on the Memorial of the Caln Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Praying for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia, in Senate, February 29, 1836* (Washington: Blair & Rives Printers, 1836), 3-4.

practice that had the same practical effect as the gag rule passed in the House of Representatives.²²

Reaction to the Caln petition convinced some Quakers that while they might use their voices as members of the Society of Friends to speak out against slavery, they risked receiving the same treatment as radical abolitionists. In a comparison of the abolitionist and the colonizationist, *The Friend* noted that Quakers must remain in a state of “forbearance” otherwise they were likely to “[sow] the seeds of disagreement and discord.” After the Caln controversy, *The Friend* warned against petitions to Congress and suggested that Friends’ actions “in behalf of oppressed humanity, ought ever to be characterized by mildness, by prudence, by a proper regard to fitness as to the time and the occasion.”²³ Throughout the 1830s, Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers sought a measured response to the escalating abolitionist movement. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) refused to take any action as a corporate body other than to encourage its members “to embrace every right opening, to maintain & exalt our righteous testimony against slavery.”²⁴ In September 1839, members of the Meeting for Sufferings,

²² *Congressional Globe*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 95-99, 100; *Liberator*, January 30, 1836; *Christian Reporter and Boston Observer*, January 30, 1836; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 146-147. See also Daniel Wirls, “‘The Only Mode of Avoiding Everlasting Debate’: The Overlooked Senate Gag Rule for Antislavery Petitions,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 27 (2007), 115-138.

²³ *The Friend*, May 16, 1835, November 5, 1836. See also Frost, “Years of Crisis and Separation,” 95: “The spectacular growth of the new form of antislavery attracted and repelled Friends. Garrison’s followers preached immediate emancipation but riots resulted and the hostility of the South mounted. Quaker sympathizers created new abolition groups modeled on Garrison’s principles, but Quaker opponents saw the new movement as fostering hatred for the South rather than meaningful reform and did not wish to be associated with violence. Before 1840 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Orthodox and Hicksite Yearly Meetings in New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia issued strong warnings against Friends joining in activities for good purposes with those who had not the proper religious sensitivities.”

²⁴ Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), April 14, 1837, FHL.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) noted their desire to “stand open, individually and collectively, to the tendering influences of that Spirit which breathes peace on earth and good will to men . . . [and] be prepared to take such measures as Divine Wisdom may point out to clear our own hands and to espouse [the slaves’] cause whenever the way may clearly present.”²⁵

Free produce provided a seemingly apolitical solution for Quakers who wished to pursue what one *Friend* editorialist described as a “noiseless path” while promoting the “general good.” Friends could provide an effective example by remaining aloof from the passions of American social and political life. As the writer explained, Friends’ “examples of uprightness and religious stability give a useful tone wherever they exist, and when commotions arise, they are peculiarly valuable, in drawing those who are in danger of being swept away by the various currents, which rush hither and thither, to enquire what it is, which makes such unmoved, in the midst of storm and distress.”²⁶ Some Quakers urged Friends against associating with non-Friends in reform associations. Friends, as one writer noted, “are more likely to advance the cause by acting very much alone.” Citing Anthony Benezet and John Woolman (but not Elias Hicks) as useful examples, the author suggested Friends could maintain their traditional anti-slavery principles in the midst of the chaos created by Garrisonian abolitionism only by remaining apart from the secular movement.²⁷

²⁵ Minutes, September 20, 1839, Meeting for Sufferings, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), FHL.

²⁶ *The Friend*, March 15, 1834.

²⁷ *The Friend*, May 23, 1835.

In 1835, New York Quaker Charles Marriott published a collection of essays and letters he had authored on the duty of abstinence from slave-labor products. A proponent of abstinence since childhood, Marriott examined traditional Quaker testimony against slave-labor products.²⁸ He urged women to instill free-produce principles in their children believing that habits developed in childhood would ultimately break the slave's bonds. Marriott warned Friends the time had come for the Society to either actively pursue its anti-slavery testimony or forgo any abolitionist statements. Marriott concluded his tract with excerpts from the minutes of New York Yearly Meeting, which he believed demonstrated the progress of New York Friends in declining slave-labor products.²⁹ Marriott brought the publication before the Meeting for Sufferings, New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox). Collectively, the Meeting rejected the pamphlet. Several individuals within the Meeting, however, encouraged Marriott to proceed on his own responsibility.³⁰

²⁸ In a memorial to Marriott, his co-religionists noted that Marriott "scrupulously abstained from partaking of the fruit of [slaves'] unrequited toil, and even when a very small boy, was known, on that account to refuse confectionary, though so tempting to the palate of a child. This testimony against oppression, he faithfully observed through the whole course of his life." *Testimony of the New-York Association of Friends for the Relief of Those Held in Slavery, &c. Concerning Charles Marriott, Deceased* (New York: New-York Association of Friends for the Relief of Those Held in Slavery, &c., 1844), 4.

²⁹ Charles Marriott, *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Duty of Declining the Use of the Products of Slave Labour* (New York: Isaac T. Hopper, 1835), 17.

³⁰ *Testimony of the New-York Association of Friends for the Relief of Those Held in Slavery, &c. Concerning Charles Marriott, Deceased*, 6-7. See also Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 23 n33. Nuermberger suggests Marriott, as well as his publisher Isaac T. Hopper and James S. Gibbons, were disowned for publishing Marriott's *Address*. While the Meeting for Sufferings refused to sanction Marriott's pamphlet, its subsequent publication was not the sole reason for Marriott's disownment. Marriott, Hopper, and Gibbons were disowned in 1842 after the National Anti-Slavery Standard published an editorial defending abolitionists and attacking Quaker George Fox White. See "Rare Specimen of a Quaker Preacher," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, March 25, 1841. George Fox White is discussed in chapter 6.

Quakers' reluctance to take collective measures against slavery led Philadelphia Hicksites to organize the Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour in May 1837. The group had more than one hundred charter members. Organized as a Quaker anti-slavery society, the association was an attempt by Friends to provide their co-religionists an opportunity to work within the abolitionist movement without joining secular societies. However, the presence of James and Lucretia Mott, Caleb Clothier, Daniell Neal, Daniel Miller, Jr., and Emmor Kimber gave the organization a decidedly abolitionist slant.

Though not strictly a free-produce association, the group made abstention a central tenet of their activism. The association created a "Committee on Required Labor," which met for the first time on September 12, 1837. Caleb Clothier, Lydia White, Priscilla Hensley, and William C. Betts formed the core of the committee. The Committee on Required Labor compiled a list of free-labor grocers, supported the American Free Produce Association after its establishment in 1838, and wrote addresses for the Association.³¹ Most likely the Committee was responsible for the pamphlet, *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Propriety of Abstaining from the Use of the Produce of Slave Labour* issued by the Association in its first year. In the *Address*, the Association urged Friends to consider the issue of abstinence and adopt it as part of their abolitionist testimony. According to the *Address*,

³¹ 1837-1839, Minutes of the Committee on Required Labor, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, Reel 31, Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, hereafter cited as CRL, HSP. The microfilm guide and the catalog record associate the Committee on Required Labor with the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends. The minutes, however, indicate this committee was affiliated with the Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour. Priscilla Hensley is also listed in the minutes as Priscilla Henszey.

Quaker discipline prohibited the use of or trade in prize goods including the products of slave labor. *Address* also referred to the anti-slavery testimony of John Woolman and Elias Hicks reminding Friends of their communal tradition of anti-slavery testimony. Abstention from the products of slave labor purified the individual and the community from the stain of slavery and delivered slaves from oppression by choking off demand for the products of forced labor.³² The association published two other pamphlets in 1838: one appealing to women and the other a general statement on the evils of slavery.³³ In 1840, the association changed its name to the Association for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. The Association provided an outlet for Quakers' abolitionist energy. Still, the organization was controversial. Many in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting objected to it while others argued the association did not go far enough in its abolitionist work.³⁴

By the late 1830s, slavery was for many Friends *the* defining issue. Increasingly Friends judged one another not by their adherence to Quaker tenets such as plainness but instead by how consistently they advocated the cause of the slave. Collectively, Quaker meetings sought what historian Christopher Densmore calls “a moderate tone of moral suasion.”³⁵ Many meetings such as New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) made public

³² Association of Friends Advocating the Cause of the Slave, and Improving the Condition of Free People of Colour, *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Propriety of Abstaining from the Use of the Produce of Slave Labor* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838).

³³ Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 34-35; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 154-155. The other pamphlets issued by the association were: *An Address to the Citizens of the United States, on the Subject of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Published by direction of the Association, printed by Neall and Shann Printers, 1838); *An Appeal to the Females of the North, on the Subject of Slavery by a Female of Vermont* (Philadelphia: Printed by John Thompson, 1838).

³⁴ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 154-155.

³⁵ Densmore, “The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery,” 82.

statements against slavery, but cautioned members against getting caught up in the excitement of the radical abolitionist movement.³⁶ Statements as well as petitions and abstention from slave-labor products urged Friends to high levels of personal morality and responsibility rather than active involvement in non-Quaker reform societies. Abstention might succeed in rendering slavery uneconomical, ultimately leading to its abolition. And if free produce did not succeed in abolishing slavery, Friends had at least purified themselves and their community from the taint of slavery.³⁷ As long as free produce remained an individual, moderate anti-slavery statement, it was unobtrusive enough for most Quakers to adopt the practice. When Quakers began to organize with non-Quakers in free-produce associations, however, abstention increasingly took on the radical tone of Garrisonian abolitionism.

“Sister Societies”

In the months leading up to the Quaker schism of 1827, the women of Green Street Monthly Meeting arrayed on either side of the split. In 1826, Ann Scattergood and Mary Taylor were removed as elders of the women’s meeting for their anti-Hicksite sympathies.³⁸ Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting — dominated by Orthodox members —

³⁶ As quoted in Densmore, “The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery,” 82.

³⁷ Densmore, “The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery,” 83; Frost, “Years of Crisis and Separation,” 91-93.

³⁸ Foster, *An Authentic Report of the Testimony in a Cause at Issue in the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey*, I: 447; *A Full Report of the Case of Stacy Decow, and Joseph Hendrickson, vs. Thomas Shotwell. Decided at a Special Term of the New Jersey Court of Appeals, Held at Trenton, in July and August, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-Three. Embracing the Decision of the Court of Chancery, from which the Appeal was Made; The Arguments of the Counsel on Each Side, and the Final Decision of the*

reinstated the women to their positions despite strenuous objections from many members of Green Street, who were generally sympathetic to Hicks. During the ensuing controversy, Green Street's men's meeting called for secession from the Quarterly Meeting. The women's meeting, however, requested more time to consider their decision. Scattergood and Taylor, as well as Elizabeth Robson, exerted enough influence to forestall an immediate decision for withdrawal. In response, Hicksite men declared the women's meeting "seditious." Writing to Elias Hicks, William Poole complained that the Green Street women had been carried away by their "*affections*." The men of Green Street, Poole claimed, were "*not standing firmly and uprightly* in consequence of the *influence of women*."³⁹

The confrontation at Green Street was a watershed moment for Quakers, especially for Quaker women. The Orthodox-Hicksite division centered on events at Green Street as Orthodox members attempted to regain control of the meeting. Failing that, Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting "laid down" Green Street and ordered its members transferred to Northern District Meeting. The Hicksite members of Green Street, however, refused. Green Street continued under the auspices of the newly-formed Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).⁴⁰ The confrontation at Green Street and the subsequent schism broke the power of the male-dominated Quaker meeting. The

Court of Appeals. Taken down in short hand by competent reporters, and revised by the respective counsel. (Philadelphia: P.J. Gray, 1834), 556-558.

³⁹ William Poole to Elias Hicks, May 12, 1826, FHL, as quoted in Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 163. Ingle incorrectly dates this letter in his footnotes to 1816. See also Hewitt, "Fragmentation of Friends," 98-99.

⁴⁰ Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict*, 202-210.

Hicksite men of Green Street mocked the Orthodox women who blocked the path of reform; yet, the men's remarks recognized women's power to do exactly that. Among Hicksites, women's new status was codified when, at the first Quarterly Meeting of Hicksites, Friends agreed to replace the traditional Meeting for Sufferings with a more representative committee, which for the first time granted women membership in this powerful group. Hicksites also limited the authority of ministers and elders, a bastion of male power in the pre-schism Society of Friends.⁴¹ Schism among American Friends ultimately nurtured Quaker women's reform work.

As we have seen, in the 1820s Quaker men and women including Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and James and Lucretia Mott were instrumental in establishing free-produce associations in Philadelphia. The Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania and the Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton, with their predominantly Quaker membership, formed the nucleus of the American free-produce community in the early nineteenth-century.⁴²

Quaker free-produce associations supported the development of similar groups in the African American community in Philadelphia. In October 1830, members of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania met with members of Richard Allen's Bethel Church to discuss the establishment of an African American free-produce association. Two months later, at a gathering that drew several hundred men, the Colored Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania was organized, electing James Cornish as the secretary. In this same

⁴¹ Hewitt, "The Fragmentation of Friends," 100.

⁴² Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 17-20.

period, the women of Bethel Church formed the Colored Female Free Produce Society with Judith James as president and Laetitia Rowley as secretary. Like the Quaker-dominated associations, members linked consumers who purchased slave-labor goods to the support of slavery. The black free-produce societies also recognized the African American community's personal stake in slavery and the community's particular responsibility to break the chains of oppression.⁴³ These early associations — Quaker and non-Quaker, black and white — were important precursors to American Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, both organized in December 1833.

Quaker women — primarily though not exclusively Hicksites — joined with women from Bethel Church to organize the PFASS in the days following the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Lucretia Mott and Lydia White had been active in the women's free-produce association and were founding members of the PFASS. In addition to Mott and White, African Americans Margaretta Forten and Sarah McCrummell were among the women charged with drafting the organization's constitution. All four were subsequently elected to the board of managers of the PFASS.⁴⁴ The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society was in many ways a clear product of the Hicksite schism, marking an important development for Quaker women.

⁴³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, February 1831, May 1831, August 1831. See also Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 18-19; Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, 74; Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 390. In 1834, William Whipper established a free-labor store adjacent to Bethel AME. See *Liberator* April 5, 1834.

⁴⁴ December 9, 1833 and December 14, 1833, Minutes of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Reel 30, PFASS, HSP.

For the first time, Quaker women joined with non-Quakers in an integrated association committed to reform of American society through the abolition of slavery and the racial uplift of all African Americans.⁴⁵

Like its British predecessors, the PFASS gave structure to women's activism. The PFASS sponsored public addresses by white and black abolitionists including Robert Forten, Robert Purvis, James Cornish, Charles Burleigh, Benjamin Lundy, Lewis Tappan, and George Thompson to recruit new members. Between 1835 and 1838, the PFASS brought more than one hundred new members into the society.⁴⁶ The PFASS also purchased and distributed anti-slavery literature, raised funds, and gathered signatures for petitions to Congress.⁴⁷ In 1837, for example, the women of the PFASS organized a signature campaign, dividing Pennsylvania into districts to better coordinate their work with other women's associations including the ladies' anti-slavery society in Pittsburgh. Anna M. Hopper suggested the women divide Philadelphia into similar districts.⁴⁸ Like the British women, the Philadelphia women pledged to collect and disseminate accurate

⁴⁵ See Nancy A. Hewitt, "The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America," in *Witnesses for Change: Women over Three Centuries*, edited by Elisabeth Potts and Susan Mosher Stuard Brown (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 94; Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls*, 102; Bacon 1986, 93-94.

⁴⁶ See for example, August 11, 1835, December 8, 1836, and April 13, 1837, Minutes of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, Reel 30, PFASS, HSP. See also Soderlund, "Priorities and Power," 69-71. Sarah Pennock Sellers described her mother Mary Pennock Sellers as "much enthused by [Thompson's] splendid oratory." Mary Sellers convinced her schoolteacher, Sarah Pugh, to attend Thompson's lecture. "[I]n consequence [Pugh] became a worker in the anti-slavery cause." Sarah Pennock Sellers, *David Sellers, Mary Pennock Sellers* (n.p., 1926), 47.

⁴⁷ See for example, Lucretia Mott Phoebe Willis, March 1, 1834. Mott lamented that there seemed to be little more that women could do other than to subscribe to anti-slavery periodicals.

⁴⁸ May 18, 1837 and July 14, 1837, Minutes of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Reel 30, PFASS, HSP.

information on the condition of slaves and to join in a collective effort to abolish slavery. Free produce also figured prominently in women's activities. The PFASS maintained an active correspondence with other anti-slavery societies about free-labor goods, and served as an important source of information about the free-produce movement.⁴⁹

Affirming the centrality of free produce to their activism, the women of the PFASS added a strong article to its constitution pledging to "at all times and on all occasions" give preference to free-labor goods.⁵⁰ The PFASS and other female anti-slavery societies provided women with an important moral community, one which extended beyond the local association and the local community through a network of correspondence and activities.⁵¹

The women of the PFASS also pledged to do all they could to eliminate prejudice and promote racial uplift, a position that reflected the integrated membership and the importance the women placed on the relationship between slavery and racism. PFASS members worked together on a number of projects to aid the black community, including the improvement of education for blacks in Philadelphia. In 1836 under Lucretia Mott's leadership, the PFASS assumed responsibility for Grace Douglass's school. Two years later, the PFASS assumed financial responsibility when it learned the school failed to

⁴⁹ See for example, August 11, 1834, March 9, 1837, and August 10, 1837, Minutes of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Reel 30, PFASS, HSP.

⁵⁰ December 14, 1833 and January 15, 1834, Minutes of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Reel 30, Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter PFASS, HSP); Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 390-391; Ira V. Brown, "Cradle of Feminism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-1840," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (1978), 143-166; Jean R. Soderlund, "Priorities and Power: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society," in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*, 67-88.

⁵¹ Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 35.

earn a sufficient income. By 1840, the PFASS had assumed responsibility for all educational facilities for black children in Philadelphia.⁵²

In mid-1836, anti-slavery women in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York debated the efficacy of organizing regional groups into a national association of women's anti-slavery societies, similar to the American Anti-Slavery Society. The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society proposed establishing an executive committee of female abolitionists to better coordinate the work of female anti-slavery activists throughout the United States. In her initial proposal, BFASS member Maria Weston Chapman believed "great good" would come from a meeting of prominent female abolitionists including the Grimké sisters, Mott, Mary Parker, and Lydia Maria Child.⁵³ New York women supported the idea of an executive committee, preferring an organization that united women, rather than an integrated association to unite women and men. Such a female association, they believed, would better coordinate the arduous work of gathering signatures on petitions without violating gender norms. The PFASS, however, had a decidedly more mixed reaction to the committee idea. Some members, like the women of New York, believed a separate female association was a more practical choice given the present state of society. Members of the PFASS, instead, preferred to seek recognition of female delegates to the national and state meetings of male associations. By January 1837, the women of Boston had apparently changed their minds. Rather than an

⁵² Shirley Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 96-97.

⁵³ Maria Weston Chapman to Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, August 4, 1836, PFASS Incoming Correspondence, PFASS HSP.

executive committee, the BFASS called instead for a general meeting of all female abolitionists believing “the united wisdoms of *all* the societies” might better serve the development of a plan of cooperation among women’s anti-slavery societies.⁵⁴

The first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women grew out of the compromises of the executive committee debate. Bringing women together at the national level, as the Convention did for the first time in 1837 in New York, emphasized the moral nature of slavery and abolitionism by transcending regional boundaries. The national meeting provided women with an opportunity to meet face-to-face to organize and to further develop connections within their abolitionist community. In each of the three conventions women passed free-produce resolutions, keeping the tactic of abstinence central to their anti-slavery activism. Significantly, free produce was deeply intertwined in their efforts to define women’s place in the abolitionist movement and to achieve racial equality.

Gender and race concerns figured prominently in the planning of the convention. The BFASS, the PFASS, and the Grimké sisters were the primary forces behind the first convention, however, they worried that local women might dominate the proceedings. Many of the leading abolitionists in New York were evangelical ministers. The women of the Ladies’ New York Anti-Slavery Society tended to follow the lead of their fathers, brothers, and husbands, embracing traditional ideas about gender and race. The Society had few African American members and had not elected any African American women

⁵⁴ Minutes, August 11, 1836, September 8, 1836, February 9, 1837, and March 9, 1837, PFASS HSP; Maria Weston Chapman to Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, January 12, 1837, PFASS HSP; Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 52-54.

to their board. New York women were interested in benevolence rather than reform. In contrast, the BFASS and the PFASS sought reform though the two groups differed in approach. African American abolitionists also worried they would not be welcomed by their New York hosts.

In early 1837, PFASS member Sarah Mapps Douglass wrote the Grimkés of her concerns. Angelina Grimké responded, reminding Douglass of her responsibility to overcome the racism of the abolitionist movement. Grimké encouraged other African American women to attend the convention, urging the BFASS and the PFASS to send both black and white female delegates. She also convinced the New York hosts to accept black delegates.⁵⁵ The BFASS selected four women to represent the society at the convention: Martha Ball, Susan Paul, Mary Parker, and Julia Williams. In the end, Parker and Williams were accompanied by Anne Weston, Henrietta Sargent, Eliza Merriam, Lydia Fuller, and Lydia Maria Child. Representatives for the PFASS included Douglass and her mother Grace, Mott, Sarah Pugh, and Mary Grew. The progressive women of Boston and Philadelphia dominated the proceedings, muting the influence of the conservative New York delegates.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ruth Bogin and Jean Fagan Yellin, "Introduction," in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*, 10-11; Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters*, 158-159; Darlene Clark Hine, "Lifting the Veil, Shattering the Silence: Black Women's History in Slavery and Freedom," in *The State of Afro-American History*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 231-232.

⁵⁶ Amy Swerdlow, "Abolition's Conservative Sisters: The Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Societies, 1834-1840," in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*, 36-37; Debra Gold Hansen, *Strained Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 18-20; Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army*, 93-94; Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women; Held in the City of New-York, May 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1837* (New York: William S. Dorr, 1837), 4, <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislavery;idno=04820109> (accessed April 2, 2010).

Of the resolutions passed by the women of the 1837 convention, the most controversial revolved around issues of gender, religion, and race. Angelina Grimké offered a resolution challenging women to move beyond traditional religious and cultural ideas about gender. Grimké urged women to recognize that “certain rights and duties are common to all moral beings.” She described women’s reform work as a “duty” that was within the “province” of woman’s sphere. Woman, Grimké argued, must “do all that she can by her voice, and her pen, and her purse, and the influence of her example” to abolish slavery. After much discussion, the resolution was adopted; however, twelve women, most of them from New York, dissented and requested their names be listed in the proceedings as doing so. Lydia Maria Child proposed a resolution rebuking evangelical associations that accepted contributions from slaveholders. Three of the twelve women who had refused to approve Grimké’s resolution dissented from Child’s resolution. Grimké also presented a resolution against racial prejudice, calling on women to “mingle with our oppressed brethren” and “to act out the principles of Christian equality by associating with them as though the color of the skin was of no . . . consequence.” The convention also passed a free-produce resolution presented by Mott. Purchasing slave-labor products continued southern slavery, she noted, therefore it was the duty of abolitionists to avoid “this unrighteous participation” in the consumption of slave produce.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, *Proceedings . . . 1837*, 9, 10, 13. In the fall of 1837, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society passed similar resolutions. See *Pennsylvania Freeman*, September 21, 1837.

At the 1838 convention, women passed similar resolutions. For example, the delegates resolved that “one of the most appropriate fields of exertion of the influence of woman” was abolitionism. Additional resolutions by Abigail Ordway and Mary Grew affirmed that woman’s responsibility to act against slavery was rooted in her role as mother and Christian. The resolutions tapped into gender-specific ideas about women’s appropriate role and, as a result, generated little discussion. In contrast, Sarah Grimké’s resolution against race prejudice sparked strong opinions on either side of the debate. Grimké resolved that abolitionists had a duty to “identify themselves with these oppressed Americans by sitting with them in places of worship, by appearing with them in our streets, by giving them our countenance in steam-boats and stages, by visiting them at their homes and encouraging them to visit us, receiving them as we do our white fellow citizens.” Several delegates voted against the resolution claiming it would hinder rather than help the abolitionist cause. After the convention, several delegates attempted to remove the resolution from the convention transcription. Although the convention proceedings do not provide an explanation for these actions, the women may have acted out of racial prejudice, or fear of anti-abolitionist mobs like those that burned Pennsylvania Hall during the second convention.⁵⁸

As they did in 1837, the women who attended the 1838 and 1839 conventions passed free-produce resolutions. In 1838, Thankful Southwick resolved it was the duty of female abolitionists “to make the *most vigorous efforts* to procure for the use of their

⁵⁸ Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women: Held in Philadelphia, May 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1838* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838), 6, 8, <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislavery;idno=10842210> (accessed April 2, 2010); Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 82-85.

families the products of *free labor*.” Southwick’s resolution asserted the domestic origins of free-produce activism and supported other convention resolutions that linked women’s anti-slavery activism to her domestic and Christian roles.⁵⁹ In 1839, however, convention delegates promoted free produce as an act of racial identification with the slave, embracing identification with African Americans even as many abolitionists retreated from racial equality in the face of violent anti-abolitionist mobs. As delegates discussed Martha Ball’s free-produce resolution, women were encouraged to “regard slave labor produce as the fruits of the labor of our own children, brothers, and sisters, and from such a view decide on the propriety of using it.”⁶⁰ After the violence of the 1838 convention, the 1839 convention attracted a much smaller group of women, many of them from Philadelphia and many who believed free-produce activism was the core of principled, consistent abolitionism.

In the late 1830s, radical abolitionist women linked free produce to challenges to traditional ideas about race and gender. In 1837, the women of the Buckingham Female Anti-Slavery Society in Pennsylvania contacted the PFASS asking for help in securing sources for free-labor goods. Abstinence from slave-labor products was a duty of all abolitionists who wished to remain consistent in their anti-slavery testimony, the women asserted. If anti-slavery societies would become in practice free-produce associations, the women of Buckingham imagined that free-labor products would become much more

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁰ Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women: Held in Philadelphia, May 1st, 2d, and 3d, 1839* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1839), 7 <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislavery;idno=15854319> (accessed April 2, 2010); Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 97-99; Faulkner, “The Root of the Evil,” 392-393.

widely available. In the meantime, the Buckingham women struggled, as all abstainers did, trying to identify and secure free-labor products.⁶¹ The women of the Buckingham society, like the women of the PFASS, linked free-produce activism to radical ideas of gender and race.

In July 1837, the Buckingham association sent a letter of support to the Grimké's after the General Association of Massachusetts Congregational Churches issued their rebuke of the sisters. Though the "pastoral letter" does not specifically identify the Grimké's, they were clearly the focus of the ministers' concerns that women were assuming "the place and tone of man as a public reformer."⁶² In a letter that echoed the moral resolve of Elizabeth Heyrick, the Buckingham women reminded the Grimké's that moral right mattered more than masculine custom. "[W]hatever is right must be expedient . . . Let then, the right be done tho' all the associations of men be dissolved, and their glory laid low in the dust."⁶³ Regardless of the consequences, women must act on their beliefs.

In 1838, an anonymous member of the Buckingham society wrote and published an essay on abstinence from the products of slave labor. As the women of the Anti-Slavery Convention would do a year later, the Buckingham women linked free-produce

⁶¹ Minutes, August 10, 1837, PFASS HSP; Buckingham Female Anti-Slavery Society to Mary Grew, August 4, 1837, Incoming Correspondence, PFASS HSP. See also *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, October 1837. The original letter from the Buckingham FASS and the response from the PFASS (written by Mary Grew) were reprinted in the *Genius*.

⁶² *Boston Recorder*, July 14, 1837. See also, Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 68-71; Anna M. Speicher, *The Religious World of Antislavery Women: Spirituality in the Lives of Five Abolitionist Lecturers* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 109-121.

⁶³ Buckingham Anti-Slavery Society to Sarah and Angelina Grimké, July 27, 1837, Sarah M. Grimké Papers, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

to radical racial identification, suggesting that objectors to free produce might see the issue differently if those “dear to them, were writhing beneath the gory lash of a cruel task-master or loaded and bowed down with the galling chains of slavery.” While principles of abstention and abolition must “have a moral bearing on political action,” women should “take them also to the grocers, and dry-goods store, to the tables of our friends, and into every social circle and thus make them have a moral bearing on the social and commercial interests of the whole community.” Abstention, she suggested, “should not breathe . . . forth in words only, but interweave [in] every action of our lives.”⁶⁴

Radical Hicksite women embraced the opportunities afforded by the separation among American Friends to actively pursue the demands of their conscience. In the early nineteenth century, religious questioning nurtured women’s critical skills, leading them to critique more than the issues that had initiated their search. Thus, religion served as an important element in women’s self-definition. From Hannah Barnard to Elizabeth Heyrick to Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and Lucretia Mott, women who engaged with religious thought had little patience for social, religious, or political norms.⁶⁵ The women who organized and participated in free-produce and anti-slavery societies — regardless of sectarian or racial boundaries — challenged the basis of American political, economic, social, and religious culture. The women of the PFASS, in particular, rejected traditional

⁶⁴ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, August 30, 1838.

⁶⁵ Rycenga, “A Greater Awakening.” **[[page numbers]]**

forms of female activism that reinforced the status quo. Instead they recruited across religious, racial, and class lines, ultimately re-envisioning women's activism.

Required Labor Convention and the American Free Produce Association

The momentum provided by groups such as the PFASS, the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, and the Society of Friends in the early to mid-1830s led supporters of free produce to organize the Required Labor Convention in the spring of 1838. Planned by members of the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society and the PFASS, the Convention represented American free-produce activists' first attempt to organize a national movement against slave-labor products. In this regard, the Required Labor Convention marked a significant shift in the American free-produce movement. The delegates to the Convention hoped the association would impress upon their fellow abolitionists the importance of moral consistency and improve the supply of free-labor goods. Integrated by gender and race, the American Free Produce Association represented a watershed moment in the free-produce movement as well as the abolitionist movement.⁶⁶ The AFPA reflected "the fusion of moral passion and political demands" identified by historian Beth Salerno as unique to women's anti-slavery associations in the 1830s. In the synthesis of the moral and the political, women were able to "build bridges

⁶⁶ Lawrence B. Glickman makes a similar observation in his study of the American free-produce movement describing the Required Labor Convention of 1838 as "the high-water mark of the free produce movement." See Glickman, *Buying Power*, 74. Glickman, however, places the Required Labor Convention solely within the context of the nineteenth-century free-produce movement failing to highlight the many ways in which the Convention reflected the character of the abolitionist movement in the 1830s.

between more radical and more conservative women.”⁶⁷ The Requisite Labor Convention and the American Free Produce Association likewise reflected this blending of moral passion and political demands, influenced in large part by the presence of Quaker abstainers such as Lucretia Mott, Sarah Pugh, and Lydia White.

Planning for the Requisite Labor Convention began with a call sent out by the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society in 1837 to other abolitionists — individuals and societies — to join in a general convention of men and women committed to abstinence from the products of slave labor. In September, the Society named a committee of three men and three women to correspond with other individuals and groups to discuss the organization of a free-labor convention “to devise the best means for the procurement and manufacturing of articles obtained by free labor.” The committee contacted the PFASS for help in organizing the convention. By the following spring, the Society had generated enough support to publish a circular inviting groups and individuals to attend a free-produce convention scheduled for mid-May.⁶⁸

The Requisite Labor Convention met May 17, 1838, at Pennsylvania Hall, along with the second annual Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. While the Requisite Labor Convention drew representatives primarily from Pennsylvania-based

⁶⁷ Salerno, *Sister Societies*, 158-159. Women’s anti-slavery societies in this period “were quite up-front about their desire to change the ways in which power was used and citizenship distributed in the United States,” according to Salerno. Women believed they had the right and the responsibility “to influence what their political representatives believed and how they voted. A small coalition of men agreed with them.” When the anti-slavery movement divided over the woman question, the “fusion” of the moral and the political was lost and took decades to regain.

⁶⁸ *Liberator*, October 20, 1837; *Pennsylvania Freeman*, October 5, 1837; Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society to Mary Grew, Incoming Correspondence, PFASS, 1837, Reel 31, PFASS, HSP; *Liberator*, March 9, 1838, April 13, 1838; *Pennsylvania Freeman*, March 15, 1838.

anti-slavery societies, Massachusetts was represented by William Bassett and James P. Boyce of the Lynn Anti-Slavery Society. James and Lucretia Mott as well as Lydia White served as delegates from the Quaker Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, and Sarah Pugh, Grace Douglass, and Sarah Grimké were among the representatives from the PFASS. Individual attendees included Mary Grew, Abraham Pennock, Mary L. Cox and Susan H. Luther.⁶⁹ The conservative Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, however, declined the invitation to attend.⁷⁰ While organizers hoped to draw a broad cross-section of the abolitionist community, most of the attendees were Quakers, Hicksite and Orthodox.

The Convention resolved to form a “National Requisite Labor Association” and appointed a committee to draft a constitution for the new association. Committees were also formed to prepare and publish an address on the duty of abstinence and to identify sources of free-labor goods. At the end of the first afternoon, Alanson St. Clair offered a strong free-produce resolution that members should “in all cases give a preference to the products of free labor over those of slaves; and never, if we can have a choice between the two give countenance to slaveholding, by purchasing, trafficking in, or using the latter.” The resolution was tabled after “an animated discussion” and the convention adjourned to meet the next morning. Pennsylvania Hall, however, was destroyed that

⁶⁹ *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Requisite Labor Convention*, 6; Susan H. Luther to William Lloyd Garrison, May 21, 1838, MS.A.1.2.7.24, BPL. The PFASS appointed thirty delegates to the Requisite Labor Convention. See Minutes for April 12, 1838, PFASS, HSP.

⁷⁰ Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 23-24. The elite members of the PAS emphasized gradual, political solutions for the abolition of slavery. See Richard S. Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

evening by anti-abolitionist mobs. When the Required Labor Convention met the next morning “at the *ruins* of the *Pennsylvania Hall*,” the group adjourned to meet instead at the home of James and Lucretia Mott. After appointing a Committee of Correspondence authorized to call a convention together at an appropriate time, the Required Labor Convention adjourned.⁷¹

In September 1838, the Convention met again with a much smaller group in attendance. Lewis C. Gunn reported on a draft of the association’s constitution, which was accepted. The members agreed to call the new association the American Free Produce Association. Gunn was appointed to prepare and publish an address on the duty of abstinence. The members of the association also appointed a committee to consider the propriety of establishing free-labor stores as well as a committee to prepare a memorial to Congress requesting a repeal of duties on free-labor goods allowing such goods to compete equally with slave-labor goods. Though absent, the group elected Gerrit Smith as president. Smith, a friend of Abraham L. Pennock, had been invited by

⁷¹ *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Required Labor Convention*, 3-8. Italics in the original. Ira V. Brown argues that the integrated meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women provoked public hostility and led to the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall. “Not even Pennsylvania was ready racial integration and women’s liberation in 1838,” Brown notes. Ira V. Brown, “Racism and Sexism: The Case of Pennsylvania Hall,” *Phylon* 37 (1976), 126-36. Brown incorrectly identifies the Required Labor Convention as the Recruited Labor Convention. He also overlooks the integrated membership of the Required Labor Convention. See also *History of Pennsylvania Hall, Which Was Destroyed by a Mob, on the 17th of May 1838* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838); *Pennsylvania Freeman*, May 24, 1838, May 31, 1838. See also *Pennsylvania Freeman*, May 17, 1838: “The beautiful temple consecrated to Liberty, has been offered a smoking sacrifice to the Demon of Slavery.” On anti-abolitionist mobs, see Leonard L. Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); David Grimsted, *American Mobbing, 1828-1861: Toward Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), ch. 1-2. Mary Pennock Sellers was among the women assembled for the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women on May 17. As the women listened to the discussions, “with the angry murmur of the mob outside ever increasing, a light remark was made by someone in the assembly. Lucretia Mott arose and said that no light remark should be made, for no one knew when she stepped outside the building whether or not she would step from to eternity.” Sellers, *David Sellers, Mary Pennock Sellers*, 55.

Gunn to participate in the convention but other commitments prevented Smith's attendance. Pennock, William Bassett, William H. Johnson, and Lewis Tappan were elected as vice presidents. Other officers included Gunn, Lucretia Mott, Lydia White, Henry Grew, Abby Kelly, and Sarah Pugh.⁷²

From its inception, the American Free Produce Association focused on moral suasion. In *An Address to Abolitionists*, Gunn linked the consumer to the slave. By purchasing slave produce, consumers sanctioned "the plunder of slaves." Moreover, through his purchases the consumer "tempt[ed] the commission" of the crime of slaveholding; thus, the consumer became "virtually the plunderer of the slaves." Furthermore, by using slave produce, abolitionists were withholding a "very important testimony against slavery as a sin" and "diminish[ing] the influence of [their] anti-slavery efforts."⁷³ Gunn's *Address* invoked the free-produce rhetoric of Hicks and Heyrick, consciously placing the American Free Produce Society in the transatlantic abstention movement. Reminding abstainers of the ideological origins of the abstention movement, Gunn and the members of the AFPA reminded supporters and opponents alike of the importance of moral consistency in abolitionist activism and the lengthy history of abstinence.

⁷² *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Requite Labor Convention*, 9-14; Gerrit Smith to Lewis C. Gunn, August 19, 1838, CRL HSP. A letter from Smith was read to the Convention and included in the published *Minutes*. See *Minutes*, 15. For Gunn's address, see *Address to Abolitionists* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838). See also, Daniel L. Miller, Jr. to Gerrit Smith, November 3, 1838, Gerrit Smith Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library.

⁷³ Lewis C. Gunn, *An Address to Abolitionists* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838), 5, 6, 10, <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislavery;idno=15853724> (accessed June 5, 2008).

The members of the AFPA also recognized the importance of increasing the supply of free-labor goods. At the Requite Labor Convention, Lydia White, a member of the PFASS and a Hicksite Quaker, was appointed to a committee to identify sources for free-labor goods.⁷⁴ As the owner of a free-labor store in Philadelphia, White was a logical choice for the committee. She understood, probably better than any other member of the committee, the difficulty of obtaining regular supplies of free-labor goods. When White opened her dry goods store in Philadelphia in 1830, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler promoted the store and its owner in the “Ladies’ Repository” of the *Genius*: “We are proud to know that the projector of so laudable a design is one of our own sex.”⁷⁵ By 1831, White was receiving orders from Vermont, Michigan, Rhode Island, New York, Ohio, Indiana, New Jersey, and Delaware as well as Pennsylvania. White also purchased small quantities of cotton for manufacture and sale in her shop.⁷⁶ White advertised her store in the *Liberator* and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* as well as the *National Reformer*.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Requite Labor Convention*, 7.

⁷⁵ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, May 1830. White operated her store until 1846, the second longest-running of the free-labor stores in this period. Quaker George W. Taylor operated a free-labor store in Philadelphia from 1847 through 1867. For a complete list of free-labor stores, see Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 119.

⁷⁶ Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 81. After their move to Michigan, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler and her aunt Ruth Evans ordered goods from White’s store. See for example, Elizabeth Chandler to Jane Howell, December 13, 1832, RTD, 155. The Free Produce Association of Green Plain, Ohio most likely purchased goods from White. In March 1833, Chandler announced in the “Ladies’ Repository” that members of the Green Plain group had entered into correspondence with the Philadelphia-based Female Association for Promoting the Manufacture and Use of Free Cotton. See *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, March 1833. For more about the free-produce movement in the Old Northwest, see Robertson, *Hearts Beating for Liberty*, ch. 3.

⁷⁷ See for example, *National Reformer*, October 1838.

White and other owners of free-labor stores had difficulty obtaining a steady supply of free-labor goods. Writing in 1831 to Garrison, White apologized that she did not “have a full supply and a better assortment of domestic cotton goods.” In a letter later that year, White again lamented the lack of free-labor goods, “it is truly mortifying to have [to] say that we have not enough of either of the articles [you requested] on hand at present worth sending.” White suggested a free-labor cotton factory might address supply problems and convince southern cotton growers to switch to free labor.⁷⁸ Samuel Philbrick complained free-labor cotton “cannot be had in Boston.” He suggested that abstention might gain favor among Boston consumers if a steady supply of free-labor goods were made available at a price competitive with slave-labor goods.⁷⁹

The AFPA committee appointed to identify supplies of free-labor goods proposed two plans to address the problem. The first plan was based on voluntary contributions from individuals; the other plan proposed forming a joint stock association. After the September meeting, the newly-formed AFPA distributed a circular presenting both plans requesting supporters indicate their preference and pledge their support.⁸⁰ Massachusetts abolitionist William Bassett was among the first to respond sending a ten dollar contribution. Bassett also suggested Miller send circulars to Abby Kelley, Maria Weston

⁷⁸ Lydia White to William Lloyd Garrison, May 9, 1831, MS.A.1.2.1.22, BPL; Lydia White to William Lloyd Garrison, October 19, 1831, MS.A.1.2.1.39, BPL.

⁷⁹ Samuel Philbrick to Daniel L. Miller, December 30, 1838, Incoming Correspondence, American Free Produce Association, AFPA HSP.

⁸⁰ *Pennsylvania Freeman*, November 8, 1838. See also Daniel L. Miller, Jr. to Gerrit Smith, November 3, 1838, Gerrit Smith Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library. Miller included a copy of the circular in his letter to Smith announcing Smith’s election as president of the American Free Produce Association. See also Daniel L. Miller, Jr. to Maria Weston Chapman, November 17, 1838, MS.A.9.2.10.71, Weston Family Papers, BPL.

Chapman, Samuel Philbrick, and Aaron L. Benedict.⁸¹ In their responses, Philbrick and Benedict raised doubts about the efficacy of the venture. Both worried that the joint stock association would render stockholders liable for the financial obligations of the society. Philbrick also worried about “subscribing for any certain am[oun]t of goods, without knowing whether the quality & kind of goods wanted, can be obtained.”⁸²

When the AFPA met in October 1839 for their first annual meeting, the Executive Committee lamented the lack of progress in the free-produce cause. The response to the circular was “not sufficiently encouraging to justify us in taking the proposed step.” While the AFPA had failed to collect funds to establish free-labor stores, the committee believed the proposal “a measure of the highest importance.” Attributing the failure of the store venture to a lack of steady supply, the committee suggested instead “the creation of a fund for the encouragement of the production of cotton by free labour.” Funds raised could be used to purchase free-labor cotton and to hire agents who could ensure that free-labor cotton was not “intermixed with that produced by slaves.” The delegates adopted the measure and appointed a committee to raise the necessary funds.⁸³

The AFPA raised nearly four hundred dollars and recruited Esther and Phineas Nixon from Randolph County, North Carolina, to procure free-labor cotton from local yeoman farmers. In early 1840, the AFPA purchased more thirteen hundred pounds of

⁸¹ William Bassett to Daniel L. Miller, November 9, 1838, Incoming Correspondence, American Free Produce Association, AFPA, HSP.

⁸² Samuel Philbrick to Daniel L. Miller, December 30, 1838; Aaron L. Benedict to Daniel L. Miller, January 18, 1839, Incoming Correspondence, AFPA HSP

⁸³ Minutes, October 15, 1839, AFPA, HSP.

cotton, which was subsequently manufactured and sold.⁸⁴ Procuring free-labor cotton from the slave-labor South was problematic, as the Nixons reported to the AFPA. The couple had trouble convincing local farmers to adopt free-labor practices and often had to price their cotton above market value. Producing free-labor cotton was also dangerous. “[A]ll it needs is a match to create an explosion,” Esther Nixon noted.⁸⁵ The minutes of the 1840 meeting also noted that the association had been offered six or seven hundred pounds of cotton, at least one-third of that amount being the product of slave-labor. The committee refused to purchase the cotton.⁸⁶ In an attempt to assure consumers of the true character of their free-labor cotton, the AFPA attached printed labels to bolts of cotton manufactured by the association.⁸⁷ (See Fig. 5)

⁸⁴ Minutes, October 20, 1840, AFPA HSP.

⁸⁵ Esther Nixon to the American Free Produce Association, February 7, 1840, March 6, 1840, May 1, 1840; Phineas Nixon to the American Free Produce Association, September 25, 1840, October 2, 1840, Incoming Correspondence, American Free Produce Association, AFPA, HSP.

⁸⁶ Minutes, October 20, 1840, American Free Produce Association, AFPA HSP.

⁸⁷ Deborah Rossi traces the provenance of this particular label. Her research suggests this may be the only extant label used by the AFPA to mark its manufactured goods. Deborah Rossi, “The Stuff of History: American Free Produce Association Label, 1839-1847,” *Connecticut History* 47 (2009), 252-255. The minutes of the AFPA contain no mention of the adoption of this label. Most likely it was used in the early 1840s. By 1847, the AFPA had suspended its manufacturing committee.

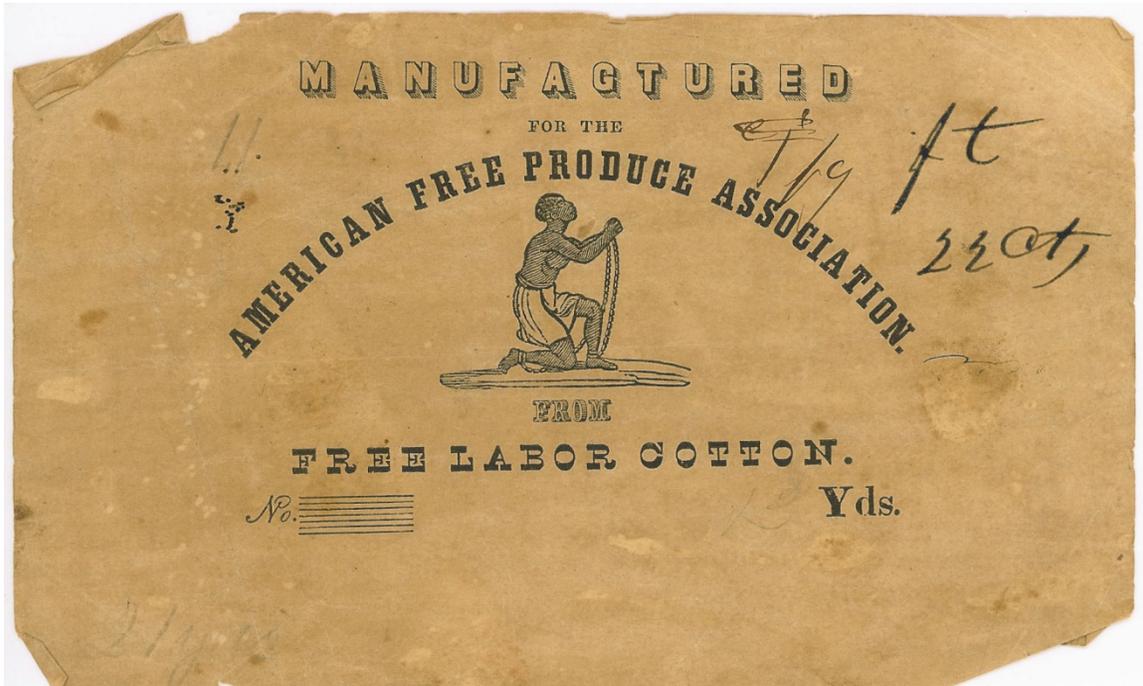


Figure 5. Label, American Free Produce Association. Courtesy Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown, Connecticut.

With more than one hundred people in attendance, the first annual meeting of the AFPA in October 1839 seemed a vibrant but struggling community of dedicated reformers. Delegates celebrated emancipation in the West Indies and the formation of the British India Society (BIS). These events, members claimed, were “calculated to have an important bearing on the cause of freedom generally and on our enterprise in particular.” The delegates passed a resolution to open correspondence with the BIS. While they worried about their lack of progress, the association’s delegates looked forward to the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention scheduled to meet in London in June 1840. The AFPA selected nine delegates — seven men and two women — to represent the association’s

interests at the international meeting including James and Lucretia Mott, Sarah Pugh, William Bassett, and Abraham Pennock. Delegates also passed a resolution calling upon recalcitrant abolitionists “to reflect upon the glaring inconsistency of protesting against slavery as an immorality, and yet paying for its support.”⁸⁸ More than anything, members of the AFPA hoped to end abolitionists’ “lamentable apathy” toward free-produce.

British India Society

The British India Society and its short-lived publication the *British Indian Advocate* promised a possible solution to the “lamentable apathy” of many abolitionists toward free produce. The first issue of the *Advocate* reinforced the cosmopolitan focus of the BIS. The *Advocate*’s slogan — “Justice to India – Prosperity to England – Freedom to the Slave” — echoed, in some ways, the motto of the *Liberator*.⁸⁹ Edited by William Adam, the *Advocate* was established eighteen months after the organization of the British India Society by Joseph Pease, William Howitt, and George Thompson to promote reform in India. American and British supporters of the BIS imagined that reform in India would open new sources for the production of free-labor goods, which in turn would aid the emancipation of slaves in the United States and elsewhere. Writing in 1839, Maria Weston Chapman claimed the BIS was in fact doing the work of American abolitionists “by bringing the free labor of British India in direct competition with slave

⁸⁸ Minutes, October 15, 1839, American Free Produce Association, AFPA, HSP.

⁸⁹ The motto, “Our Country is the World — Our Countrymen are All Mankind,” appeared on every issue of the *Liberator* just under the masthead.

labor.” However, the BIS also promised prosperity to England by removing British dependence on American cotton. American statesmen, Chapman noted, will “see both the patriotism and the cupidity of Britain ready to aid her philanthropists . . . to secure to British India the undivided demand of the British cotton-market.”⁹⁰ Though not all supporters of the BIS were interested in its humanitarian efforts, British and American reformers looked to the BIS as yet another important development in the international abolitionist movement. Operating contemporaneously with the American Free Produce Association, free-produce activists had reason to hope the two organizations would aid the cause of abolitionism. Between 1839 and 1841, the BIS captured the attention of British and American abolitionists who believed India would become a major supplier of free-labor cotton and sugar.

Organizing for the BIS began in 1838, following the formation of the Aborigines’ Protection Society a year earlier in London. The Society, organized by Thomas Buxton and other British reformers, developed out of the turmoil of famine in India, trade disputes with China, and the recent migration of Indian labor to the West Indies.⁹¹ Though events in India, in particular, were important in leading to the founding of the Society, the association focused on the condition of indigenous populations throughout the British Empire.⁹² In the summer of 1838, George Thompson and Joseph Pease helped

⁹⁰ Maria Weston Chapman, “The British India Society,” *The Liberty Bell*, January 1, 1839.

⁹¹ S.R. Mehrotra, “The British India Society and Its Bengal Branch, 1839-1846,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 4 (1967), 131; Anne Stoddart, *Elizabeth Pease Nichol* (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1899), 72.

⁹² Kenneth D. Nwora, “The Aborigines’ Protection Society, 1889-1909: A Pressure-Group in Colonial Policy,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 5 (1971), 79-81.

with the publication of a circular outlining conditions in India, which was distributed to members of Parliament and the Aborigines' Protection Society. At the August meeting of the Society, a resolution was passed to engage Thompson's aid in presenting a series of lectures to inform the public of the need for reform in India.⁹³ In a letter to William Lloyd Garrison in January 1839, Thompson noted his affiliation with the Aborigines' Society. Yet, as Thompson wrote, given "the present state of British India . . . [we] hope by a vigorous effort to effect an early alter[ation] in the administration of public affairs in India." As a result, Thompson noted, most of his addresses in late 1838 and early 1839 had focused on conditions in British India.⁹⁴ In another letter, Thompson wrote of his growing interest in a British India association: "I incline more and more to the plan of a separate, independent, thorough-going society for prosecuting, as its exclusive work, the cause of the Hindoo." Still, Thompson waited for "the way to open" to establish such an organization.⁹⁵

A fortuitous meeting with William Adam in late January proved to be the opening Thompson sought.⁹⁶ Adam had recently returned from Calcutta. Sent to India in 1818 as

⁹³ Anna M. Stoddart, *Elizabeth Pease Nichol* (London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1899), 73-79.

⁹⁴ George Thompson to William Lloyd Garrison, January 5, 1839, BAA, 67-68. See also George Thompson to Richard D. Webb, February 15, 1839, BAA, 69.

⁹⁵ George Thompson to unknown, January 7, 1839, as quoted in Stoddart, *Elizabeth Pease Nichol*, 85.

⁹⁶ Scholarship on William Adam is quite limited. For an early biographical study of Adam, see S.C. Sanial, "The Rev. William Adam," *Bengal Past and Present: The Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society* 8 (1914), 251-272. Joseph DiBona suggests the historical neglect of Adam "may be attributed to the fact that much of what he fought for failed. He was a man who fought passionately but futilely for many of the great social issues of the nineteenth century." Joseph DiBona, ed. *One Teacher, One School: The Adam Reports on Indigenous Education in Nineteenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Biblioa Impex Private, Ltd., 1983), 6.

a Baptist missionary, Adam studied classical and vernacular Indian languages and worked with Indian reformer Rammohun Roy.⁹⁷ Ultimately, Roy converted Adam to Unitarianism. Cut off from Baptist financial support, Adam worked as a clerk and editor in India throughout the 1820s. In 1829, Adam became editor of the radical *India Gazette*, which he used to challenge traditional English depictions of Indians as illiterate and uncivilized. In 1834, Adam was hired to study the state of education in India; however, Adam quickly ran into trouble with British officials who rejected Adam's report supporting vernacular education. His plan denounced as "impracticable," "complicated," and "expensive," Adam left India.⁹⁸ Adam had a catalyzing effect on Thompson, Joseph Pease, and Elizabeth Pease, convincing the three that a reform association was needed to seek reform on behalf of the people of India.⁹⁹ While a logical choice to take a leadership role in the new society, Adam left that spring for New York having already accepted a teaching appointment at Harvard.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Rammohun Roy was an influential Bengali Hindu reformer. Born in 1772, Roy was highly educated. He published widely in various languages including English. Roy was a religious and social reformer. Beginning in 1818, he campaigned vigorously against *sati*, the practice of burning widows alive. According to Roy, Hindu scriptures did not sanction *sati*, evidence which was influential in drawing the attention of British and American missionaries to aid in the abolition of the practice. In 1827, Roy corresponded briefly with American Quaker Elias Hicks, noting the influence Hicks's sermons had on his own faith. Roy died in 1833 while traveling in England. See Midgley, *Feminism and Empire*, 78-79, 86-91; Henry W. Wilbur, *The Life and Labors of Elias Hicks* (Philadelphia: Friends' General Conference Advancement Committee, 1910), 206-207; Sophia Dobson Collett, ed. *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* 2nd ed., Hem Chandra Sarkar, ed. (Calcutta: n.p., 1914). For the letters from Roy to Hicks, see Rammohun Roy to Elias Hicks, June 27, 1827, Folder 880, Elias Hicks Manuscript Collection, FHL; Rammohun Roy to Elias Hicks, June 29, 1837, Folder 881, Elias Hicks Manuscript Collection, FHL.

⁹⁸ DiBona *One Teacher, One School*, 6-10.

⁹⁹ Stoddart, *Elizabeth Pease Nichol*, 85.

¹⁰⁰ John Hyslop Bell, *British Folks and British India Fifty Years Ago: Joseph Pease and His Contemporaries* (London: John Heywood, 1891), 61; DiBona, *One Teacher, One School*, 11.

Elizabeth Pease played a key role in setting up the BIS. After the meeting with Adam, Pease accompanied Thompson to the towns where he was scheduled to lecture, helping him organize local societies in a fashion similar to the anti-slavery societies organized in the 1820s.¹⁰¹ In March 1839, a provisional committee was appointed to organize the British India Society.¹⁰² Excluded from formal membership in the BIS, Pease used other means to generate interest and support for the organization. In April, Pease's friend Mary Wigham wrote Maria Weston Chapman that affairs in British India and Thompson's lectures had "claimed [the] serious attention . . . of the Emancipation Society."¹⁰³ The Peases along with Thompson attended London Yearly Meeting where Thompson outlined the goals of the BIS. A reprint of Quaker William Howitt's prospectus was distributed at the meeting. The prospectus assured supporters of the Quaker foundations of the organization. The committee, Howitt promised, would be "found[ed] upon the strictest principles of justice and humanity — upon a basis which will permanently exclude the adoption of party, of sectarian, or mercenary views. They contemplate the use of those means only which are moral, peaceful, and constitutional."¹⁰⁴

The first formal meeting of the BIS in June 1839 was celebrated on both sides of the Atlantic. In a series of speeches, British reformers urged the reformation of

¹⁰¹ Stoddart, *Elizabeth Pease Nichol*, 85-86.

¹⁰² Bell, *British Folks and British India*, 58-60, quote is from 60.

¹⁰³ Mary Wigham to Maria Weston Chapman, April 1, 1839, BAA 69-70.

¹⁰⁴ Bell, *British Folks and British India*, 62-64; Stoddart, *Elizabeth Pease Nichol*, 89-90; *Speeches, Delivered at a Public Meeting, for the Formation of a British India Society; Held in the Freemasons' Hall, Saturday, July 6th, 1839*. London: Printed for the British India Society, 1839, 67.

conditions in India for the benefit of the indigenous population, the prosperity of British business, and the emancipation of the slave. Improving labor conditions would provide opportunities for expanded agricultural development in India, which would increase Indian supplies of cotton for British mills and in turn would increase Indian demand for British manufactures. As one lecturer noted, “If every man in India could afford to purchase a dress a year, Britain would send \$50 million worth of goods to India.”¹⁰⁵

Reform in India would also affirm Britain’s moral standing, particularly in relationship to the United States. Lecturers noted the hypocrisy of slavery in the midst of American democracy. Cotton for British mills, one lecturer noted, came almost “wholly from the United States of America, which still allowed their land of freed, (O, mockery of the name of freedom!) to pander to the cause of Slavery: dimming the lustre of their flag of stars, and making it too often the harbinger of darkness instead of light.”¹⁰⁶ The BIS, Elizabeth Pease told Maria Weston Chapman, is “doing your work for you & aim at the very object you are seeking to accomplish.”¹⁰⁷ Chapman congratulated Pease on the organization of the BIS: “I see at a glance what its effect must be on American slavery, & cast my whole spirit across the Atlantic, towards you in England.”¹⁰⁸ Angelina Grimké

¹⁰⁵ *Speeches, Delivered at a Public Meeting, for the Formation of a British India Society*, 14.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Pease to Maria Weston Chapman, July 11, 1839, BAA, 72-73.

¹⁰⁸ Maria Weston Chapman to Elizabeth Pease, August 20, 1839, BAA 81-82

wrote Pease that the BIS had “claimed a large share of our sympathy” and wrote of her pleasure to see free-produce being agitated in Britain once again.¹⁰⁹

Unlike the American Free Produce Association, the BIS functioned solely as a pressure group. The BIS identified as its primary duty the widest possible dissemination of information about India.¹¹⁰ George Thompson had already embarked on an extensive series of lectures throughout Britain prior to the formal establishment of the BIS.

Thompson linked the success of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies to the planned objective for British India: “The spirit that never tired, that never quailed, while pursuing the great object of negro emancipation, has been invoked, has been awakened, is now stirring; and what we did for the slave of the West shall, with the help of God, be done for the Hindoo of the East.”¹¹¹ Garrison edited a volume of Thompson’s India speeches to promote the cause in the United States.¹¹² In the United States, William Adam lectured on his experiences in British India. In January 1840, he spoke to the eighth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.¹¹³ Through her extensive

¹⁰⁹ Angelina Grimké to Elizabeth Pease, August 14, 1839, MS.A.1.2.8.49, Anti-Slavery Collection, BPL.

¹¹⁰ *Speeches, Delivered at a Public Meeting, for the Formation of a British India Society*, 68.

¹¹¹ George Thompson, *Six Lectures on the Condition, Resources, and Prospects of British India, and the Duties and Responsibilities of Great Britain to Do Justice to That Vast Empire* by George Thompson (London: John W. Parker, 1842), 128.

¹¹² *Lectures on British India, with an Introduction by William Lloyd Garrison* (Pawtucket, R.I.: William and Robert Adams, 1840).

¹¹³ For Adam’s lecture tour, see William Adam to Maria Weston Chapman, November 5, 1839, BAA, 86-87; William Adam to Maria Weston Chapman, December 5, 1839, MS.A.9.2.12.107, AS BPL. Adam’s speech before the MASS was included in the meeting’s report published in the *Liberator*, February 5, 1840. The text of Adam’s lecture was printed at least in the *Liberator*, February 14, 1840 and reprinted in the *Christian Register and Boston Observer*, March 7, 1840.

correspondence with American abolitionists, Elizabeth Pease assured the flow of information about the BIS and its efforts from Britain to the United States. Pamphlets, reports, and letters sent by Pease to American abolitionists were, as Lucretia Mott's son-in-law Edward M. Davis noted, kept in "constant motion."¹¹⁴

Not all abolitionists, however, were convinced that cotton cultivation in India would have the desired effect on slavery in the South. William Adam claimed he did not share Thompson's "sanguine expectations of the effect on American slavery to arise from the extension of cotton cultivation in India." While he was convinced increased cotton cultivation, "in combination with other causes" might improve the situation of "the starving & degraded population of India," its effect on American slavery might only be "*collateral*." Still, Adam resolved "to stand before the American public as its advocate to the full extent of its object."¹¹⁵ Edward M. Davis displayed similar uncertainty about the effects of cotton cultivation in India on the emancipation of slaves in the American South. In late 1839, Davis wrote Elizabeth Pease that he believed reform in India "to be not merely practicable, but of easy accomplishment." Noting that such reform was connected to British prosperity, Davis also imagined American slave-grown cotton driven from European markets once Indian cotton was widely and inexpensively available. "American slavery," he wrote, "will have recd. its death blow."¹¹⁶ Yet, just three months later, Davis questioned whether American funds spent in England on behalf of the BIS

¹¹⁴ Edward M. Davis to Elizabeth Pease, December 11, 1839, MS.A.1.2.8.89, AS BPL.

¹¹⁵ William Adam to Maria Weston Chapman, BAA, 86-87.

¹¹⁶ Edward M. Davis to Elizabeth Pease, December 28, 1839, BAA, 88.

was the most effective tactic: “You force Slavery from its present location by appealing to the avaricious feelings of the slaveholder. We exterminate it by appealing to his conscience and understanding.” If the British reformers were successful in supplying their country with free-labor cotton from India, Davis suggested that would still not reform American slaveholders. “Would this prove to our planters that slavery is sinful?” Davis asked. “No! only that his business is unprofitable. The result might & I doubt not would be, to do away with our slave holding Laws but not our slave holding spirit.”¹¹⁷

Despite these reservations, British reformers and businessmen hoped to displace American slave-grown cotton from the European market. In an attempt to replicate American success in cultivating cotton, the East India Company sent an allegedly covert operative, Thomas Bayles, to the South to recruit planters willing to move to India and teach southern cotton growing practices. In 1839 and 1840, Bayles spent time in South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana before departing for India in 1840 with ten recruits.¹¹⁸

In the spring of 1840 as British and American abolitionists prepared for the World Anti-Slavery Convention, free-produce supporters looked forward to an international movement against the products of slave-labor. British and American abstainers had seemingly developed an international community committed to displacing slave-labor products from the transatlantic market. National organizations such as the American Free Produce Association and the British India Society, as well as regional groups such as the

¹¹⁷ Edward M. Davis to Elizabeth Pease, March 30, 1840, MS.A.1.2.9.23, AS BPL.

¹¹⁸ *Southern Quarterly Review*, April 1842, 459; *Niles Register*, March 27, 1841. See also Brian Schoen, *The Fragile Fabric of the Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 171; Frenise A. Logan, “A British East India Company Agent in the United States 1839-1840,” *Agricultural History* 48 (1974), 267-276.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, were working hard to sway public sentiment toward a free-labor stance in the marketplace. Though consumers grumbled about supply issues, abstainers believed these regional and national organizations were an important development to resolve these problems and assure a steady supply of free-labor goods. Moreover, by continually affirming their personal pledge to the slave of forgoing the products of their labor, activists believed their abolitionist testimony to be the most consistent. Yet, these individuals and associations were caught up in larger debates in the British and American reform communities. Questions about the role of women in public reform activities as well as the relationship between the Society of Friends and the radical abolitionist movement threatened to divide the abstention movement in much the same way it threatened the abolitionist movement. Still, as the American delegates sailed to London in the spring of 1840, many abstainers held out hope that the morality of their cause would transcend any divisions over religion or gender.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ See Kennon, “‘Apple of Discord,’” 247. Kennon argues, “The convention was eagerly anticipated by both British and American reformers alike as a transcendent ritual of Anglo-American antislavery cooperation.”

PART III
THE TRANSATLANTIC FREE-PRODUCE MOVEMENT

CHAPTER 5

I CAST MY WHOLE SPIRIT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC: CONFLICT AND COMMUNITY IN THE TRANSATLANTIC FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT

I feel that I have a great weight of obligation to discharge for the two interesting letters which I have recently been favoured with from thee. Yet at present I fear I can do little more than thank thee with the assurance that every line you write & every pamphlet or paper sent to us from your Land is animating & strengthening to our hearts.

– Elizabeth Pease to Maria Weston Chapman, July 11, 1839

Let me assure thee that thou art greatly mistaken if thou supposes that the contents of the letters are not as deeply interesting to us, as thou sayest our's are to thee.

– Angelina Grimké Weld to Elizabeth Pease, August 14, 1839

These two letters were among the hundreds exchanged by British and American abolitionists in the 1830s. In addition to letters, British and American abolitionists exchanged speakers and pamphlets and shared tactics. The transatlantic visits of George Thompson and William Lloyd Garrison built on traditional Quaker networks and established new lines of communication between abolitionists in both countries. In 1836, the women of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society reprinted Elizabeth Heyrick's *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*; a year later, Elizabeth Pease arranged for the British publication of Angelina Grimké's *Appeal to the Christian Women of the*

North. In 1837, the delegates of the Anti-Slavery Convention of Women appointed a committee to send a message of gratitude to British women for their support. With the abolition of slavery in 1833 and apprenticeship in 1838, the relationship between British and American abolitionists transformed from one of mutual cooperation to one of support. Many American abolitionists hoped the British example would bring success to the American abolitionist movement. It is not surprising then that the first world's anti-slavery convention held great promise for American abstainers who hoped to achieve an international free-produce movement that would strike at the root of American slavery.¹

In the months leading up to the convention, American anti-slavery societies selected delegates to represent their interests at the meeting. Several of the delegates chosen by the American Free Produce Association (AFPA), including James and Lucretia Mott, Sarah Pugh, William Bassett, and Abraham Pennock, were elected to represent other anti-slavery associations. Lucretia Mott represented the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society (PASS), and the Philadelphia Female-Anti-Slavery Society (PFASS). The Motts also traveled with a minute from the Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Sarah Pugh represented the PASS and the PFASS in addition to the AFPA. Bassett and Pennock did not attend the convention, most likely replaced by Henry Grew. In addition to Mott and Pugh, other

¹ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 127-132; Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, *Proceedings* . . . 1837, 6. According to Midgley, "A transatlantic sisterhood of radical nonconformist reformers" developed in the 1830s and 1840s. "In contrast,[British] women who sided with the Tappanites had much more limited contacts with American abolitionists, who concentrated on corresponding with the male leadership of the BFASS." Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 132. For an example of the correspondence exchanged between British and American abolitionists see Clare Taylor, ed., *British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974).

female delegates to the convention included Abby Kimber, Mary Grew, Elizabeth Neall, and Emily Winslow. Sources differ, however, about the identity of the seventh female delegate. Some name Ann Phillips while others list Abby Southwick. Most likely, Phillips did not obtain official papers from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society though she did attend the convention. Mott and Phillips were accompanied by their husbands; Winslow and Grew by their fathers. Pugh, Kimber, Neall, and Southwick traveled alone.²

Though organized by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the idea for an international conference of abolitionists originated with Joshua Leavitt, editor of the *Emancipator*, who had suggested a general anti-slavery meeting in London. Leavitt believed such a meeting would better coordinate the British and American movements. When the BFASS began planning for the meeting, they cited Leavitt's suggestion. American abolitionists, particularly Garrisonians, enthusiastically embraced the idea of an international meeting of abolitionists. Garrisonians had long described themselves as citizens of the world, most visibly on the *Liberator's* masthead: "Our Country is the World — Our Countrymen are all Mankind." Many Garrisonians were non-resistants, which reinforced this notion of human rather than national community. British abolitionists, however, had a more parochial conception of the general anti-slavery conference, viewing it as primarily a meeting of British and American abolitionists — a British abolitionist meeting on a broader Anglo-American scale. This is particularly

² Kennon, "An Apple of Discord," 240; Sklar, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention," 332-333; Minute of the Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of Free People of Colour, May 1, 1840, Mott Manuscripts, FHL; Minutes, October 20, 1840, AFPA, HSP.

evident in the way British and American abolitionists referred to the meeting. Officially, the BFASS referred to the meeting as the “General Anti-Slavery Conference.” Garrisonians, however, were the first to refer to the meeting as the “World’s Convention,” a term which gained greater currency after John Greenleaf Whittier’s poem, “The World’s Convention,” appeared in the *Liberator* in January 1840.³ These differences in intent were just one area of potential dissension between British and American abolitionists.

Divisions among American abolitionists also threatened the harmony of an international meeting. As we have seen, in the wake of the Hicksite schism British Friends recognized only those American Quakers associated with the Orthodox branch. The presence of Hicksites like James and Lucretia Mott among the American delegates was sure to create tension between British and American members of the convention. However, of most immediate impact was the split between American abolitionists in the weeks before the convention. After years of rancorous debate, the American anti-slavery movement split over the relationship between abolitionism and other reform movements such as women’s rights and non-resistance. Conservative abolitionists Lewis and Arthur Tappan worried the controversy over women’s rights and the introduction of other reform movements would hinder the progress of abolitionism. Garrison believed otherwise. In May 1840, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Tappans and nearly three hundred supporters left the AASS and formed the American and Foreign

³ William Caleb McDaniel, “Our Country is the World: Radical American Abolitionists Abroad,” Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2006, ch. 2.

Anti-Slavery Society; Garrison assumed leadership of the AASS. Both organizations were represented at the World Anti-Slavery Convention.⁴

When American abolitionists sailed for England in the late spring of 1840, they knew the challenges they were likely to encounter in London. Despite the London Committee's second call for delegates, requesting only male delegates, American abolitionists counted on the influence of Garrison and George Thompson to sway the British men to accept the female delegates.⁵ Likewise, American supporters of free produce hoped British abolitionists' traditional support of the movement would overcome gender and sectarian differences and that the convention would make a strong international statement against slave-labor products.

World's Anti-Slavery Convention

By the end of the 1830s, British abolitionists appeared poised to lead an international movement against slavery. In 1833, as a result of abolitionist agitation, Parliament passed the Emancipation Act, abolishing slavery on August 1, 1834 and establishing an interim apprenticeship system, which would end in 1845. Five years later, under tremendous public pressure, Parliament amended the Emancipation Act and ended apprenticeship as of August 1, 1838.⁶ The following April, British abolitionists,

⁴ Kennon, "An Apple of Discord," 245; McDaniel, "Our Country is the World," 64-65; Sklar, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention," 318-319. Sklar notes that "by claiming a seat for herself at the convention," Orthodox Quaker Sarah Pugh was "tarred with the brush of Hicksite radicalism."

⁵ Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 263-266.

⁶ Maynard, "The World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840," 452-455; Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 195-256.

invigorated by the victories of 1833 and 1838, established the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS), which boldly proclaimed its commitment to universal abolition. American abolitionists lauded the British example and imagined the potential benefits to their cause. “If we are able to judge of its future proceedings by which it has characterized its first movements,” one editorialist noted, “we may hope great things — that the pure rays of liberty . . . will from henceforth spread far and wide.”⁷ Within weeks, British abolitionists proposed an international anti-slavery meeting for the following year in London, sending out a broadly-worded invitation to “the friends of the slave of every nation and every clime.”⁸

Between 1838 and 1839, in addition to the BFASS, British abolitionists established two other new national organizations targeting the universal abolition of slavery. As discussed in the last chapter, the British India Society was established in 1838 by Joseph Pease and George Thompson. The third national association, the African Civilization Society (ACS), was founded by Thomas Fowell Buxton in 1839. The ACS pledged to eradicate the foreign slave trade and promote legitimate commerce, education, and Christianity in Africa. Of the three British societies established in 1838-1839, the ACS had the lowest level of female participation. Only 23 of the initial 361 subscribers were female. Still, women were involved at the local level, disseminating information and recruiting female subscribers to the organization.⁹ The establishment of the BFASS,

⁷ *Liberator*, June 14, 1839. Emphasis in original.

⁸ *Liberator*, October 11, 1839.

⁹ Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 121-122.

BIS, and the ACS clarified British abolitionists' decision, after 1838, to focus their reform energies on the abolition of slavery in the United States, a decision that became readily apparent at the World Anti-Slavery Convention.

Responsibility for organizing the convention fell to British Quaker Joseph Sturge and members of the London Committee, the executive committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Considered among the more radical of British abolitionists, Sturge embraced immediatism earlier than many of his male abolitionist counterparts. Sturge had also opposed compensating slaveholders. Like Cropper and Heyrick, Sturge recognized the connection between the abolition of slavery and relief for the British poor. Yet, he like Cropper worried that a widespread boycott of slave-grown cotton, for example, would close mills and displace British workers. In the mid- to late-1830s, Sturge led the fight to discredit the apprenticeship system in the West Indies. In 1837, he traveled to the British colonies, gathering evidence that ultimately convinced Parliament to end apprenticeship. Not surprisingly, Sturge played a key role in establishing the BFASS. In planning for the convention, Sturge recruited support from British anti-slavery societies. He also supervised efforts to gather information about slavery and the slave trade throughout the world for presentation at the convention.¹⁰

When Sturge and members of the London Committee learned that some American anti-slavery societies had appointed female delegates to the World Convention, they issued a second call for delegates, specifically asking for male delegates. Sturge called

¹⁰ Betty Fladeland, *Abolitionists and Working-Class Problems in the Age of Industrialization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 49-73; Fladeland, *Men and Brothers*, 258-267; Maynard, "The World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840," 455; Kennon, "'An Apple of Discord,'" 250.

on American abolitionists to send “your best, *soundest*, and clearest-headed Anti-slavery men.” Female delegates, Sturge claimed would hinder rather than aid the cause. And if any female delegates did attend the convention, he warned, “they will have to encounter the strong feeling against it, which exists here, standing alone.”¹¹ Sturge and the members of the London Committee clearly hoped to forestall any debate over the woman question.

As the female delegates arrived in London in the days before the convention, the London Committee made repeated efforts to convince Lucretia Mott and the other women to accept their exclusion from the convention. On June 6, Joseph Sturge dined with Mott, who noted in her diary that he “begged submission of us to the London Committee.” Mott and the other women attempted to change Sturge’s mind but “found he had prejudged & made up his mind to act with our New Organization,” referring to the recently formed American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. On June 10 and 11, the women met again with members of the London Committee and others who had been sent to convince the women to accept the decision to exclude them as delegates. When a black delegate from Jamaica told Mott “it would lower the dignity of the Convention and bring ridicule on the whole thing if ladies were admitted,” she replied that “similar reasons were urged in Pennsylvania for the exclusion of colored people from our meetings — but had we yielded on such flimsy arguments, we might as well have abandoned our enterprise.” The analogy between race and gender was a familiar one. In

¹¹ *Liberator*, May 8, 1840; Emphasis in original. See also Lewis Tappan to Theodore Weld, May 4, 1840 in *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844*, Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds. (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), II: 834; Kennon ““An Apple of Discord,”” 248-249.

the United States and Britain arguments about women's status often relied on comparisons with the status of black people.¹² However, Mott's retort was an important reminder of the different social contexts within which British and American abolitionists worked. In the United States, abolitionists were clearly the minority and female and African American support and leadership were vital to the abolitionist cause.

Wendell Phillips brought the question of female delegates before the full body the next day when the convention officially opened. Garrison, delayed by the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was not present. Although the London Committee had already spoken on the status of the female delegates from the United States, Phillips insisted that the convention as a whole should decide whether the delegates should be recognized, a claim first made by Sarah Pugh in a written protest the previous day. Pugh had described the female delegates as "co-equals in the advocacy of Universal Liberty" and asserted that only the convention — not the London Committee — had "the power of determining the validity of any claim to a seat in that body."¹³ British abolitionist George Thompson, who had been so instrumental in bringing American women into the abolitionist movement, urged Phillips to withdraw the motion. Phillips, however, persisted. He was supported by fellow Massachusetts representatives William Adam and George Bradburn. Opposing admission of the female delegates were American churchmen James G. Birney, Nathaniel Colver, and Elon Galusha. Henry Grew, described by Mott as demonstrating some inconsistency, also opposed the

¹² Tolles, *Slavery and The Woman Question*, 23, 27, 28-29; Sklar, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention," 308.

¹³ Tolles, *Slavery and "The Woman Question"*, 28; *Liberator*, December 11, 1840.

admission of the female delegates, including his daughter Mary. Among the British delegates, Quaker men led the opposition. In the end, an overwhelming majority of convention delegates voted against admission of the women. The vote, Mott wrote in her diary, was cheered “unworthily.”¹⁴ In the end, the women were forced to sit in the gallery, witnesses to but not participants in the proceedings.

In the wake of their rejection, American female delegates led by Lucretia Mott attempted to organize a private meeting with British female abolitionists. Interestingly, Mott made this request through Joseph Sturge, Josiah Forester, and George Stacey. Mott noted in her diary that the men “promised to try,” but that Stacey “rather pettishly” said “our coming as Delegates had made it more difficult.” On June 19, Sturge reported to Mott his doubts that British women would agree to such a meeting. “Much disappointed to find so little independent action on the part of women,” Mott wrote in her diary. Finally on June 27, four days after the convention’s end, British women agreed to meet with the American women. The meeting, Mott noted, was a “stiff — poor affair — found little confidence in women’s action either separately or con-jointly with men, except as drudges — some sectarian zeal manifested.”¹⁵ Mott and the other American women were

¹⁴ Maynard, 459-460; Tolles, *Slavery and The Woman Question*, 29-31; Kennon, ““An Apple of Discord,” 250-251. William Lloyd Garrison to Helen Garrison, June 29, 1840, BAA, 91-93. Mott quote from Tolles, *Slavery and The Woman Question*, 31.

¹⁵ Tolles, *Slavery and “The Woman Question”*, 35-36, 49; Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott*, 198-199. In a letter to Maria Weston Chapman, Mott described British female abolitionists as “women who had hitherto most submissively gone forth into all the streets, lanes, highways & bypaths to get signers to petitions, & had been lauded – long & loud for this drudgery, but who had not been *permitted* even to *sit* with their brethren, nor indeed much by themselves in public meetings – having transacted their business, as we were informed, by committees.” Lucretia Mott to Maria Weston Chapman, July 29, 1840, BAA, 104. According to James Mott, “A few [British abolitionists] manifested a reluctance to granting this reasonable request, but others appeared favorable. But their sectarian fears so overcame their Anti-Slavery feeling that they were unwilling to trust the women of England to meet half a dozen from America, on

influenced by the work of British Quaker Elizabeth Heyrick. Indeed, as we have seen, Heyrick's activism inspired the formation of many American anti-slavery and free-produced associations. Their rejection by British women — even if for reasons of “sectarian zeal” — was deeply disappointing for American women. British abolitionists Elizabeth Pease and Anne Knight were notable exceptions, welcoming the American women yet helpless to bridge the divide between American and British women. “Every obstacle was thrown in the way,” Pease noted of Mott's attempts to set up a meeting. “I regretted it deeply & several of us mourned over our utter inability to help it,” she explained.¹⁶ Pease, in particular, would remain an important link between American women like Mott and sympathetic British female abolitionists in the 1840s. In the final days of the convention, when delegates failed to endorse a strong free-produce resolution, Mott linked the weak stance on free produce to the rejection of the female delegates.

Charles Stuart introduced the free-produce resolution on June 20, the ninth day of the convention. Stuart, a native of Jamaica and a retired British army officer, had been active in anti-slavery in the United States and the West Indies. When the American abolitionists divided, Stuart sided with the Tappans and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Introduction of the resolution followed William Adam's report on slavery in India and the Committee on Free Labour's report to the convention, both

account of the religious opinions of the latter; and I am not alone in believing that this had some influence in the decision of the Convention; but we were unable to see what our opinions on doctrines had to do in preventing our pleading the cause of the down-trodden humanity.” Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott*, 199.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Pease to unknown, July 17, 1840, BAA, 102. Mott later noted “a strong binding tie of affection with all our band of ‘rejected delegates.’” Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott*, 232.

presented earlier in the week.¹⁷ The resolution “recommended” abstention from slave-labor products “as far as practicable.” Several delegates debated the meaning of “as far as practicable,” some arguing the phrase could be interpreted as promoting abstinence only to the extent that it was convenient for the consumer. Delegates cited the inconsistency of abstainers, the impossibility of remaining entirely free of slave-labor, and the impact widespread abstinence would have on laborers in the American South and Lancashire, in particular. William Adam reiterated the need for reformation in India before relying upon the East for an increase in free-labor goods. After much debate, the delegates worked out a series of resolutions that asserted the profitability of free labor and the view that the use of free labor in the production of sugar and cotton would lead to the abolition of slavery in the United States. The delegates, however, were unable to obtain any resolution against the use of slave-labor products. In place of the resolution, the convention delegates instead called for a committee to compile a list of slave-grown products.¹⁸ The free-produce resolutions adopted by the convention emphasized economic rather than moral arguments for abstaining from slave-labor products. The moral stance sought by Mott, Pugh and other members of the AFPA was ignored.

¹⁷ Both of these reports were later issued as individual publications. See William Adam, *Slavery in India: Paper Presented to the General Anti-Slavery Convention* (London: Thomas Ward and Co., 1840); Joseph Sturge, *Report on Free Labour, Presented to the General Anti-Slaver Convention* (London: Johnston & Harrett, c. 1840).

¹⁸ British and Foreign Anti-Slavery, Society, *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention Called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and Held in London from Friday, 12th, to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840 General Anti-Slavery Convention* (London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1841), 437-454.

Lucretia Mott's diary entry of the free-produce debate provides an important counterpoint to the official *Proceedings* published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. She wrote approvingly of William Adam's comments on British India, though she lamented that "the convention [was] not disposed to entertain the question, altho' many had something to say on it." However, it was Nathaniel Colver, the stout Baptist minister from Tremont Temple in Boston who received the harshest criticism from Mott. Colver, she wrote, "told how tender he was *once* on the subject, how he gathered his little ones about him, and explained to them the cruelty & wickedness of such participancy" but he discovered that "self-denial was not easy & gave it up & [gave] his children full latitude in robbery & spoil & the gain of oppression." After giving his speech against free produce, Colver "sallied forth to our bar" challenging Mott to speak out, "if the spirit moves you . . . say on — you'll be *allowed* to say what you wish." Instead, Mott sat in silent protest. Later she noted, "Our Free Produce society will have to double their diligence & do their own work — and so will American Abolitionists generally — & especially women."¹⁹

The failure of the free-produce resolution, like the rejection of the female delegates, marked a watershed moment for many American abolitionists. Mott and other American abstainers had looked to British abolitionists as models for abstention and abolition. Yet, British delegates to the convention had failed to challenge Colver's rude dismissal of free produce. Indeed, Colver's remarks revealed the depth of some

¹⁹ Tolles, *Slavery and "The Woman Question"*, 39-40. Emphasis in original. See also Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 393-394.

American abolitionists' antipathy toward free produce. After the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, American abstainers realized they must become torchbearers for the movement.²⁰

Subsequent reports of the free-produce debate focused on the silencing of Mott. According to Sarah Pugh, Mott's report to the AFPA in October 1840 revealed "how her heart burned within her to speak for the wronged & the outraged." However, Mott had not been granted the opportunity to counter the "false reasoning" of the delegates. Had she been able to do so, Pugh noted, "they would have mourned for the wrong they had done to the slave in this gagging one of his best and most able advocates." The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* noted that "the rules of the Convention had placed a padlock upon [her] lips, and [she was] obliged to listen to flimsy sophistry in defence of wrong, in silence."²¹ Ten years earlier, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler had asked whether "woman's voice be hushed" when confronted with oppression. She underscored the moral imperative of women's public culture in the phrase "life's holiest feelings." British custom had, for the moment, managed to silence Mott and the other female delegates. Failure to assert the moral foundation of free produce by convention delegates further highlighted the exclusion of women from the meeting. The men who had voted against

²⁰ See McDaniel, "Our Country is the World," 83. As McDaniel argues, "If Garrisonians were more convinced of the freedoms they enjoyed in New England after their trips to London, they also began to argue that American abolitionists had displaced British abolitionists as the torchbearers for the antislavery movement. The British had contended against a distant evil in the colonies, while American abolitionists fought against an entrenched evil that was close at hand. Their persecutors, too, could found in more dangerous proximity: when had British abolitionists faced mobs like the one that harassed Thompson and Garrison in 1835? Even the Garrisonians' British admirers praised their exceptional heroism."

²¹ Sarah Pugh to Richard D. Webb, November 18, 1840, MS.A.1.2.10.49, BPL; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, November 12, 1840.

the women did more than reject a few radical women who stepped out of their sphere. The failure of the free-produce resolution was a thorough dismissal of women's activism and moral suasion. Mott described British female abolitionists as "drudges," who exhibited little independence. British women, according to Mott, had lost touch with the moral absolutism of Elizabeth Heyrick.

The rejection of the female delegates and the failure of the convention to take a strong moral stand against slave-labor products galvanized American women. Though disappointed in convention events, Massachusetts abolitionist William Bassett believed women's exclusion at the London meeting had done "far more for the propagation of the principle of human equality, than their silent admission could possibly have done." As a result of the controversy, "the minds of the multitudes are heaving with emotion, and an investigation is going on which must result in great good," Bassett wrote. In the 1840s, Mott and the women of the PFASS renewed their commitment to free produce, affirming their vow to maintain individual and collective purity. Mott's experiences at the World Anti-Slavery Convention "unleashed her," argues historian Margaret Hope Bacon. After the convention, Mott "did not attempt to hold back either her anger or commitment." After 1840, abstainers found the decision between free-labor and slave-labor products represented an increasingly restrictive political and ideological position.²²

²² William Bassett to Elizabeth Pease, August 31, 1840, MS.A.1.2.9.87, BPL; Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 99; Faulkner, "Lucretia Mott and the Problem of Moral Suasion"; Soderlund, "Priorities and Power."

American Free Produce in the 1840s

In October 1840, the American Free Produce Association held its annual meeting at Clarkson Hall in Philadelphia. As it had with other anti-slavery and free-produce meetings that fall, the events of the World Anti-Slavery Convention dominated the meeting's discussions. Henry Grew provided the only dissenting vote when AFPA delegates passed a resolution stating the association was "deeply aggrieved" by events in London. Lucretia Mott and Sarah Pugh presented their report to the membership, noting that while many delegates to the World Anti-Slavery Convention expressed support of the theory of free produce, delegates did little to aid American abstainers in obtaining supplies of free-labor goods. James Mott and Henry Grew also presented a report to the association. Mott and Grew noted with regret "that the consistent practice we advocate, of abstaining from the use of the fruits of cruel and unrequited toil, has obtained to a very limited extent among the professed friends of the injured slave." Delegates to the convention though professing to support abstention claimed that "impracticability" and "inexpediency" made it impossible for them to remain consistent. Mott and Grew claimed the slaveholder used the same excuses "to fortify his trembling conscience." The establishment of the British India Society, however, gave Mott and Grew reason to believe that free produce was gaining in appreciation by the larger abolitionist community.²³

²³ Minutes, October 20, 1840, AFPA, HSP; Sarah Pugh to Elizabeth Pease, November 16, 1840, MS.A.1.S.10.44, BPL. Garrison reprinted the AFPA's "merited condemnation of the London Anti-Slavery Convention, for having rejected the female delegates who were duly appointed by the Association to represent it in that body — and who were pre-eminently qualified to discharge the duties of their high mission." *Liberator*, December 11, 1840.

At the third annual meeting of the AFPA in October 1841, members and officers lamented the apathy many abolitionists demonstrated toward free produce. “The great mass of abolitionists,” Sarah Pugh asserted in the annual report, “need an abstinence baptism.” Many abolitionists had “sacrificed political party and religious sect for the cause of freedom, yet the taint of slavery still clings to them, and they need to be pointed to the stain that dims their otherwise consistent testimony,” Pugh claimed. Pugh described the AFPA as an association under siege. Editors of anti-slavery papers did not reprint an address published by the association in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*. Thus, the report reached only “a comparatively small portion of abolitionists” rather than “the great mass of . . . anti-slavery brethren.” Likewise, England continued to purchase American slave-grown cotton rather than improving labor conditions and increasing production of cotton in India. Support was even lacking from the most likely sources: abolitionists and Friends. Both groups had failed to give adequate attention to the issue. The AFPA’s efforts were further hampered by high duties on free-labor cotton. At the annual meeting, members reviewed and approved a memorial to Congress requesting that duties on foreign and raw cotton be removed, claiming that current duties paid by the association constituted “a tax upon conscientious scruples.” The report also included an extensive quote from Elizabeth Heyrick, reminding readers of the connection between free produce and immediatism.²⁴

Nonetheless support for free produce and the American Free Produce Association continued to decline in the 1840s. At the fourth annual meeting in 1842, Sarah Pugh

²⁴ Minutes, October 18, 1841, AFPA, HSP; *New York Evangelist*, April 28, 1842.

presented a resolution to dissolve the association. After an “animated discussion,” the motion was voted down “by an apparently unanimous vote.” Though the report does not elaborate on the phrase “animated discussion,” it does note that during the debate the membership read a letter from Aaron L. Benedict of Delaware County, Ohio, reporting the successful organization of the Western Free Produce Society. Benedict’s letter was reprinted in full in the AFPA’s annual report, suggesting its importance to the membership. “No house in the vicinity being half large enough to convene the people, the meeting was held in a grove,” Benedict wrote. According to Benedict, a plan had been established to form free-produce societies in every county in Ohio where “friends of abstinence reside.” Benedict described a vigorous free-produce movement under development in the West, one which the newly formed society hoped the AFPA would support through the supply of free-labor goods. The promise of new supporters may have been sufficient cause for the AFPA members to postpone any plans of dissolution. Indeed, free-produce activism in the Old Northwest increased in the 1840s; however, that activity was not enough to forestall the eventual demise of the AFPA.²⁵

Participation in the American Free Produce Association steadily declined after its first annual meeting in 1839. The meeting minutes for 1839 contain a complete list of delegates along with the name of their sponsoring organization. Most meeting minutes for subsequent years contain no listing of delegates to the annual meeting. In 1845, the annual meeting had to be rescheduled due to a lack of delegates. And in 1846 and 1847,

²⁵ Minutes, October 21, 1842, AFPA, HSP. See also Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 50-51; Robertson, *Hearts Beating for Liberty*, ch. 3.

delegates appointed the same set of officers who had served the association the previous year.²⁶

In the years after the World Anti-Slavery Convention, American abolitionists continued to struggle with debates about anti-slavery ideology and tactics, arguments which affected the abstention movement. Those who remained active in free produce asserted the importance of a consistent, moral statement against slavery. Sarah Pugh's call for an "abstinence baptism" sounded much like the absolutist rhetoric of Elizabeth Heyrick. Yet, American free-produce rhetoric in this period took on an increasingly self-righteous quality as abstainers questioned the moral agency of abolitionists who refused to forgo slave-labor products. William Lloyd Garrison was a particularly visible target. An early supporter of free produce, by the late 1830s Garrison had rejected the tactic as impractical. While in London for the World Anti-Slavery Convention, Lucretia Mott tried unsuccessfully to change Garrison's mind. "[R]ather inconsistent," she noted in her diary.²⁷ Lea Gause was not so charitable, publicly accusing Garrison of adopting the motto "No Union with Slaveholders" in theory but not in practice.²⁸ Time and again, abstainers pointed out the hypocrisy of abolitionists who purchased slave-labor products, strengthening the very shackles abolitionists were attempting to break.²⁹

²⁶ October 15, 1839; October 21, 1842; October 21, 1845; October 26, 1846; and October 4, 1847, Minutes, AFPA, HSP.

²⁷ Tolles, *Slavery and "The Woman Question"*, 57.

²⁸ *Liberator*, February 19, 1847.

²⁹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, October 1837. See also October 17, 1843, Minutes, AFPA, HSP. Garrison had claimed that abolitionists were particularly entitled to use slave-labor goods because they were fighting for the slave. In a veiled reference to Garrison's comments, the 1843 AFPA report noted: "It is even said, by men of well-known zeal for the cause of freedom, that the friends of the slave a

In the 1830s Quaker abolitionists judged one another by their adherence to the cause of the slave; in the 1840s, abstainers defined abolitionists by the consistency of their anti-slavery testimony. Free produce, they argued, was a sacrifice, a duty, and an act of consistency required of all *true* abolitionists. Urging abolitionists' identification with the slave, Benjamin S. Jones claimed, "If we have faith in the principles we advocate, we should be willing to sacrifice luxury, comfort, and convenience in the cause of universal liberty; preferring rather to suffer with the captive, than share the spoils with the oppressor." By the mid-1840s, members of the AFPA were celebrating their ability to "maintain [their] principles amidst opposing influences within, as well as without, the anti-slavery ranks." The emphasis on individual purity, however, prompted critics to point out abstainers' inconsistency, citing the unavoidable infiltration of slave-labor products into northern society. Others were frustrated by what they saw as a proliferation of tests for abolitionist membership. "We should have not only the political and ecclesiastical tests, but 'free produce tests,' the 'kitchen table or cast' test, the test of paying taxes to the government that supports slavery, the test of neglecting to do *all* in our power . . . and so on, indefinitely," Samuel Lightbody complained. Instead, Lightbody called on reformers to simply "abolitionize the people and then leave them to act individually."³⁰ In their attempt to bring abolitionists into the free-produce

peculiar, and, indeed, the only, right to use the blood-stained fruit of his extorted toil, as if we, whose eyes have been opened to the enormous injustice of the system which extorts that toil, and whose souls burn with indignation at its very name, may appropriate its fruits to our use more guiltlessly than they who are comparatively blind to its inherent sinfulness!"

³⁰ October 20, 1840, Minutes, AFPA, HSP; *Liberator*, November 10, 1843.

movement, abstainers instead seemed to push them away with their narrow focus on individual purity.

Members of the American Free Produce Association were also concerned with issues of supply. While members harangued abolitionists about the morality of the cause, members also struggled to identify and to fund a steady supply of free-labor goods. In 1843, the AFPA's Committee on Finance outlined a four-step plan to raise funds to continue manufacturing free-labor goods. The developing free-produce movement in Ohio, which had led to the establishment of several free-labor stores, had increased business enough that the AFPA was able to reduce prices. The fifth annual report, in 1843, noted that the market and the quality of goods had improved. Throughout the mid- to late-1840s, the association focused on supplying free-labor goods. Indeed, manufacturing seemed to be the only business of the association. In 1846, James Mott noted that since "the business of the association is conducted chiefly by our manufacturing committee, the details of its operations will be found in their report." Despite moments of optimism, supply and quality continued to plague the association. In 1847, the AFPA suspended its manufacturing committee and the association apparently disbanded.³¹

Few Orthodox Quakers participated in the American Free Produce Association. In the mid-1840s, Orthodox Quaker Samuel Rhoads attempted to reinvigorate Friends' commitment to free produce. His pamphlet, *Considerations on the Use of the Productions of Slavery, Addressed to the Religious Society of Friends*, published in 1844

³¹ October 17, 1843; October 26, 1846; and October 4, 1847Minutes, AFPA, HSP.

challenged Friends to examine their testimony on slave-labor produce. Citing the example of John Woolman, Rhoads argued that Friends had for more than a century practiced individual abstinence from slave-labor products. Still, Quakers as a sect had failed to adopt abstinence despite the Society's stance against slave trading and slave owning. Rhoads claimed Friends used slave-labor products as a matter of custom. He also alluded to the criticism of conservative Friends, who had argued against collective action against slavery. "We are told that we shall have no reward for attempting *to do good in our own wills*: and it is assumed that those who are laboring in this cause are so doing," Rhoads wrote. "Would it not be as well to inquire what our reward will be for persisting *to do evil in our own wills*," he asked, countering conservative Friends' claims that joining secular anti-slavery societies was an attempt to correct that which was better left to divine guidance.³²

Rhoads, along with Abraham Pennock and George W. Taylor, helped establish the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1845. Following a meeting in April, the three were part of the committee charged with drafting a constitution and issuing a call for a general meeting in June. Though the call did not specifically limit membership to men, much about the circular itself implied that was indeed the case. Signed by ten prominent Quaker men including Rhoads, Pennock, and

³² Samuel Rhoads, *Considerations on the Use of the Productions of Slavery, Addressed to the Religious Society of Friends*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1845), 27. The title was slightly altered in the second edition. See Samuel Rhoads, *Considerations on the Use of the Productions of Slavery, Especially Addressed to the Religious Society of Friends, Within the Limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1844), <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislaavery;idno=18865611> (accessed May 2, 2010). The cataloging information incorrectly identifies this text as written by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

Taylor, the circular emphasized the association's goal to increase the manufacture and production of free-labor goods. As Orthodox Quakers, the three were thoroughly imbued with the evangelical fervor of that particular branch of the Society of Friends and embraced gender ideals traditionally associated with evangelical Christianity.³³ Yet, Rhoads, Pennock, and Taylor represented, in some ways, divergent responses to organized abolitionism.

Probably the most liberal of the three men, Pennock had been active in free produce since the 1820s when he helped James Mott and other Philadelphia Quakers establish the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Bible Association of Friends, which was organized in 1829. Pennock was one of the few Orthodox Friends to play a prominent role in the secular abolitionist movement. When George Thompson lectured in Philadelphia, he stayed with the Pennocks. Pennock was a leader in the American Free Produce Association and was responsible for recruiting Gerrit Smith to that group. Pennock also held leadership positions in the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society. Pennock's abolitionist activities were not without controversy among his co-religionists. In 1845, British Quaker Alex Derkin cautioned Pennock against taking "too active a part in the Abolition societies." Derkin said he did not want to discourage Pennock from doing all he could

³³ Philadelphia Free Produce Association of Friends, "To Our Fellow Members of the Religious Society of Friends," Quaker Broadside, TQC. See also Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 172-173. Drake describes the founders as "old-line Quaker abolitionists, Orthodox Friends, and members of the evangelical or 'Gurneyite' wing of their Yearly Meeting. . . . [These] Friends . . . felt sure that Christ had called them to support missionary societies, abolition and temperance organizations, soup kitchens, relief societies, and a host of other reforms." Orthodox Friends in this particular group more closely resembled Methodists, Presbyterians, and other Protestants rather than the "older type of quiet Friends."

for the slave; rather, Derkin asked Pennock to do so within the bounds of the church in order to preserve his “use & influence” in it.³⁴

Compared to Pennock, Rhoads and Taylor were apparently late arrivals to organized abstention. Rhoads and Taylor were not involved in the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania; however, Rhoads did join the American Free Produce Association in the mid-1840s. Pennock most likely recruited Rhoads to the movement on the basis of his tract, *Considerations on the Use of the Productions of Slavery*. During the Hicksite schism, Taylor joined with Orthodox Quakers. Taylor later recounted a conversation he had with Elias Hicks in 1826: “I saw that I must either give [Hicks] up or the Holy Scriptures. From that time on I no longer leaned with the admirers of Elias Hicks.” A teacher, Taylor and his wife moved from New York to Philadelphia in 1834 where they resided with Ann Scattergood until they found a suitable home. Taylor’s conservative racial views contrasted with the more liberal views held by the majority of free-produce supporters. Taylor advocated colonization because he “believed it best for the *human family* in America . . . that the two colors had better be as far asunder as the breadth of the earth will permit.” He worked as an agent for the Bible Association of Friends until he became involved with the free-produce association in the 1840s.³⁵

³⁴ Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, *Constitution*; *The Friend*, May 29, 1830, April 27, 1833, and May 31, 1834; Edwin B. Bronner, *Sharing the Scriptures: The Bible Association of Friends in America, 1829-1879* (Philadelphia: The Bible Association of Friends, 1979); Lucretia Mott to Phebe Post Willis, September 13, 1834, in *Selected Letters*, 28; *The Liberator*, June 2, 1837; Pennock Sellers, *David Pennock, Mary Pennock Sellers*, 45-46; Alex Derkin to Abraham L. Pennock, June 18, 1845, Civil War and Slavery Collection, Special Collections and University Archives, Grand Valley State University Libraries, Allendale, Michigan. The Bible Association of Friends is discussed in chapter 5.

³⁵ George W. Taylor as quoted in Sarah M. Grimké to Elizabeth Pease, November 14, 1840, in *Letters of Theodore Weld . . .*, 854; George W. Taylor, *Autobiography and Writings of George W. Taylor* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1891), 29-30, 39-43.

Pennock, Rhoads, and Taylor were the core of the new association, editing its newspaper *The Non-Slaveholder*, which was established in January 1846. Though the circulars and reports of the association emphasized the moral basis of free produce, the activities of the association focused on the manufacture and sale of free-labor goods. In 1846, at its first annual meeting, the association reported the manufacture of ten thousand yards of cloth. Members, the report noted, looked forward to the establishment of a new free-labor store. In 1847, sixty thousand yards of cloth were manufactured with similar increases in quantity and quality reported in 1848. In addition to increasing supplies of free-labor goods, members of the association corresponded with British Quakers to promote the use of free-labor products and to share information including an address to the aging Thomas Clarkson, requesting from him any information about the effect of the 1792 boycott on the abolition of the slave trade. George W. Taylor also maintained an active correspondence with Elihu Burritt, the peace activist and abolitionist who promoted free produce in Britain and France in the 1840s and 1850s.³⁶

Despite these promising beginnings, the Free Produce Association of Friends could not overcome the disapproval of more conservative Friends and the loss of support for free produce among the larger abolitionist community. In 1847, the editors of *The Non-Slaveholder* were involved in a rancorous, public debate with William Lloyd Garrison over the latter's rejection of free produce. Even among Quakers, however, the Free Produce Association failed to maintain a steady base of support. In 1849,

³⁶ *The Non-Slaveholder*, May 1846, 65-69; May 1847, 97-102; October 1847, 222; and April 1848, 75-79; Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement*, 35-39; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, 173-174; Elihu Burritt to George W. Taylor, September 29, 1846, Taylor Family Papers, TQC.

attendance at the annual meeting began a slow steady decline. Publication of *The Non-Slaveholder* ceased, re-started, and then ended for good in 1854.³⁷

As American abstainers attempted to maintain associations to coordinate the work of free produce, British reformers struggled to continue the British India Society. In August 1840, Manchester replaced London as the center of the Indian reform movement. Five months later the association established the *British Indian Advocate*, edited by William Adam who had relocated to Britain from Massachusetts after the World Anti-Slavery Convention. The *Advocate* was short-lived, however. In 1841, the British India Society entered into a formal alliance with the Anti-Corn Law League. In an effort to increase free trade, the ACCL sought repeal of British laws restricting the importation of foreign grain. While many British and American abolitionists supported free trade and the ACCL, including Tappanite Joshua Leavitt, many others worried that the movement would distract attention from abolitionism particularly after George Thompson agreed to set aside agitation for the BIS temporarily in order to work for the ACCL. As Elizabeth Pease noted, “they [the ACCL] will not let us have GT to ourselves, *peaceably*.” Thompson, Joseph Pease, and the leadership of the BIS agreed to the alliance. In return, the leaders of the ACCL promised to throw the weight of their influence behind Indian reform once the corn laws had been repealed. The leaders of the BIS thought they had negotiated a good bargain; however, the alliance proved disastrous for the BIS. The British India Society lost all public momentum for the cause and gained the enemies of

³⁷ *The Non-Slaveholder*, April 1847, 84-89 and July 1847, 162-165; *Liberator*, April 9, 1847; E. C. Wilkinson, “‘Touch Not, Taste Not, Handle Not’: The Abolitionist Debate Over the Free Produce Movement,” *Columbia Historical Review* 2 (2002), 2-14.

the ACCL. By the time the corn laws were repealed in 1846, Indian reform and the British India Society were nearly forgotten.³⁸

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society also suffered from declining membership in the 1840s. In the early years of the Society, the association pursued an active recruitment campaign, sponsoring public lectures as a way to bring in new members. The women of the PFASS also gave a great deal of time to circulating petitions. After 1837, the PFASS handed off responsibility for organizing public lectures to the recently established Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. In this period, the PFASS also reduced their petitioning efforts. By the 1840s, the annual anti-slavery fair absorbed much of the reformers' interest and time. In addition to a shift in tactics, the PFASS also initiated new standards for membership, requiring adherence to non-resistance. As the women of the PFASS narrowed the focus of the society, membership in the group changed. In the late 1830s and 1840s, African American membership increased while Hicksite and Orthodox Quaker membership declined slightly. As Jean Soderlund argues, in the 1840s the PFASS occupied an increasingly "restrictive ideological position."³⁹

Core constituents of the AFPA, the women of the PFASS found that association and its male-segregated successor, the Free Produce Association of Friends, inadequate for promoting free produce in the 1840s. In 1842, Mary Grew offered a free-produce

³⁸ Elizabeth Pease to J.A. Collins, undated in BAA, 140; Elizabeth Pease to Anne Warren Weston, June 24, 1841 in BAA, 154; Elizabeth Pease to unknown, February 28, 1842 in BAA, 169-170; William Bassett to Elizabeth Pease, April 25, 1842, MS.A. 1.2.12.2.46, BPL; Mehrota, "The British India Society and Its Bengal Branch," 139-142; Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 158-160.

³⁹ Soderlund, "Priorities and Power," 67-88.

resolution that was tabled by members of the PFASS; however, in 1848, Lucretia Mott offered a similar resolution that was readily adopted, evidence that among members of the PFASS, radical free-produce statements were no longer controversial. Increasingly in the 1840s, members of the PFASS found themselves forced to choose between moral purity and pragmatic tactics, prompting Lucretia Mott to ask in an article in *The Liberty Bell*, “What is Anti-Slavery Work?” Writing in response to a request for funds to purchase the freedom of a female slave held in prison in Baltimore, Mott denied such financial assistance was appropriate anti-slavery work. Mott’s statement is troubling but significant. As historian Carol Faulkner argues, “[I]t shows Mott believed the primary goals of abolitionists should be ending slavery and racial prejudice; everything else was a distraction.” A consistent moral example as exemplified by free produce was the best means to accomplish these goals.⁴⁰

In the 1840s, the free-produce movement was deeply divided. The movement’s core constituencies — abolitionists and Quakers — were so divided they could not form an effective base of support for an organized abstention movement. Still, the movement was an important part of the transatlantic abolitionist movement in this period. As conservative and radical Quakers negotiated their individual and collective relationship with Garrisonian radicalism and political abolitionism, debates between abstainers and abolitionists and abstainers and non-abstaining co-religionists revealed core questions about tactics and strategy. Had moral suasion lost its relevance in the politically charged

⁴⁰ October 13, 1842, December 8, 1842, and April 11, 1848, Minutes, PFASS HSP; Lucretia Mott, “What is Anti-Slavery Work?” *The Liberty Bell*, January 1, 1846; Soderlund, “Priorities and Power”; Faulkner, “The Root of the Evil,” 397-399; Faulkner, “Lucretia Mott and the Problem of Moral Suasion.”

atmosphere of the 1840s? Could Friends find a compromise between the needs of conservatives and radicals? The divisive rhetoric of many abstainers in this period clearly contributed to their alienation, particularly among those already convinced of its irrelevance or its impracticability, as so many Garrisonians and Quakers were in the 1840s. AFPA leadership included radical Quakers who believed Friends should waste no opportunity to speak out against slavery and who believed that the most powerful anti-slavery statement was a consistent identification with the slave. They believed abolitionists who failed to practice abstention were not true abolitionists. The exclusivity of some abstainers alienated potential supporters. Conservative Quakers recognized the sinfulness of slavery and the anti-slavery tradition of Friends but sought a more measured response than that offered by radical abolitionists and abstainers. As Sunderland P. Gardner of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting cautioned in 1846, “wrong may be wrongfully opposed, and war opposed in a warlike spirit.”⁴¹ For conservatives, “the warlike spirit” of the core of abstainers was just too disruptive for a community that had been wracked by divisions.

⁴¹ Sunderland P. Gardner, *Address t the Youth and Children of the Society of Friends* (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Chapman, 1846), 9-10.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

[T]o urge [free produce] as a principal weapon of offence, would be very like bailing out the Atlantic with a spoon; and this I think Mrs. Richardson & all others will find out, if their object really is to awaken & build up a powerful & effective sentiment against Slavery.

– Samuel J. May, 1848

Samuel J. May's assessment of the free-produce movement captured the attitude of many American abolitionists. By the late 1840s, the American free-produce movement was in serious decline despite the efforts of many to breathe life into the ailing movement. In 1846, British Quaker Anna Richardson founded the Newcastle Ladies' Free Produce Association and issued a circular to encourage women to form similar associations. Abolitionists since the early 1830s, Richardson and her husband Henry revitalized the British free-produce movement in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Despite the Richardsons' efforts, Garrison and many other abolitionists agreed with May, who believed abstainers "fritter[ed] away great energies & respectable powers in controversies about yards of cotton-cloth & pounds of sugar." However, in this period, free produce proved important to bridging differences among British and American abolitionists.¹

¹ Samuel J. May to John Estlin, May 2, 1848, MS.B.1.6.2.74, Samuel J. May Papers, BPL; R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 119-120; Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 137-139; Thomas and Emma R. Pumphrey, *Henry and Anna Richardson* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: n.p, 1892. May was writing in response to Estlin's request for May's assessment of Richard D. Webb's plan to lecture on free produce and Anna Richardson's advocacy of the movement. See John Estlin to Samuel May, February 25,

In the 1840s and 1850s, American abolitionists continued to appeal for support from British abolitionists. Divisions among the Americans, however, influenced similar disagreements among the British, leaving both movements deeply divided over tactics and personalities. Historian R. J. M. Blackett describes American black abolitionists who visited England in this period as a “third force,” providing an alternative to political abolitionists and Garrisonians who vied for British attention. As a “third force” — independent, active contributors to the transatlantic abolitionist movement — black abolitionists provided British supporters an opportunity to remain involved in the movement without necessarily having to take sides. In 1850, Reverend Henry Highland Garnet accepted an invitation from the Richardsons to tour Britain to promote free produce. Garrisonians opposed free produce and Garnet’s tour because they worried it would erode support for other, more efficient abolitionist tactics. Frederick Douglass also opposed Garnet’s tour, claiming Garnet had never supported free produce in America. Despite the criticism, Garnet’s tour was a success, leading to the establishment of twenty-six free-produce societies by the end of January 1851.²

In support of the re-energized British free-produce movement, Anna and Henry Richardson produced pamphlets and circulars as well as the penny sheet, *The Slave: His*

1848, MS.B.1.6.2.67, Samuel J. May Papers, BPL. In the 1850s, British women such as Anna Richardson formed the core of the organized abolitionist movement in Britain. Traditional male abolitionist activities were of little value in addressing slavery at the international level while women’s activities such as fundraising, boycotting, and moral pressure gained new prominence in Britain. Still, British women’s support was divided along political and religious lines that mimicked the divisions in the American movement. Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, 125-126.

² Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall*, 119-123, 143-145. Blackett argues, “The fact that black visitors were affiliated with one of the other wing of the movement was of little significance; what mattered was that their independent approach provided many British abolitionists with a ‘practical’ alternative.”

Wrongs and Their Remedy. There is Death in the Pot!, written by Anna around 1850, suggested that if consumers were aware of the misery required to bring slave-labor goods to the marketplace and to the table, consumers would reject such goods in horror. Richardson reiterated traditional free-produce rhetoric: consumers were responsible for the perpetuation of slavery and Christians had a duty to abstain from slave-labor products. Richardson concluded her text with a table headlined, “The Free-Man or the Slave; Which Shall Supply Your Table?” Three columns labeled “Produce of Free Labour,” “Produce of Slave Labour,” and “Partly Free, Partly Slave, or Uncertain” mapped for consumers the progress of emancipation in the Atlantic world, emphasizing the availability of free-labor sugar, coffee, and tobacco from the British West Indies and the continued oppressive labor conditions in Cuba, Brazil, and the American South.³

There is Death in the Pot! invoked in its title the specter of James Gillray’s “Barbarities in the West Indias,” the eighteenth-century political cartoon of a slave boiled to death in a pot of sugar cane juice; however, the phrase “There is death in the pot” would have had held other implications for Richardson’s readers. In 2 Kings 4:38-41, Elisha commands his servant to gather herbs to make a soup for the sons of the prophets. The servant mistakenly gathers poisonous gourds, prompting one man to cry out, “O, man of God, there is death in the pot.” In 1820, the phrase was given graphic meaning when it was used on the cover of Frederick Accum’s *A Treatise on the Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons* published widely in England, the United States, and

³ [Anna Richardson], “*There is Death in the Pot!*” (London: C. Gilpin, c. 1850), <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislavery;idno=16855204> (accessed March 3, 2009).

Germany. Accum's *Treatise* listed contaminants in foods and identified the names and addresses of suppliers of poisoned goods. Unlike the servant of the Old Testament, the food suppliers of *Treatise* were aware of the contaminated nature of their consumables. Describing *Treatise* as a "lurid production," historian Walter Gratzer notes that the first printing of one thousand copies sold out within the first month and went through numerous editions, even after the author left England in disgrace and fear from fabricated accusations of theft and vandalism.⁴ Thus, Richardson's use of "There is death in the pot" suggested to consumers the contamination of slave-produced foods and the complicity of slaveholders and merchants in the poisoning of domestic consumers. "There is death in the pot" also emphasized the moral and economic basis for abstention.

During the 1850s, Garnet promoted free produce as a powerful weapon against slavery, though it mattered little to him whether supporters were drawn to the movement by economic or moral motives. Garnet along with the Richardsons sustained the free-produce movement and drew other abstainers into their circle of influence. In the black abolitionist community, Samuel Ringgold Ward and Alexander Crummell promoted free produce as a practical tactic and a moral responsibility. Elihu Burritt, founder of the League of Universal Brotherhood and publisher of *The Bond of Brotherhood*, supported free labor and worked with Anna Richardson. An American, Burritt had moved to London in the mid-1840s. Richardson and Burritt met through the former's involvement in her local Olive Leaf Circle, a network of peace groups associated with Burritt's

⁴ Walter Gratzer, *Terrors of the Table: The Curious History of Nutrition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 124-127. Gratzer notes "the cover depicted a spider's web in the act of seizing its prey. Above was a skull and cross bones, surmounting an inscription that read 'There is Death in the Pot.'"

League of Universal Brotherhood. In the mid-1850s, when Anna Richardson withdrew from active participation in the organized free-produce movement because of her husband's illness, Burritt assumed editorial responsibilities for the Richardsons' publication, *The Slave*. In the late 1850s, Garnet, inspired by Orthodox Quaker Benjamin Coates's *Cotton Cultivation in Africa*, re-organized the African Civilization Society as part of an effort to increase the cultivation of free-labor cotton in Africa and displace from the British market slave-grown cotton from the American South. Despite the efforts of Garnet, Coates, the Richardsons, and Burritt, support for the free-produce movement continued to decline in the late 1850s. The presence of colonizationists like Coates left many radical free-produce supporters wary of the organization.⁵

Despite its lengthy history, the free-produce movement failed to maintain a broad following. At its most popular, in the late eighteenth-century, abstention from slave-labor products drew nearly a half million supporters in England. In the nineteenth-century, however, British and American abstainers failed to replicate the heady days of the 1791-1792 boycott. The failure of the free-produce movement to develop a sustainable following or to end slavery has led historians to dismiss abstention as a footnote in the history of abolitionism. The problem with earlier historical assessments

⁵ *Ibid.*, 119-124, 143-144, 162-194; Lapsansky-Warner, *Back to Africa*, 33-34; Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 400-403. See also Henry Highland Garnet to Samuel Rhodes, December 5, 1850, in *The Black Abolitionist Papers: The British Isles, 1830-1865*, C. Peter Ripley, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), I: 232. Celebrating the increasing interest of British capitalists, Garnet told Rhodes, "Allowing their motives to be purely commercial, yet the effect of their movement will be the same upon slavery, and will do the same thing that those benevolent people desire who base their efforts upon humane and moral principles." See also Benjamin Coates, *Cotton Cultivation in Africa. Suggestions on the Importance of the Cultivation of Cotton in Africa, in Reference to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, Through the Organization of an African Civilization Society* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman and Son, 1858). Coates hoped the organization would appeal to Friends who were reluctant to join the more political anti-slavery or colonization movements.

of the free-produce movement (with a few notable exceptions) is that historians have tended to accept Wendell Garrison's appraisal of the movement.⁶ "The Abolitionists proper," Garrison claimed in 1868, "although always stigmatized as impracticable, never mounted this hobby as if the battle-horse of victory." According to Garrison, "The Quakers not alone, but distinctively, cherished the sacred flame of free produce."⁷ Undeniably, Quakers formed the moral core of the British and American free-produce movements. Yet, framing research in this way has limited opportunities to understand the dynamic relationship between abstention and abolitionism and gender and commerce. As a result, the eighteenth century movement is divorced from later developments, suggesting that issues raised in the first abstention campaign had little to do with later developments.

Analyzing the free-produce movement from the late-eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth century highlights the transformation in women's activism in this period. Over the course of more than seventy years of free-produce activism, women's abstention went through three phases.⁸ In the 1790s, women's abstention focused on the immediate domestic circle. Women who abstained from slave-grown sugar made a political

⁶ For those exceptions, see especially Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil"; Robertson, *Hearts Beating for Liberty*, ch. 3. Faulkner argues that "historians need to account for a strategy that attracted the most committed, most diverse, and arguably most radical abolitionists."

⁷ Wendell Phillips, "Free Produce Among the Quakers," *Atlantic Monthly* 22 (1868), 493. While Garrison claims that non-Quakers supported free produce, nearly all of his text focuses on the efforts of Quaker abstainers.

⁸ See Sklar, "The World Anti-Slavery Convention," 302-303, n.6 Sklar defines three levels of women's political culture: "group activity that extends beyond family groups; group activity that expresses a female consciousness or awareness of women's actions *as women*; group activity with the explicit goal of advancing the rights or interest of women." Sklar notes that "[not] all women partook of the same political culture." In her comparison of British and American women's political culture, Sklar argues that historians need to "speak plurally . . . when we speak of more than one polity."

statement, yet, because women's politics were primarily confined to friends and family and did not involve formal organizing, women's political statements against slavery generally did not raise questions about their appropriate sphere. Indeed, debates about women's participation focused instead on questions of motivation. Could women forgo the temptations of the "world of goods" and make the moral choice? Could the market serve as a moral corrective? The line distinguishing private and public and male and female spheres of influence was fluid in this period. Women's participation in the first abstention movement was never assured. Female consumption could confirm or deny the morality of the market and the female consumer. Women's moral renunciation of slave-labor products contrasted sharply with the lurid tales of white colonial women reported in the House of Commons and repeated in countless eighteenth-century publications. Female moral consumption confirmed the hopes of abstainers that women and the market could be used to reform society.

The second phase of women's abstention began with publication of Elizabeth Heyrick's *Immediate Not Gradual Abolition*. The rise of evangelical Christianity with its emphasis on individual action, perfectibility, and female morality, encouraged the development of women's reform work in the early nineteenth century. Unlike the benevolent groups that preceded them, women's reform societies sought to restructure society rather than ameliorate its evils. In the 1820s, women established gender-specific societies to support reforms such as temperance and abolitionism. In Britain and the United States women established abolitionist and free-produce societies. Asserting the morality of their cause, free produce supporters promoted abstention as first and foremost

a moral tactic, a means of purification from the contamination of slave-labor goods. In this regard, nineteenth-century abstention reflected its eighteenth-century roots.

However, Heyrick exploited the radical potential of abstention by linking the tactic to slave rebellion, working-class reform, and women's agency.

The third phase of women's abstention work developed in the late 1830s in the United States. Free produce supported women's involvement in the American abolitionist movement even as opponents criticized women such as Angelina and Sarah Grimké for assuming the public role of male reformers. However, Lucretia Mott and the Grimkés used free produce to commit what historian Carol Faulkner has described as acts of "racial rebellion."⁹ Challenging women to view slave-labor produce as the products of the labor of their "own children, brothers, and sisters," female abstainers assumed a principled stance against the products of oppression.¹⁰

It is in this third phase that the differences between American and British abstention and abolitionism become most apparent. In the late 1830s, British and American reformers established national associations committed to the abolition of slavery and abstention from the products of slave labor. The British associations — British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, British India Society, and the African Civilization Society — encouraged women to subscribe to the groups but limited their participation in the work of the associations. In contrast, the American Free Produce

⁹ Faulkner, "The Root of the Evil," 392.

¹⁰ Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, *Proceedings . . . 1839*, 7.

Association was integrated by gender and race.¹¹ Women participated in the association's activities, held office, and established policy. The AFPA highlighted the differences between American and British women's political culture. In Britain, though associated by Heyrick with radical ideas about slave rebellion and working-class rights, abstention ultimately confirmed the existing political culture, using public pressure to bring about parliamentary abolition of slavery. In the United States, however, women's abstention work challenged the greed and racism that underwrote the economics of slavery and slave-labor products. For women such as Mott and Sarah Pugh, their daily contact with African Americans through their associations and communities led them to advocate not just abolition and abstention but racial equality. Through the AFPA, women working alongside men worked to address issues of the production and supply of free-labor goods, which reinforced their conviction that the economic ties between North and South were intertwined.

Woven throughout the history of free produce is the history of the Society of Friends. In the eighteenth century, Quakers worked to purify the sect from the taint of slavery and the products of slave labor. In the nineteenth century, most Quakers advocated peaceful, gradual solutions to the problem of slavery and avoided the radical abolitionist movement. Schism in the late 1820s influenced Quaker anti-slavery, transforming radical Quakers into Quaker abolitionists who were often frustrated by their more conservative co-religionists. After 1828, many Quakers on either side of the divide

¹¹ In 1839, Grace Douglass was a delegate for the PFASS to the annual meeting. Continued participation of African American abolitionists in the AFPA after 1839 is difficult to ascertain since the AFPA did not record the names of delegates. However, given the level of support given by the PFASS to the AFPA, it is reasonable to assume that African American abstainers were included in the organization.

prioritized unity rather than challenging slavery or racial inequality. In some instances, Quaker abolitionists who did not so prize unity were disowned for their continued agitation of the slavery question. However, a number of men and women remained members of the Society of Friends, balancing their spiritual and social reform impulses. In this way, free produce served as a compromise tactic for those inclined toward radicalism — a blending of Quaker values and abolitionist sentiment — that could be adopted for radical purposes, or remain simply a statement of individual conscience.

The first half of the nineteenth century was an important period in the development of women's political culture. Race, gender, religion, and class shaped the patterns of women's reform in the United States in this period. This was certainly the case with the transatlantic abstention movement. Distinctions between British and American women's political culture were influenced in large part by these factors, which impacted the development of free produce. The lessons learned from antebellum reform aided the transformation of women's reform from its initial roots in moral suasion and local control in the first half of the century to expanded federal power in the second half.¹² This transformation is evident in the story of Sarah Pugh and her niece Florence Kelley. A founder of the Progressive-era National Consumers League, Kelley was initiated into consumer activism by her aunt, a woman she described as "conscience incarnate." The day Kelley realized her aunt did not use sugar was a watershed moment. When questioned by Kelley, Pugh replied, "Cotton was grown by slaves, and sugar also

¹² See Alison M. Parker, *Articulating Rights: Nineteenth-Century American Women on Race, Reform, and the State* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010).

. . . so I decided many years ago never to use either, and to bring these facts to the attention of my friends.” Kelley probed further, “Aunt Sarah, does Thee really think any slaves were freed because Thee did not use sugar or cotton?” “Dear child,” Pugh replied, “I can never know that any slave was personally helped, but I had to live with my own conscience.”¹³ For the British and American women who abstained from the products of slave-labor, fidelity to conscience formed the foundation of their identity.

American free-produce associations blurred the boundaries of race, gender, religion, and class. Abstainers placed individual moral power above all else. “[A]ll I ask,” Abby Kelley wrote in 1838, “Let woman be left free to obey the voice of God in her own heart.” Kelley denied she wanted to transform women into men. Rather, she called on men and women to claim “the true spirit of Christianity.” When men and women looked to “our dear Saviour for an example in all things,” Kelley noted, “we shall see there are not two characters, one for man and one for woman to assume, but His one character must be put on by both.”¹⁴ Through abstention from slave-labor products, men and women elided the boundaries of gender, race, and religion. At its most basic, abstention relied upon individual choice — that moment when the consumer is faced with a decision. In its simplest terms, boycotting slave-labor goods required no intermediary, no association, not even a public political statement against slavery. Though expensive

¹³ Florence Kelley, “My Philadelphia,” *The Survey* LVII (October 1, 1926), 54. See also Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation’s Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 15-23.

¹⁴ Abby Kelly to Mary Pennock Sellers, July 15, 1838, as quoted in Sellers, *David Sellers, Mary Pennock Sellers*, 58.

and difficult to practice consistently, abstention was the most democratic of anti-slavery tactics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

American Antiquarian Society (Boston, Mass.)

Abby Kelley Foster Papers

Birmingham Public Library (Birmingham, England)

Records Relating to the Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, 1825-1919

Boston Public Library (Boston, Mass.)

Antislavery Collection

Samuel May Jr. Papers

Weston Family Papers

William Lloyd Garrison Papers

Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin (Austin, Tex.)

Sarah Grimké Papers

Columbia University, Rare Books and Manuscripts (New York, N.Y.)

Sidney Howard Gay Papers

Library of the Religious Society of Friends (London, England)

William Dickson, "Diary of Journey to Scotland," transcribed by Ian Whyte

Haverford College, The Quaker Collection (Haverford, Penn.)

Allinson Family Papers

Dunn Osborne Battey Family Papers

Taylor Family Papers

Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Penn.)

Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers

American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race, Records

American Free Produce Association, Minutes and Correspondence

Committee on Requisite Labor, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Society of Friends, Minutes and Correspondence

Junior Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia, Minutes
Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, Minutes and Correspondence
Shropshire Archives (Shrewsbury, England)
Katherine Plymley Diaries
Syracuse University Library (Syracuse, NY)
Gerrit Smith Papers
Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library (Swarthmore, Penn.)
Elias Hicks Manuscripts
George Fox White file
Isaac T. Hopper Papers
Lucretia Mott Manuscripts
Meeting for Sufferings, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) (Men's and Women's Meetings)
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) (Men's and Women's Meetings)
John Greenleaf Whittier Manuscript Collection
William Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records
Women's Rights National Historic Park (Seneca Falls, NY)
McClintock-Neeley Collection

Periodicals

Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter
The Boston Recorder
The Casket
Christian Advocate
Christian Examiner and General Review
Christian Observer
Christian Register and Boston Observer
The Christian Watchman
Cincinnati Mirror, and Western Gazette of Literature, Science and the Arts
The Coldwater Magazine and Temperance Advocate
The Colored American
The European Magazine and London Review

Freedom's Journal
The Friend
The Friends' Intelligencer
Friends' Miscellany
Genius of Universal Emancipation
The Humming Bird
Ladies' Magazine
Liberator
The Liberty Bell
The Moral Reformer
National Anti-Slavery Standard
New York Journal and Patriotic Register
The Non-Resistant
Non-Slaveholder
Pennsylvania Freeman
Register of Pennsylvania
Religious Intelligencer
Signal of Liberty
The Slave's Friend
Southern Quarterly Review
True Wesleyan
The Universal Asylum and Columbia Magazine

Published Primary Sources

An Abstract of the Evidence Delivered Before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in the Years 1790 and 1791, on the Part of the Petitioners for Abolition of the Slave Trade. Newcastle: Printed at the Expence [sic] of the Society in Newcastle for Promoting the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, 1791.

Act of Incorporation and Constitution of the Pennsylvania Society, for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery; and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race; Also a List of Those Who Have Been Elected Members of the Society. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1860.

- Adam, William. *Slavery in India; Paper Presented to the General Anti-Slavery Convention*. London: Thomas Ward and Co., 1840.
- An Address to Her Royal Highness the Dutchess [sic] of York, Against the Use of Sugar*. [London]: n.p., 1792.
- [Allen, William]. *The Duty of Abstaining from the Use of West India Produce, a Speech, Delivered at Coach Maker's Hall Jan. 12, 1792*. 2nd ed. London: T.W. Hawkins, 1792.
- American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Twenty-First Biennial American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race. Convened at the City of Washington, December 8, A.D., 1829. And an Appendix Containing the Addresses from Various Societies Together with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Convention*. Philadelphia: n.p., 1829.
- Anderson, Alexander. *Injured Humanity; Being a Representation of What the Unhappy Children of Africa Endure from Those Who Call Themselves Christians*. New York: Samuel Wood, c. 1805.
http://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/doc.php?doc_id=68#desc (accessed November 20, 2009).
- An Answer to a Pamphlet Intituled [sic] an Address to the People of England, Against the Use of the West India Produce*. Whitechapel: W. Moon, 1791.
- Anthropos. *The Rights of Man, (Not Paines,) But the Rights of Man, in the West Indies*. London: Knight and Lacey, 1824.
- Anti-Slavery Convention of Women. *An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States, Issued by an Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women*. New York: William S. Dorr, 1837.
- _____. *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women; Held in the City of New-York, May 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1837*. New York: William S. Dorr, 1837. <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislaavery;idno=04820109> (accessed April 2, 2010).
- _____. *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women; Held in the City of New-York, May 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1838*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838. <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislaavery;idno=10842210> (accessed April 2, 2010).
- _____. *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women; Held in the City of New-York, May 1st, 2^d, and 3^d, 1839*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1839. <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislaavery;idno=15854319> (accessed April 2, 2010).
- Anti-Slavery Ladies Association*. London: Knight and Bagster, n.d.

- Anti-Slavery Society*. London: Ellerton and Henderson, n.d.
- Anti-Slavery Society [London]. *Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Anti-Slavery Society, for the Years 1829 and 1830; With a List of Subscribers*. London: S. Bagster, Jr., 1830.
- _____. *Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations*. London: Bagster and Thomas, 1828.
- Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour. *An Address to the Citizens of the United States on the Subject of Slavery*. Philadelphia: Association of Friends for Advocating the Cause of the Slave, and Improving the Condition of the Free People of Colour, 1838.
- _____. *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Propriety of Abstaining from the Use of the Produce of Slave Labour*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838.
- _____. *An Address to the Members of the Society of Friends*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1843.
- _____. *An Appeal to the Females of the North, on the Subject of Slavery*. Philadelphia: J. Thompson, 1838.
- Barbauld, Anna Letitia. *Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq. On the Rejection of the Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade*. London: T. Johnson, 1791.
- Barbour, Hugh, ed. *Slavery and Theology: Writings of Seven Quaker Reformers, 1800-1870. Elias Hicks, Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Gurney Fry, Lucretia Coffin Mott, Levi Coffin, John Greenleaf Whittier, John Bright*. Dublin, Ind.: Print Press, 1985.
- Barnes, Gilbert H. and Dwight L. Dumond, eds. *The Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965.
- Basis of Religious Association Adopted by the Conference Held at Farmington, in the State of New York on the 6th and 7th of Tenth Month, 1848*. Waterloo: Sentell & Pew, Printers, 1848.
- Bayard, Ferdinand-M. *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia with a Description of Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1791 or Travels in the Interior of the United States, to Bath, Winchester, in the Valley of the Shenandoah, etc., etc., during the Summer of 1791*. Translated by Ben C. McCary. Williamsburg, Va.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1950.
- Beale, Catherine Hutton. *Catherine Hutton and Her Friends*. Birmingham, UK: Cornish Brothers, 1895.
- Beecher, Catherine E. *An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with Reference to the Duty of American Females*. Philadelphia: Henry Perksin, 1837.

- Bell, John Hyslop. *British Folks and British India Fifty Years Ago: Joseph Pease and His Contemporaries*. London: John Heywood, 1891.
- Birkett, Mary. *A Poem on the African Slave Trade, Addressed to Her Own Sex*. Dublin: J. Jones, 1792.
- Blassingame, John, editor. *The Frederick Douglass Papers*. Series 1. 5 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Bradburn, Samuel. *An Address to the People Called Methodists, Concerning the Evil of Encouraging the Slave Trade*. Manchester: T. Harper, Smithy-Door, 1792.
- Branagan, Thomas. *A Preliminary Essay, on the Oppression of the Exiled Sons of Africa. Consisting of Animadversion on the Impolicy and Barbarity of the Deleterious Commerce and Subsequent Slavery of the Human Species; To which is Added, a Desultory Letter Written to Napoleon Bonaparte, Anno Domini, 1801*. Philadelphia: Printed for the author by John W. Scott, 1804.
- A Brief Sketch of the Life and Labours of Mrs. Elizabeth Heyrick*. Leicester: Crossley and Clarke, 1862.
- British and Foreign Anti-Slavery, Society. *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention Called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Held in London, from Friday, June 12th, to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840*. London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1841.
- British India Society. *Speeches, Delivered at a Public Meeting, for the Formation of a British India society; Held in the Freemasons' Hall, Saturday, July 6, 1839*. London: British India Society, 1839.
- Burn, Andrew. *A Second Address to the People of Great Britain Containing a New and Most Powerful Argument to Abstain from the Use of West India Sugar by an Eye Witness to the Facts Related*. 2nd ed., enlarged. London: M. Gurney, 1792.
- Chapman, Maria Weston. *Songs of the Free and Hymns of Christian Freedom*. Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1836.
- Child, Lydia Maria. *Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1854.
- Clark, Christopher and Kerry W. Buckley, eds. *Letters from an American Utopia: The Stetson Family and the Northampton Association, 1843-1847*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.
- Clark, George W. *The Harp of Freedom*. New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856.
- Clarkson, Thomas. *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African, Translated from a Latin Dissertation, Which Was Honoured with the First Prize in the University of Cambridge for the Year 1785*. 2nd ed., revised and considerably enlarged. London: J. Phillips, 1788.

- _____. *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*. 2 vols. London: R. Taylor and Co., 1808.
- _____. *Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the conditions of the Slaves in the British Colonies, With a View to Their Ultimate Emancipation; and on the Practicality, the Safety, and the Advantages of the Later Measure*. 2nd ed. corrected. London: Hatchard and Son, 1823.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. "Lecture on Revealed Religion." In *Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion*. eds. Lewis Patton and Peter Mann, 75-229. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- _____. "Lecture on the Slave Trade." In *Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion*. eds., Lewis Patton and Peter Mann, 235-251. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Collett, Sophia Dobson, ed. *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*. 2nd ed. Edited by Hem Chandra Sarkar. Calcutta, India: n.p., 1914.
- Correspondence between Oliver Johnson and George F. White, a Minister of the Society of Friends*. New York: Oliver Johnson, 1841.
- Cowper, William. *Cowper: Verse and Letters*, ed. Brian Spiller. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- _____. *Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce; or, the Slave Trader in the Dumps*. <http://www.brycchan carey.com/slavery/cowperpoems.htm#sweet> (accessed November 18, 2009).
- Crafton, William Bell, *A Short Sketch of the Evidence Delivered Before a Committee of the House of Commons. To which is Added, a Recommendation of the Subject to the Serious Attention of the People in General*. 3rd ed. London: M. Gurney, 1792.
- _____. *A Short Sketch of the Evidence for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Delivered Before a Committee of the House of Commons. To which is Added, a Recommendation of the Subject to the Serious Attention of People in General*. Philadelphia: Daniel Lawrence, 1792.
- Cropper, James. *Letters Addressed to William Wilberforce, M.P.; Recommending the Encouragement of the Cultivation of Sugar in Our Dominions in the East Indies as the Natural and Certain Measures of Effecting the Total and General Abolition of the Slave-Trade*. London: Longman, Hurst, and Co., 1822.
- Duyckinck, Evert A. and George L., eds. *Cyclopaedia of American Literature Embracing Personal and Critical Notices of Authors, and Selections from Their Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1855.
- Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London. Also, an Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Friends,*

- Held in New York, Addressed to Their Subordinate Meetings.* 2nd ed. Dublin: Thomas and White, 1831.
- Evans, William Bacon. *Jonathan Evans and His Time, 1759-1839: Bi-Centennial Biography.* Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1959.
- Felkin, William. *A History of the Machine-Wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures.* London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1867.
- Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves. *The First Report of the Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves.* Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1826.
- _____. *The Second Report of the Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves.* Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1827.
- _____. *The Third Report of the Female Society of Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall and Their Respective Neighbourhoods for the Relief of British Negro Slaves.* Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1828.
- _____. *What Does Your Sugar Cost? A Cottage Conversation on the Subject of British Negro Slavery.* Birmingham: Printed for the Birmingham, West-Bromwich, &c. Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves by Richard Peart, 1828.
- Flower, Benjamin. *The French Constitution.* London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1792.
- Foster, Jeremiah H. *An Authentic Report of the Testimony in a Cause at Issue in the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey, between Thomas L. Shotwell, Complainant, and Joseph Hendrickson and Stacy Decow Defendants.* 2 vols. Philadelphia: J. Harding, 1831.
- Foster, Thomas S. *A Narrative of the Proceedings in America, of the Society Called Quakers, in the Case of Hannah Barnard.* London: C. Stower, 1804.
- Fox, William. *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum.* 24th ed. London: M. Gurney, 1792.
- _____. *Thoughts on the Death of the King of France.* London: J. Ridgway, W. Richardson, T. Whieldon and Butterworth, M. Gurney, 1793.
- Free Produce Society of, Pennsylvania. *Constitution of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: D. & S. Neall, 1827.
- A Full Report of the Case of Stacy Decow, and Joseph Hendrickson vs. Thomas Shotwell. Decided at a Special Term of the New Jersey Court of Appeals, Held at Trenton, in July and August, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-Three. Embracing the Decision of the Court of Chancery, From which the Appeal was Made; The Arguments of*

- the Counsel on Each Side, and the Final Decision of the Court of Appeals, Taken Down in Short Hand by Competent Reporters, and Revised by the Respective Counsel.* Philadelphia: P. J. Gray, 1834.
- Garrison, William Lloyd, ed. *Juvenile Poems for the Use of Free American Children of Every Complexion.* Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1835.
- _____. *A Selection of Anti-Slavery Hymns, for the Use of Friends of Emancipation.* Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1834.
- Garrison, Wendell Phillips. "Free Produce Among the Quakers." *Atlantic Monthly* 22 (1868): 485-494.
- Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Francis Jackson Garrison. *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children.* 4 vols. New York: The Century Company, 1885.
- Great Britain, Parliament. House of Commons, Selected Committee Appointed to Take the Examination of Witnesses Respecting the African Slave Trade. *An Abstract of the Evidence Delivered before a Select Committee of the House of commons, in the Years 1790 and 1791; On the Part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* Edinburgh: Glasgow and Edinburgh Societies Instituted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1791.
- Grimké, Angelina. *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South.* New York: sn., 1836. <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayanti-slavery;idno=02817604> (Accessed April 29, 2009).
- _____. *Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States.* New York, 1838.
- _____. *Letter to Catharine Beecher in Reply to the Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism Addressed to A.E. Grimké.* Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838.
- Griswold, Rufus Wilmot, ed. *The Female Poets of America.* Philadelphia: Moss and Co., 1849.
- _____. *Gems from American Female Poets, with Biographical Notes.* Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1842.
- _____. *Poets and Poetry of America.* Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842.
- Gunn, Lewis C. *Address to Abolitionists.* Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn Publishers, 1838. <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislaery;idno=15853724> (accessed June 5, 2008).
- Hale, Sarah Josepha, ed. *Woman's Record.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1842.
- Hallowell, Anna Davis. *James and Lucretia Mott. Life and Letters.* Boston: New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1884.

- Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, New Series. London: Published under the supervision of T.C. Hansard, 1820-1829.
- Hatfield, Edwin F. *Freedom's Lyre: Or, Psalms, Hymns, and Sacred Songs, for the Slave and His Friends*. New York: S.W. Benedict, 1840. Reprint, Mnemosyne Publishing Co., 1969.
- Haviland, Laura S. *A Woman's Life-Work: Labors and Experiences*. Chicago: C.V. Waite & Company, 1887.
- Haywood, Eliza. *The Female Spectator*. 4 vols. London: A. Millar, W. Law, and R. Cater, 1775.
- _____. *The Tea-Table; Or, a Conversation between Some Polite Persons of Both Sexes, at a Lady's Visiting Day. Wherein are Represented the Various Foibles, and Affectations, Which Form the Character of an Accomplish'd Beau, or Modern Fine Lady*. London: J. Roberts, 1725.
- Heyrick, Elizabeth. *The Warning; Recommended to the Serious Attention of All Christians, and Lovers of Their Country*. Vol. 1807. London; Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad, and Co., 1807.
- _____. *Enquiry into the Consequences of the Present Depreciated Value of Human Labour, &C., &C. in Letters to Thos. Fowell Buxton, Esq. M.P.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1819.
- _____. *An Enquiry Which of the Two Parties Is Best Entitled to Freedom? The Slave or the Slave-Holder? An Impartial Examination of the Conduct of Each Party, at the Bar of Public Justice*. London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1824.
- _____. *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition; or, an Inquiry into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effectual Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery*. London: Hatchard & Son, 1824.
- _____. *Letters on the Necessity of a Prompt Extinction of British Colonial Slavery; Chiefly Addressed to the More Influential Classes*. London: Hatchard and Son, 1826.
- _____. *Apology for Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations*. London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1828.
- _____. *An Appeal to the Hearts and Consciences of British Women*. London: A.Cockshaw, 1828.
- _____. *No British Slavery, or an Invitation to the People, to Put a Speedy End to It*. Birmingham: Benjamin Hudson, 1829.
- [Heyrick, Elizabeth] and [Susanna Watts]. *The Humming Bird; or, Morsels of Information, on the Subject of Slavery: With Various Miscellaneous Articles*. Leicester: A. Cockshaw, Edinburgh, 1825.

- Hicks, Elias. *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants Recommended to the Serious Perusal, and Impartial Consideration of the Citizens of the United States of America, and Others Concerned*. New York: Samuel Wood, 1811.
- _____. *Calumny Refuted, or Plain Facts Versus Misrepresentation of Anna Braithwaite in Relation to the Doctrines, and Preaching of Elias Hicks*. New York, 1824.
- _____. *A Series of Extemporaneous Discourses Delivered in the Several Meetings of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, Germantown, Abington, Byberry, Newtown, Falls, and Trenton. Translated by Taken in short hand by M.T.C. Gould*. Philadelphia: Joseph & Edward Parker, 1825.
- _____. *Sermon Delivered at Friends Meeting House, Green Street, Philadelphia on 5th Day Second of Twelfth Month, 1824*. Philadelphia, 1825.
- Hicks, Elias and Edward Hicks. *Sermons Delivered by Elias Hicks and Edward Hicks in Friends' Meetings, New York, in 5th Month 1825. Taken in Shorthand by L.H. Clarke & M.T. C. Gould Stenographers*. New York: J.V. Seaman, 1825.
- Hillier, Richard. *A Vindication of the Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Use of West India Produce. With Some Observations and Facts Relative to the Situation of the Slaves. In Reply to a Female Apologist for Slavery*. London: M. Gurney, 1791.
- _____. *A Vindication of the Address to the People of Great-Britain on the Use of West India Produce with Some Observations and Facts Relative to the Situation of the Slaves. In Answer to a Female Apologist for Slavery. The Second Edition, with Strictures on Her Reply to a Reply*. 2nd ed. London: M. Gurney, 1791.
- History of Pennsylvania Hall, Which Was Destroyed by a Mob on the 17th of May, 1838*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838.
- Hopkins, Samuel. *A Discourse upon the Slave-Trade, and the Slavery of Africans. Delivered in the Baptist Meeting-House at Providence, before the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave-Trade, &c. At Their Annual Meeting, on May 17, 1793*. Providence: J. Carter, 1793.
- Jenner, Charles. *Town Ecologues*. 2nd ed. London: T. Caddell, 1773.
- Kelley, Florence. "My Philadelphia." *The Survey*. LVII (1926): 7-11, 50-57.
- Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations*. London: Bagster and Thomas, 1828.
- Ladies' Association for Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and Their Respective Neighbourhoods, in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation. *The Second Report of the Ladies' Association for Calne, Melksham, Devizes, and Their Respective Neighbourhoods, in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation*. Calne: Printed by W. Baily, 1827.

- Ladies Association for Liverpool and Its Neighbourhood in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation. *The First Report of the Ladies Association for Liverpool and Its Neighbourhood in Aid of the Cause of Negro Emancipation*. Liverpool: George Smith, 1828.
- Lapsanky-Werner, Emma J. and Margaret Hope Bacon, editors. *Back to Africa: Benjamin Coates and the Colonization Movement in America, 1848-1880*. University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005.
- Lectures on British India, with an Introduction by William Lloyd Garrison*. Pawtucket, R.I.: William and Robert Adams, 1840.
- Lundy, Benjamin. *Essays Philanthropic and Moral, by Elizabeth Margaret Chandler; Principally Relating to the Abolition of Slavery in America*. Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836.
- _____. *The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler with a Memoir of Her Life and Character*. Philadelphia: Lemuel Howell, 1836.
- Macaulay, Zachary. *East and West India Sugar; or a Refutation of the Claims of the West India Colonists to a Protecting Duty on East India Sugar*. London: Printed for Lupton Relfe and Hatchard and Son, 1823.
- Marriott, Charles. *An Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends on the Duty of Declining the Use of the Products of Slave Labour*. New York: Isaac T. Hopper, 1835.
- Mason, Marcia J. Heringa, editor. *Remember the Distance That Divides Us: The Family Letters of Philadelphia Quaker Abolitionist and Michigan Pioneer Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, 1830-1842*. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2004.
- May, Caroline, ed. *The American Female Poets: With Biographical and Critical Notices*. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1853.
- Memorial of Sarah Pugh: A Tribute of Respect from Her Cousins*. Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott Company, 1888.
- Merrill, Walter M. and Louis Ruchames, eds. *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*. 6 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971-1981.
- Minutes of the Requited Labor Convention, Held in Philadelphia, on the 17th and 18th of Fifth Month, and by Adjournment on the 5th and 6th of Ninth Month*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838.
- More, Hannah. *Slavery, a Poem*. London: T. Cadell, 1788.
<http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/ECCO> (accessed May 30, 2009).
- Mott, James. *Three Months in Great Britain*. Philadelphia: J. Miller M'Kim, 1841.
- Motteux, Peter. *A Poem in Praise of Tea*. London: Printed for J. Tonson, 1712.
<http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/ECCO> (accessed May 19, 2010).

- Narrative of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New York, and Their Subsequent Confirmation of the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the Case of Isaac T. Hopper.* 1843.
- Negro Slavery. To The Ladies of the United Kingdom.* London: Ellerton and Henderson, c. 1826.
- The Old Discipline: Nineteenth-Century Friends' Disciplines in America.* Glenside, Penn.: Quaker Heritage Press, 1999.
- Opie, Amelia. *The Warriors Return; The Black Man's Lament.* Edited by Donald H. Reiman. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978.
- Palmer, Beverly Wilson. *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott.* Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Pity the Negro; or, an Address to Children on the Subject of Slavery.* Sixth ed. London: Frederick Westley, and A. H. Davis, 1826.
- Proceedings of a Convention Assembled from Various Parts of the State of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 1837.
- Pumphre, Thomas and Emma R. *Henry and Anna Richardson.* Newcastle-on-Tyne: n.p., 1892.
- Read, Thomas Buchanan, ed. *The Female Poets of America with Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of Their Writings.* 7th ed. rev. Philadelphia: E.H. Butler and Company, 1857.
- Remarks on the Manufacturing of Maple Sugar: With Directions for Its Further Improvement. Collected by a Society of Gentlemen, in Philadelphia, and Published for the General Information and Benefit of the Citizens of the United States.* London: James Phillips, 1791.
- Report of the Association for the Relief of Some Cases of Great Distress in the Island of Antigua, among the Discarded Negroes, &C.* London: n.p., 1820-1827.
- [Richardson, Anna H. and Henry Richardson]. *Conscience Versus Cotton; or, the Preference of Free Labour-Produce to Be Completed in Three Numbers.*
- [Richardson, Anna]. *There Is Death in the Pot.* London: C. Gilpin, c. 1850.
<http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislaavery;idno=16855204> (Accessed March 3, 2009).
- Richardson, Henry. *A Revolution of the Spindles, for the Overthrow of American Slavery.* Newcastle: Macliver and Bradley, c. 1849.
- Ripley, C. Peter, editor. *The Black Abolitionist Papers: The United States, 1830-1846.* Vol. III. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Rush, Benjamin. *An Account of the Sugar Maple-Tree of the United States, and of the Methods of Obtaining Sugar from It, Together with Observations Upon the*

- Advantages Both Public and Private of This Sugar. In a Letter to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. Secretary of State of the United States, and One of the Vice-Presidents of the American Philosophical Society.* Philadelphia: R. Aitken and Son, 1792.
- _____. *An Account of the Sugar Maple-Tree of the United States, and of the Methods of Obtaining Sugar from It, Together with Observations Upon the Advantages Both Public and Private of This Sugar. In a Letter to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. Secretary of State of the United States, and One of the Vice-Presidents of the American Philosophical Society.* London: J. Phillips, 1792.
- _____. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush, His "Travels Through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789-1813.* George W. Corner, ed. Princeton: Published for the American Philosophical Society by Princeton University Press, 1948.
- Salter, William H. Gurney, ed. *Some Particulars of the Lives of William Brodie Gurney and His Immediate Ancestors.* London: Unwin, 1902.
- Sellers, Sarah Pennock. *David Sellers, Mary Pennock Sellers.* n.p., 1928, 1916.
- Sheffield Anti-Slavery Society. *The Negro's Friend, or the Sheffield Anti-Slavery Album.* Sheffield: J. Blackwell, 1826.
- Sheffield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. *Concluding Report of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society.* Sheffield: Iris Office, 1833.
- _____. *The Fifth Annual Report of the Sheffield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society for 1830.* Sheffield: J. Blackwell, 1830.
- _____. *Report of the Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery Society.* Sheffield: J. Blackwell, 1827.
- Speech of Mr. Wall, of New Jersey, on the Memorial of the Caln Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Praying for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. In Senate, February 29, 1836.* Washington, D.C.: Blair and Rives, Printers, 1836.
- Spiller, Brian, editor. *Cowper Verse and Letters.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Sterling, Dorothy, ed. *Turning the World Upside Down: The Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women Held in New York City, May 9-12, 1837.* New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1987.
- Stoddart, Anna M. *Elizabeth Pease Nichol.* London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1899.
- Strictures on an Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Propriety of Abstaining from West-India Sugar and Rum.* London: T. Boosey, 1792.
- A Subject for Conversation and Reflection at the Tea Table.* n.d., n.p.

- Taylor, Clare. *British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding*. Edinburgh; Chicago: Edinburgh University Press; Aldine, 1974.
- Testimony of the New-York Association of Friends for the Relief of Those Held in Slavery, &c. Concerning Charles Marriott, Deceased*. New York: Association of Friends for the Relief of Those Held in Slavery, 1844.
- The Testimony of the Society of Friends on the Continent of America*. Philadelphia: n.p., 1830.
- Thompson, George. *Six Lectures on the Condition, Resources, and Prospects of British India, and the Duties and Responsibilities of Great Britain to do Justice to That Vast Empire by George Thompson*. London: John W. Parker, 1842.
- Tolles, Frederick B., ed. *Slavery and the "Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary of Her Visit to Great Britain to Attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840*. Haverford, Penn.: Friends' Historical Association, 1952.
- Townsend, Hannah. *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet*. Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, 1847.
- A Vindication of the Use of Sugar, the Produce of the West-India Islands in Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled Remarkable Extracts, &c.* London: T. Boosey, 1792.
- Wakefield, Priscilla. *Mental Improvement*. Edited by Ann B. Shteir. East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1995.
- White, George F. *Sermons Delivered by Geo. F. White, in New York and Philadelphia*. New York: Corlies, Macy & Co, 1879.
- Wilberforce, Robert I. and Samuel, eds. *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce*. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1840.
<http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY104816593&srchtp=a&ste=14/> (accessed December 8, 2009).
- _____. *The Life of William Wilberforce*. 5 vols. London: John Murray, 1839.
http://libproxy.uta.edu:2132/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY104868611&srchtp=a&ste=14 (accessed December 8, 2009).
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Men*. In *The Vindications: The Rights of Men, the Rights of Woman*, ed. D.L. Macdonald and Kathleen Scherf. Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Literary Texts, 1997.
- _____. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. In *The Vindications: The Rights of Men, the Rights of Woman*, ed. D.L. Macdonald and Kathleen Scherf. Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Literary Texts, 1997.
- Woods, Joseph. *Thoughts on the Slavery of the Negroes*. London: James Phillips, 1784.

Secondary Sources

- Abzug, Robert H. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*.

- New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Adams, Alice Dana. *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964.
- Anderson, Jennifer L. "Nature's Currency: The Atlantic Mahogany Trade, 1720-1830." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2007.
- Anstey, Roger. *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1975.
- Armstrong, Nancy. *Desire and Domestic Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Ashworth, John. "The Relationship between Capitalism and Humanitarianism." In *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*, 180-199. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Atkin, Andrea M. "'When Pincushions Are Periodicals': Women's Work, Race, and Material Objects in Female Abolitionism." *ATQ* 11, no. 2 (1997): 93-114.
- Aucott, Shirley. *Elizabeth Heyrick, 1769 to 1831: The Leicester Quaker Who Demanded the Immediate Emancipation of Slaves in the British Colonies*. Leicester: Gartree Press Limited, 2007.
- Bacon, Jacqueline. "'The Liberator's 'Ladies Department,' 1832-1837: Freedom or Fetters?" In *Sexual Rhetoric: Media Perspectives on Sexuality, Gender, and Identity*, edited by Meta G. and Susan C. Zavoina Carstarphen, 3-19. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Bacon, Margaret Hope. "Lucretia Mott: Pioneer for Peace." *Quaker History* 82, no. 2 (1993): 63-79.
- _____. *Lucretia Mott Speaking: Excerpts from the Sermons and Speeches of a Famous Nineteenth Century Quaker Minister and Reformer*. Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill Publications, 1980.
- _____. *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986.
- _____. "Quaker Women and the Charge of Separatism." *Quaker History* 69, no. 1 (1980): 23-26.
- _____. *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*. New York: Walker, 1980.
- Baker, Paula. "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920." *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (1984): 620-647.
- Barbour, Hugh, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, Nancy C. Sorel, Alson D. Van Wagner, and Arthur J. Worrall, editors. *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995.

- Barker-Benfield, G. J. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Barnes, Gilbert H. *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844*. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933.
- Barrell, John. *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Baum, Joan. *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: Slavery and the English Romantic Poets*. North Haven, Conn.: Archon Book, 1994.
- Baym, Nina. *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995.
- _____. *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and About Women in America, 1820-1870*. 2nd ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Bender, Thomas, ed. *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Billington, Louis. "British Humanitarians and American Cotton, 1840-1860." *Journal of American Studies* 11, no. 3 (1977): 313-334.
- Billington, Louis and Rosamund Billington. "'A Burning Zeal for Righteousness': Women in the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1820-1860." In *Equal or Different: Women's Politics, 1800-1914*, edited by Jane Rendall, 82-111. New York: Basic Blackwell, Inc., 1987.
- Blackett, R.J.M. *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Bradley, A. Day. "Progressive Friends in New York and Michigan." *Quaker History* 52 (Autumn 1963): 95-103.
- Breen, T.H. "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century." *Past and Present*, no. 119 (1988): 73-104.
- _____. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- _____. "The Meanings of Things: Interpreting the Consumer Economy in the Eighteenth Century." In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, eds. by John and Roy Porter Brewer, 249-260. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- _____. "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology, and Community on the Eve of the American Revolution." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1993): 471-501.
- Brewer, John, and Roy Porter, eds.. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

- Brock, Peter. *Radical Pacifists in Antebellum America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Bronner, Edwin B. *"The Other Branch": London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites, 1827-1912*. London: Friends' Historical Society, 1975.
- _____. *Sharing the Scriptures: The Bible Association of Friends in America, 1829-1879*. Philadelphia: The Bible Association of Friends, 1979.
- Brown, Christopher Leslie. *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Brown, Elisabeth Potts, and Susan Mosher Stuard. *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989.
- Brown, Ira V. "An Antislavery Agent: C.C. Burleigh in Pennsylvania, 1836-1837." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105, no. 1 (1981): 66-84.
- _____. "Cradle of Feminism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-1840." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (April 1978): 143-166.
- _____. "Racism and Sexism: The Case of Pennsylvania Hall." *Phylon* 37, no. 2 (1976): 126-136.
- _____. "The Woman's Rights Movement in Pennsylvania, 1848-1873." *Pennsylvania History* 32, no. 2 (1965): 153-165.
- Brown, Lois. "Out of the Mouths of Babes: The Abolitionist Campaign of Susan Paul and the Juvenile Choir of Boston." *The New England Quarterly* 75 (2002): 52-79.
- Burkland, Carl E. "An Early Michigan Poet: Elizabeth Margaret Chandler." *Michigan History Magazine* 30 (1946): 277-288.
- Butterfield, Roy L. "The Great Days of Maple Sugar." *New York History* 39, no. 2 (1958): 151-164.
- Carey, Brycchan. *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760-1807*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Carson, Carey, "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America: Why Demand?" In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*. Edited by Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.
- Clark, Christopher. *The Communitarian Moment: The Radical Challenge of the Northampton Association*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- _____. "A Mother and Her Daughters at the Northampton Community: New Evidence on Women in Utopia." *The New England Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (2002): 592-621.

- Clark, Elizabeth B. "‘The Sacred Rights of the Weak’: Pain, Sympathy, and the Culture of Individual Rights in Antebellum America." *Journal of American History* 82, no. 2 (1995): 463-493.
- Cleves, Rachel Hope. *The Reign of Terror in America: Visions of Violence from Anti-Jacobinism to Antislavery*. Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Cohen, Michèle. *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity Language in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Coleman, Deidre. "Conspicuous Consumption: White Abolitionism and English Women’s Protest Writing in the 1790s." *ELH* 61, no. 2 (1994): 341-362.
- Comitini, Patricia. *Vocational Philanthropy and British Women’s Writing, 1790-1810: Wollstonecraft, More, Edgeworth, Wordsworth*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Compton, L.A. "Josiah Wedgwood and the Slave Trade: A Wider View." *Northern Ceramic Society* 100 (1995): 50-69.
- Corfield, Kenneth Allan. "Elizabeth Heyrick: Radical Quaker." In *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930*, edited by Gail Malmgreen, 41-67. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- _____. "English Abolitionists and the Refusal of Slave-Grown Goods, 1780-1860." Master’s thesis, University of London, 1983.
- Crain, Patricia. *The Story of A: The Alphabetization of America from the New England Primer to the Scarlet Letter*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Cromwell, Otelia. *Lucretia Mott*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Crothers, A. Glenn. "Quaker Merchants and Slavery in Early National Alexandria Virginia." *Journal of Early Republic*. 25 (2005): 47-77.
- Da Costa, Emilia Viotti. *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Davidson, Carlisle G. "A Profile of Hicksite Quakerism in Michigan, 1830-1860." *Quaker History* 59, no. 2 (1970): 106-112.
- Davies, Kate. "A Moral Purchase: Femininity, Commerce and Abolition." In *Women and the Public Sphere: Writing and Representation, 1700-1830*, eds. Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Cliona O’Gallchoir, and Penny Warburton, 133-159. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Davis, David Brion. *Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- _____. "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 49, no. 2 (1962): 209-230.
- _____. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

- _____. "James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1821-1823." *The Journal of Negro History* 45, no. 4 (1960): 241-258.
- _____. "James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1823-1833." *The Journal of Negro History* 46, no. 3 (1961): 154-173.
- _____. "New Sidelights on Early Antislavery Radicalism." *William and Mary Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (1971): 585-594.
- _____. "The Perils of Doing History by Ahistorical Abstraction: A Reply to Thomas Haskell's *AHR Forum Reply*." In *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*, ed. Thomas Bender, 290-309. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- _____. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- _____. "Review: The Role of Ideology in the Anglo-American Connection." *Reviews in American History* 1, no. 3 (1973): 383-388.
- _____. *Slavery and Human Progress*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- De Rosa, Deborah C. *Domestic Abolitionism and Juvenile Literature, 1830-1865*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- _____. *Into the Mouths of Babes: An Anthology of Children's Abolitionist Literature*. Westport: Praeger, 2005.
- D'Elia, Donald J. "Dr. Benjamin Rush and the Negro." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 30, no. 3 (1969): 413-422.
- Densmore, Christopher. "'Be Ye Therefore Perfect': Anti-Slavery and the Origins of the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends in Chester County, Pennsylvania." *Quaker History* 93 (Fall 2000): 28-46.
- _____. "The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of the Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-1910." *Quaker History* 82 ([issue]1993).
- _____. "Slavery and Abolition to 1830." In *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*, edited by Hugh Barbour, Christopher Densmore, Elizabeth H. Moger, et. al. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995.
- Devenish, D.C. "The Slave Trade and Thomas Clarkson's Chest." *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 6 (1994): 84-89.
- DiBona, Joseph, ed. *One Teacher, One School: The Adam Reports on Indigenous Education in Nineteenth Century India*. New Delhi: Biblia Impex Private Ltd., 1983.
- Dickson, Mora. *The Powerful Bond: Hannah Kilham, 1774-1832*. London: Dobson, 1980.

- Dillon, Merton L. *Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966.
- _____. "Elizabeth Chandler and the Spread of Antislavery Sentiment in Michigan." *Michigan History* 39 (1955): 481-494.
- Doherty, Robert W. *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth-Century America*. New Brunswick, NJ, 1967.
- Dorsey, Bruce. "Friends Becoming Enemies: Philadelphia Benevolence and the Neglected Era of American Quaker History." *Journal of the Early Republic* 18 (1998): 395-428.
- Drake, Thomas E. *Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism*. London: Friends' Historical Society, 1958.
- _____. *Quakers and Slavery in America*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965.
- Drescher, Seymour. *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- _____. "Cart Whip and Billy Roller: Antislavery Reform Symbolism in Industrializing Britain." *Journal of Social History*, 15 (1981): 3-24.
- _____. "Whose Abolition? Popular Pressure and the Ending of the British Slave Trade." *Past and Present*, no. 143 (1994): 136-166.
- Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- _____. *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Evans, William Bacon. *Jonathan Evans and His Time, 1759-1839: Bi-Centennial Biography*. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1959.
- Faulkner, Carol. "Lucretia Mott and the Problem of Moral Suasion." Paper presented at the Berkshire Conference on Women's History, June 14, 2008. Minneapolis, Minn.
- _____. "The Root of the Evil: Free Produce and Radical Antislavery, 1820-1860." *Journal of the Early Republic* 27 (2007): 377-405.
- Ferguson, Moira. *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670-1834*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Finley, Cheryl. "Committed to Memory: The Slave Ship Icon in the Black Atlantic Imagination." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2002.
- Fladeland, Betty. *Abolitionists and Working-Class Problems in the Age of Industrialization*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.

- _____. *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972.
- Forbush, Bliss. *Elias Hicks: Quaker Liberal*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.
- Friedman, Monroe. *Consumer Boycotts: Effecting Change through the Marketplace and the Media*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Frost, J. William. "The Origins of the Quaker Crusade against Slavery: A Review of Recent Literature." *Quaker History* 67 (1978): 42-52.
- _____. "Years of Crisis and Separation: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1790-1860." In *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1681-1981*, edited by John M. Moore. Haverford, Penn.: Friends Historical Association, 1981.
- Geers, Bonnie Arlene. "Elizabeth Margaret Chandler: A Third Sphere." Master's thesis, Michigan State University, 1988.
- Gellman, David N. *Emancipating New York: The Politics of Slavery and Freedom, 1777-1827*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- _____. "Pirates, Sugar, Debtors, and Slaves: Political Economy and the Case for Gradual Emancipation in New York." *Slavery and Abolition* 22 (2001): 51-68.
- Ginzberg, Lori D. *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Gleadle, Kathryn. "'Opinions Deliver'd in Conversation': Conversation, Politics, and Gender in the Late Eighteenth Century." In *Civil Society in British History*, ed. Jose Harris, 61-78. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Gleadle, Kathryn and Sarah Richardson, eds. *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860: The Power of the Petticoat*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Glickman, Lawrence B. "Buy for the Sake of the Slave: Abolitionism and the Origins of American Consumer Activism." *American Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2004): 889-912.
- _____. *Buying Power: A History of Consumer Activism in America*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- _____. "'Through the Medium of Their Pockets': Sabbatarinism, Free Produce, and Non Intercourse and the Significance Of 'Early Modern' Consumer Activism." In *The Expert Consumer: Associations and Professionals in Consumer Society*, edited by Alain; Marie-Emmanuelle Chessel; Matthew Hilton Chatriot, 21-35. Burlington, Vt: Ashagate Publishing Co., 2006.
- Good, Donald. "Elisha Bates: American Quaker Evangelical in the Early Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1968.
- Gould, Philip. *Barbaric Traffic: Commerce and Antislavery in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

- Gratzer, Walter. *Terrors of the Table: The Curious History of Nutrition*. New York: Oxford, 2005.
- Gray, Elizabeth Kelly. "Whisper to Him the Word 'India': Trans-Atlantic Critics and American Slavery, 1830-1860." *Journal of the Early Republic* 27 (2008): 379-406.
- Gray, Janet. *Race and Time: American Women's Poetics from Antislavery to Racial Modernity*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004.
- Greene, Dana. "Quaker Feminism: The Case of Lucretia Mott." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 48 (1981): 143-153.
- Griffin, Robert J., ed. *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Griggs, Earl Leslie. *Thomas Clarkson: The Friend of Slaves*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1938.
- Grimsted, David. *American Mobbing, 1828-1861: Toward Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Guyatt, Mary. "The Wedgwood Slave Medallion: Values in Eighteenth-Century Design." *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 2 (2000): 93-105.
- Hahn, Steven. *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009).
- Halbersleben, Karen I. *Women's Participation in the British Antislavery Movement, 1824-1865*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993.
- Halttunen, Karen. "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture." *American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (1995): 303-334.
- Hamm, Thomas D. "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement." *Church History* 63, no. 4 (1994): 557-569.
- _____. "A Protest against Protestantism?: Hicksite Friends and the Bible in the Nineteenth Century." *Quaker Studies* 6, no. 2 (2002).
- _____. *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Hansen, Debra Gold. *Strained Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.
- Harlow, Ralph Volney. *Gerrit Smith: Philanthropist and Reformer*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1972.
- Hartigan-O'Connor, Ellen. *The Ties That Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

- Harvey, Karen. "Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Gender & History* 21, no. 3 (2009): 520-540.
- Harwood, Thomas F. "British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830's." *Journal of Southern History* 28, no. 3 (1962): 287-306.
- Haskell, Thomas L. "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1" and "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2." In *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*, ed. Thomas Bender, 107-135, 136-160. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Hawkes, Andrea Constantine. "The Life of Elizabeth McClintock Phillips, 1821-1896: A Story of Family, Friends, Community, and a Self-Made Woman." Ph.D. diss., University of Maine, 2005.
- Haywood, Ian. *Bloody Romanticism: Spectacular Violence and the Politics of Representation, 1776-1832*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Hersh, Blanche Glassman. *The Slavery of Sex: Feminists-Abolitionists in America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.
- Hewitt, Nancy A. "Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Woman's Rights in America." *Feminist Studies* 12, no. 1 (1986): 27-49.
- _____. "The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America." In *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries*, edited by Elisabeth Potts and Susan Mosher Stuard Brown, 93-119. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989.
- _____. *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Hine, Darlene Clark. "Lifting the Veil, Shattering the Silence: Black Women's History in Slavery and Freedom." In *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Darlene Clark Hine: 223-249. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1986.
- Hochschild, Adam. *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.
- Hofstra, Warren R. *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Hogg, Peter C. *The African Slave Trade and Its Suppression: A Classified and Annotated Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Articles*. London: Frank Cass, 1973.
- Hopkins, Geraldine. "A Rare Abolitionist Document." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 18, no. 1 (1931): 60-64.

- Ingle, H. Larry. "A Ball That Has Rolled Beyond Our Reach": The Consequences of Hicksite Reform, 1830, as Seen in an Exchange of Letters." *Delaware History* 21 (1984): 127-187.
- _____. "The Hicksite Die Is Cast: A Letter of Thomas McClintock, February 1827." *Quaker History* 1986, no. Fall (1986).
- _____. *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation*. Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill Publications, 1998.
- Isenberg, Nancy. *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill, N.C: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Jackson, Maurice. *Let This Voice Be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of Atlantic Abolitionism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- James, C. L. R. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.
- Jeffrey, Julie Roy. *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- _____. "Permeable Boundaries: Abolitionist Women and Separate Spheres." *Journal of the Early Republic* 21, no. 1 (2001): 79-93.
- _____. "'Stranger, Buy . . . Lest Our Mission Fail': The Complex Culture of Women's Abolitionist Fairs." *American Nineteenth Century History* 4, no. 1 (2003): 1-24.
- Jennings, Judith. *The Business of Abolishing the British Slave Trade, 1783-1807*. London and Portland: Frank Cass, 1997.
- _____. "Joseph Woods, 'Merchant and Philosopher': The Making of the British Anti-Slave Trade Ethic." *Slavery and Abolition* 14, no. 3 (1993): 162-184.
- _____. "A Trio of Talented Women: Abolition, Gender, and Political Participation, 1780-1791." *Slavery and Abolition* 26, no. 1 (2005): 55-70.
- Jones, Mary Patricia. "Elizabeth Margaret Chandler: Poet, Essayist, Abolitionist." Ph.D. diss., University of Toledo, 1981.
- Jones, Rufus M. *The Later Periods of Quakerism*. 2 vols. London: St. Martin's, 1921.
- Jordan, Ryan P. "Quakers, 'Comeouters,' and the Meaning of Abolitionism in the Antebellum Free States." *Journal of the Early Republic* 24, no. 4 (2004): 587-608.
- _____. *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820-1865*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Kennon, Donald R. "An Apple of Discord": The Woman Question at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840." *Slavery & Abolition* 5 (1984): 244-266.

- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 9-39.
- _____. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1986.
- Kooker, Arthur Raymond. "The Anti-Slavery Movement in Michigan, 1796-1840: A Study in Humanitarianism on an American Frontier." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1941.
- Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth. *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- _____. "Tea, Gender, and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994): 131-145.
- Kraditor, Aileen S. *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850*. Reprint, Elephant Paperbacks, Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1989.
- Lapsansky, Phillip. "Graphic Discord: Abolitionist and Antiabolitionist Images." In *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* eds. Jean Fagin Yellin and John C. Van Horne, 201-230. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Laughlin-Schultz, Bonnie. "'Could I not do something for the cause?': The Brown Women, Antislavery Reform, and Memory of Militant Abolitionism." Ph.d. diss., Indiana University, 2009.
- Lavan, Spencer. "Rajah Rammohon Roy and the American Unitarians: New Worlds to Conquer (1821-1834)." Paper presented at the Bengal Studies Conference, May 12, 1972, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- _____. *Unitarians and India: A Study in Encounter and Response*: Beacon Press, 1977.
- Lerner, Gerda. *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition*. New York: Schocken Books, 1967.
- Logan, Frenise A. "A British East India Company Agent in the United States, 1839-1840." *Agricultural History*. 48 (1974): 267-276.
- Loveland, Anne C. "Evangelicalism and 'Immediate Emancipation' in American Antislavery Thought." *Journal of Southern History* 32, no. 2 (1966): 172-188.
- Lutz, Alma. *Crusade for Freedom: Women of the Antislavery Movement*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.
- Lystad, Mary. *From Dr. Mather to Dr. Seuss: 200 Years of American Books for Children*. Boston: G.K. Halle, 1980.

- Margolin, Sam. "'And Freedom to the Slave': Antislavery Ceramics, 1787-1865." *Ceramics in America* (2002): 80-109.
- Martin, Ann Smart. *Buying into the World of Goods: Consumers in Backcountry Virginia*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- _____. "'Fashionable Sugar Dishes, Latest Fashion Ware': The Creamware Revolution in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake." In *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, edited by Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little, 169-187. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.
- _____. "Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework." *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 2/3 (1993): 141-157.
- Matthews, Gelien. *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- Maxey, David W. "New Light on Hannah Barnard: A Quaker 'Heretic.'" *Quaker History* 78, no. 2 (1989): 61-86.
- _____. "Of Castles in Stockport and Other Strictures: Samuel Preston's Contentious Agency for Henry Drinker." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 110 (1986): 413-446.
- _____. "The Union Farm: Henry Drinker's Experiment in Deriving Profit from Virtue." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no. 4 (1983): 607-630.
- Maxted, Ian. *The London Book Trades, 1775-1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members*. Kent, U.K.: Dawson, 1977.
- Maynard, Douglas H. "The World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (1960): 452-471.
- McBee, Alice Eaton. *From Utopia to Florence: The Story of a Transcendentalist Community in Northampton, Mass. 1830-1852*. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975.
- McCracken, Grant. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Mehrotra, S.R. "The British India Society and Its Bengal Branch, 1839-1846." *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 4, no. 2 (1967): 131-154.
- Mekeel, Arthur J. "Elias Hicks on the Revolution and the Great Separation of 1827-28." *Quaker History* 68, no. 1 (1979): 41-43.

- Melder, Keith E. *Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800-1850*. New York: Schocken Books, 1977.
- Merish, Lori. *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Midgley, Clare. "Anti-Slavery and Feminism in Nineteenth Century Britain." *Gender & History* 5, no. 3 (1993): 343-363.
- _____. "Anti-Slavery and the Roots of 'Imperial Feminism.'" In *Gender and Imperialism*, edited by Clare Midgley, 161-179. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- _____. "British Abolitionism and Feminism in Transatlantic Perspective." In *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation*, edited by Kathryn Kish and James Brewer Stewart Sklar, 121-139. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- _____. "British Women, Women's Rights and Empire, 1790-1850." In *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives*, edited by Patricia Grimshaw, Katie Holmes, and Marilyn Lake, 3-15. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- _____. *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- _____. "'Remember Those in Bonds, as Bound with Them': Women's Approach to Anti-Slavery Campaigning in Britain, 1780-1870." In *Women, Empire and Migration*, ed. Joan Grant, 73-102. Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England: Trentham Books, 1996.
- _____. "Slave Sugar Boycotts, Female Activism, and the Domestic Base of British Anti-Slavery Culture." *Slavery & Abolition* 17, no. 3 (1996): 137-162.
- _____. *Women against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Milke, Andreas. "'What's Here to Do?': An Inquiry Concerning Sarah and Benjamin Lay." *Quaker History* 86 (1997): 22-44.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.
- Morton, Timothy. "Blood Sugar." In *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780-1830*, edited by Tim and Peter J. Kitson Fulford, 87-107. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Mullan, John. *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature*. London: Faber and Faber, 2007.
- Nash, Gary B. "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series, 30 (1973): 223-256.

- Nelson, Elizabeth White. *Market Sentiments: Middle-Class Market Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2004.
- Newman, Richard S. *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Nuernberger, Ruth Ketring. *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest against Slavery*. New York: AMS Press, 1942.
- Nworah, Kenneth D. "The Aborigines' Protection Society, 1889-1909: A Pressure-Group in Colonial Policy." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 5 (1971): 79-81.
- O'Donnell, Elizabeth A. "'There's Death in the Pot!': The British Free Produce Movement and the Religious Society of Friends, with Particular Reference to the North-East of England." *Quaker Studies* 13, no. 2 (2009): 184-204.
- Oertel, Kristen Tegtmeier. *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender, and Violence in Pre-Civil War Kansas*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009.
- Okker, Patricia. *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Oldfield, J.R. "The London Committee and Mobilization of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade." *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (1992): 331-343.
- _____. *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807*. Portland, Or.: Frank Cass, 1998.
- Parel, A. "The Genesis of Political Community in Modern India." *Journal of Indian History* 49, no. 1-3 (1971): 149-168.
- Parker, Alison. *Articulating Rights: Nineteenth-Century American Women on Race, Reform and the State*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010.
- Perry, Lewis, and Michael Fellman, eds. *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979.
- Quarles, Benjamin. *Black Abolitionists*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Radbill, Kenneth A. "The Ordeal of Elizabeth Drinker." *Pennsylvania History* 46, no. 2 (1980): 147-172.
- Read, Donald. *Peterloo: The "Massacre" and its Background*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958.
- Reppelier, Agnes. *To Think of Tea!* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1932.
- Reynolds, David. *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights*. New York: Vintage, 2006.

- Richards, Leonard L. *Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America*, Edited by Anonymous. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Robertson, Stacey. *Hearts Beating for Liberty: Women Abolitionists in the Old Northwest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- _____. "Remembering Antislavery: Women Abolitionists in the Old Northwest." *Proteus* 19, no. Fall (2002): 65-72.
- Rossi, Deborah. "The Stuff of History: American Free Produce Association Label, 1839-1847." *Connecticut History* 47, no. 2 (2008): 252-255.
- Roth, Rodris. *Tea Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage*. Bulletin 225, Paper 14. Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, 1961.
- Rugemer, Edward Bartlett. *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008.
- Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Rycenga, Jennifer. "A Greater Awakening: Women's Intellect as a Factor in Early Abolitionist Movements, 1824-1834." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 21, no. 2 (2005): 31-59.
- Salerno, Beth A. *Sister Societies: Women's Antislavery Organizations in Antebellum America*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005.
- Salomon, Ronald. "Being Good: An Abolitionist Family Attempts to Live up to Its Own Standards." *Vermont History* 69, no. Supplement (2001): 32-47.
- Samuels, Shirley. "The Identity of Slavery." In *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America*, edited by Shirley Samuels, 157-171. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Sands-O'Connor, Karen. *Soon Come Home to This Island: West Indian in British Children's Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Sanial, S. C. "The Rev. William Adam." *Bengal Past and Present: The Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*. 8 (1914): 251-272.
- Schoen, Brian. *The Fragile Fabric of the Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Sellers, Charles Grier. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Shaw, S. Bradley. "The Pliable Rhetoric of Domesticity." In *The Stowe Debate: Rhetorical Strategies in Uncle Tom's Cabin*, edited by Mason I. Lowance, Ellen

- Westbrook, and R. D. de Prospeo, 73-98. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.
- Sklar, Kathryn Kish. *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- _____. "‘Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation’: American and British Women at the World Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840." In *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, edited by Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, 301-333. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2008.
- Sledge, Martha L. "‘A Is an Abolitionist’: *The Anti-Slavery Alphabet* and the Politics of Literacy." In *Enterprising Youth: Social Values and Acculturation in Nineteenth-Century American Children's Literature*, edited by Monka Elbert, 69-82. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Smith, Woodruff D. "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar, and Imperialism." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 2 (1992): 259-278.
- Soderlund, Jean R. "Priorities and Power: The Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society." In *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, edited by Jean Fagan and John C. Van Horne Yellin, 67-88. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- _____. *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Speicher, Anna M. *The Religious World of Antislavery Women: Spirituality in the Lives of Five Abolitionist Lecturers*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- Spencer, Jon Michael. *Protest and Praise: Sacred Music of Black Religion*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990.
- Stanley, Amy Dru. "Home Life and the Morality of the Market." In *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*, edited by Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway, 74-96. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996.
- Stauffer, John. *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*. Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Staves, Susan. "‘The Abuse of Title Pages’: Men Writing as Women." In *A Concise Companion to the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Cynthia Wall, 162-182. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.
- Sterling, Dorothy. *Ahead of Her Time: Abby Kelley and the Politics of Antislavery*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991.

- Stewart, James B. "The Aims and Impact of Garrisonian Abolitionism, 1840-1860." *Civil War History* 15, no. 3 (1969): 197-209.
- _____. *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery*, Edited by Anonymous. New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.
- Sussman, Charlotte. *Consuming Anxieties : Consumer Protest, Gender, and British Slavery, 1713-1833*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Women and the Politics of Sugar, 1792." *Representations* 48 (1994): 46-69.
- Swaminathan, Srividhya. "Developing the West Indian Proslavery Position after the Somerset Decision." *Slavery and Abolition* 24, no. 3 (2003): 40-60.
- _____. "Transforming Arguments: Rhetoric of National Identity in the British Slave-Trade Debates, 1767-1808." Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2002.
- Swordlow, Amy. "Abolition's Conservative Sisters: The Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Societies, 1834-1840." In *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, edited by Jean Fagan and John C. Van Horne Yellin, 31-44. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Taylor, Alan. *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.
- Temperley, Howard. *British Antislavery, 1833-1870*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972.
- Thistlethwaite, Frank. *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959.
- Thomas, Allen C. "Congregational or Progressive Friends." *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, no. May (1920): 21-32.
- Todd, Janet. *Sensibility: An Introduction*. London: Methuen, 1986.
- Turley, David. *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780-1860*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Turner, Mary. *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787-1834*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1982.
- Tyrell, Alexander. "Woman's Mission and Pressure Group Politics in Britain (1825-1860)." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 63, no. 1 (1980): 194-230.
- Unwin, Melanie. "Exhibition Catalogue." In *The British Slave Trade: Abolition, Parliament and People*, edited by Melanie Unwin, 297, 299. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, 2007.
- Van Broekhoven, Deborah. "Better Than a Clay Club: The Organization of Anti-Slavery Fairs." *Slavery and Abolition* 19, no. 1 (1998): 24-45.

- _____. *The Devotion of These Women: Rhode Island in the Antislavery Network*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.
- _____. "Needles, Pens, and Petitions: Reading Women into Antislavery History." In *The Meaning of Slavery in the North*, edited by David and Martin H. Blatt Roediger, 125-155. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998.
- Vickery, Amanda. "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?: A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History." *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 383-414.
- _____. "His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England." *Past and Present* Supplement (2006): 12-38.
- _____. "Introduction." In *Women, Privilege, and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the Present*, edited by Amanda Vickery, 1-55. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- _____. "Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751-81." In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John and Roy Porter Brewer, 274-301. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Waldstreicher, David. "Benjamin Franklin, Religion, and Early Antislavery." In *The Problem of Evil: Slavery, Freedom, and the Ambiguities of American Reform* eds. Steven Mintz and John Stauffer. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007.
- Walker, Lynne and Vron Ware. "Political Pincushions: Decorating the Abolitionist Interior 1787-1865." In *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth-Century Interior*, edited by Inga and Janet Floyd Bryden. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Walsh, John C. and Steven High. "Rethinking the Concept of Community." *Social History* 32 (1999): 255-273.
- Walters, Ronald G. *The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830*, Edited by Anonymous. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- Walvin, James. "Abolishing the Slave Trade: Anti-Slavery and Popular Radicalism, 1776-1807." In *Artisans, Peasants and Proletarians, 1760-1860*, edited by Clive and James Walvin Emsley. London: Croom Helm, Ltd., 1985.
- Weeks, Stephen B. *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History*. New York: Berman Publishers, 1968.
- Wees, Beth Carver. *English, Irish, and Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1997.
- Wellman, Judith. *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

- Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-174.
- Whelan, Timothy. "William Fox, Martha Gurney, and Radical Discourse of the 1790s." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 3 (2009): 397-411.
- White, Andrew Pierce. "'Keeping Clear from the Gain of Oppression': 'Public Friends' and the De-Mastering of Quaker Race Relations in Late Colonial America." Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 2003.
- Wilbur, Henry W. *The Life and Labors of Elias Hicks*. Philadelphia: Friends' General Conference Advancement Committee, 1910.
- Wilkinson, E. C. "'Touch Not, Taste Not, Handle Not': The Abolitionist Debate over the Free Produce Movement." *Columbia Historical Review* (2002): 2-14.
- Wilkinson, Norman B. "The Philadelphia Free Produce Attack Upon Slavery." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 64 (1942): 294-313.
- Williams, Carolyn. "Feminist Abolitionists in Boston and Philadelphia: Liberal Religion and the Reform Impulse in Antebellum America." In *The Meaning of Slavery in the North*, edited by David and Martin H. Blatt Roediger, 95-123. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998.
- _____. "Religion, Race, and Gender in Antebellum American Radicalism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-1870." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991.
- Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944, 1994.
- Winch, Julie. *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787-1848*, Edited by Anonymous. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.
- Wirks, Daniel. "'The Only Mode of Avoiding Everlasting Debate': The Overlooked Senate Gag Rule for Antislavery Petitions." *Journal of the Early Republic* 27 (2007): 115-138.
- Woloson, Wendy A. *Refined Tastes: Sugar, Confectionery, and Consumers in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Wood, Marcus. *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865*. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Packaging Liberty and Marketing the Gift of Freedom: 1807 and the Legacy of Clarkson's Chest." In *The British Slave Trade: Abolition, Parliament and People*, edited by Stephanie Farrell, Melanie Unwin, and James Walvin, 203-223. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, 2007.

- _____. *Radical Satire and Print Culture, 1790-1822*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Wright, Robert. "The Death of Moral Distance: How the Globalization of Fear Will Make Us All Better People." *Slate* (December 30, 1999).
<http://www.slate.com/id/68014>. (Accessed December 31, 2009).
- Yee, Shirley J. *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992.
- Yellin, Jean Fagan. *Women & Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Yellin, Jean Fagan, and John C. Van Horne, eds. *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Zagarri, Rosemarie. *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- _____. "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America." *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, 55, no. 2 (1998): 203-230.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Born and raised in the Pacific Northwest, Julie Holcomb received her Bachelor of Arts *cum laude* in History and Creative Writing from Pacific University (Forest Grove, Oregon) in 1999. She received her Master of Library and Information Science in Archives and Records Management from the University of Texas at Austin in 2000, and her Doctor of Philosophy in Transatlantic History in August 2010. At UT-Arlington, she received a Transatlantic Fellowship from the department of History. In 2007, she was named a University Scholar. Dr. Holcomb is a member of Beta Phi Mu and Phi Kappa Phi honor societies. Dr. Holcomb was named a finalist for a Woodrow Wilson Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship in Women's Studies.

From 2001 through 2008, Dr. Holcomb served as Archivist and later Director of the Pearce Civil War and Western Art Collections at Navarro College in Corsicana, Texas. She also served as an adjunct faculty member in the college's history department, teaching the American history survey. During this period, she published *Southern Sons, Northern Soldiers: The Civil War Letters of the Remley Brothers, 22nd Iowa* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2004). In 2008, Dr. Holcomb was named Lecturer in Museum Studies at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. Her teaching areas include the history of museums, collections management, preservation and conservation, ethics, and archives. She serves as Secretary of the Board of Directors, Heart of Texas Regional History Fair.

Dr. Holcomb is also a member of the advisory boards for the Texas Heritage Digitization Initiative.