THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY:
GARRISONIAN ABOLITIONISM IN OHIO

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

by
Douglas Andrew Gamble, B. A.
The Ohio State University
1970

Approved by

Advisor
Department of History
PREFACE

Historians of the American experience have naturally devoted much effort to the study of the causes of the Civil War. Among the factors often cited as influential in bringing the nation to war with itself, the radical rhetoric of Garrisonian abolitionism has received substantial support among historians. Many scholars believe that the abolitionists who followed William Lloyd Garrison's lead in demanding an immediate end to any and all associations with slavery and slaveowners were fanatical, inconsistent, and irresponsible, and therefore harmful to the anti-slavery cause. Recent writers in this tradition have followed Gilbert H. Barnes' lead and denounced the members of the Garrison-led remnant of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries as being little more than destructive revolutionaries suffering from some sort of psychological malady which obscured the value of reason and order. According to this argument, "normal" procedures for accomplishing change--procedures involving traditional politics, alterations of social institutions from within those institutions, and, especially, objective and rational analysis and discussion--had they been used, would have persuaded those men responsible for slavery to abandon it or allow it to die. Thus the tragedy of war could have been avoided. For these scholars, the more constructive and
reasonable abolitionists were the ones who participated in anti-
slavery politics.\(^1\)

There are two procedural problems in this approach, the
first and more important of which is being considered in recent
writings. As Howard Zinn has pointed out, the historians who
hold Barnes' basic position do not recognize that emotionalism is
"morally neutral."\(^2\) To them, the radical abolitionists' use of
morally and religiously based emotional rhetoric was somehow
a betrayal of rational man. The term radical connotes the utili-
ization of non-objective and non-judicious means in the quest for
social change. Radical is in this analysis a function of method;
one's behavior pattern determines the "radicalness" of his tactics.
Unfortunately, however, this ideological definition leads rather
easily to a discussion of abolitionists which is based on retro-
spective subjective impressions of a group of reformers who are
automatically condemned by their intensity, their moral pronounce-
ments, and their unwillingness to join mainstream reform.
Scholars guided by this sort of abhorrence for noisy non-confor-
mity have generally thought the Garrisonians to have been at
least misguided and probably paranoid. The Garrisonian ideas
of disunion and non-voting just do not appear to fit into the pro-
cess of compromise through which the democratic process
functions.
Recently, some historians have begun to study reformers and therefore abolitionists as intellectual, as opposed to social, types. They realize the need to make value judgments based upon the motives and goals of the reformers and not purely upon their methods. From such an intellectual point of view, there is some question as to whether Garrisonian abolitionists were actually radicals at all. They accepted the ideals of the Declaration of Independence as at least the latent ideals of Americans and worked to remove the burden of slavery from a country they clearly thought to be capable of returning to its original values; and in this sense, they were not really radicals, at least when radicals are defined as persons who fail to accept the fundamental ideals of their society and who wish to replace those fundamental ideals with new ones. The Garrisonians did believe that slavery was dominating America, and they struggled vigorously to destroy this dominance, but it seems clear from the recent studies of these men and women that they remained firmly rooted in the value system under which America claimed, though incorrectly, to be operating. Intellectually, then, the Garrisonians were not radicals, at least by the above definition.

Whether one sees the abolitionists as radicals or reformers is not the key point, however. It is no longer sufficient to analyze them merely in terms of their methods. Recent scholarship has rendered it necessary to try to understand the conscious motives
which led abolition into tactics which initially seem irrational but which may have been exactly what the Garrisonians consciously and rationally desired. This paper attempts to continue this line of investigation, but its primary contribution is as a corrective to the second of the procedural flaws inherent in the older analyses of Garrisonianism.

Most of what scholars have written concerning Garrisonian abolitionism has focused upon the movement's activities in the eastern United States. This is perhaps natural enough, since Garrison and his newspaper and most of the abolition societies associated with the Boston-based American Anti-Slavery Society were located in that region. There was, however, a sizeable and relatively long-lasting Garrisonian movement west of the Appalachian Mountains, a movement centered in Salem, Ohio, in the Western Anti-Slavery Society. Even the historians who are correcting the old errors about the nature of Garrisonianism have practically ignored the western movement. This oversight is partially a result of the fact that Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, both of whom are influential members of the anti-Garrison school of historians of the antislavery movement, emphasized the predominance of the more moderate Charles G. Finney, James G. Birney, and Theodore Dwight Weld in the West--to the virtual exclusion of any Garrisonian sentiment. Barnes and Dumond and the other writers who have endeavored to establish
the destructive nature of Garrisonianism have focused their attacks upon eastern abolitionists; and historians who have tried to review their conclusions have accepted the geographical limits of the men whom they have challenged. Nowhere within the resulting debate has anyone analyzing Garrisonianism studied that movement in the West, even though the Western Anti-Slavery Society functioned for fifteen years in that very area which Barnes and Dumond claimed was exclusively moderate in its antislavery sentiment. Louis Filler, whose _The Crusade Against Slavery_ is probably the most thorough account of the antislavery movement, did not notice the western Garrisonians, even though he has taught for many years, as did Barnes, at a college not far from the center of their activity. Likewise, Russel B. Nye, who wrote an article about a prominent leader of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, failed to credit the movement which that Society led with any significance. And James B. Stewart, who is Joshua Giddings' biographer and the author of a corrective essay on the reasoned tactics of the Garrisonians, failed in both studies to notice the relationship between the Congressman and western Garrisonianism.

This paper, then, is an attempt to deal with the problem of analyzing the activities of Garrisonian abolitionism from a position which gives credence to the honesty and seriousness of the participants in the movement. More significantly, it makes this
analysis of a geographical segment of the Garrisonian impulse
which for the most part has heretofore been ignored by historians.
ENDNOTES


6 James B. Stewart, Joshua R. Giddings and the Tactics of Radical Politics (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970), and Stewart, "Aims and Impact."
CONTENTS

PREFACE ....................................................... ii

Chapter

I. The Origins of the Western Anti-Slavery Society........................................ 1

II. The Organization, Leadership, and Activities of the Western Anti-Slavery Society......... 18

III. The Motives and Tactics of the Western Anti-Slavery Society......................... 49

APPENDIX A ..................................................... 81

APPENDIX B ..................................................... 82

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................. 84
CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

When William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator blasted out from Boston on January 1, 1831, some of its sparks of righteous fury landed in Ohio and fed a smoldering antislavery sentiment. The meeting in Philadelphia on December 4, 1833, which resulted in the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was chaired by Beriah Green of Western Reserve College, and by early 1834, Cincinnati's Lane Seminary was in the midst of its famous uproar. ¹

During 1834 and 1835, Theodore Dwight Weld's Lane colleagues, who included James A. Thome, Henry B. Stanton, and Marius R. Robinson, spread over Ohio in a quite successful "abolitionizing" campaign. One of Weld's meetings during this enterprise resulted in the organization in Putnam County of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, one of some 328 new societies reported to the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1835 alone. ²

Despite their growing numbers, Ohio abolitionists met with considerable opposition. The citizens of Granville refused to allow a town building to house the First Anniversary of the State Society, and after Ashley A. Bancroft enlarged his barn and opened it to the meeting, a sizeable riot ensued. ³ Despite such harrassment, the organization prospered, and by 1839, it
was strong enough to dominate a Cleveland meeting sponsored by the American Anti-Slavery Society and defeat a move to establish a separate political party dedicated to the immediate abolition of slavery. Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, who edited the Cincinnati Philanthropist, the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society's official publication, expressed Ohio's dominant antislavery sentiment. He called for political support of candidates who would work for such limited objectives as the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the repeal of lynch laws and gag rules, but he did not then favor a separate political party.⁴

The question of political action was just emerging around 1840 as one which antislavery movements would have to face, and the Fifth Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society saw that organization's first discussion of the question, not only of how, but of whether, to use the ballot. In a speech to the delegates, Bailey assumed that all who were there favored exercising the franchise, but in an editorial in the Philanthropist, he acknowledged the presence of a few "non-resistants," who advocated exclusively non-political tactics.⁵

Other hints of future disagreement appeared at the same meeting. Some "separate party" men met, but they decided not to form a party and not to support the Albany ticket of James Birney and Thomas Earle.⁶ More significantly, though, the
some five hundred delegates at this gathering in Massillon voted
to sever their organic connection with the American Anti-Slavery
Society and to remain neutral in the American Society's struggle
over the status of women. They also refused to recommend a
course of action regarding the use of voting, and they finally
passed a resolution which forbade the Society from becoming
itself a political force.7

The Executive Committee reported that the failure of both
local action and of the American Anti-Slavery Society to enlighten
Ohio's public had led the committee to undertake its own systema-
tic attempt to abolitionize the state. As a consequence, twelve
agents had reportedly spent the equivalent of four and a half
years since the last anniversary spreading abolition doctrine in
Ohio. A key to the mood of the Society in 1840 is the fact that the
committee closed its report by claiming that an enlightened public
was but a prelude to political strength and action.8

By the subsequent anniversary, which met at Mt. Pleasant,
Jefferson County, in June, 1841, the mood had shifted substantially
toward one of sympathy for independent political action. The
some three hundred official delegates debated the issue, and a
sizeable group of political abolitionists held a separate meeting.
This time, the political activists supported the Liberty Party
nominations.9 The year which had preceded this annual meeting
had not been a good one for Ohio abolitionists, despite the optimism
and large degree of unity shown by those attending. According to the Annual Report, the national Presidential election and "the pecuniary embarrassments" which the post-panic economy was still causing the country had all but halted the Society's activities. The Philanthropist was reportedly suffering from the competition of five new local antislavery papers, and the Treasurer, Christian Donaldson, reported the Society's debts to be in excess of $2,000.

The Society's financial plight worsened the next year. The Executive Committee was forced to rely upon the propagandizing influence of the Philanthropist because it had no funds to hire agents, but then the paper's presses were destroyed, for the third time since 1836, in a two-day riot in Cincinnati in September, 1841. Sympathetic financial help had not been sufficient to re-establish the presses, and general "hard times" and a two-hundred and fifty dollar fire had further increased the debt. Internal dissension was growing, too, despite Dr. Bailey's editorial assurance that Ohio's antislavery men were "very tolerant" and that they had "no idea of falling out with each other's peculiarities." Events at the Seventh Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, which was held in early June, 1842, at Mt. Vernon, proved him wrong.

The anniversary ran concurrently with but separate from a state Liberty Party Convention. Bailey, in supporting both, but
emphasizing the distinction between them, seemed to represent majority opinion. Most of the approximately five hundred official delegates (representing forty counties) and probably most of the five hundred to a thousand other abolitionists whom the Philanthropist jubilantly estimated were in attendance agreed with the Executive Committee's vision of the Liberty Party as the tool through which to apply the moral truths propounded by the Society. Politics and moral suasion were to be separate but complementary, and most of the Society's abolitionists clearly had no ideological objection to the use of the franchise. 13

The American Anti-Slavery Society, on the other hand, had emerged after the famed schism in 1840 as a strict adherent to the cause of purely moral reform. It particularly rejected traditional political action. The introduction, at the 1842 anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, then, of a Business Committee motion that the Society reaffiliate with Garrison's AAS, caused quite a stir, especially because of the presence at that meeting of James G. Birney, Liberty Party nominee for President. The motion was tabled indefinitely, but the dissatisfaction which resulted from this action subsequently led a group of dissidents to form the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society and to affiliate with the eastern Garrisonians. 14

The group favoring independent political action, the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, floundered badly after 1842, as most
of its members devoted themselves to the cause of political antislavery and allowed their Society essentially to disintegrate within two or three years. The new Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society, meanwhile, prospered and eventually became the Western Anti-Slavery Society, the only significant voice of Garrisonian radicalism in the West, and the publisher for a decade and a half of the (Salem, Ohio) Anti-Slavery Bugle, the only consistently radical abolition newspaper west of the Appalachians.

The apparent leader of the anti-political splinter group, or at least its chairman, was Abram Brooke, a Marlboro, Ohio, reformer who had been active in the antislavery movement in Ohio since at least the First Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in 1836, at which he had served as an elected secretary. He had also founded and headed one of a number of Ohio's utopian community experiments during the 1840's. His Marlboro Association lasted three or four years after its beginning in 1841 and eventually grew to include nearly twenty-five persons. Brooke had been a secretary at the political abolitionists meeting after the anniversary of the OSAS in 1841, but in a letter to the Philanthropist soon thereafter he had hinted at his dissatisfaction when he complained that the delegates had too completely shunned moral considerations for political ones. He nevertheless served in 1842 as a secretary at the Liberty
Convention, 20 but his devotion to moral considerations evidently led him to denounce the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society's failure to realign with the patron saint of morally-motivated antislavery, William Lloyd Garrison, and he worked actively in the founding of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society on June 7, 1842.

The meeting which Brooke chaired adopted a constitution that pledged the group "to endeavor to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States" and which granted membership in the Society to all who would sign its constitution. Those attending promised financial support which amounted to but a fourth of the four thousand dollars the leaders had estimated they needed--a problem which was to plague the Society throughout its existence. The Society also elected a slate of officers for its initial year; Brooke was one. 21

The nature of the new Society is best seen in the resolutions it passed before adjourning. It soundly condemned the American churches for their neglect of the antislavery cause. It requested the American Anti-Slavery Society to send agents to Ohio, naming Abby Kelley and Garrison himself as prospective speakers, and asked its members to help support the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the AAS's official paper. The members also commended the extreme antislavery positions taken by Joshua R. Giddings, Congressman from Ohio's Western Reserve. Thus had the split which earlier convulsed the eastern abolitionists come west,
and a heretofore little recognized affiliate of Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society was born. There is scant evidence to indicate that either the new or the old Society made any significant progress for the few years following 1842, but by 1845, the Ohio Garrisonians were ready to undertake a supreme effort to advance their cause.

The Third Annual Meeting of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society, held June 5, 6, and 7, 1845, in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, was the real declaration of independence of Ohio's Garrisonians. The Executive Committee had succeeded in attracting the fiery Massachusetts Quakeress, Abby Kelley, to the meeting as its featured exhorter. The fireworks she touched off turned the Society into a band of antislavery radicals actively dedicated to the moral regeneration of the entire nation. Miss Kelley was no stranger to turmoil. She attended Mt. Holyoke College, but transferred west to become the first woman graduate of the liberal arts college at Oberlin. She then returned to Massachusetts to teach, but quit in 1837 at the age of twenty-seven to become the first female to follow the Grimke sisters into the dangerous field of antislavery lecturing. And in 1840, Miss Kelley became the focal point in the American Anti-Slavery Society's struggle over the role of women in the movement. She was nominated by the national convention of the AAS to the organization's business committee. The split in the AAS was finalized
when a minority objected to the spirit of the nomination and
founded a separate American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society
in which women were to have no vote. 22

Columbiana County was a likely location for such a drama-
tic event as the appearance of Miss Kelley. It had a long history
of antislavery feelings and was close enough to the Western
Reserve so ably represented by Congressman Giddings to allow
its predominately Quaker farmers easy access to current anti-
slavery ideas. 23 The Lane Seminary antislavery evangelists had
found the area fertile soil for their abolitionizing, and the Execu-
tive Committee of the OAAS could see no signs that the county's
temper had changed. If they expected no resistance to abolition-
ism however, they were wrong. A group of New Lisbon's most
"highly respected" citizens, according to the editor of the New
Lisbon Aurora, were denied permission to let Miss Kelley speak
in the Presbyterian Church, the town's largest. A considerable
amount of "low ridicule and remark" and some threat of violence
preceeded her arrival. 24

The weather was dry and dusty, and the Disciple Church
where the meetings were finally to be held was small, so an
awning was erected outside the church to protect the expected
overflow. The five hundred men and women who turned out for
the meetings represented all parties and religions, according to
the Aurora, and included "a considerable number of colored
persons. "25 The Society's employment of the Negro abolitionist William Wells Brown as an agent during the preceding year probably helped account for the presence of Negroes.

The meetings themselves were tumultuous, as most persons present had not had prior exposure to the likes of the radical rhetoric of Abby Kelley and her companion, Giles Stebbins. In fact, the evidence indicates that the Executive Committee of the OAAS was attempting to push the membership toward radicalism. The committee must have been aware both of Miss Kelley's notoriety within the Garrisonians and of her persuasiveness as a speaker, so its invitation to her to introduce a radical abolition program into the West must have been extended with design. During the year since the Society's 1844 anniversary, the committee had also seen fit to relieve Samuel Brooke of his temporary appointment as its general agent because of his previously expressed reservations about the Society's affiliation with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Brooke was also serving as financial agent for the Liberty Party faction of abolitionists, the old Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, and he claimed to be unable to serve with such divided loyalty.26 The Executive Committee probably wanted the Society cleared of officers and employees who might have blocked the move toward Garrisonianism. Thus it fired Brooke.

Miss Kelley's reputation had preceded her, so the crowds were expecting something new, but the chances are that they were
not prepared for what followed the opening of the meetings on June 5, 1845. Following the routine business of the convention and the election of officers, Abby Kelley and Giles Stebbins moved immediately to introduce their ideas. Stebbins presented a resolution which reflected Garrison's charge that the American Constitution was but "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" because of its Three-Fifth Compromise, its extension of the life of the slave trade, its fugitive slave provisions, and its authorization of force to put down insurrections. Debate was heated and extended, with the motion eventually being tabled permanently, but the radicals' cause was far from defeated.

Miss Kelley pushed hard for her position, which condemned any and all association with slavery, and she debated all opponents with considerable skill and stamina for most of three days. Meanwhile, the Business Committee was formulating its recommended resolutions, which were similar to Stebbins' and which were introduced on the convention's second day, June 6, and hotly debated for its duration. That the members of the Society were unsure of their position until the very end and that they were greatly influenced by Abby Kelley is indicated by the course they followed with regard to the presidency of the Society. Cyrus McNeely, who had been re-elected President, resigned from his new term after only two days in office. In a letter addressed to the convention, he stated that he would serve only if the Society
understood that he saw no incongruity in an advocate of the Liberty Party's serving as the President of a Society which was affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society. The members re-elected him, aware that he was an active supporter of the Liberty Party, but it was to be their last such open avowal of sympathy for political antislavery. Abby Kelley's convincing performance on behalf of the basic principle of "no union with slaveholders" swept the membership away from its adherence to moderation.

Later in the same day, the assembly finally adopted all but the fifth of the Business Committee's far-reaching resolutions:

1. To hasten the day of liberty "...we will rely upon the omnipotent power of truth...to modify and radically change the pro-slavery sentiment."

2. Since a political party large enough to help abolish slavery and still rely upon moral truth "is in the very nature of things impossible, therefore our motto should be in the very words of a circular signed by James G. Birney in 1838 'to form an alliance with no political party but to enstamp our principles upon all.'"

3. Men who refuse to vote for other men whom they deem unworthy as politicians but with whom they take communion, "as do many members of the Liberty Party," shall be condemned for the hypocrisy of setting up higher standards in politics than in religion.

4. The Federal Union, based on the U.S. Constitution, is "the great bulwark of slavery, involving the North equally with the South in the guilt of slaveholding; and that it is the duty of every true friend of humanity, to give it no sanction or allegiance; but adopting the motto
of 'no union with slaveholders,' to use every effort to bring about a peaceful dissolution of the union..."

(5) "Whereas, in view of the great influence of the church and clergy in this country, they may justly be called 'the power behind the throne greater than the throne itself'. . . it is our duty to expose the corrupt churches and Doctors of Divinity."

On the last day, then, the members accepted a Liberty man as their President, but in accepting all but the last of their Business Committee's resolutions, they went on record as being hostile to all traditional politics. Their adoption of Garrison's famous motto, "No Union with Slaveholders," committed the Ohio American Anti-Slavery to a long life of radicalism in the abolition movement. The split with Ohio's political antislavery forces was thus complete, and considerably more than half of the members of the OAAS present in New Lisbon on June 7, 1845, were clearly influenced by Abby Kelley and her plea for devotion to complete separation from the contaminations of slavery.

Within the year following its radicalization, the OAAS was able to establish itself quite firmly. By June 20, 1845, the Executive Committee had overseen distribution of the initial issue of the Anti-Slavery Bugle, a four-page newspaper which was to represent the Society for more than fifteen years. Although the first few issues were published in New Lisbon, the paper soon moved to Salem, which was also in Columbiana County. Salem served thereafter as home for both the Bugle and the Society. The same Samuel Brooke whom the OAAS had earlier fired for his sympathy
toward the Liberty Party changed his mind about political anti-
slavery action, and by becoming the Society's general agent, he
began a long career as a key figure in the organization's history.
Abby Kelley, who had married one of Garrison's most radical
colleagues, Stephen Symonds Foster, brought her husband west
for the fall. Together with easterners Benjamin S. Jones and
J. Elizabeth Hitchcock, who soon became co-editors of the Bugle,
they worked long and hard at broadening the Society's membership
and financial bases. Money was scarce, however, and the Execu-
tive Committee was not able to hire what it considered an adequate
number of lecturing agents, so Garrison's American Anti-Slavery
Society, which was naturally enthusiastic about the prospect of a
western outpost, sent word that it would supplement the local
donations. The Executive Committee, encouraged by its successes,
recommended to the anniversary meeting held in June, 1846, that
the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society, in recognition of its
broadening horizons, change its name to the Western Anti-Slavery
Society. It did so, and remained active and radical until the
Civil War. 29
ENDNOTES

1 Possibly the best account of the Lane Seminary uprising is in a chapter entitled "The Test of Academic Freedom" in Robert S. Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College from its Foundation Through the Civil War (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1943).


3 Robert Price, "The Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention of 1836," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XLV (1936), esp. 175. This article contains a complete membership list of the Ohio State AntiSlavery Society and a list of Ohio's anti-slavery societies in 1836.


5 Cincinnati Philanthropist, June 9, 1840.

6 The "Albany Ticket" was nominated in Albany, New York, in April 1840, by a convention of political antislavery advocates. It became the Liberty Party's initial set of candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

7 Philanthropist, June 9, 1840. Sarah and Angelina Grimke, and later Abby Kelley, proved to be excellent lecturers for the abolitionists' cause, and a faction of the American Anti-Slavery Society led by Garrison began to defend the rights of women to equal participation in antislavery societies. Their rationale was primarily based on a strong belief in the general applicability of their announced doctrine of the equality of all mankind. A group of more conservative abolitionists, however, who desired to maintain orthodoxy on all subjects but slavery, felt that the avowal of such a strange idea as the equality of the sexes would dilute the abolition movement and cause it to lose popular appeal. The split grew in seriousness in 1838 and 1839, and in 1840, it became the issue over which the American Anti-Slavery Society finally split into two separate societies. The AAS, led by Garrison, remained open to full participation by both sexes, and the new American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society kept women in an essentially subservient position.
Likewise, in consideration of whether or not to participate in politics as an organization, there was a body of abolitionists who wanted to guarantee an aura of respectability for the American Anti-Slavery Society. These men, generally the same ones who opposed equal participation by women, thought it necessary to purge the AAS of Garrison and his non-resistant followers who disavowed traditional politics and who ostensively gave the anti-slavery cause a radical and unpopular reputation among potential sympathizers.

The split in the AAS in 1840 was the culmination of these two and a few other basically similar tactical disagreements. Garrison and the advocates of an open organization remained the American Anti-Slavery Society, while the believers in a more single-minded movement formed and joined other organizations. See Aileen S. Kraditor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), pp. 41-62 and 118-36.

8 Philanthropist, June 9, 1840.

9 Ibid., June 9, 1841.

10 Ibid., June 23, 1841.

11 Ibid., June 15, 1842. See also, Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, pp. 77-78.

12 Ibid., May 18, 1842.

13 Ibid., June 15, 1842.

14 Ibid., June 22, 1842.

15 For an analysis of these Ohioans' role in the Liberty Party, see Rayback, "Liberty Party Leaders," 168-74.


18 Philanthropist, June 9, 1841.
Ibid., June 23, 1841.

Ibid., June 15, 1842.

The information on the meeting is all from Philanthropist, June 22, 1842. See Appendix A for a list of the officers elected.


See C. B. Galbreath, "Antislavery Movement in Columbiana County," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XXX (1921), 355-95.

Ohio Patriot, New Lisbon Aurora, in Liberator, June 27, 1845.

Aurora in Liberator, June 27, 1845. The Salem Village Register, June 10, 1845, confirms the attendance estimate.

Salem Anti-Slavery Bugle, June 20, 1845. See also Village Register, July 8, 1845, for a clarification by Brooke.

The complete report on this meeting is found in Bugle, June 20, 1845.

For comments on Miss Kelley's performance, see New Lisbon Western Palladium, June 12, 1845, and Village Register, June 10, 1845.

Bugle, June 26 and July 3, 1846.
CHAPTER TWO

THE ORGANIZATION, LEADERSHIP, AND ACTIVITIES OF
THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Salem, Ohio, was a busy and prosperous town of nearly fourteen hundred persons in 1846. It had twenty stores, six brick buildings, and a branch of the Ohio State Bank, and though it was not the county seat and though it had no waterfront, it felt confident about its future.¹ Since most of the men in Columbiana County were farmers, they had more time than money to give to the reform movements that interested them; the Quaker Church had deep roots in the county by 1845; and the first anti-slavery meeting recorded there had taken place nineteen years earlier.² It is not at all strange, then, that Columbiana, heavily Whig and located just south of Joshua Giddings' Congressional district, seemed to the abolitionists a likely home for their operations. Abby Kelley’s companion, Giles Stebbins, writing to Garrison’s Liberator said of Columbiana County, "There is excellent material for true antislavery [there], as many whose minds are open to conviction have not the slavish fear of the parish popes of this enlightened land to overcome." He also reported that he had found the Liberty Party men in Columbiana to be more fair and candid than those in the East.³
The reasons for the Society's move within the county from New Lisbon to Salem cannot be specifically explained, but the difficulties it experienced in finding a place for Miss Kelley to speak in New Lisbon suggest that the atmosphere there was not overwhelmingly friendly. The Salem Village Register was quite critical of New Lisbon's behavior in the matter, and its editor, J.H. Painter, boasted that such a denial of freedom of speech could not occur in his town.  

Painter seems to have been correct. When Dr. J.D. Cope and A. Hinchman took over the Village Register in 1847, they pledged themselves to be on the side of labor against capital, for the abolition of slavery and capital punishment, and in favor of what the editors called a "live-and-let-live ethic" which seemed to mean hostility toward oppressive authority. Their paper was an advocate of Free Soil and something it called the national reform movement, and it criticized the Western Anti-Slavery Society as a group for its lack of concern with land reform. Like the Bugle, the Village Register suffered because of insufficient finances, but it never indicated that its problems in Salem were a result of its free-thinking ideas. Very little of the opposition which the abolitionists encountered came from Salem, and it appears that the Executive Committee's decision to relocate there was a wise one.
The organizational structure which the Society used throughout its existence was typical of reform groups of the day. Its annual anniversary, the only occasion which all members were expected to attend, was held each summer at various places in northern Ohio. Members (any persons in general agreement with the Society's practices) gathered to hear whatever notable abolitionists the Executive Committee had managed to bring. The attending membership generally chose three functional committees to run the anniversary: the Business Committee, which included any visiting abolitionists, proposed resolutions for action by the assemblage; the Nominations Committee drafted a slate of officers for the next year, and the membership routinely accepted it; and the Finance Committee tried to cope with the ever-present money crisis. The Society's President, its Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, and its Treasurer were ex-officio members of the Executive Committee, which was also nominated by the Nominations Committee. The Executive Committee was charged with responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the Society, and it was empowered to fill vacant offices and to allocate funds. This committee was the heart of the Society. The varying number of Vice-Presidents and the occasionally chosen "counsellors" served as official representatives of the Society in various communities throughout the region. They were supposed to organize local abolition societies and coordinate the activities of the Western
Anti-Slavery Society in its field work. Many of them rendered outstanding service to the cause.

Leadership of the Society was generally strong and consistent, a fact which was due primarily to the frequency with which the same persons held responsible positions in the Society. The names of nearly two hundred different persons appear in reports in the Bugle as having served in at least one official position in the Society or having been a member of some committee. Of those, fifty-five served during at least two years of the Society's existence; thirty during at least five years; and seventeen for eight or more years, or for over half of the Society's active life. Nineteen of the fifty-five, eight of the thirty, and three of the seventeen were women. 8

The Society's leadership, then, remained in the hands of a relatively small number of men and women. In view of this fact, it is not surprising that the WAS maintained a generally consistent position about the issues with which it was concerned. Its tactics and their ideological justifications remained remarkably constant through a sizeable number of potentially distracting movements and events, including Free Soilism, the Compromise of 1850, and especially the rise of the Republican Party. It appears that the availability of money played as significant a role as any purely ideological factor in shaping the course of WAS action; the
Society’s goals and tactics were consistent, its implementation of them, however, fluctuated with its financial resources.

Disappointingly little biographical information is available about most of the active participants in the work of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. They virtually never held public office and were seldom prosperous. We do have varying amounts of data about the lives of a number of them, however.

JAMES BARNABY was a "Merchant Taylor and a Dealer in Clothes" in Salem. He was active in the temperance movement and served on the Business Committees of the Northern Disunion Convention in 1857, and of at least one Ohio Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress. He was involved in the WAS throughout its existence and was one of its mainstays. His wife, Laura, was also active. He died March 4, 1864.  

BENJAMIN and SARAH BOWN moved to Salem (perhaps from Pittsburgh where a Benjamin Bown was a grocer) around 1848. They adopted a slave girl rescued from a Methodist minister, and lived on a one-hundred and thirty acre farm near Salem. They acquired enough property to be able to offer building lots for sale by 1856, and they pledged fifty dollars to the Western Anti-Slavery Society the next year. At least one and usually both of them participated in the Society every year after 1848. Benjamin was President of the WAS for two years.
ABRAM BROOKE was an important and active reformer, but information concerning him is particularly scarce. He lived in Marlboro, Stark County, Ohio, for most of the three decades preceding the Civil War. He was a secretary of the Marlboro Anti-Slavery Society in 1836 and at the First Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society. He paid taxes on one-hundred and fifty-six acres in Stark County in 1849, having probably been the leader of the Marlboro Association, a communal experiment, in the early forties. Active in the Liberty Party, he was nevertheless the chairman of the meeting which formed the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society. He did not participate in the Western Anti-Slavery Society until 1853, but he later served as its President for two years. He signed the original call for the Northern Disunion Convention in 1857. Brooke, who wrote frequent discourses to the Bugle, was one of the western abolitionists' more intellectual members.

SAMUEL BROOKE may have been related to Abram, but there is no evidence to substantiate the idea. Once he renounced political antislavery, he served almost continually as a general agent, initially for the American Anti-Slavery Society, and then for the Western Anti-Slavery Society. He led at least one "free" religious meeting, and helped found the Western Peace Society in 1847. He was an important propagandist for the cause of reform, and it appears that he spent most of his time working for abolition.
THOMAS CHANDLER served as the WAS's Vice-President for Michigan for most of ten years following 1849. He was the brother of Elizabeth Chandler, who had led a group of Lenawee County Quakers in bringing the doctrines of Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison to Michigan in the 1830's. He never lived in Ohio.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, though she never lived in Ohio for very long, was nevertheless one of the Western Anti-Slavery Society's most significant supporters. Louis Filler has called her "the flying wedge of the Garrisonian policy," and she certainly was that, at least in Ohio. Her importance in the national antislavery movement has been well documented, as has that in the struggle for women's rights, but her role in the life of the Western Anti-Slavery Society was perhaps her single most significant contribution to the reform cause. As late as 1860, she was valiantly trying to keep the WAS, and especially the Bugle, alive by attempting to set up special fund-raising conventions and by asking her eastern friends for money. Mrs. Foster spoke to and for the Ohio Garrisonians on each of her many trips through the West, and she always managed to raise sizeable sums of money to support the Society which she had helped establish.

STEPHEN SYMONDS FOSTER, who has been called "...undoubtedly the most aggressive and humorless reformer
ever to grace the antislavery stage,"\textsuperscript{18} was a close friend of Garrison. His The Brotherhood of Thieves; or a True Picture of the American Church and Clergy (1844) was "...the most vituperative attack on the clergy to appear in the period."\textsuperscript{19} Like his wife, he was active in many facets of reform.\textsuperscript{20} He spoke to and served the Western Anti-Slavery Society during at least five of its years, and, along with his wife and Parker Pillsbury, he was one of the western movement's closest personal links with the eastern wing. That he and Pillsbury were among abolition's most extreme advocates\textsuperscript{21} helps explain why the WAS never diluted its radicalism, particularly in regard to the churches, which both men fought vehemently.

GEORGE GARRETSON was president of a forty-member antislavery society in New Lisbon in 1836,\textsuperscript{22} and he was active in the Western Anti-Slavery Society for over half the period of its existence. He also participated in the peace and "free religion" movements.

MARIA L. GIDDINGS was a daughter of antislavery congressman Joshua Reed Giddings, who never actually joined the Garrisonians but who worked closely with them.\textsuperscript{23} Maria, however, was active in the Western Society for most of its existence.

CHARLES S. GRIFFING of Litchfield, Medina County, Ohio, served as a paid and unpaid agent for the Western Garrisonians with some regularity after 1848. JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING,
Charles's wife, was a Vice-President of the Western Anti-Slavery Society for at least seven years after 1851. Both she and her husband were active in spreading Garrisonian doctrines into Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan. Josephine was later active in women's rights. 24

DANIEL HOWELL HISE, though he only twice held elected office in the Society, is of interest because of his detailed diary which is still extant. He was a practical and hard-working brick- and-tool maker in Salem and was consistently dedicated to all manner of reform. He built booths for antislavery fairs, supervised erection of the "big tent" which reformers used for their meetings, participated in the Underground Railway which flourished near Salem, and served as host to visiting crusaders of all types. He seems to have been quite wealthy by rural standards. 25

LOT HOLMES ran a bookstore in Salem and served as an officer of the Western Anti-Slavery Society throughout its existence. He and his wife Elizabeth were also active in the Western Peace Society.

LYDIA IRISH of New Lisbon was one of the most diligent female workers in the Society. She was also active in the Progressive Friends movement.

OLIVER JOHNSON, originally from Vermont, served as editor of the Bugle from 1849 until 1851. He raised its subscription list from 1,050 to 1,400 and helped erase the Society's debt. 26
A close friend of Garrison, he helped found the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Occasionally he edited the _Liberator_ when Garrison was away from Boston, and he worked for Garrison during the schism in eastern abolition in 1840. He was active in the peace movement, and his highly personal biography of Garrison is filled with insights into the whole reform movement in the middle period of the nineteenth century.

BENJAMIN S. JONES, a poet of sorts, came to Ohio in June, 1845, to join Giles Stebbins and Abby Kelley. He and J. Elizabeth Hitchcock were the first editors of the _Bugle_. They married sometime in 1846 and held the joint-editorship until 1849. As recording secretary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society from 1852 through 1860, he was a consistent member of its Executive Committee and a key figure in the western abolition movement. Jones moved to Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1861 and died there, at age 49, in 1862. No information on his early life has as yet been uncovered.

J. ELIZABETH HITCHCOCK JONES went west in 1845 with Abby Kelley. Probably well-educated by the standards of her day, she wrote many of the Western Society’s Executive Committee Annual Reports, in addition to numerous lucid editorials while editing the _Bugle_. Like her husband, she was active both at the beginning and end of the WAS. Little is known of her background except for Oliver Johnson's statement that she was the
first woman to follow Abby Kelley's example and enter the lecture field. 34

JOEL MCMILLAN, Treasurer of the Western Anti-Slavery Society from 1852 through 1861, operated a bookstore in Salem, possibly with Lot Holmes. He and his wife Sarah adopted a slave whom the townspeople rescued from her owner and named Abby Kelley Salem. 35

LEWIS MORGAN of Marlboro served on the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society almost continually from 1849. He helped found the Western Peace Society in 1847 and was active in the Progressive Friends movement.

SAMUEL MYERS, a farmer, was President of the Columbian County Agricultural Society in 1846. 36 He was a vigorous Hicksite Quaker and a supporter of the Friends of Human Progress.

PARKER PILLSBURY, a significant eastern abolitionist and an ex-minister, was a continuing radical influence upon the Western Garrisonians, whom he visited no less than eight times. He always served on its Business Committee when attending an anniversary, and his extreme ideas often appeared in the resolutions that were considered and usually adopted by the Society's membership. In 1868, he served as co-editor (with Elizabeth C. Stanton) of the women's rights newspaper, The Revolution, and he was active in the peace movement. 37
MARIUS R. ROBINSON was the single most significant abolitionist in the existence of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. He served as its President for six years, on its Executive Committee for twelve, and as editor of the Bugle for seven. Robinson was born in Massachusetts, where he was trained to be a printer, but exposure to Charles G. Finney's revivalism diverted him into studying for the ministry. A tenure as an assistant minister in Alabama reinforced an aversion to slavery he had developed as a student in East Tennessee, and he hopefully joined the New School Presbyterians, who were emphasizing the importance of "good works" in religious doctrine. He graduated with honors from Nashville University in 1832 and became the first student to enter Cincinnati's Lane Seminary for study with Lyman Beecher.

Robinson was active in the famed abolition debates at Lane, after which he stayed in Cincinnati to help Augustus Wattles teach Negro children. Theodore D. Weld chose Robinson to be one of "the seventy" lecturers for the American Anti-Slavery Society, and he contributed greatly to the "abolitionizing" of Ohio in the mid-1830's. In 1838, ill health forced him to retire from the lecturing field. He had been viciously beaten and tarred-and-feathered by a mob in 1837, the same year in which antislavery editor Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered. By 1850, when Robinson recovered, he was elected President of the WAS, which he served in various capacities until 1859. A patient and gentle man, he
was active in the Western Peace Society. His deeply religious motivations are obvious from all his works, written and otherwise. Robinson sold insurance after the war, and became President of the Ohio Mutual Fire Insurance Company. 38

WILLIAM STEADMAN of Randolph, Portage County, was the Society's President for three terms. He was active in the Western Peace Society and later abandoned his non-voting ideas to run as a Republican for Ohio's legislature. 39

KERSEY G. THOMAS and his wife were medical doctors, for a time in Marlborough and then after 1856 in Salem. He was interested in encouraging women to study medicine, and he served as Professor of Surgery at Pennsylvania's new Female Medical College in 1854. He, too, was an officer in the Western Peace Society. In the Western Anti-Slavery Society he served many years on the Nominating, Finance, and Executive Committees.

ISAAC TRECSCOTT was a schoolteacher for a time in Salem, and he later ran a successful general store. He was active in the antislavery cause at least as early as 1835, and in the Friends of Human Progress movement in Ohio. 40 Trescott was on the Western Society's Executive Committee for at least eleven years.

JAMES W. WALKER was originally a minister in the Wesleyan Methodist Church and President of its Allegheny Conference, but he resigned in 1847 to join the Western Garrisonians
and spread their ideas. Oliver Johnson said of him, "The Western Society was largely indebted for its efficiency to the labors of James W. Walker, for many years its indefatigable lecturing agent." He died in 1854, leaving his family destitute. 41

The question of the motives which drove these men and women to their radical stance within the abolition movement will be discussed in Chapter Three, but it is evident from these biographical summaries that most of the leaders of the Western Anti-Slavery Society were general humanitarians interested in a wide spectrum of reform. A limited list of the causes and movements with which they allied themselves would include women's rights, peace, and "free religion," and to a lesser degree, free produce and temperance.

The participation of many abolitionists in the struggle of women for a more active role in society has often been noted. 42 The fact that women played such an absolutely crucial part in the Western Anti-Slavery Society itself indicates that the women's rights movement was at least partially successful among general reformers in the West. In fact, a single event which took place in Salem early in 1850 reveals that the female antislavery leaders of northeastern Ohio were also quite involved in women's rights outside of the abolition movement. The famous Seneca Falls Declaration of Principles had been made in July, 1848; 43 response to its challenges had been meager until a sizeable women's rights
convention was held a year and a half later in Salem. Men were allowed to attend, but they could not speak—a manœuvre the women dropped after this one meeting—and the movement for women's rights moved directly from Salem to its first national convention in Worcester, Massachusetts, in the same year.44 Numerous local meetings within this movement were sponsored by Ohio's female abolitionists and reported in the Bugle for the next decade.

Likewise, the members of the Western Anti-Slavery Society were participants in the peace movement, particularly during 1847 and 1848 when the Mexican conflict again called national attention to the subject of war.45 The October 23, 1846, Bugle carried a call for a meeting in Marlboro, Ohio, on October 28 and 29, for discussion of the formation of a Western Peace Society. The call was signed by Samuel Brooke, General Agent of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. Results of the meeting were encouraging, and the Bugle of November 13, 1846, reported on the founding of the Western Peace Society. Dr. John H. Smith of Mecca, who was not a Garrisonian, was President of the meeting, but J.W. Walker of Cleveland, one of the thirty most active members of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, was elected President for the next year. Abby Foster and Lewis Morgan addressed the meeting, and K.G. Thomas and Benjamin S. Jones were chosen Corresponding and Recording Secretaries respectively. Morgan
became Treasurer, and James Barnaby was one of four counselors elected. The constitution of the Western Peace Society called for continuous world peace, although it did not mention the Mexican War which must have inspired the organization of the Society.

The WPS was active for at least two years, holding occasional small local meetings and two anniversaries. The First Anniversary, in Randolph, Portage County, October 14-15, 1847, was dominated by active members of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, as was the second and probably last, which was held in Ritchfield on October 14 of the next year. The resolutions passed at the Ritchfield gathering were based primarily on religious grounds. Soldiers were termed "hired assassins," all war was wrong, and the voters for war were claimed to be assuming the right to perpetrate murder and robbery.

The reform movement outside abolition in which the members of the WAS were most prominent, however, was neither women's rights nor peace, but free religion. The Society of Friends in Salem contained both the Hicksite and Orthodox factions, and a great many of the leaders in the Western Garrisonians belonged to one or the other, but the resistance put forward by the formal Quaker structure to the demands for "no union with slaveholders" which many of these abolitionists made, led to a widespread defection from the established Friends movement.
In 1841, Oliver Johnson, lecturing in Ohio for the American Anti-Slavery Society, caused an upheaval in the Green Plains Quarterly Meeting of Clark County which eventually resulted in its being evicted from the Hicksite organization. Four years later, the Ohio Yearly Meeting refused to receive an antislavery epistle from the ousted Green Plains Meeting. George Garretson, a leader among Western Garrisonians, then led a group of one-hundred-and-fifty Quakers who met separately and voted their approval of the epistle. Almost simultaneously, Abby Kelley was being forcefully removed from a Quaker meeting house in Mount Pleasant, Ohio, for speaking for abolition. In December of the same year, James Barnaby asked the Salem Monthly Meeting to remove his name from its rolls because of the Quakers' refusal to take a stand in opposition to Quakers who owned slaves. In 1848, Jane M. Trescott, Isaac's wife, was reinstated to the Quaker order by the Quarterly Meeting, but only over the objections of the Salem Monthly which had expelled her for too vehemently protesting the church's inaction on the slave issue.

The western abolitionists were already unhappy with the Society of Friends, then, when Oliver Johnson helped establish the Congregational (or Progressive) Friends movement in Waterloo, New York, on June 4, 1849, and later brought the idea with him to Salem. Reform was the central issue in this movement. Men and women met together; there were no doctrinal examinations,
no "select meetings " of elders and ministers, and no ordained ministers placed above the people. Each congregation was to be independent, and the Yearly Meetings were not to be mediators.\footnote{53} The idea caught on in Ohio, primarily because of Johnson's efforts, and the Green Plains Meeting immediately adopted the congregational order.\footnote{54} In June, 1851, a conference of Friends meeting in Salem adopted a platform based on practical religion and dedicated to "improving the human condition." The Bugle approved of the platform, and among the Business Committee were Samuel Myers, James W. Walker, Isaac Trescott, Lydia Irish, and twelve other members of the Western Anti-Slavery Society.\footnote{55}

The movement continued to grow, and by 1854, an Ohio Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, led by members and officers of the Western Anti-Slavery Society was dispatching temperance, anti-capital punishment, and antislavery petitions to Ohio's legislature and to the United States Congress. "The Brotherhood of Man" was its goal, the works of Jesus its model, and "perfect religious liberty" its platform.\footnote{56} By 1856, the movement had changed its name to the Ohio Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, but Oliver Johnson, by then the clerk of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, was still an active leader, and the participants and ideas were essentially the same.\footnote{57} The organization continued to meet at least until 1859.\footnote{58}
It is clear, then, that the most active abolitionists in the Western Anti-Slavery Society were humanitarians with an interest in many of the major reform causes of their day. They were consistent and dedicated, and many of them had a great amount of time to devote to abolition and other movements, but it is also obvious that few of them had much money to donate to their greatest passion, the antislavery movement.

The Western Anti-Slavery Society was never adequately financed. The Executive Committee reported no debt for the Society in 1845, the year of Abby Kelley’s initial visit, but as soon as publication of the Bugle began, so did the deficit. By the next anniversary, the expenses of the Bugle were forcing the Society to neglect the employment of lecturing agents, a tactic for which the Committee had held high hopes, and by 1846, the Society owed $563.95. Only a loan of $660 from Samuel Brooke was carrying the organization, and again the newspaper was the cause of the financial crisis. In 1848, the Society paid some $1350 to keep the paper alive, but subscriptions brought in only $750. Despite a number of changes in price and payment policies, the Society was never able to solve its main financial headache, the fact that many subscribers just would not pay their bills.

As the demand for lecturing agents rose during the 1850’s, the Society relied more and more upon the proceeds it received from a device it borrowed from northeastern abolitionists.
Antislavery fairs, generally held in the winter months, were gala events at which goods made by the women in the movement were sold to friends of the cause. In 1856, for example, such fairs accounted for $825 of the Society's income of approximately $2,350, and fairs contributing such a percentage was not unusual.63

The American Anti-Slavery Society occasionally sent money, and more frequently it loaned its agents, but financial support from the parent group could not be counted upon.64 Private donations, therefore, made up most of the gap between the income from fairs and the debt line. Most of these gifts were small, seldom over twenty-five dollars, and except for an anonymous gift of $1100, an estate gift of $200, and at least $700 given by the estate of eastern philanthropist Charles Hovey,65 there is no evidence that any one person carried much of the Society's financial burden. Most of its support came, according to the Executive Committee, from farmers, and therefore droughts and floods and the general economic state of agriculture affected the Society's financial state at any particular time.66

The problem of determining the size and influence of the Western Anti-Slavery Society is an immensely difficult one. There are no complete membership records of the Society or subscription lists for the Bugle available, and the estimates of the sizes of crowds and the number of persons taking the Bugle are most likely excessive, generally having been made by the Bugle's editors. A
chronological discussion of the comparative successes of the movement does, however, reveal some general idea of the size of the Western Anti-Slavery Society.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the newly re-named Western Anti-Slavery Society, held in 1847, was one of the largest anniversaries the Society ever held, primarily because William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass were the featured speakers. But even if the Bugle's happy estimate of the crowd as having been between four and five thousand persons was stretching the truth, it was undoubtedly a very sizeable gathering. Garrison also wrote that the crowds on his trip to Ohio were immense, and petitions that the Executive Committee had been circulating, which called for an end to the Mexican War and for the dissolution of the Union, were reportedly signed by 2000 and 1600 persons respectively.

Attendance at the next anniversary, buoyed up by a good year after Garrison's visit, was reported by the Joneses, who were not present at the meeting, as having been not less than 4000, but the 1849 meeting was quite a bit smaller. The year between the 1849 and 1850 anniversaries was a successful one for the Society. The demand for lecturers, stimulated by the furor over the fugitive slave issue, was great in all of Ohio, most of Michigan, and eastern Indiana. Local meetings were held and many auxiliary societies were formed, and the Bugle, then edited
by Oliver Johnson, reported that its circulation rose to 1,270. Nevertheless, the paper was still in debt, despite the fact that the American Anti-Slavery Society had paid Johnson’s salary for the year since the last anniversary. 71

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act added a sense of immediacy to the abolitionists’ pleas, and the years 1850 and 1851 were good ones for the Western Garrisonians. When Johnson quit the Bugle in 1851, its subscription list had reached 1,470, its highest point, and its press and type were paid for. The annual meeting was termed "one of the largest ever," and the Society extended the area of its interest to include Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin. 72 If the Bugle’s figures are correct and if Russel B. Nye is accurate in his statement that the Liberator, which he calls one of the most solvent abolition newspapers, never had a circulation of more than 2500, then Nye is incorrect in his idea that the Bugle (which was not, as he says, first edited by Johnson) had "...neither wide circulation nor influence." 73 Even if the Bugle was bragging, it is still clear that it and its sponsoring Society had a sizeable body of at least casual followers.

By 1853, the WAS was again looking for money, but its agents were still numerous and active in Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and Michigan. The editors regretted that Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana were being reached only through the Bugle, but, they explained, the lack of money, not interest, was the
cause of this neglect. The Society elected Vice-Presidents for Iowa (Asa Davis), Illinois (Silas Pepoon), Michigan (Thomas Chandler), Pennsylvania (J. T. Hurst), and Indiana (J. P. Davis) at its anniversary in 1853, and the Executive Committee announced the formation of the Michigan State Central (Anti-Slavery) Committee. Prospects for the next year seemed good, but effects of a drought damaged the financial base of the Society and the large fall campaign did not materialize as fully as planned, although the Bugle's receipts rose above its expenses (thanks to the editors' discontinuance of 318 non-payers) and agents, aided by the AAS, did get to Wisconsin and southern Indiana.

The year prior to the anniversary in October, 1855, was relatively unsuccessful for the Society. Despite the Bugle's new pre-payment policies, it was not sustaining itself, and poor crops were hurting the budget. The threat posed by the antislavery rhetoric of the emerging Republican Party essentially dominated the meeting, which was a surprisingly large one (nearly 4000, according to the Bugle) despite the lack of a well-known speaker other than S. S. Foster. The Executive Committee, still desirous of expanding the Society's influence, pledged to co-operate with the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society in Indiana and Michigan, where crops were better. The entire anniversary was optimistic.

Their optimism proved false, however. The Salem Fair and Cincinnati Bazaar provided most of the Society's income, and
the Bugle was the only forum of its ideas. The presence of Samuel F. May, Jr., Francis Jackson, Parker Pillsbury, Charles Hovey, and Oliver Johnson at the Fourteenth Annual Anniversary in 1856 was not enough to spur the Society on, and the Bugle's cancellations continued to outnumber its new subscriptions.

The anniversary in 1857 was well attended, and it made expansive plans for the fall, announcing more lectures than ever. The AAS sent money, and the lecturers went out, but the results were disappointing. The Free Kansas movement and a national desire for immediate and tangible results in the battle against slavery were blamed for the troubles, and the treasury stood empty and the Bugle increasingly unread. In desperation, William Lloyd Garrison made a tour through the west in the summer of 1858.

He was pessimistic upon his arrival in Ohio, writing to the Liberator, "Our cause is suffering severely for the want of means, and the prospect of immediate relief is extremely dubious." But the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society encouraged him to proclaim, "...the abolitionists of Ohio will not be found wanting in any hour of trial, as compared with those of any other state."

The next anniversary was still optimistic, and a number of new people appear to have become involved; but the Bugle's subscription list was soon down to 488, and the Hovey Committee pledged $600.00 to try to save it. Continuation of a policy
demanding pre-payment for the paper was partly responsible for this decline.\textsuperscript{84} Josephine S. Griffing and Parker Pillsbury worked mightily to keep the movement going, but by the summer of 1860, the Society was again out of money and unable to hire any more agents. The anniversary was quite bitter at the Republicans for their compromises with "the slave power," and it praised the martyred John Brown extensively,\textsuperscript{85} but that meeting, the eighteenth annual one since the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society began its labors in 1842, was the Society's last. Abby Foster's attempts to raise enough money to keep the Bugle going for a while were successful,\textsuperscript{86} and on March 16, 1861, the Executive Committee accepted her offer to pay for the Bugle's publication until September.\textsuperscript{87} By April, however, the Civil War was a reality, and the Executive Committee decided that the May 4, 1861, Bugle would be the last issue. Its subscription list was transferred to the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and a lengthy phase of the antislavery movement, for all practical purposes, came to a close.\textsuperscript{88} On January 31, 1864, a small committee met to begin disposal of the press and property of the WAS,\textsuperscript{89} and on April 16, 1865, remnants of the Executive Committee officially disbanded the Society.\textsuperscript{90}
ENDNOTES

1 Salem Village Register, October 13, 1846.

2 C. B. Galbreath, "Antislavery Movement in Columbiana County," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XXX (1921), 359.

3 Liberator, July 25, 1845.

4 Village Register, June 10, 1845.

5 Ibid., June 23, 1845.

6 Ibid., May 10, 1848.

7 Among the more notable visitors were: William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Stephen Symonds Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Henry C. Wright, C. C. Burleigh, Oliver Johnson, Sojourner Truth, Joseph G. Barker, Edmund Quincey, Samuel May, Jr., Charles F. Hovey, Francis Jackson, Charles S. Remond, William Wells Brown.

8 Appendix B is a chart showing the distribution of authority among the thirty.


10 Bugle, August 25, 1848; December 20, 1856.


12 See above, p. 6.

13 See above, p. 10.


17 Minute Book of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society in the Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland, November 21, 1860.


23 See below, pp. 64-73.

24 Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 89-90.

25 For an excellent running account of the antebellum reform movement in northeastern Ohio, see Hise's diary. For an analysis of Hise's life, see Lewis E. Atherton, "Daniel Howell Hise, Abolitionist and Reformer," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVI (December, 1939), 343-58.

26 For Johnson's remarks on Ohio abolition at the beginning and end of his editorship, see Bugle, June 29, 1849 and April 26, 1851.

27 Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, pp. 60, 137; Nye, Garrison, p. 77.
28 Brock, Radical Pacifists, pp. 103, 276; Bugle, September 27, 1856.

29 Oliver Johnson, William Lloyd Garrison and His Times; or Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America and of the Man who was its Founder and Moral Leader (Boston: B. B. Russell and Co., 1880).

30 See, for example, below, p. 70.

31 Hise's diary; Liberator, October 24, 1845.

32 New York Herald in Liberator, June 20, 1845.

33 One particularly eloquent one is in National Anti-Slavery Standard, October 13, 1860.

34 Johnson, William Lloyd Garrison, p. 324.

35 Harold B. Barth, History of Columbiana County, Ohio, I (Topeka: Historical Publishing Company, 1926), 119. For an account of the rescue, see Salem Homestead Journal, August 30, 1854.

36 Village Register, June 30, 1846.


Bugle, September 3, 1847; Johnson, William Lloyd Garrison, pp. 324-25; Bugle, September 2, 1854.

See, for instance, Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 41-52, 80, 90-98. For a perceptive account of the role of women in the abolition movement, see Kraditor, Means and Ends, pp. 39-77.

For a discussion of the origins of the Seneca Resolution and its place within the movement, see Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 71-77.

Ibid., p. 80.

An excellent study of antebellum pacifism is Brock, Radical Pacifists, esp. ch. 3, "Genesis of the Garrisonian Formula."

Bugle, September 17, 1847.

Ibid., November 10, 1848. A rather uncertain reference to this meeting appears in a footnote in Brock, Radical Pacifists, p. 128.


Bugle, September 19, 1845.

Liberator, September 19, 1845.

Bugle, December 10, 1845.

Ibid., September 22, 1848.

Ibid., July 6, 1849. There has been surprisingly little written about the Progressive or Congregational Friends. The best study, though it is not particularly thorough, is Wahl's dissertation, above, n. 48. See also Allen C. Thomas, "Congregational or Progressive Friends: A Forgotten Episode in Quaker History," Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association, X(1920), 21-32, and Albert J. Wahl, "The Progressive Friends of Longwood," Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association, XLIII (1953), 13-32.

Bugle, October 6 and November 17, 1849.
55 Ibid., June 21, 1851.

56 Ibid., October 14, 1854. Wahl states that the main reason for the formation of the Progressive Friends was the issue of religious freedom, "The Congregational or Progressive Friends," p. 55.

57 Bugle, September 27, 1856, October 30, 1858.

58 National Anti-Slavery Standard, September 10, 1859.

59 Bugle, June 20, 1845.

60 Ibid., June 26, 1846; Ibid., August 27 and September 3, 1847.

61 Ibid., June 29, 1849.

62 For a discussion of the financial problems of the WAS, see its Executive Committee report in Ibid., August 28, 1852.

63 Ibid., September 13, 1856. See also Ibid., April 25, 1848.

64 Abby Kelley Foster brought from the east an official commitment from the American Anti-Slavery Society to pay Oliver Johnson's salary as editor of the Bugle for a year, Ibid., June 29, 1849. The Executive Committee Report in 1850 said the AAS had supported A. K. Foster and Parker Pillsbury as lecturers in the west for three months to raise money for the Western Anti-Slavery Society. They were successful enough to retire the Society's debt outstanding at the beginning of three months, but unpaid pledges raised the debt again. Ibid., September 28, 1850.

65 Ibid., August 28, 1852; September 12, 1857; October 6, 1860. Hovey left $40,000.00 in his will in trust for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Thomas, Liberator, p. 390.

66 Bugle, September 2, 1854.

67 Ibid., August 27, 1847. The Village Register of September 8, 1847 confirmed that the gathering was large.

68 Liberator, September 10, 17, 1847.

69 Bugle, September 2, 1847.

70 Ibid., August 25, 1848, and June 29, 1849.
Ibid., September 28, 1850.

Ibid., August 30, 1851.


Bugle, September 3, 1853.

Ibid.

Ibid., September 2, 1854.

See below, pp. 60-63.

Bugle, September 1, 1855.

Ibid., September 3, 1856.

Minute Book, September 5, 1856.

Bugle, October 22, 1858.

Liberator, October 22, 1858.

Ibid., October 29, 1858. See Thomas, Liberator, p. 393, for a negative assessment of Garrison's tour.

Minute Book, September 2, 1859.

National Anti-Slavery Standard, October 13, 1860.

Ibid.

Minute Book, March 16, 1861.

Ibid., April 21, 1861

Ibid., January 31, 1864.

Hise's diary.
CHAPTER THREE
MOTIVES AND TACTICS OF THE WESTERN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

The preamble to the constitution under which the Western
Anti-Slavery Society operated throughout its existence is a clear
statement of the group's ideological foundations:

Whereas, we believe that slavery is contrary to the
precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties
of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished;
and whereas we believe that the free people of color
are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of
sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore,
recognizing the inspired declaration that God "hath made
of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the
face of the earth" and in obedience to our Savior's
golden rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men
should do to you, do ye even so to them," we agree to
form ourselves into a society....

"Immediate abolition," a goal adopted by Garrison and the Ameri-
can Anti-Slavery Society in the early 1830's, was, as historian
Bertram Wyatt-Brown has recently re-emphasized, a direct ex-
tension of evangelical Christianity. The Quaker-dominated
Western Anti-Slavery Society made no secret of its devotion to
the fundamental ideas of the Christian religion. These men and
women damned slavery "...as the Giant Sin of the human race,
and as the sum of all villanies." Slavery was sin, and sin
was to be extinguished. A resolution passed by a WAS meeting
in Marlboro, Ohio, in 1854, put it this way: "...the Anti-Slavery
enterprise is, in the true sense of the term, a religious enterprise;
its fundamental principles being identical to those inculcated by Jesus and his apostles; its measures accordant with the spirit of the gospel, and its success essential to the complete triumph of Christianity in our land.\textsuperscript{5}

The battle which these people thought they were fighting was against the idea, expressed in an anniversary resolution, that "man can ever under any possibility of circumstances, hold property in man."\textsuperscript{6} The only way they saw to fight the sin of slavery was to remain as free as possible from its contamination and, by this purity, to set an example which would appeal to the conscience of mankind. Man was perfectable, they felt, though few of them openly accepted the complexities of Garrison's ideological system of perfectionism.\textsuperscript{7} They believed, as S.S. Foster told the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Western Society, that "[t]he slave can only be freed by making the people better, and we can only make the people better by being better than the people."\textsuperscript{8}

"Moral power" was adopted as the Society's tool in the process of perfecting mankind. The lead article in the first Bugle was "The Superiority of Moral over Political Power" by Adin Ballou, a leading radical pacifist and organizer of the Hopedale communitarian experiment. Ballou defined moral power as "the power which operates on the affections, passions, reason and moral sentiment of mankind, and thereby controls them without physical force." Political power, on the other hand, was "the power of the
State body politic, or civil government, operating under the forms of law, and compelling or threatening to compel subjection to its requirements by physical force. 9 Ballou was a leader in the fading New England Non-Resistance Society 10 when his article was used in the Bugle, a fact which explains his obvious distaste for such terms as compelling and physical. His faith in the ideological power of truth reflects the Western Garrisonians' dedication to the rational use of moral and broadly Christian works and words in their struggle. Much later, Oliver Johnson, writing on the Garrisonians' use of truth as a tactic, quoted the Rev. Theodore Parker, a distinguished Unitarian abolitionist: "Truth is a part of the celestial machinery of God, and whoso puts that machinery in gear for mankind hath the Almighty to turn his wheel." 11 It was this kind of thinking which was behind the activities of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. 12

Given these abolitionists' devotion to the spirit of Christianity, as opposed to devotion to doctrine and church structure, it is easy to understand their hostility to organized religion and its generally uncritical stand concerning the slavery issue. Driven by dedication to what they saw as basic in the teachings of Jesus, that is, to the golden rule and the idea of the equality of all men before a benevolent God, these men and women would, in fact, have been inconsistent if they had not fought bitterly against a church which, while claiming to be God's "official" children,
admitted slaveholders to communion. Oliver Johnson, reflecting on the original expectations of the founders of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, described the roots of the bitterness the western abolitionists felt: "Our expectation...was that the American Church and pulpit would be speedily enlisted on our side, that the free discussion of the subject [slavery] would be at length tolerated in the South, and that the moral influences thus set in play would soon prevail over all opposition."\(^{13}\) And when the great bulk of the American Church did not join the movement to immediately extinguish one of man's greatest sins, the radical abolitionists turned the church's theoretical pronouncements upon its own inertia. The cause of the slave was God's cause, and the work of the promotion of that cause was the duty of man.\(^{14}\)

Men and women of Quaker heritage dominated the Western Anti-Slavery Society as we have seen, but the fact that its meetings were attended by members of many different denominations accounted for the decision not to open meetings of the Society with prayer.\(^{15}\) The Society's hostility toward any organized church which did not openly and completely separate itself from slavery and slaveowners was constant, and only a very few local or regional churches ever received commendation for their antislavery stands. The numerous visits of Parker Pillsbury and Stephen Foster, both of whom were extremely hostile to proslavery or neutral churches, were probably a significant factor in the WAS's
militancy on the subject, but numerous local and national incidents, in addition to the ones discussed earlier in relation to the Progressive Friends movement, reinforced the Society's feelings.

In 1845, for instance, Giles Stebbins and a companion, Isaac Flint, reported that they had been unable to hold antislavery meetings in the churches of Hanover, Parris, and Massilon, Ohio, and that in Parris two Methodist ministers incited and led a mob which ran them out of town.¹⁶ Twelve years later, the Western Anti-Slavery Society, its leaders by then in the forefront of the Progressive Friends, was still hostile to the American churches. The Fifteenth Anniversary passed a strongly worded resolution relative to the American Methodist Conference, North, and the American Tract Society:

Resolved: That in the New York Independent [a conservative Congregationalist newspaper] in Rev. Dr. Cheever, in Henry Ward Beecher [both active antislavery Congregational ministers who were conservative by radical abolition standards] and others like them, we recognize not the bold, manly apostolic energy and power to rebuke sin, such as the times demand; but a craven, compromising, succumbing spirit, which, while it ventures to utter many stern denunciations of slave breeding and slaveholding priests and professors of religion, dares not or does not separate from them, as from more unpopular, but not more guilty, pirates or robbers on sea and land.

Another resolution at the same meeting declared that Beecher et al. were more dangerous than those persons who defended slavery with the Bible,¹⁷ a book which the Society had previously declared should be "rejected by every just and honest man" if it did indeed sanction slavery.¹⁸
The Western Anti-Slavery Society was, then, clearly a participant in a movement known as "Come-Outerism" because of its insistence that truly religious men must "come out" of the churches which were guilty of not avidly opposing slavery by separating themselves as institutions from slaveholders. The Society recognized the potential power of the church, which was a main reason it spent so much energy trying to swing the American churches to its cause; and the Ohio Garrisonians, by their own participation in the Progressive Friends Movement, demonstrated that at least they were not hostile to religious institutions per se. The Western Anti-Slavery Society, motivated to a great degree by religious considerations, wanted a pure church consisting of men free from association with the sin of slavery. Somewhere, something had gone wrong, but mankind, because he was basically "good," was still capable of cleansing himself.

Likewise, it was a corrupted and sinful American government, not government as such, which the Western Anti-Slavery opposed. Following Garrison's lead, the Society adopted a strong disunionist stand and agitated vigorously throughout its existence for the separation of the northern "free" states from the southern slave states. As Professor Wyatt-Brown has pointed out, the abolitionists demand for disunion was an extension of their religious idea that all institutions should be governed morally, and
the United States Constitution, with its Three-Fifths Compromise and its granting to the federal government the power to put down domestic (slave) insurrections, recognized slavery, the Great Sin. The document was thus, to the Garrisonians, a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and it was therefore not worthy of the respect of good men.

The Mexican War seemed to the Western Society, as to most antislavery men, to be another attempt by the same "slave power" which had enforced the Congress's "gag rule" to increase its dominance over the federal government. The move to annex Texas and then to conquer Mexico seemed to be designed to acquire more territory for slavery to dominate, and the government's leadership in these moves was further proof to the Society that the government under the United States Constitution was little better than a tool of the slaveowners.

In an editorial on May 29, 1846, the Bugle, anticipating Ohio Governor Thomas Bartley's call for troops to fight in Mexico, urged foes of slavery to refuse to go to war and to renounce their allegiance to the country. A week later, the paper developed this theme in a long, thoughtful editorial which stated that all acts of the American government are consented to in advance by the people who recognize the government and that the only way to repudiate its acts is to completely sever connections with it.
At its annual meeting in June, 1846, the Society "almost unanimously" adopted a resolution that "all who remain in the pale of the Government, proffering it their continued allegiance and support should be regarded as murderers of no ordinary guilt because of the Mexican slaughter." And on July 17, the editors of the Bugle printed a letter from Kentucky's Whig antislavery advocate, Cassius M. Clay, which defended his participation in the war by stating, "There must either be an honorable, fair, and sincere support of the legal action of a nation, or open and manly rebellion." The Joneses accepted Clay's challenge and called for a "rebellion carried on by peaceful, moral means...."

The Western Anti-Slavery Society opposed the Mexican War vigorously, but its emphasis was at least as heavy upon the war as evidence of the nature of the American government as it was upon the evils of the conflict itself. A resolution adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society and printed in the Bugle mirrors this hostility:

On the part of the American Government, it is a war of aggression, of invasion, of conquest and rapine--marked by ruffianism, perfidy, and every other feature of national deprivation--and waged solely for the detestable and horrid purpose of extending and perpetuating American slavery throughout the vast territory of Mexico.

In 1847, when John Van Zandt's conviction for harboring slaves was upheld by the United States Supreme Court, the Bugle cited the case as further proof of the corrupt nature of the
Two years later, the Ohio Garrisonians petitioned Ohio's legislature to secede from the Union. That body's quick disposal of their petition proved to the Society that the grip of "the slave power" on the machinery of government was tightening.  

It was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in the Compromise of 1850, though, which gave the Society's disunion stand (and abolition in general) perhaps its single greatest boost. Oliver Johnson termed the Eighth Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, which was held in 1850, as "great and glorious" and one which marked "a new era in the history of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise at the West." The fugitive slave bill, with its shifting of the burden of proof of freedom to the accused, was the big issue at the meeting, and Johnson, speaking of the compromisers who wrote and accepted the bill, reflected the Society's conviction that their case for disunion was proved:

They have sowed the seeds of a Revolution which will overthrow them in disgrace and sunder the chains they intended more effectually to rivet. They have kindled a fire of moral indignation which will wax hotter and hotter until every shackle is melted, every vestige of Slavery consumed. The Agitation which they hoped to suppress will receive a mighty impulse from this diabolical law and wax fiercer and fiercer, until the great body of the Northern people shall stand forth in deadly array against the crowning villiany of the age.  

The Western Anti-Slavery Society used numerous instances of enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act during the 1850's to reinforce its charges against the government, and the disunion
movement gained momentum in the west. A National Disunion Convention was called for October, 1857, in Cleveland, by a committee headed by Garrison, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Wendell Phillips. The Bugle reported that 1600 Ohioans signed the initial call for the convention, but the arrangements committee, dominated by easterners, cancelled the meeting practically at the last minute, leaving the WAS, which condemned the cancellation, to dominate the gathering. 28

The infamous Dred Scott decision reinforced the Western Anti-Slavery Society's disunionism, again revealing to its membership that the United States Government was on the side of the slaveholders. The Western Garrisonians continued their faith in the rhetoric of disunion even through the acts of secession by the states of the Confederacy. In fact, the Western Society carried its disunionism further than Garrison, who had introduced the concept to abolitionism in the first place. Garrison, who was beginning to hint at his eventual support for the cause of the Union he had so valiantly fought, 29 rigorously denounced South Carolina's secession: "...we deny that, between what the perfidious secessionists have done, and what the abolitionists have urged upon the North to do in general, or any State in special, there is any point of comparison." He questioned the Bugle's defense of the right of secession "for any reason" and he denied that the antislavery forces had ever sanctioned any such idea. But the Bugle held firm
to its original objection to Garrison's rejection of South Carolina's leaving the Union. The editor wrote: "Suppose that, instead of ignoring State sovereignty, we recognize it and freely admit, what disunion abolitionists have always contended for--the right of a State to secede" for any or no reason. 30

The Western Anti-Slavery Society further reflected its abhorrence of the United States Government by consistently avoiding participation in the normal activities of party politics. The reasoning behind this non-voting position was essentially the same as that which kept the Society hostile to the churches; that is, that participation in an organization or system which recognizes or tolerates slavery is unconscionable. Garrisonians did not oppose political parties any more than churches, but they did not want to appear to sanction a political process which functioned under a constitution which they thought was pro-slavery. By remaining outside the framework of party politics, they felt they could influence the direction of that politics unconstrained by the compromises inherent in the political process.

Garrison himself approved of the growth of antislavery politics, as Oliver Johnson has testified. His goal was for the slavery question to be agitated throughout the country, including within the Congress and state legislatures, with the hope that public pressure would purify the political process to the point that politics would abolish slavery. Such action was "the anticipated
result of the moral agitation," created by the abolition effort, and though political parties did not seem to be efficient vehicles for moral agitation, they were clearly recognized by the abolitionists as effective tools for the eventual death of slavery. Aileen Kraditor had recently corrected the general historical impression that Garrison had no political philosophy by demonstrating that he did in fact exhibit consistent attitudes toward the subject. A non-resistant, he could (at least before 1861) support no political party in any government based upon force, so he was personally hostile to parties on principle. His specific hostility to the third parties was based on considerations of expediency as Oliver Johnson suggested. Traditional political activity was just not the best way to enlighten mankind to the moral horror of slavery.

How, then, did the Western Anti-Slavery Society deal with politics? In traditional terms, it maintained a constant and unbending vocal hostility to all parties from the Liberty Party through the Republicans. Even though the Liberty, Free-Soil, and Republican Parties were "against slavery" with varying degrees of insistence, the Society condemned each for its role in supporting the government, the Constitution, and the church, all of which, according to the Garrisonians, sustained slavery. In fact, the WAS was considerably more hostile to the Republicans than were Garrisonian and ex-Bugle editor Oliver Johnson, who
had returned to the east in the late 1850's. Both Garrison and Johnson came to look upon the Republicans as more of a positive force than they had generally admitted the earlier antislavery parties had been. 35

The Western Society's antipathy to the Republicans arose partly because Ohio, under Republican rule, had refused free Negroes access to the ballot, the jury box, equal education, and even the poorhouse--and all under a banner of humanity for all. 36 A resolution passed at the Seventeenth Anniversary in 1859 stressed the misleading nature of the party's pronouncements about its antislavery position and deemed the Republicans "the most efficient and most dangerous obstacle to the successful completion of emancipation." 37 These specific objections to the failings of the Republicans, though, were not the principle basis for the WAS's objections to the party. A great many formerly staunch disunion abolitionists, including Garrison and the Fosters, were being lured away from what the Western movement saw as the morally pure position of "no union with slaveholders," and the Republicans were the main diversion. The Bugle was faltering badly by 1858, and the Society's efforts were almost at a standstill, so the leaders' hostility toward the Republicans was perhaps a result more of that party's political successes than of its moral failures.
Abram Brooke and Garrison carried on a correspondence in the *Liberator* over the political issue, and, in addition to revealing the nature of this disagreement between the remaining leaders of the Western Garrisonians and Garrison himself, the exchange reveals much about these abolitionists' ideas concerning the general goals and effectiveness of abolitionism.

Garrison, visiting the Sixteenth Anniversary of the WAS in 1858, had persuaded the Business Committee to substantially modify a resolution which had originally demanded "works meet for repentance" from all men whose connections with the government made them guilty of slaveholding. Garrison's resolution gave men credit for good motives and lack of recognition of their sin. Brooke asked in his letter if Garrison were not shifting personal responsibility from acts to motives, and he re-emphasized the non-voters' old desire to convince individual men that the use of the elective franchise made them guilty of the sin of supporting slavery. Brooke went on to defend the Western Society's statement that the Republicans were a greater obstacle to emancipation than either of the other parties. He claimed that antislavery was actually the party's "weakest link" and that the Republicans, by strengthening the union through subverting the disunionists with false antislavery pretenses, were directly challenging the tenets which had initially led the Garrisonians to reliance upon disunion.
Brooke was holding true to the spirit of a resolution passed by the WAS ten years earlier: ". . . in no emergency whatever, can we as abolitionists, co-operate with any political party, acting in allegiance to the Constitution of the U.S. or in Union with Slaveholders." But Garrison, in seemingly abandoning his pure ground by openly avowing support for a political party, was actually being truer to the reality of the abolitionists' relation to politics--as opposed to the rhetoric of "no union"--than was Brooke. An explanation is in order.

Garrison and the Western Anti-Slavery Society both thought that their mission was to make the people of America so aware of the evil of slavery that they, the voters, would force either their national or state governments, or both, to abolish the institution or to disassociate from it through disunion. Moral agitation, free from the compromises of politics, was supposed to establish the public sentiment which would abolish slavery, and therefore it was a sign that the public sentiment was indeed changing when antislavery political parties began to emerge. The Garrisonians did not think that either the Liberty, the Free Soil, or the Republican Party was nearly hostile enough toward slavery, but they nevertheless welcomed them as signs of the effectiveness of the abolitionists' propaganda. The disagreement between Brooke and Garrison was primarily one founded upon different ideas about how close a political party could realistically come
to the abolitionists' standards of purity and consistency. Garrison thought by the late 1850's that the Republicans, imperfect though they were, deserved more open support than the antislavery parties which preceded them had deserved. Brooke, upset both at the decline of the Western Anti-Slavery Society and at what he regarded as the Republicans' moral inconsistencies, did not agree—and neither did the rest of the leadership of the western abolitionists. 41

The Western Anti-Slavery Society remained consistent in its stated abhorrence of political parties throughout its existence, and it never sanctioned the use of the ballot to support either parties or men. Nevertheless, it was not hostile to the work of individual antislavery politicians, as is best demonstrated by its relationship with Congressman Joshua Reed Giddings of Ohio's Western Reserve district, just north of Salem. Though the Western Society repeatedly denounced Giddings for his membership in political parties and questioned his role in a Congress which allowed slavery to persist, it nevertheless simultaneously maintained a close and friendly working relationship with Giddings in which each influenced and supported the other. Garrison's virtual approval of the Republicans showed that he was perhaps more aware than was Brooke of the segment of abolitionism's strategy that included the sorts of political activity, outside of the traditional party-voting framework, in which the WAS was
engaged relative to Giddings. Brooke, on the other hand, represented, at least in his letter to Garrison, that part of the strategy most abolitionists agreed was a prerequisite to the purifying of politics—a purifying process Garrison thought the Republicans were beginning to represent.

James B. Stewart has shown that abolitionists sometimes co-operated with the very politicians they so vehemently condemned. His evidence confirms a statement made much earlier by Oliver Johnson: "Thus there was a genuine reciprocity of labor between those in the moral and those in the political field." 42 Stewart's biography of Joshua R. Giddings 43 is the best treatment of that persistent antislavery Congressman, but it pays scant attention to Giddings' relationship with the western Garrisonians, a relationship which confirms the suggestions in Stewart's article about Garrisonians and politics.

By 1845, Joshua Giddings had already established himself as a vigorous opponent of Congress's gag rule and the annexation of Texas. He was definitely antislavery, but he did not agree with all of the ideas expressed by Miss Kelley, S.S. Foster, Giles Stebbins, et. al., on their tour through his district. In a letter printed in the Bugle on October 17, 1845, Giddings agreed with these abolitionists' goal of "the total separation of the people of the free states from the guilt and disgrace of sustaining and upholding Slavery." He also accepted their condemnation of the
American churches for admitting slaveholders, but, true to his overpowering belief in man's ability to react correctly upon being enlightened—a belief which most Garrisonians, incidentally, shared—he expressed confidence in the churches' future improvement. Giddings thought that the Constitution was essentially an antislavery document which only appeared to be otherwise because it had been misused since its inception. Giddings' motto on the question of disunion, then, was "Give me Constitutional Union, or give me dissolution," and he devoted much of his political life to trying to show the north that it was responsible for slavery because of its allowing slave interests to control the federal government.

Giddings had faith in a Union which the Garrisonians claimed to despise. A similar faith led him to remain in the Whig Party, because he thought it could be brought around to a strong stand against slavery, even when most antislavery politicians were turning to the Liberty Party. 44 A more basic difference, though, between Giddings and the Western Anti-Slavery Society was his belief that the federal government had no power over slavery within the individual states. The abolitionists who wanted slavery abolished everywhere and not merely confined to regions under explicit federal jurisdiction could not and did not accept this sizeable limitation upon the power of Congress. According to the Garrisonians' absolutist rhetoric, then, Giddings was no better
than the slaveholders. But the abolitionists were conscious of his willingness to take their rhetoric seriously, and they recognized that he was in fact a force through which they could legitimately spread their radical doctrines.

Consequently, the Bugle and its sponsoring Society treated Giddings much more gently than their extreme pronouncements about guilt-by-association would have otherwise required. In 1846, the WAS invited Giddings to address its anniversary. He declined, but wrote, "Nor should I regard the difference of opinion existing between us as to the mode of effecting the great object which we all have in view, as in any respect detracting from the interest I should feel in your meeting." A week later, the Bugle chastized Giddings for not returning to Ohio to propagate the ideas contained in a letter he wrote to the Cincinnati Gazette in which he claimed the Union of 1787 had been dissolved by the annexation of Texas, a theory also advanced by many abolitionists. By September, 1846, the Bugle was angrily calling for the Congressman's defeat at the polls for his tacit acceptance of annexation, and in April, 1847, the paper was still hammering at the same theme. It claimed Giddings would surely have left his seat had British foreigners come to sit in the Congress, but that he had stayed on when "Texas foreigners" did. The editors did, however, praise Giddings' "utterance of Truth and defense of Right," and by August the Ohio Garrisonians were asking the Congressman to
share the platform at its anniversary with Garrison and Frederick Douglass.

Giddings attended the large gathering and praised both Garrison and Douglass, but he still defended the Union, so the Bugle, focusing upon a speech he had made in New Hampshire which said the federal government was obligated to suppress slave revolts, continued its verbal abuse. It also objected to Giddings' statement that northerners had no duty to help or hinder masters chasing runaway slaves, stating that such detachment was like letting "the autocrat of Russia" capture Poles who took refuge in America. 48

Throughout 1848, the WAS maintained its ambivalence concerning Giddings. The Bugle commended him for opposing the successful bid for Speaker of the House by fellow Whig Robert Winthrop of Massachusetts, a man abolitionists considered a Southern sympathizer; it applauded a resolution Giddings had presented in Congress which called for an investigation of the kidnapping of a colored waiter at a Washington boarding house occupied by Congressmen; it printed antislavery speeches Giddings made, but chastized his presence in Congress and urged him to resign and thereby increase his moral influence. 49 The report which the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society presented in August, 1848, is a further reflection of the Society's mixed approach. It commended Giddings' honorable
stand in a corrupt Congress and emphasized his activity in defense of the Pearl, a ship accused of rescuing some slaves from the District of Columbia. The same report said that northern reaction against Presidential candidates Cass and Taylor and that the formation of the Free Soil Party were both favorable results of abolitionists' activity. The WAS still expressed disgust with the Free Soilers, denying that they were worthy of the support of honest men, but its only very mild opposition to Giddings' successful Free Soil meeting at Salem reveals the Western Society's understanding of the complementary relationship between politics and propaganda.

In 1849, the Western Anti-Slavery Society invited Giddings to address an Ohio Convention of Young Anti-Slavery Men and Women, an event planned and run by Garrisonians. Giddings could not attend, but he repeated his "high regard" for the abolitionists and his affirmation that differences in method did not dull his desire to exchange thoughts with them. It is clear from their inviting him to speak to antislavery youth that they did not hold him in the same low regard as they did politicians generally.

Giddings reacted vigorously to the fugitive slave law passed in the Compromise of 1850, and the Western Anti-Slavery Society sought him three times, the last time successfully, to come to Salem to lead a meeting protesting that law. Oliver Johnson's reply to Giddings' acceptance stated, "You know that some of
us differ from you on Constitutional questions, but that difference of opinion does not diminish our admiration of your course in Congress. 53

The Garrisonians made elaborate and extensive preparations, billing their guest as "the Slave's champion" and advertising widely his coming. On April 22, 1851, the Methodist church was full, and there were two hunderd more persons outside. Giddings gave Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore, Lewis Cass, John Winthrop, and many other national figures a thorough damning. He said the provision in the Compromise of 1850 which was to discourage the slave trade in the District of Columbia did not work, and he denounced the popular hypocrisy of religion. Benjamin S. Jones had written a hymn for the occasion, and the meeting, its officers all active in the WAS, unanimously resolved to adopt one of Jones' stanzas as expressing "the sense of the meeting."

Yet if our Southern Neighbor
    Shall follow here the track
Of fugitives from labor;
    WE WILL NOT GIVE THEM BACK;
No laws of Congress ever
    Shall blood hounds make of us,
For we will barter never
    Man's rights for slavery's curse.

The gathering clearly agreed with the sentiments Oliver
Johnson expressed in his long and eloquent welcoming speech. He praised Giddings for his early activities against the gag rule
and claimed he had surpassed "the immortal John Quincy Adams" in his labors for the cause. The group passed resolutions praising Giddings for his honesty, and significantly, claiming that both the use of the ballot and moral suasion could purify the corrupt Congress. 54

Giddings must have made an impression, for only three weeks later the Bugle noted a call for a meeting of political abolitionists and emphasized the importance of every man's doing his best in his own way "to aid in bringing about the 'good time coming' when the sun shall neither rise nor set upon a fettered human being." And in August, the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Garrisonians had an active debate on the subject of voting. Though the members concluded that the Free Soil Party was still evil, they granted that it was nevertheless helping change public sentiment. 55

In 1852, when Giddings and Benjamin Wade were elected to Congress (after the Democratic legislature's anti-abolition gerrymander failed), the Bugle commented thusly: "But however little faith we have in politicians, we have a good deal in humanity, and especially in the two goodly specimens of it, to whom we allude, even if they do go to Congress." Three weeks later, the editors were even happier about politics as they commented favorably upon Gerritt Smith's election to Congress and called him the first real abolitionist to be so elected. 56 In August of
1853, the paper said that either the Free Soil or coalition Peoples' Party candidates for Ohio's legislature would be moral and useful, and by December the editor, clearly recognizing the value of Giddings' increasing agitation of the slave issue, urged him to continue his efforts even though "so far as legislation is concerned" he had not been successful. 57

When Giddings became active in the Republican Party, the Western Anti-Slavery Society, which was beginning to resent the gap between that party's promises and its actions about slavery, became decidedly less friendly toward him. When he voted to extend the fugitive slave law into Kansas and Nebraska, and after he had supported a bill which forced slaves born in Kansas before 1858 to remain slaves, the Bugle vehemently attacked Giddings, the Republicans, and especially the corruption the editors thought was essential to party unity. 58 And when eastern abolitionists expressed sorrow at Giddings' second heart attack, 59 the Bugle remained silent. By March, however, the WAS's paper was happily reprinting from the Ashtabula Sentinel a series of angry attacks by Giddings upon Justice Roger Taney's Dred Scott decision. 60

As discussed above, the Western Anti-Slavery Society remained hostile to the Republican Party until the war, but it did not allow Joshua Giddings' connection with the party to permanently dim its appreciation of him as a man and as a politician. Despite
the abolitionists' unfailing assault upon traditional politics, they nevertheless worked vigorously at the business of influencing political decisions. They were therefore consistent in their criticism of the Republican Party for its refusal to renominate Giddings, a true voice of most of the abolitionists' ideas. The Western Society's final sentiments about Giddings are revealed by the Bugle's printing of a complimentary letter from the late John Quincy Adams to Giddings with its accompanying comment: "The names of Adams and Giddings will be hallowed in the grateful remembrance of all true lovers of Freedom, Justice, and Humanity, when party Presidents and Party Judges shall be preserved only by the catalogues."62

The words James B. Stewart applied to the Garrisonians nationally clearly fit the members of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. "Unlike some of their chroniclers, [they] realized that realistic political activity can mean more than just the building of party structure and collecting of votes."63 They supported Giddings' presence in Congress and urged him to adopt their ideas of moral reform, but they castigated his connection with the political compromises they were immune to because of their stance outside politics. He provided them with a line of communication to the antislavery parties of the era without diluting their cries against the immoral country.
Charges of massive irresponsible fanaticism against Garrisonian abolitionists remain to be proved so far as western Garrisonians are concerned. In the realm of politics the Western Anti-Slavery Society was not merely negative; it thought that politics was ultimately responsive to the will of the people, so it tried with some success to show those people what it considered to be the folly of the United States government. Likewise, the American churches did not seem to the Western Society to be fighting slavery with much vigor, so it tried to shame them into an antislavery stance; when the change did not come, or when it was not satisfactory when it did come, most of the leaders of the Society formed a religious organization of their own, the Progressive Friends movement, which was structured to be more responsive to what they saw to be the work of God.

The Society's motive idea was that knowledge of the slavery question, presented in a Christian light, would convince America's citizens to rid their land of that sizable variation from the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Revolution. These western Garrisonians thought that the elimination of the institution of slavery would in itself allow America to live in the kind of racial harmony they desired; the fact that they were incorrect does not tarnish the fundamentally Christian motives and peaceful methods which they employed.
The Western Anti-Slavery Society was a consistent voice of the disunionist wing of American abolition. Its early growth no doubt derived in large part from the works of the Weld-Birney wing of more traditional abolitionism, but its continued expansion during the late 1840's and most of the 1850's must have been due to its own more radical stance. Garrison's portion of the anti-slavery movement was not just an eastern phenomenon.
ENDNOTES

1 Salem Anti-Slavery Bugle, July 10, 1846. In 1853, the Executive Committee was asked to consider a change in the constitution which would have stressed more heavily the sin of the churches' complicity with slavery and the necessity for the removal of racial prejudice from society. The suggestion was not acted upon or discussed by the WAS as a group. See Bugle, August 20, 1853.


4 From a resolution passed at the Fourteenth Anniversary, Liberator, September 19, 1856.

5 Bugle, September 16, 1854.

6 Ibid., August 30, 1851.


8 Bugle, September 8, 1855. "Immediate emancipation" was a "normative doctrine" and not a plan of action. The idea was to reach great numbers of individual men with the fact of their individual sin of complicity with slavery. Kraditor, Means and Ends, pp. 78-80.

9 Bugle, June 20, 1845.

10 For a discussion of the non-resistance movement, see Peter Brock, Radical Pacifists in Antebellum America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), esp. chs. 3-5.
Oliver Johnson, William Lloyd Garrison and His Times: or Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America and the Man who was its Founder and Moral Leader (Boston: B. B. Russell and Co., 1880), pp. 90-91.

Other Garrisonians were similarly motivated. See Kraditor, Means and Ends, ch. 4.


Executive Committee Report, Bugle, September 28, 1850.

Ibid., June 26, 1846.

Liberator, September 26, 1845.


Bugle, August 25, 1848. By thus resolving, the Western Anti-Slavery Society avoided deciding whether the Bible was actually proslavery.

For a discussion of Come-Outerism, see Thomas, Liberator, pp. 318-24.


Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan, pp. 288-89.

The phrase is from Isaiah, xxviii, 18.

Bugle, June 26, 1846.

Ibid., May 29, 1846.

Ibid., September 3, 1847.

Ibid., March 2, 1849.
27 Ibid., September 28, 1850.

28 For an analysis of the reasons for the cancellation, see Thomas, Liberator, pp. 391-94. The Bugle, November 7, 1857, reports that Marius Robinson was President of the meeting, Benjamin S. Jones was a secretary, and Abram Brooke, James Barnaby, and J. Elizabeth Jones were on the Business Committee.


30 The entire exchange is in Liberator, April 12, 1861.


32 Ibid., pp. 308-9.

33 Kraditor, Means and Ends, pp. 158-59.

34 Bugle, August 7, 1846, June 29, 1849; National Anti-Slavery Standard, September 24, 1859; Bugle, September 13, 1856, October 23, 1858.


36 National Anti-Slavery Standard, October 13 and 20, 1860.

37 Ibid., September 24, 1859.

38 Liberator, November 5, 1859.

39 Bugle, August 25, 1848.

40 See resolutions passed at the Sixth Anniversary, Ibid., Executive Committee Report in Ibid., September 1, 1855, and Johnson, William Lloyd Garrison, p. 318.

41 National Anti-Slavery Standard, October 13, 1860.
42 Stewart's evidence, which ignores the Western Anti-Slavery Society, establishes the abolitionists as quite conscious of their role in conducting a dialogue with antislavery politicians (like Giddings, John P. Hale, and Gerritt Smith) which guaranteed a public hearing for their radical ideas. James B. Stewart, "The Aims and Impact of Garrisonian Abolitionism, 1840-1860," Civil War History, XV (September, 1969), 197-209. For a similar assessment by a participant, see Johnson, William Lloyd Garrison, p. 327.

43 James B. Stewart, Joshua R. Giddings and the Tactics of Radical Politics, 1795-1864 (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1970).


45 Bugle, July 10, 1846.

46 Ibid., July 17, 1846.

47 Ibid., September 18, 1846; April 9, 1847.

48 Ibid., August 27, 1847; August 6, 1847.

49 Ibid., January 21, February 4, March 31, May 26, 1848.

50 Ibid., August 25, 1848.

51 Ibid., November 10, 1848.

52 Ibid., October 6, 1849.

53 Oliver Johnson to Joshua R. Giddings, March 22, 1851. Giddings Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

54 Proceedings of the gathering were reported in Bugle, April 26, 1851.

55 Ibid., May 17 and August 30, 1851.

56 Ibid., October 23 and November 12, 1852.

57 Ibid., August 20 and December 10, 1853.

58 Bugle, December 20, 1856.

60 Bugle, March 26, April 2, 9, 16, 1857.

61 Ibid., October 23, 1858.

62 Ibid., probably September, 1858. The dated page is missing.

APPENDIX A

Officers elected at the founding of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society in 1842

PRESIDENT

Milo D. Pettibone (Delaware County)

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Thomas Donaldson (Clermont)  Benjamin Michener (Logan)
Jos. A. Dugdale (Clark)       Horace Nye (Muskingum)
Geo. Barrett (Delaware)       Lydia P. Mott (Hamilton)
Hannah D. Brooke (Stark)      Deborah Coats (Richland)
Nathan Galbreath (Columbiana) Cyrus Brown (Morgan)
Wm. Robinson (Jefferson)     Joel Wood (Belmont)
Marius Robinson (Muskingum)   David C. Eastman (Fayette)
Robinson Fletcher (Green)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Jos. A. Dugdale (Clark)       Elizabeth Wileman (Stark)
Thos. Swayne (Clark)          Hannah Brooke (Stark)
A. Brooke (Clinton)           Milo Pettibone (Delaware)
Abraham Allen (Clinton)       Thos. Donaldson (Clermont)
Ruth Galbreath (Columbiana)

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY      A. Brooke (Clinton)
RECORDING SECRETARY          John O. Wattles (Clinton)
TREASURER                    Barclay E. Gilbert (Clinton)
APPENDIX B

Distribution of Responsibility Among the Leadership of the Western Anti-Slavery Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Barnaby</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Bown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Bown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abram Brooke</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Brooke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Brooks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Chandler</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Donaldson</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Otis Ernst</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Galbreath</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Garretson</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Giddings</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gordon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles S. Griffing</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephine Griffing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot Holmes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydia Irish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Distribution of Responsibility Among the Leadership of the Western Anti-Slavery Society (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin S. Jones</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Elizabeth Jones</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel McMillan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah McMillan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Morgan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Myers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker Pillsbury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marius Robinson</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Robinson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Steadman</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kersey G. Thomas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Trescott</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. W. Walker (d. 1854)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CITED

UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

- The Papers of Joshua Reed Giddings. The Ohio Historical Society Library, Columbus.

- The Papers of Marius R. Robinson. Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland.

- Minute Book of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. Western Reserve Historical Society Library, Cleveland.


NEWSPAPERS

Salem Anti-Slavery Bugle, 1845-1861.

Salem Homestead Journal, 1847-1855.

Liberator, 1831-1845.

National Anti-Slavery Standard, 1845-1862.

Cincinnati Philanthropist, 1836-1843.

Salem Village Register, 1842-1847.

New Lisbon Western Palladium, 1827-1854.

BOOKS


Fletcher, Robert S. A History of Oberlin College from its Foundation through the Civil War. Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1943.


Johnson, Oliver. William Lloyd Garrison and His Times; or Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America and of the Man who was its Founder and Moral Leader. Boston: B. B. Russell & Co., 1880.


**ARTICLES**


Price, Robert, "The Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention of 1836," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, LV (1936), 173-188.


