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HAYDON'S PAINTING OF THE WORLD'S ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

(See footnote, *infra*, p. 19)

# SLAVERY AND “THE WOMAN QUESTION”

*Lucretia Mott's Diary of Her Visit to  
Great Britain to Attend the World's  
Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840*

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## Introduction

### I

TWO women sat together just inside the entrance to the British Museum on a midsummer day in 1840. The younger was about twenty-five years of age, short of stature, with coal-black ringlets falling about a rather full face. The other was a woman of middle age, petite in figure, with vivacious eyes and a determined chin; her white cap, the plain bonnet on the bench beside her, her sober gown, with white kerchief across the shoulders, identified her as a member of the Society of Friends. They were engrossed in earnest conversation, oblivious to the treasures that lay about them in the world's greatest store-house of the past. From time to time, as their voices rose, a name or a phrase could be overheard: "the inward light . . . Elias Hicks . . . William Ellery Channing . . . a religion of practical life . . . Mary Wollstonecraft . . . the rights of women." As surely as their accents proclaimed them Americans, the tenor of their conversation betrayed the fact that these were women of "advanced" views, intent upon the future, scornful of the past.

They had, in fact, come to London, along with all the "pledged philanthropy of earth," to attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention.<sup>1</sup> Eight years later, they would meet again, in the little town of Seneca Falls, New York, at another convention. (It was an age much given to holding conventions for good causes.) That smaller gathering, announced with little fanfare and graced by fewer notables, would be long remembered for its Declaration of Sentiments, which proclaimed bravely to the world: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men *and women* are created equal . . . . The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man towards woman, having in direct object the establishment of an

<sup>1</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier, "The World's Convention", *Writings of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston and New York, 1894), III, 72.

absolute tyranny over her. . . ."<sup>1</sup> This manifesto—a trifle derivative in phraseology, perhaps, but instinct with righteous indignation—was the trumpet-call which launched the movement for the rights of women, and it had its origin in that whispered conversation in the British Museum, when the latent crusading ardor of Elizabeth Cady Stanton was quickened by exposure to the seasoned convictions of Lucretia Mott.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Stanton herself was later to acknowledge it. "The movement for women's suffrage, both in England and America," she declared explicitly, "may be dated from [the] World's Anti-Slavery Convention." Another chronicler of those eager, world-reforming years was to remark on the irony that the great anti-slavery convention should "stand rather as a landmark in the history of the woman question than in that of abolition."<sup>3</sup>

How were the two causes related? It would be pleasant to picture the assembled philanthropists of 1840 being carried by sheer logic or by a fervour of emancipating zeal from the unshackling of the enslaved darker races to the freeing of the female half of the human race. The real story, unhappily, is not quite so simple or so inspiring.

The facts are that one wing of the abolition movement in the United States had ventured to send a handful of women to London as delegates, and the majority in the Convention (including both Americans and Englishmen) had declined to seat them. The prevailing view was that woman's place was not on the forensic platform and that, in any case, a convention dedicated to the abolition of Negro slavery could not undertake to settle the "woman question" too without scattering its force. The latter, a perfectly reasonable view, was voiced by Joseph Sturge, a respected and influential English Friend, when he wrote to an American: "I think it best to avoid giving a judgment upon other matters while we are desirous of simply labouring for the Abolition of Slavery."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton *et al.*, *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York 1881-87), I, 70-71 (italics mine).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 421.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 62; William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: *The Story of His Life Told by His Children* (New York, 1885-89), II, 381 (hereafter cited as *Garrison*).

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Sturge to James G. Birney, 6th November, 1840, *Letters of James Gillespie Birney*, ed. Dwight L. Dumond (New York, 1938), II, 613.

The majority had its way, and the women were denied seats on the floor of the Convention. But that did not quite end the matter. There was a disturbing truth in the retort of William Lloyd Garrison, the American reformer who voluntarily took his place with the excluded female delegates "behind the bar": "It was said that the London meeting resolved from the beginning, to keep out other questions—to discuss nothing but Anti-slavery. Then I turn to that Convention and tell them that, in excluding women, they *did* undertake to settle another great question."<sup>1</sup> After a brief flurry of debate on the first day of the Convention, the "extraneous" issue was dropped. But Garrison was right: the "woman question" had been "fairly started"; it would be "canvassed from the Land's End to John O'Groat's House"<sup>2</sup>—and beyond.

We are fortunate in having a first-hand account of this episode in an intimate diary kept by Lucretia Mott herself. Never before printed in full, it is a revealing picture of the Convention and the people involved in it, seen through the eyes of a shrewd and intelligent observer, who was herself, though not a direct participant, "the *Lioness* of the Convention."<sup>3</sup>

## II

Lucretia Coffin Mott (1793-1880) came of a long line of seafaring Quakers on the island of Nantucket, off the coast of Massachusetts. Sent to the Friends boarding school at Nine Partners, New York, at the age of thirteen, she presently became a teacher there, along with James Mott, a Long Island Friend, whom she married in 1811. After trying a variety of occupations, James Mott settled down, around 1822, as a cotton merchant in Philadelphia. His conscience was pricked, however, by the powerful anti-slavery preaching of Elias Hicks,<sup>4</sup> a fellow Long-Islander, and he presently came to see that it was not consistent with his religious principles

<sup>1</sup> *Garrison*, II, 372.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 382.

<sup>3</sup> [Richard D. Webb], "Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Convention, No. VIII: Lucretia Mott" (reprinted from the *Dublin Weekly Herald*), *The Liberator*, 10 (23rd October, 1840), 170.

<sup>4</sup> Elias Hicks (1748-1830) published in 1811 *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and Their Descendants*, in which he argued for complete abstention from the use of products of slave labor.

to deal in slave-grown products. Accordingly, after eight years, James Mott gave up the profitable cotton trade and turned to the wool commission business, which he carried on in Philadelphia until his retirement in 1852. This sensitivity of conscience on the subject of slavery continued through the lives of both the Motts, and led them to take an increasingly active part in the agitation to end the evil.

It was not on the subject of slavery alone that the views of James and Lucretia Mott fell in with those of Elias Hicks. In the years 1827-28 the Society of Friends in the United States was riven by a tragic "separation." It is necessary to refer briefly to this schism, because its effects were to reach across the Atlantic to England and play their part in creating the cool atmosphere in which the women delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention found themselves twelve years later. The forces making for division in the body of American Quakerism had been in being for a half-century; it was largely chance that they happened to gather and break about the figure of Elias Hicks, whose name came to be attached to one of the parties. The divisive forces were partly theological, partly social. Some stemmed from ambiguities in the Quaker tradition itself, some from the intellectual "climate" of early nineteenth-century America. The immediate precipitating factors were the personalities of certain individuals on both sides of the controversy. No exhaustive inquiry into the causes of the separation is called for here; only a simplified statement of the issues will be attempted.<sup>1</sup>

Quakerism has always held together in a kind of unstable equilibrium the ideas of the inward Christ—the eternal divine spirit made manifest in the souls of men—and the outward Christ—the historic Christ who died on Calvary. For George Fox and the primitive Friends the two were one, and, being for the most part unsophisticated theologians, they were bothered by few uncertainties or perplexities. The early eighteenth century saw a mood of quietist mysticism slip down over the Society of Friends, and Quakerism became largely a matter of inward experience, cut loose from its moorings in historic Christianity and from any but the

<sup>1</sup> For a more thorough treatment, see Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1942), chapters 22-24; Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), chapters ix, xii.

most perfunctory concern with Christian doctrine. Towards the end of the century, with some impetus from the Evangelical Movement, the pendulum began to swing in the opposite direction—towards a re-assimilation of orthodox Protestant doctrine. As this movement towards orthodoxy gathered momentum, it stirred a reaction among those Friends—chiefly in the country districts, where change is always unwelcome—who clung to the old quietism.

This latter group, emphasizing the inward more than the historic Christ, found its principal spokesman in Elias Hicks, a much-travelled and eloquent Quaker minister, born before the mid-eighteenth century, who carried into the nineteenth its characteristic mysticism and freedom from doctrinal preoccupation. In this latter respect these quietist Friends had something in common with contemporary religious liberals, and some tincture of rationalism undoubtedly crept into their thinking—never to such an extent as to warrant the taunts of "French infidelity" and "atheism" that were flung at Elias Hicks, but sufficiently to explain Lucretia Mott's affinity for Unitarians wherever she travelled in England or the United States.

In 1827 and 1828, first in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, then in New York and Baltimore, and finally in the trans-Allegheny Yearly Meetings of Ohio and Indiana, the ineluctable split came. In each area there were now two bodies of Friends—one "Orthodox" and one "Hicksite"—holding no fellowship with each other. The Motts in Philadelphia were "Hicksites." They transferred their membership to the new meeting on Race Street, and were promptly disowned by the "orthodox" Friends of Twelfth Street Meeting.

Although similar divergent ideas were at work in English Quakerism, there was no crisis of separation there. London Yearly Meeting maintained correspondence with the "Orthodox" Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, but exchanged no epistles with the "Hicksite" branch. For English Friends were preponderantly orthodox in sympathy—not so thoroughly so as Isaac Crewdson (see below, p. 16) but sufficiently so to make them fear Lucretia Mott as a heretic and proscribe her as a schismatic. Hence the numerous and painful occasions on which certain English Quakers felt obliged to declare publicly that James and Lucretia Mott



were not members of the Society of Friends.<sup>1</sup> And hence indeed, in the opinion of William Howitt and others, the exclusion of Lucretia Mott from the Anti-Slavery Convention.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult, now that sectarian bitterness has cooled, to conceive how this plain Quakeress with her traditional ways and her simple religion of practical life could have seemed so fearsome a heretic to her fellow-inheritors of the Quaker tradition.

For the traits which now seem most characteristic and engaging in Lucretia Mott, as they are reflected in her diary, all derive in one way or another from the Quaker background. What could be more quintessentially Quaker than her reaction to the morning service at Windsor Chapel: "couldn't understand the indistinct speaker—boys' responses & chauntings bordering on the ridiculous—banners waving over their heads—war & the church united." Her disapproval of the English aristocracy is partly a manifestation of her American democratic bias, but surely it is also an expression of Quaker equalitarianism—a trait that comes out again in her solicitous concern for the children in the Manchester cotton factories. It is interesting to note, however, that she finds the schemes of Robert Owen, the socialist, "altogether visionary."

One can even cite Quaker precedent for her indifference to art and literature—her surreptitious nap in the British Museum, her "forgetting" to weep over the tomb of Shakespeare (but perhaps this was just her lack of sentimentality), her having to be told by the girls in the party "when to admire" the storied beauties of the Scott country. There is something uniquely Quaker in the calm and unembarrassed way in which she gently reproves her hosts and hostesses for

<sup>1</sup> James Mott gives details of an interview with two prominent English Friends on this subject in his *Three Months in Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1841), 15-16 (hereafter cited as *Three Months*). The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, organ of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, originally called James Mott "a member of the Society of Friends," but to the official roll of the Convention in the succeeding number appended this note to his name: "Erroneously stated in a former number to be a member of the Society of Friends." See *Liberator*, 10 (24th July, 1840), 119.

<sup>2</sup> See William Howitt's letter to Lucretia Mott, 27th June, 1840, in Anna Davis Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott* (Boston, 1884), 474-77. The poet Whittier, on the other hand, doubted that religious differences had anything to do with Lucretia Mott's exclusion. Whittier to Moses Cartland,—(1840). *Whittier and the Cartlands*, ed. M. H. Shackford (Wakefield, Massachusetts, 1950), 16.

serving alcoholic beverages at table. Above all, she shows a degree of Quaker practicality and downrightness. Her comments on people and events are shrewd and discerning—and sometimes a trifle tart. Though as a minister she must have commanded a genuine eloquence, her style of writing in this diary, as in her letters, is terse and telegraphic. Perhaps this reflects her normal manner of speaking; certainly it also bears out the Quaker reputation for economy in speech.

### III

Another "separation" in the background of the Convention needs to be mentioned, because it explains some of the cross-currents of thought and emotion that marked the gathering and defined its place in the history of the reform movement. There was in 1840 a deep cleavage in the ranks of American abolitionists. The American Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1833, the year of West Indian Emancipation, flaunted its divided counsels to the world in its equivocal slogan: "Immediate emancipation gradually accomplished." From the outset the two factions in the organization, the "immediatists" and the "gradualists," spent almost as much energy skirmishing against each other as they did in attacking their common enemy, the slaveholder.<sup>1</sup>

On the one hand were the followers of William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott among them, standing uncompromisingly for immediate and unconditional emancipation. Along with this demand, Garrison himself (and, in varying degrees, his followers) advocated non-resistance, anarchism or "no-human-government," and equality for women. Because of his anarchist philosophy, Garrison was bitterly opposed to any form of political action as a means of accomplishing the abolition of slavery.

The other party, led by Theodore D. Weld, James G. Birney, and the Tappan brothers, wealthy philanthropists of New York, disclaimed "immediatism" (they would only *begin* immediately the process of gradual emancipation) although they yielded nothing to Garrison in the violence of their attack upon the slaveowner as a sinner before God.

<sup>1</sup> See Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933).

Drawing its strength largely from the militantly evangelical West, this branch of the movement used the methods of the frontier revivalist, and looked askance at some of the social and religious radicalisms of the Eastern Garrisonians. Whether from considerations of principle or of strategy, these reformers preferred to concentrate their campaign upon the single evil of Negro slavery, and they were inclined towards political action, forming a new party—the Liberty Party—which they put in the field in the election of 1840.

The tension between these two factions in the American Anti-Slavery Society reached a climax in 1839. In the national convention of that year Garrison made an attempt to capture the organization and insisted upon the right of women to participate fully in the proceedings. This injection of the "woman question" into the anti-slavery agitation precipitated the break, which became final the next year when the Tappan-Weld-Birney group formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, usually known within the abolition movement as the "New Organization."<sup>1</sup> Two facts are significant in relation to Lucretia Mott: that she continued to be associated with the Garrisonian "Old Organization," and that it was the rival society which enjoyed the favour of its namesake, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Thus in two respects Lucretia Mott found herself on the "wrong side" when she arrived in London in 1840.

The notion of holding a world's anti-slavery convention was first proposed by the Reverend Joshua Leavitt, editor of an American abolitionist periodical, *The Emancipator*. It was quickly taken up by the newly-formed British society, which issued an invitation to "friends of the slave of every nation and of every clime" to meet in London in June, 1840. The call was received in America in October, 1839. Knowing or suspecting that the Garrisonians would insist upon appointing women as delegates, the "New-Organizationists" promptly got into communication with their English brethren, and the result was a second, modified call, sent out in February, 1840, requesting from the anti-slavery bodies

<sup>1</sup> The Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier aligned himself on the whole, with Weld, Birney, and the "New Organization." A recently-published letter shows that he deplored Garrison's efforts to force the "woman question" on the London Convention in 1840. Whittier to Gerrit Smith, 12th October, 1840, *American Literature* 22 (1950) 159.

the names of the *gentlemen* who were to represent them. In a private letter Joseph Sturge strongly deprecated the sending of women delegates and hoped it might be discouraged, as it would certainly provoke a hostile reaction in England.<sup>1</sup> The anti-slavery groups under Garrisonian influence, however, had already selected a bevy of female delegates. Lucretia Mott had credentials from the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, and the Association of Friends for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery.<sup>2</sup>

Garrison and his cohorts fully expected a contest at London on the "woman question." "It is, perhaps, quite probable that we shall be foiled in our purpose," he wrote to his wife; "but the subject cannot be agitated without doing good, and . . . we shall not easily allow ourselves to be intimidated or put down."<sup>3</sup> In another letter he asked rhetorically: "With a young woman placed on the throne of Great Britain, will the philanthropists of that country presume to object to the female delegates from the United States, as members of the Convention, on the ground of their sex? In what assembly, however august or select, is that almost peerless woman, LUCRETIA MOTT, not qualified to take an equal part?"<sup>4</sup>

The Convention assembled in Freemason's Hall on Great Queen Street on 12 June, 1840. Perhaps it was not quite as momentous a gathering as the abolitionists thought it—one American paper compared it in interest and importance to "the convocation of the disciples on the day of Pentecost"<sup>5</sup>—but assuredly it brought together some of the best brains, most eloquent tongues, and warmest hearts in the western world, including Thomas Clarkson, Daniel O'Connell, Joseph Sturge, and Wendell Phillips.

The story of the Convention can be left to Lucretia Mott's telling. With respect to the question of the women delegates, it suffices to say that the issue was posed on the first day by Wendell Phillips in these terms: should the Convention

<sup>1</sup> *Garrison*, II, 352-53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 353; Hallowell, 144. The Motts also bore a minute from their Monthly Meeting, attesting their good standing among Friends.

<sup>3</sup> *Garrison*, II, 357.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 361.

<sup>5</sup> *The American Citizen*, quoted in *Liberator*, 10 (3rd July, 1840), 105.

itself determine the qualifications of its members or was this the prerogative of the Executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society? Phillips and his partisans protested that if it was truly a "world's" convention, it could not justly exclude half the human race from a voice at the outset. He was informed that it was a "world's" convention only by "a poetical license," that it was, in fact, only a conference of the British and Foreign Society with its invited guests.<sup>1</sup> The issue set off a spirited exchange of addresses on the floor of the Convention on that first day, but Phillips' motion was lost, the ladies were given seats as observers "behind the bar," and there, so far as the Convention was concerned, the matter rested. But in the minds of Lucretia Mott and young Elizabeth Cady Stanton the matter did not rest there. As they walked down Great Queen Street, arm in arm, after the day's sessions, as they talked together later in the quiet of the British Museum, a grand project took shape in their minds—nothing less than the emancipation of half the human race.

#### IV

The original diary, a small black book measuring 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 6 in., forms part of the collection of Mott Manuscripts presented to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College in 1946 by Mrs. F. S. Churchill of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a direct descendant of Lucretia Mott. On what would correspond to the title-page of a printed book are the words: "Lucretia Mott/Philadelphia/1840," followed by: "Memoranda/during a/Passage to & from/England/and/ Three Months/travel in/Great Britain & Ireland." Written in Mrs. Mott's characteristic small, neat hand, the diary occupies 145 closely-written pages with virtually no margins.

James Mott appears to have used his wife's diary to supplement his own notes when he published his *Three Months in Great Britain* in 1841. A portion of the diary, representing less than half the text, was printed in 1884 by Anna Davis Hallowell as chapter VII of her *James and Lucretia Mott*. As reproduced there, however, the text is

<sup>1</sup> *Garrison*, II, 368.

not only incomplete but considerably rewritten by Mrs. Hallowell. This procedure, more acceptable by nineteenth-century editorial standards than by those of the present day, has the advantage of producing a more readable text, but its disadvantages, particularly for the scholar, are too obvious to need mention.

The present text is reproduced *verbatim* from the original, except that abbreviations have been extended where their meaning is evident and the pointing has been somewhat regularized, without, however, any attempt drastically to "reform" Lucretia Mott's individualistic system of punctuation. Wherever possible, persons mentioned in the diary have been identified, and supplementary information from other sources has been added in footnotes when it has seemed illuminating.

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## Slavery and "the Woman Question"

JAMES & LUCRETIA MOTT sailed from New York 5 mo. 7th. 1840, in company with Henry & Mary Grew, Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimber, Elizabeth J. Neall, Isaac Winslow, & daughter Emily Annette, Abby Southwick, and George Bradburn,<sup>1</sup> in the fine ship *Roscoe*, Captain Huttleston, 32 cabin passengers, 21 in the steerage. Among the former, Henry Morley, of London, Arthur Biggs of York, & Frederick A. Whitwell of Boston were most companionable. Third day out, great storm; everything novel and of deep interest. Tremendous sea, sublime view,—highly enjoyed by those who were not too sick. Captain very kind—a quiet commander, good mate, McWilliams, and orderly crew. Abundant provisions, 4 meals a day. Much time passed in the round house, and on the sides of the ship, watching the billowy deep, with its ten thousand sporters; looking afar for sails,—spoke none. Much interesting conversation on slavery with West-Indians,<sup>2</sup> particularly a Dr McKnaught,—on Theology with sectarians,—on Politics with Tories & haters of O'Connell.<sup>3</sup> No conversions—'bread cast upon the waters.' Some reading, singing, talking & laughing, but

<sup>1</sup> The first five were Philadelphians, the remaining four, New Englanders. Mary Grew (1813-96) was active as an abolitionist and feminist, serving as Corresponding Secretary of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and later, for 23 years, as President of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association. Her father, the Rev. Henry Grew (1781-1862) was, however, opposed to women's rights, justifying his position on Biblical grounds. Sarah Pugh (1800-84), Abby Kimber (1804-71) and Elizabeth J. Neall (1819-?) were all Friends. Isaac Winslow (1787-1867) was a Quaker merchant of Portland, Maine. Abby Southwick came from Boston. George Bradburn (1806-80) had been a Unitarian minister at Nantucket and a member of the Massachusetts legislature; a strong defender of women's rights at the Convention, he was described as "six feet high and well-proportioned, with vehement gesticulations and voice of thunder."—Stanton *et al.*, *History of Woman Suffrage*, I, 56.

<sup>2</sup> James Mott adds that the Americans discussed the results of the Emancipation Act of 1833 with the West Indians, most of whom were from Jamaica. Though opposed to emancipation, they admitted "that all classes were benefited by the change."—*Three Months*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), great Irish orator and leader of the Catholic Emancipation movement, was also a sympathizer with the abolitionist agitation.



more sleeping. Half our number tee-totallers, the others often drinking, though not to great excess; toasts to the Queen, the Ladies, the Captain, the Americans, &c. Storms & wind. Captain said a voyage in January often far less boisterous. Shipped seas frequently, passengers wet, to their discomfort yet merriment. Steerage passengers sick—children with measles, visited them occasionally. Isaac Winslow well supplied with oranges, lemons, soda & other comforts & luxuries, freely distributed in his abundant kindness—beloved of all—the single setting their caps—the married admiring—all with grateful hearts. E. Neall the life of our company—a favorite with the Captain & the darling of the passengers. Good humor abounds. George Bradburn & Mary Grew became quite intimate. Meeting on 1st. day. Father Grew read & preached—some additional remarks well received.<sup>1</sup> Hymns sung frequently.

Arrived at Liverpool [May] 27th. in the evening, stayed on board that night.

5 Mo. 28th. Landed & went to the Adelphi Hotel—appointed I. Winslow master of ceremonies; everything in first rate style & order, paid well for it: some things new—manner of enclosing bread in napkins at dinner, pay for what you order;—soup & fish removed, before meats brought on; one kind of vegetable offered at a time; no relish with breakfast or tea, unless specially ordered;—eggs commonly at breakfast—2 for each—potted shrimps,—nice—tea always made at table—urn of water generally—else small teakettle in fire place with heater in it, no water-pot on table—if called for, hot water brought in a pitcher (jug)—butter put on table in small prints, dry toast always in a rack—separate spoons for eggs, of small size.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although the ship was on the high seas for three weeks, the passage was so rough that only one religious meeting could be held. It was attended, says James Mott, by all the cabin passengers. According to George Bradburn, "Mr. Grew officiated. The subject of his sermon was the necessity of faith, of faith in the atonement; a sort of necessity which I apprehend he did not succeed in making clear to all present. He was followed by Mrs. Mott. There was little congruity between the two sermons. Mrs. M. urged the importance of love and of good works as alone sufficient."—*A Memorial of George Bradburn* (Boston, 1883), 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> The servants who waited upon the party at breakfast, wrote George Bradburn, were "such a set of fellows as an American is in some danger of mistaking for an equal number of the nobility." He added: "It was painful to Mrs. Mott to see them in such a capacity, or rather to allow herself to be waited on at table by men capable of services of so much greater consequence."—*Ibid.*, 47.

Lodging rooms nice, beds curtained, place for watch at head—night caps for gentlemen provided—goblet of water in addition to ewer—plentiful supply of water & towels &c., &c.

Walked out, admired shops, docks, St. James's Cemetery &c. Brick buildings inferior to ours, rough,—black, bad mortar, no outside shutters or blinds. Curtains on rollers inside to the 3rd & 4th story. Large, strong horses of different breed from ours. Donkeys with panniers, great variety of vehicles—wagons for lading goods hung low, near the ground:—police officers at every turn—always civil & ready to direct strangers.

William Rathbone<sup>1</sup> & wife called & engaged us there to tea—6 went, viz. S. Pugh, A. Kimber, E. Neall, G. Bradburn—J. & L. Mott. Delightful visit—beautiful place—English cottage, handsome grounds—fine garden—water prospect; air of comfort through the house; parlor well supplied with books, paintings, portraits &c. Much conversation on Unitarian faith—Factory system—Woman's duties & responsibilities. Their sister Gregg interested in the education of the poor—gave us a pamphlet containing interesting account of her brother's exertions in the instruction of the children employed in his Factory. Left there pleased with the acquaintance formed. Enjoyed the ride of 3 miles back to Liverpool.

[May] 29th. Received note from E. Rathbone asking correspondence & names of party, expressing satisfaction &c. E. Wilson invited us to his country place but leaving Liverpool could not accept. James Martineau<sup>2</sup> & J. Townsen also called. From Liverpool to Chester 17 miles—crossed the Mersey in ferry boat—man enquired if that *old* lady crossed the Atlantic!<sup>3</sup> Pleasant ride, top of coach—beautiful seats—Sir Thomas Stanley's place. Examined old wall of Chester—crossed the bridge over the Dee, the largest stone arch in the world. Cathedral built in A.D. 600—rebuilt in

<sup>1</sup> William Rathbone (1787-1868), prominent merchant and philanthropist, had been Mayor of Liverpool in 1837. Brought up a Quaker, he inherited his father's tendency to Unitarianism and withdrew from membership in the Society of Friends in 1829.

<sup>2</sup> James Martineau (1805-1900), was pastor of the Unitarian chapel in Paradise Street, Liverpool. Already famous for his part in the so-called "Liverpool controversy," he stood on the threshold of a brilliant career as a liberal theologian and philosopher.

<sup>3</sup> Lucretia Mott was forty-seven years old!

1200—formerly a convent—St. John's Church still older—part in ruins. Rode out to Eaton Hall—seat of the Marquis of Westminster & his son Lord Grosvenor. The poor robbed to supply the luxuries!

[May] 30th. I. Winslow & Co. arrived. Visited St. Mary's Church—part in ruins—old man & wife guides. ("yes, [illegible].") Monuments of Knight & Lady of Charles 1st's reign—images of children kneeling & weeping. Various inscriptions—on one:

"He led a life scarce blemished with one stain,  
Beloved of all, and loving all again."

Outside seats to Manchester, young Methodist in company, disposed to talk. Passed seats of Lord de Tabley, Earl of Stanford & Warrington, Mayor Hall—Parks &c. large oaks—extensive forests, artificial—government;—bought cakes in small village—arrived at 3. York Hotel, King St. Painting of family by American artist—Freeman—All things nice—dined—walked to Piccadilly, Infirmary, Black Friar's bridge over the Irwell—Old collegiate church & college—a charitable Institution, boys under 13 conducted us through the Library—monotonous explanation of common curiosities—dressed in uniform—surrounded us with rings &c for sale—bought some—went to the market of the operatives, Bazaar, &c.

1st day [May] 31st. Went to Friends' Meeting<sup>1</sup>—silent—spoke to George Nelson—found our Anti-slavery friends gone to London—about 400 Friends—handsome [meeting] house, nice benches, all cushioned—high bonnets—many with veils. Only one minister—a woman—gone to Ireland. Afternoon Sunday school at I. Crewdson's church,<sup>2</sup> children instructed in the importance of baptism & supper & the orthodox faith—hymn sung, given out by John Cockbain<sup>3</sup>—prayer offered

<sup>1</sup> The meeting house on Mount Street, Manchester, was quite new in 1840, having been built only ten years before.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Crewdson (1780-1844), had recently precipitated a controversy by publishing his *Beacon to the Society of Friends* (1835), in which he had so far reacted from the views associated with the name of Elias Hicks as to repudiate the doctrine of the Inner Light in its eighteenth-century quietist form. A "delusive notion," he called it. London Yearly Meeting having refused to sanction his ultra-evangelical position, Crewdson with some 300 followers in Manchester, Bristol, and Kendal withdrew to form a separate meeting. The Crewdsonites did not long maintain an independent existence; the majority presently identified themselves with the Plymouth Brethren or the evangelical wing of the Church of England.

<sup>3</sup> John Cockbain was a silk mercer of Manchester. He withdrew his membership from the Society of Friends in 1837.

by him—accepted invitation from him & wife to tea—talk of our faith & theirs, sincerely anxious for us—went with them to evening meeting in coach provided by them. Isaac Crewdson, Pastor with two assistants—short silence—prayer—chapter read from Luke—sermon by I. Crewdson—silence—prayer—benediction—about 150 present—[meeting] house built after the manner of Friends, more ornamented—maple benches with green cushions & footstools—floor carpeted with coarse India matting as in most Meeting houses we saw. The gallery small, designed only for 5 or 6, to the exclusion of women. Some Friends in England also of the opinion that Women would not be called to that office if Men were faithful to their vocation. And these claim to be the legitimate descendants of George Fox & his noble & worthy cotemporaries! I. C. kindly invited us to go home & sup with him. They took us into their library—gave us books explanatory of their tenets—treated us kindly & charitably. We respected their zeal & sincerity, while we mourned such a declension from the simplicity of the Faith of the Society of Friends.

6 Mo. 1st. 2nd day. William Nield<sup>1</sup> called, provided a guide to the Cotton Factories. The women & children looked better than we expected to find them.<sup>2</sup> 1,000 to 1,200 employed—women 9/ per week, girls 6/6, some more—some as low as 3 & 4/, men 16/. Silk Mill—40 children in one room 3/ per week—next size 4/6. Women 8 to 10/. Men 18 to 20/. better than our slaves. Visited some of their homes—looked more comfortable than we expected, some attention paid to the education of their children; abundant sabbath schools. Little boy in Factory pretending to cry after his Father whom they would not let him see; gave him money—afterward suspected the imposition. Beautiful boy with a little white mouse in a cage; touched his hat for a penny. J. Cockbane called & presented books. Unitarian

<sup>1</sup> William Nield of Manchester withdrew from the Society of Friends in 1836.

<sup>2</sup> This was the beginning of the "Hungry Forties," a period of great distress for the English working class. Although James Mott echoed his wife's observations by commenting that the appearance of the workers was "not so bad as we expected," he added: "the situation of very many of this class, however, is pitiable; not having full employment, two scanty meals per day is frequently all they are able to procure and their children often go hungry to bed."—*Three Months*, 11.

Minister Robard<sup>1</sup> called on G. Bradburn—introduced to us. Visited Mechanics Institute—Jubilee scholars there. Rail road to Birmingham. Union Hotel—visited pin Factory—bought some for liberty to enter—never saw little girls' fingers move so fast as in sticking the pins—aided by a machine. Went also to brass-plating, silver & button factories. Used our time.

[June] 2nd. 3rd day, James called at Joseph Sturge's<sup>2</sup>—he had gone to London. His sister at home, invited us there, could not accept. Informed that Mary S. Lloyd<sup>3</sup> was going to Wales, would not be at the Convention—a disappointment, as she was the first to suggest the formation of Female Anti-Slavery societies in America. William Harrold called—gave us directions how to proceed on our journey—kind & polite. We walked through several handsome streets of the town—built on the side of a hill, in the form of a crescent; admired the shops. Coach to Warwick 20 miles, stopped at Woolpack, nice place—old-fashioned building, wainscoting, furniture, old Turkey carpet—floor not all covered—stone steps & halls as well as at many other places, entrance through a court. Visited old church, as friend Grew's taste led in that line; Hospital of the Twelve Brethren,—a bequest of long standing Dudley, Earl of Leicester—formerly for tradesmen now for soldiers—uniform—well-dressed gentlemen, living in idleness on the labor of others, robbery of the poor mis-called charity. Curtseying old Lady shewed us the premises, tower, beautiful prospect, dungeon, garden, &c. pleasant kitchen—sat sometimes admiring old furniture like Grandfather Folgers.<sup>4</sup> Jack for roasting—large bellows, 3 cornered chairs, large andirons—pipe box, iron & brass candlesticks, &c.

[June] 3rd. 4th day. Went to Warwick Castle, saw

<sup>1</sup> John Gooch Robberds (1789-1854), minister since 1811 of Cross Street Unitarian Church, Manchester.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Sturge (1793-1859), Birmingham corn merchant and Quaker philanthropist had led the fight for emancipation in the West Indies and was a leading spirit in the founding of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Although in the forefront of nearly every other humanitarian reform movement, he did not favor equal rights for women.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Samuel Lloyd (1795-1865) daughter-in-law to Samuel and Rachel Lloyd, had started a "Ladies' Negro's Friend Society" at West-bromwich and Wednesbery.

<sup>4</sup> William Folger (1728-1815), Lucretia Mott's maternal grandfather, was a wealthy shipowner of Nantucket, descended in the fourth generation from Peter Folger, one of the first purchasers of the island.

Guy Warwick's porridge pot on entrance, his armor & many curiosities, beautiful winding walk hung with ivy to the castle, grass mowed every fortnight, like velvet to tread upon. Conducted over the house—through long apartments to state bed-chambers, our escort there & at Eaton Hall so Lady like, were at a loss whether to offer a piece of silver, but it met a ready acceptance. Rode to Kenilworth. James' hat blew off, sixpence to the finder—hired books at gate—ruins indeed, more interesting to girls than to us—some sport—talk with women on the bank—fine grounds—on the whole a "catch-penny," in my view—not so say the others. Went to Stratford-on-Avon in the same Fly.—dined there, saw the house in which Shakespeare was born, much to the gratification of our company—not much to us—visited his grave—forgot to weep over it. James stood on it—quite a profanation. Saw several old tombs & monuments.

Thence in Post-chaises to Woodstock, enjoyed the ride—stopped at the Marlborough Arms—passed thro' beautiful country—farming in ridges—saw ruins of the Duke of Beaufort's Palace, now Marquis of Salisbury. Girls borrowed Scott's works—Kenilworth & Woodstock. Visited Blenheim Palace—beautiful grounds—1,200 head of deer, monument [to] Duke of Marlborough—trees arranged as his soldiers were in battle. Palace splendid—so much symmetry gratifying to organ of order—didn't see interior—covered  $7\frac{1}{2}$  acres—park 2,700 acres—accessible to all—Rosamonds well—the best water—160 acres covered with water, winding path, lost girls.

[June] 4th. 5th day. From Woodstock to Oxford to breakfast—posted—livery—amusing ride—George & Mary enjoyed themselves—breakfast slow-coming & scanty—eggs 3d. each—not well waited on—high charge—Colleges & Churches *galore*—library extensive—Bodlian 3 sides of large hall—many paintings, statues, models, &c. one beautiful piece of sculpture, by a woman, were told it was Mrs. Somerville's<sup>1</sup> favorite amusement—also of a daughter of the king of France. So much for woman's encouragement in the Arts. Saw the cross in the street where Ridley & Latimer

<sup>1</sup> Mary Somerville (1780-1872), physicist and astronomer, one of the few women scientists of the day, was also an accomplished painter and musician. Her autobiography, *Personal Recollections . . . of Mary Somerville* (London, 1873), says nothing, however, of sculpture as one of her avocations.

were burnt. New college chapel elegant—Christ's Church College largest—New College beautiful paintings on glass windows—7 virtues handsomely represented—Temperance pouring water into a glass—Fortitude leaning on a Lion—Faith resting on the cross—Charity raising three kneeling children—Hope resting on her anchor—Justice holding her scales & blind-fold—Prudence with serpents. Trinity College elegantly carved oak. Oxford to Slough Rail road on top of Coach 11 miles—met with Radicals [?]<sup>1</sup>—saw Gipsy's carts & a few of the "vagabond & useless tribe"—coachman communicative, as we generally found them—more intelligent than ours & would-be gentlemen—well-dressed—seldom left their seats—gave no assistance in changing horses—fat, fine-looking John Bulls. New railroad to Windsor, met with J. G. Birney<sup>1</sup>—Quaker lady spoke in a friendly manner to us. Omnibus to hotel—stranger recommended us to "Crown"—clean but not gratifying to pride. Visited the castle<sup>2</sup>—walked the Terrace & grounds—large & deep moats—talked with soldiers—saw children of Eton school celebrating George 3rd's birthday—a fete they were unwilling to give up—went in the evening to the river to see the fire-works—balloon ascension—beautiful barges on the Thames—rowed by 8 boys each with great rapidity—& much glee—fine music—thousands witnessing the scene—all separated quietly & in order—no excesses seen.

[June] 5th. 6th day. Went to the castle again—conducted thro' the magnificent apartments—gilt rooms—furniture covered with blue silk damask—elegant tapestry hangings—beautiful prospect from the windows, did not see Victoria's private rooms. Went to the Chapel during

<sup>1</sup> James Gillespie Birney (1792-1857) was one of the leaders of the anti-Garrisonian faction among American abolitionists. This perhaps explains the brevity of Lucretia Mott's reference to him! A staunch advocate of political action to achieve the abolition of slavery, he ran for President of the United States in 1840 (and again in 1844) as a candidate of the Liberty Party. In 1840 he published in England *The American Churches the Bulwark of American Slavery*. He was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Convention.

<sup>2</sup> Typically American is the reaction of James Mott, whose anti-aristocratic and anti-monarchical sentiments were shared by his wife: "Windsor Castle is one of the many monuments of the extravagance and folly of the English nobility and aristocracy which oppress the laborer, by taking from him, in the shape of impost and taxes, so much of his earnings as to leave but a scanty subsistence for himself. We met with scarcely any who appeared to see the effect of the large palaces and parks on the population."—*Three Months*, 12.

morning service—couldn't understand the indistinct speaker—boys responses & chauntings bordering on the ridiculous—banners waving over their heads—war & the church united—beautiful sculpture on cenotaph of the Princess Charlotte, representing her in the position in which she died—with a sheet thrown over her—exquisitely done—rising from her an angelic form said to be a likeness of herself, attending angels bearing her babe—friends weeping—kneeling beside the bed—altogether most moving—most melancholy! G. Bradburn riveted to the spot—went thro' Eton school—all very simple—old-fashioned furniture—school-rooms dismal—old oaken seats &c. bed rooms most common—children of "the great" educated there preparatory to Oxford & Cambridge—grounds extensive. From Windsor to London 20 miles, top of coach; saw gipsies by wayside—their wagon standing in the field. Women at work weeding the fields of grain—7 or 8 in a body with their implements in hand—Fine roads—rapid travelling. Women & children with small wheelbarrows & in their aprons gathering manure & selling it in small quantities. The road swept & scraped like our streets—side road paved on McAdamized curb stones—walking so good that English Women may well walk 5 or 6 miles in the country without dread of fatigue. As we drew near London passed thro' places familiar to us by name—Brentford, Hounslow Heath—Knights bridge—Piccadilly, Hyde Park—Green Park—Charing cross—Strand—Temple Bar—Fleet street—Ludgate Hill—St. Pauls—Cheapside—gazing & admiring till our Coachman turned into Friday Lane & up a dark court, where we dismounted in the rain at "Saracen's Head" and were ushered into a dismal dark back room—and this, we exclaimed, is London!<sup>1</sup> We let our escorts have no rest, till they went out & found other lodgings. Sarah & Abby went to a confectioners & purchased cakes on which we made a dinner—Men returned with Dr. Shearman<sup>2</sup> from Anti-Slavery office, who introduced us to Mark Moore's,

<sup>1</sup> Something of the forbidding initial aspect of this once-famous inn at Snow Hill—razed when the Holborn Viaduct was built—was captured by Dickens in *Nicholas Nickleby*: "Near to the jail, and by consequence near to Smithfield . . . is the coachyard of the Saracen's Head Inn; its portals guarded by two Saracens' heads and shoulders . . . frowning upon you from each side of the gateway. The Inn itself garnished with another Saracen's head, frowns upon you from the top of the yard."

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. J. H. Shearman was minister of the Baptist church in Sheffield.



No 6 Queen St. Place, Southwark bridge, Cheapside—a comfortable place, where we met with many Abolitionists, among whom a number from America,—J. G. Birney, H. B. Stanton, & his niece Elizabeth, E. Galusha, N. Colver, William Knibb & W. Clark from Jamaica—2 colored men—Barrett & Beckford, Samuel Prescod from Barbadoes.<sup>1</sup>

7th Day [June] 6th. Joseph Sturge breakfasted with us—begged submission of us to the London Committee—read a letter from Thomas Clarkson<sup>2</sup> on the subject—acknowledged he had received letters from America on the same subject—made great professions—invited us to tea at the Anti-Slavery rooms with such of the Delegates as had arrived. We endeavored to shew him the inconsistency of excluding Women Delegates—but soon found he had prejudged & made up his mind to act with our New Organization<sup>3</sup>; therefore all reasoning was lost upon him, and our

<sup>1</sup> Henry B. Stanton (1805-87), considered by some to be the ablest American orator for the anti-slavery cause, was an associate of Birney and a strong believer in political action; he had recently broken with Garrison on this issue. Just before leaving the United States he had married Elizabeth Cady (1815-1902), later to be with Lucretia Mott, the principal standard-bearer in the crusade for women's rights. This was the first meeting of the two feminist pioneers. Elon Galusha (d. 1859), prominent American Baptist minister, had been appointed with the Rev. Nathaniel Colver (below) to represent the National Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention, recently organized in New York; Galusha was also a delegate of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Nathaniel Colver (1794-1870), Baptist clergyman, had recently been called to be first minister of the First Free Baptist Church in Boston, Massachusetts, later known as Tremont Temple. An able orator, he had devoted nearly all his time during the previous two years to the anti-slavery cause, serving for a time as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Edward Barrett, Henry Beckford, and the Rev. William Knibb are listed in the *Proceedings* of the Convention as delegates of the Baptist Western Union of Jamaica. Henry Beckford was a Negro who had endured twenty-eight years of slavery in Jamaica before he was freed in 1837. William Knibb (1803-45), known as "the O'Connell of Jamaica," was active in promoting and defending missionary work in Jamaica and in pleading the cause of the Negro; he was in England in 1840 to lecture on the results of emancipation and to appeal for the enlargement of his mission. No "W. Clark" is listed among the delegates, but the Rev. John Clarke is named as from Kingston and St. Catherine, Jamaica.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846), one of the pioneers of the anti-slavery movement in Great Britain, stood high in the affection and admiration of Friends. It had been a book by the Philadelphia Quaker Anthony Benezet that had originally drawn him to the anti-slavery position and his lifelong interest in the Society of Friends was evinced by his *Portraiture of Quakerism* (1806) and *Memoirs of William Penn* (1813). Though in his 81st year and much broken in health, he was to serve briefly as Chairman of the Convention, making a short address.

<sup>3</sup> The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (see Introduction).

appeals made in vain. E. Pease<sup>1</sup> called—a fine, noble-looking girl;—she went with us to Houndsditch—bonnet-makers; talked orthodoxy on the way—thence to their lodgings to see her Parents—heard her Father<sup>2</sup> talk British-India and "twopence-a-day wages";—his wife—Elizabeth's step-mother—an Irish Friend Sarah Bradshaw<sup>3</sup>—granddaughter of Samuel Hoare<sup>4</sup>—remembered my aunt Elizabeth Barker, her sister called—a primly dressed Irish Friend, also Sarah Dymond a cousin of the author of that name<sup>5</sup>—a Crewdsonite—good abolitionist & interested in the Temperance cause. Evening visit to the Anti-Slavery rooms pleasant & interesting<sup>6</sup>—This is a common practice in England. When committees meet they have tea & invite company to join them, after which they appoint a chairman & make the conversation general. William D. Crewdson<sup>7</sup> was chairman—addressed his friends by the title of "Mr."—Conversation on the expediency of continuing such conventions—[I] enquired if they, as well as all our [recent?] efforts were based on the duty of "immediate emancipation." On being answered affirmatively, gave them to understand

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Pease (1807-1897) of Feetham, Darlington, member of a prominent English Quaker family. Deeply concerned over the plight of the Negro slave, she had organized a Woman's Abolition Society in Darlington in 1836. Learning with sorrow of the existence of race prejudice in certain American Quaker meetings, she published in 1840 *The Society of Friends in the United States and Their Views of the Slavery Question*. She later married John Pringle Nichol, the astronomer, a non-Friend, and was disowned therefor.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Pease (1772-1846) devoted himself with equal vigour to the welfare of the Indian people, the reform of the British East India Company, the emancipation of Negro slaves in the West Indies, and the improvement of the condition of the working classes in England.

<sup>3</sup> Lucretia Mott apparently mistook the name of Joseph Pease's second wife; it was *Anna* Bradshaw. They were married in 1831.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Hoare (1716-1796), eminent London Quaker merchant.

<sup>5</sup> Jonathan Dymond (1796-1828), author of *An Enquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity* (1823).

<sup>6</sup> The offices of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society were at 27 New Broad Street, London.

<sup>7</sup> William Dillworth Crewdson (1799-1878), although he withdrew from the Society of Friends at the time of the separation led by his kinsman Isaac Crewdson (see above, p. 16), continued throughout his life to be interested in the welfare of the Society and the furtherance of its concerns. He was described as "a fine portly Quaker"—Richard Allen's "Random Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Struggle," quoted by Hannah Maria Wigham, *A Christian Philanthropist of Dublin: A Memoir of Richard Allen* (London, 1886), 31.

that this originating with E. Heyrick<sup>1</sup>—a woman, when the convention should be held in America, we should not contemplate the exclusion of Women. Many spoke kindly to us, some responded "hear, hear"! all were pleasant. Elizabeth Pease the only female present beside ourselves—about 25 men.

1st day [June] 7. Went to Grace-Church St Meeting—not large—few in the gallery—no preachers—2 hours formal silence—none spoke to us. [Meeting] House pleasant—light admitted from the [top?] floors—benches—& foot-stools covered with East India matting. After Meeting walked around the monument of the great fire—went to London bridge & to our lodgings to dine. Afternoon at St. Paul's—locked in—heard pretty good sermon—service formal—a mockery for sensible, intelligent people to employ children to chaunt &c. Walked with H. & E. Stanton to Newgate St.—Prison, and Smithfield where John Rogers of New England Primer memory<sup>2</sup> was burnt at the stake, now a cattle market. Home to tea. Isaac Winslow & party who had been travelling in Wales, arrived to the joy of all. The Morgans of Birmingham & C. E. Lester<sup>3</sup> called—talked sectarianism, non-resistance &c. Invited by C. Colver<sup>4</sup> to go to his Meeting & speak—did not accept—on his return with Galusha, treated me rather rudely.

[June] 8 2nd day. Breakfasted at Joseph Pease's

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Heyrick (1769-1831), a Friend of Leicester, was the first to put forward in public the doctrine of immediate as opposed to gradual emancipation. Her *Immediate not Gradual Abolition* (1824) was a decisive influence in causing William Lloyd Garrison to take up this radical position.

<sup>2</sup> The *New England Primer*, on which generations of Americans were raised, contained a rhymed "Exhortation unto His Children" ascribed to John Rogers, the martyr. Accompanying the poem was the statement that "his wife with nine small children and one at her breast [followed] him to the stake, with which sorrowful sight he was not in the least daunted, but with wonderful patience died courageously for the gospel of Jesus Christ." This touching scene was ineradicably etched in the memories of thousands of young Americans by a crude sketch showing the martyr in flames with his bereaved brood looking on.

<sup>3</sup> William Morgan and the Rev. Thomas Morgan are listed in the *Proceedings* of the Convention as delegates, the latter representing the Midland and Pembroke-shire Baptist Association. The Rev. Charles E. Lester was minister of the Bleeker Street Church in Utica, New York. In 1841 he published *The Glory and the Shame of England*, including a humorous account of the debate over the admission of women to the Convention (I, 117-23).

<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly a slip for N[athaniel] Colver (see above, p. 22, n. 1).

lodgings, in company with Professor Adam<sup>1</sup>; talk of British India—Women's exclusion from Convention &c. J. G. Birney came in—soon retired to the dining room. We stayed late, enjoyed the visit, liked Elizabeth much—made observations on mode of entertaining company to breakfast in England—more simple than we expected to find it. S. Dymond walked back to our lodgings with us—Wrote letters home—Tea at Anti-Slavery rooms. Anne Knight<sup>2</sup> introduced—a singular looking woman—very pleasant & polite. S. Dymond & E. Pease there—also many whom we had not before met—Jonathan Backhouse,<sup>3</sup> Josiah Forster, & [brother?] Robert, William Smeal, William Ball, George Alexander, George Thompson<sup>4</sup> &c. Company large—E. Pease & self called to make tea—young men very attentive—Josiah Forster called James aside—informed him he had received word from America, that we were not Friends—presented our certificates—explained some things—found them ignorant & bigoted, but kind in feeling after disclaiming religious fellowship.<sup>5</sup> Jacob Post<sup>6</sup> invited us to dine the

<sup>1</sup> William Adam, briefly (1839-40) professor of Oriental languages in Harvard College, formerly in the service of the British East India Company, now an officer of the British India Society, author of *The Law and Custom of Slavery in British India* (1840).

<sup>2</sup> Anne Knight (1792-1862) of Chelmsford, editor of *School Room Lyrics; or, Poetry for the Young*, later active in the woman suffrage movement in England. She was to be instrumental in founding the Sheffield Female Political Association, which issued, in 1851, the first manifesto on votes for women ever promulgated by a female organization in England.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Backhouse (1779-1842) of Darlington, married Hannah Chapman Gurney in 1811.

<sup>4</sup> Josiah Forster (1782-1870), Clerk for twelve years of London Yearly Meeting, was an active member of the Friends Educational Association, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Anti-Slavery Society. Robert Forster (1791-1873), like his brother, was interested in the anti-slavery movement and the education of the poor. William Smeal (1793-1877), Glasgow tea merchant, was a minister in the Society of Friends and a leading figure in the Scottish anti-slavery movement. William Ball (1801-1878) also was an acknowledged minister, as well as a writer of devotional verses and hymns. George William Alexander (1802-1890) of London and Stoke Newington, was the author of *Letters on the Slave Trade, Slavery, and Emancipation . . . Addressed to Friends on the Continent of Europe, during a Visit to Spain and Portugal* (1842). George Thompson (1804-1878), English anti-slavery orator, had visited the United States, where he worked with Garrison and Whittier to organize American abolitionist sentiment; because of his eloquence he was called by John Bright "the real liberator of the slaves in the English colonies."

<sup>5</sup> James Mott gives a more extended account of this interview. See *Three Months*, 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob Post (1774-1855) of Islington was a prolific writer on Quaker doctrine, discipline, and history.

next day—a letter to him from I. T. Hopper.<sup>1</sup> Gave account of Delaware Mob<sup>2</sup> at the suggestion of G. Thompson—answered some questions relative to Pennsylvania Hall.<sup>3</sup> not well satisfied with the narration.

3rd day. [June] 9th. Wendell Phillips<sup>4</sup> & wife called—George Thompson & Robert Douglass<sup>5</sup> to breakfast—cousin Starbucks<sup>6</sup> called—very affectionate & kind—informed us they were Church people—E. Robbins & Lavinia Rand called—would like tickets to the Convention—wrote a letter—dined at Jacob Post's—Islington, 3 miles—in company with a French lady Mrs Voidell & Anne Knight. All things in nice order. J. Post a benevolent man, his wife a worthy woman tho' ignorant. Talked with them of our separation—Anne Knight enlarged on the importance of belief in the Atonement. Read some scraps from Bernard Barton's

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Tatem Hopper (1771-1852) was an American Friend and ardent abolitionist, active in the "Underground Railroad" by which fugitive slaves were assisted to freedom. So forward was he in promoting anti-slavery activity that he was disowned in 1841 by New York Monthly Meeting (Hicksite).

<sup>2</sup> In the summer of 1839 Lucretia Mott, accompanied by Daniel Neall and his wife, had paid a religious visit to meetings in Delaware. At the town of Smyrna, Daniel Neall was seized by a mob, who accused him of preaching "disorganizing doctrines" on the subject of slavery. Lucretia Mott, with great courage, followed the mob, protesting that she was the real offender and pleading with them not to maltreat an innocent man. Daniel Neall was let off with what Lucretia Mott's biographer calls a "moderate" tarring and feathering. See Hallowell, 132-33.

<sup>3</sup> In 1838 the Philadelphia abolitionists, lacking a suitable place for holding anti-slavery meetings erected a building called Pennsylvania Hall. On May 16, Garrison, Lucretia Mott, and others spoke there. The next day a mob broke into the hall and set it on fire, the city authorities showing little disposition to interpose. The mob threatened also to destroy the Motts' house on Race Street, but was diverted to an attack upon a home for Negro orphans.

<sup>4</sup> Wendell Phillips (1811-84) of Boston was a recent convert to the radical abolitionist cause; he had leaped into prominence as the result of an extemporaneous speech at a meeting in Boston in 1837, protesting the murder of Elijah Lovejoy, an abolitionist editor, at Alton, Illinois. He shared many of Garrison's views but surpassed him in emotional balance and intellectual capacity. His notable gifts as an orator he devoted to pleading the cause of the slave on lyceum platforms.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Douglass, a Negro portrait painter from Philadelphia, who had come to London for further study, bearing a letter of introduction from Thomas Sully.

<sup>6</sup> The Starbucks had been a leading family of Nantucket from the earliest days of settlement on the island. One branch of this numerous family had removed to England. Lucretia Mott was related to the Starbucks through her father.

poetry. Gave book for I. T. Hopper. Waited on us back in Omnibus—apologized that their carriage was preoccupied by French lady—Evening Party at Mark Moore's—G. Thompson, A. Knight, E. Pease &c. W. D. Crewdson & William Ball came with official information that Women were to be rejected. Asked Colver & Galusha if they had heard that similar course was to be pursued toward the new organization—alarmed them. Much talk till after 12 o'clock—checked G. T. for indulging in lightness on the subject.

4th day [June]. 10th. Joseph Sturge & Scales called to endeavor to reconcile us to our fate—called a meeting of women to protest, joined by William Adam, G. Thompson & W. Phillips.—Went to Zoological gardens—Regents Park with large party. Tea again at Anti-Slavery rooms—met J. Haughton<sup>1</sup> and daughters from Ireland—William Boulton of Birmingham & several women—William Ball's wife &c. William Edward Foster<sup>2</sup> very kind & attentive—abundant provision, fruits &c.—subjects of conversation more diversified—Colonization—J. G. Birney gave a modest & interesting account of his change of views—British India—Joseph Pease gave much information—Colver hoped for success from that source alone—answered him by reminding him & others that our main reliance must be on moral power—offended him somewhat—free produce introduced<sup>3</sup>, called on me to speak—replied that we had been asked why we could not get the gentlemen to say for us all we wished, so now I would request Henry Grew or James Mott to speak for me—insisted on my going on—gave some rubs on our proposed exclusion—cries of hear!, hear!,—offended Colver—told me I should have been called to order if I had not been a woman. Joseph Sturge announced with great trepidation

<sup>1</sup> James Haughton (1795-1873) was a man of liberal religious views in Dublin with whom Lucretia Mott corresponded in later years; his father had been disowned by Friends for heterodoxy (see below, p. 51).

<sup>2</sup> William Edward Forster (1818-1886), raised in a Quaker family, was not yet embarked upon his distinguished career as a Liberal statesman. At the age of 22 he was still learning the woollen business, having spent some time in the factories of the Pease family in Darlington.

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to the movement among certain American abolitionists to boycott the products of slave labor. See Ruth Ketring Nuernberger, *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest against Slavery*, Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXV (Durham, North Carolina, 1942).

that "our youthful queen" had been shot at in Hyde Park.<sup>1</sup>

5th day [June] 11th. William Boulton breakfasted with us—also William E. Forster who gave us an interesting account of his uncle T. F. Buxton's plan of colonization &c. in Africa.—Met again about our exclusion—William Boulton wished to have our decision—talked much with him, liked him—agreed on the following Protest :

The American Women Delegates from Pennsylvania to the World's Convention would present to the Committee of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society their grateful acknowledgments for the kind attentions received by them since their arrival in London. But while as individuals they return thanks for these favors, as delegates from the bodies appointing them, they deeply regret to learn by a series of resolutions passed at a Meeting of your Committee, bearing reference to credentials from the Mass. Society, that it is contemplated to exclude women from a seat in the convention, as co-equals in the advocacy of Universal Liberty. The Delegates will duly communicate to their constituents, the intimation which these resolutions convey : in the mean time they stand prepared to co-operate to any extent, and in any form, consistent with their instructions, in promoting the just objects of the Convention, to whom it is presumed will belong the power of determining the validity of any claim to a seat in that body.

On behalf of the Delegates  
very respectfully  
Sarah Pugh

6 Mo. 11th. 40

H. Grew—J. Mott—& Joseph Sturge with many others waited on Lord Brougham<sup>2</sup> with a box presented him by Managers of Pennsylvania Hall—the company of Women not desired.

<sup>1</sup> This attempt on the life of Queen Victoria by a young man named Edward Oxford was made while she and the Prince Consort were riding on Constitution Hill. The would-be assassin missed his aim and the Queen was unscathed. Tried for high treason, Oxford was found "not guilty on the ground of insanity" and was sent to Bedlam.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Brougham (1778-1868) had earned the gratitude and admiration of American abolitionists by his speech in Parliament during the great debate on slavery in July, 1830, when he invoked the "higher law" of God and rejected "the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man."

Evening. Several sent to us to persuade us not to offer ourselves to the Convention—Colver rather bold in his suggestions—answered & of course offended him. W. Morgan & Scales informed us "it wasn't designed as a *World* Convention—that was a mere Poetical license," & that all power would rest with the "London Committee of Arrangements." Prescod of Jamaica (colored) thought it would lower the dignity of the Convention and bring ridicule on the whole thing if ladies were admitted—he was told that similar reasons were urged in Pennsylvania for the exclusion of colored people from our meetings—but had we yielded on such flimsy arguments, we might as well have abandoned our enterprise. Colver thought Women constitutionally unfit for public or business meetings—he was told that the colored man too was said to be *constitutionally* unfit to mingle with the white man. He left the room angry.

6th day 6 Mo. 12th. The World's Convention—*alias* the "Conference of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," with such guests as they chose to invite, assembled. We were kindly admitted behind the bar—politely conducted to our seats and introduced to many, whom we had not before met—Dr. Bowring<sup>1</sup>—William Ashurst<sup>2</sup>—a Mrs Thompson, grand-daughter of Lady Middleton who first suggested to Wilberforce some action in Parliament on Slavery. Samuel King also appeared—made kind inquiries after children & friends. William Forster<sup>3</sup> spoke to us introduced him to S. Pugh as orthodox—he begged there might be no allusion to differences between us,—said, "thou touches me on a tender spot—I remember thee with much affection in Baltimore in 1820." Afterward invited us to his house at Norwich—not merely to call but to make a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Bowring (1792-1872) of Exeter was a man of many parts—linguist, literary critic and anthologist, reformer of the British Exchequer, opponent of the Corn Laws, and world traveller. He had been a close friend of Jeremy Bentham and was executor of his estate.

<sup>2</sup> William H. Ashurst (1792-1855) was a London solicitor, influenced in his religious and political views by Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin; he was an agitator for postal reform, women's rights, and the abolition of capital punishment.

<sup>3</sup> William Forster (1784-1854) had travelled widely in the ministry among Friends. He made his first visit to America in 1820 and in the course of a five-year sojourn there found "a speculative disposition" widely current in the eastern Yearly Meetings, foreshadowing the separation of 1827-28. He presumably met Lucretia Mott at Baltimore Yearly Meeting in October, 1820.



visit. E. Neall delighted with all she saw—particularly with meeting with Dr Bowring. Meeting opened in a dignified manner—silence observed. Those who wished prayer informed the next room was appropriated for them. Thomas Clarkson's entrance deeply interesting—accompanied by his daughter-in-law & her little son, his only representative. Most of the speeches &c. being reported in the papers &c. renders it unnecessary to record any part here. S. Prescod was warned that his conduct would be watched & he must be on his guard not to compromise "the dignity of the convention." He was the first however to bring ridicule on himself & to throw the meeting into confusion by improper mention of the "Goddess Delegates."<sup>1</sup> Friends present—nearly all opposed to women's admission which was well introduced by Wendell Phillips—J. C. Fuller<sup>2</sup> told us the secret of it was that so many of us were not of their faith—that it was announced in London Yearly Meeting that we were coming, and they were put on their guard. George Stacey<sup>3</sup> made some remarks on the subject, exposing his apostacy as a Quaker. He & others were answered nicely by Dr Bowring—William Ashurst—George Bradburn and William Adam. George Thompson too & several others spoke well for us. Col. Miller<sup>4</sup> amusing. Dr B. said it was "a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance"<sup>5</sup>—William Ashurst pointed them to the inconsistency of calling a

<sup>1</sup> No speech of Samuel Prescod including these words is printed in the *Proceedings* of the Convention. He is, however, reported as saying that he had understood from the women delegates that they came to the Convention without a certain expectation of being received, having been instructed to claim seats only if the custom of the country and the sense of the Convention allowed. He was ruled out of order for having repeated mere private conversations.—*Proceedings*, 43.

<sup>2</sup> James Commings Fuller (d. 1847), an English Friend, recently resident in Skaneateles, New York.

<sup>3</sup> George Stacey (1786-1857), Clerk of London Yearly Meeting from 1838 to 1849.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Jonathan P. Miller (1796-1847) of Montpelier, Vermont, a veteran of the American War of 1812 and of the Greek War of Independence, was an attorney, a former member of the Vermont legislature, and a lecturer in the anti-slavery cause. He avowed that women were among the "primeval abolitionists" in the State of Vermont: "They took it into their heads to establish a standard of liberty, and were seconded by their husbands."—*Proceedings*, 31.

<sup>5</sup> Bowring adverted to the fact that Great Britain was ruled by a woman and that the Society of Friends "have given to their women a great, honorable, and religious prominence." He looked upon the female delegation from the United States as "one of the most interesting, the most encouraging, and the most delightful symptoms of the times."—*Proceedings*, 25.

"World's Convention" to abolish Slavery—and at its threshold depriving half the world their liberty. H. Grew betrayed some inconsistency—discussion very animated—rather noisy—the result cheered, unworthily—were told it was common in England. Several beautiful speeches on Clarkson's presence. J. A. James<sup>1</sup> alluding to him & his little grandson called them the evening and morning stars. John Burnet,<sup>2</sup> one of the most eloquent men of the day. Made impressive remarks on the importance of laying aside every passion, but a well directed, well controlled zeal. O'Connell's entrance greatly cheered. Beckford's address to Clarkson impressive. He was a liberated slave from the West Indies—said to the audience "look at me and work on." O'Connell took off his hat & bowed to him when he closed. dined in a large public room adjoining the Meeting—Amelia Opie<sup>3</sup>—the Forsters—Backhouses—William Ball—Samuel King & many more there.

7th day [June] 13th. Sat with the family during their worship as was our practice when not otherwise engaged—G. Thompson—W. E. Forster & others also gave us their company. E. Galusha led the exercises—in his prayer was personal—prayed *at*, as G. Thompson said, rather than *for*. He was replied to according to his deserts. These occasions sometimes furnished opportunity for explaining sentiments that had been mis-represented. Our host Mark Moore offered his services to get the use of a room belonging to their congregation (Baptist) for us to have a public religious meeting in. He succeeded so far as to have some notice given when some Friends hearing of it came forward and represented us in such a manner as to induce them to withdraw the grant. The Unitarians then offered theirs, which we gladly accepted, & for which we were more than ever denounced. Dr Hutton of Carter Lane<sup>4</sup> kindly called to see

<sup>1</sup> Rev. John Angell James (1785-1859), dissenting minister and public-spirited citizen of Birmingham.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Burnet represented the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

<sup>3</sup> Amelia Opie (1769-1853), novelist and poet, was the wife of John Opie, R.A., and a close friend of Elizabeth Fry. Upon being received into membership in the Society of Friends, she gave up the writing of novels and devoted herself to devotional verse and works of charity.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Hutton (1790-1860), Unitarian minister, formerly of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, since 1835 minister of the Unitarian congregation at Carter Lane, London.

us from William Adam's recommendation. Jonathan Backhouse called & invited the orthodox part of our company to S. Gurney's the next day & would ask the others but where there were young people they were afraid of our principles.

Meeting very interesting—A. Knight attentive—provided arm-chair for me. J. A. James introduced to us—also Joseph Eaton a Temperance man,<sup>1</sup>—a Friend informed us a general Conference was to be held on that subject—gave us some tracts—It was gratifying that this important subject had begun to awaken wine-drinking England. Roll called titles given to the worthy & the unworthy—J. C. Fuller answered to his "I'm no squire" (laughter). Church resolutions<sup>2</sup>—Birney eloquent on the subject—said, "Let us speak in a voice that shall fall like a thunderbolt, from the cloud of abstractions in which they have been dwelling." Stovell & William James, Unitarian minister from Bridgewater opposed each other. The latter would not deny communion for any fault or crime.

Nice lunch at confectioners near lodgings—to tea in company with Joseph Marriage, a nephew of Ann Jones<sup>3</sup>—Benjamin Godwin—Anne Knight. conversed on Peace—woman &c. N. Colver spoke impertinently to A. Knight.

1st day [June] 14th. Went to Devonshire house meeting. E. Pease & her Mother there—& William Boulton. Old Friend said a few words on the orthodox faith.

Afternoon note from Clarkson acknowledging "the obligations which our sacred cause owes to the American Ladies, for having so warmly taken it up, & protected it on their side of the water against the attacks of its adversaries; & this in times of threatened persecution. Also a debt of gratitude for having made the sacrifice of leaving their

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Eaton (1792-1858), a Bristol Friend who had given up his business as a wholesale ironmonger to devote himself to reform, especially total abstinence and the abolition of slavery.

<sup>2</sup> After a paper by the Rev. Benjamin Goodwin of Oxford on "The Essential Sinfulness of Slavery and Its Direct Opposition to the Precepts and Spirit of Christianity," resolutions were introduced branding slaveholding a sin against God and calling upon churches to exclude slaveowners from church fellowship.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Marriage, Jr. (1773-1849) of Chelmsford, was author of *Letters on the Distressed State of the Agricultural Labourers . . . Addressed to the Nobility of England* (1830). His uncle and aunt, George and Ann Jones, had been travelling in America during the difficult years preceding the Great Separation of 1827-28.

families and encountering the dangers of the ocean to serve it." He would call that evening for the purpose with his his daughter & little grandson. Much preparation for him—"North Star"<sup>1</sup> for his grandson. E. Neall wrote appropriately on the blank leaf—tables removed—broken in the attempt. He came attended by Joseph Sams,<sup>2</sup> Anne Knight & others. Interesting time—gave girls locks of hair<sup>3</sup>—made touching speeches to several—when E. Neall was introduced as the grand-daughter of Warner Mifflin,<sup>4</sup> he exclaimed "dear child! he was the first man who liberated his slaves unconditionally"—a short address to him from the eldest delegate. J. Sams invited J. & self to go home with them & sup with our venerable friend but a prior engagement at Dr. Hutton's prevented—went there late in the evening. 2 miles & had an hour's pleasant conversation with him & wife. She had called that afternoon to arrange for a meeting. call also from E. Reid & Julia Smith—friends of H. Martineau.

2nd day [June] 15th. Sir Eardley Wilmot<sup>5</sup> introduced—1st in Parliament to oppose the apprenticeship & the Hill Cooley oppression. O'Connell—excellent—amusing—came to us. Thanked him for pleading our cause—rejected complimentary speeches in lieu of robbed rights—present of his button by William Boulton—Alexander Brockway introduced to us by G. Bradburn—Peace man—J. C. Fuller didn't like the Quaker form of silence introduced—Jonathan Backhouse hoped care would be observed on religious ground. I. Crewdson desired theological points would not be touched but those aggrieved could leave. dined at E. Reid's. Julia Smith there—her father the friend of Wilberforce & Clarkson

<sup>1</sup> The *North Star* was a gift book published for an anti-slavery fair in Philadelphia, late in 1839. Among other poems it contained the first printing of the anti-slavery poem on "The World's Convention" by John Greenleaf Whittier, who acted as editor of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Sams (1784-1860), eccentric Orientalist and antiquarian bookseller, formerly a teacher at Ackworth School.

<sup>3</sup> So desirous were the young women for locks of Clarkson's hair, records James Mott, that someone remarked his hair was in danger of being all cut off, but the old abolitionist replied: "Never mind, shear away."—*Three Months*, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Warner Mifflin (1745-1798), American Quaker abolitionist, grew up on a Virginia plantation and came into possession of several slaves whom he manumitted in 1775, paying them for their services since the age of twenty-one.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Eardley Wilmot (1810-1892), barrister and politician, Conservative M.P. for South Warwickshire.

in Parliament on the Slave Trade. Elisabeth A. Ashurst<sup>1</sup> there. everything very nice—took a nap in lolling chair—E. Reid manifested much sympathy with us in our exclusion—took tea at Irish Friends lodgings—Richard & Hannah Webb—Richard & Ann Allen-Thomas & James Webb & Ann his wife and James Webb Senior the venerable Father of the 3 brothers—a fine looking old gentleman—all from Dublin<sup>2</sup>—R. R. Moore Irish Barrister<sup>3</sup>—speaker in the convention on the British India question—ardent—animated—rather vehement—quite interesting. Dr. Madden & Mr Turnbull<sup>4</sup> also there—much interesting conversation—tea in peculiar style—all waited on us with generous Irish hospitality. R. Webb & R. Allen walked home with us 2 miles.

3rd day [June] 16th. Robert Douglass called—Note from E. Reid enclosing letter from H. Martineau—Turnbull introduced French Delegates—among them "a child of Israel"<sup>5</sup>—explained their names—Dr. Bowring interpreted their speeches well—

O'Connell made us another visit—said he was not satisfied with the decision of the convention respecting us—whereupon he received a note asking for his sentiments on paper—which he readily complied with—not necessary to copy it here as tis probably printed in the *Liberator*<sup>6</sup>—Anne Knight introduced William Martin of Cork who first influenced Father Matthew<sup>7</sup> in the Temperance cause. Judge Jeremy<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth A. Ashurst was the daughter of William Ashurst (above, p. 29, n. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Of Richard Allen (1803-1886) and the Webbs it was later said that during the years 1834-45 they were "the centre of a general movement for reform and the amelioration of the ills of humanity in every direction. Slavery, temperance, British India, anti-opium, anti-capital punishment, anti-corn law, mesmerism, cold-water cure—everything was taken up. . . they were called by a jocosse newspaper editor 'Anti-everythingarians.'"—Alfred Webb, quoted in Wigham, *A Christian Philanthropist*, 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Ross Rowan Moore (1811-1864) was later associated with Cobden and Bright in the Anti-Corn-Law League.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Robert Madden, M.D. (1798-1886) had been appointed to administer the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, 1833-41. W. B. David D. Turnbull (1811-1863), archivist and antiquary.

<sup>5</sup> Adolphe Crémieux (1796-1880) was so introduced to the Convention by David Turnbull. A distinguished liberal barrister, he pleaded many cases in the courts of France involving questions of freedom of religion and of the press.

<sup>6</sup> *Liberator*, 10 (September 4, 1840), 143.

<sup>7</sup> Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856), Franciscan friar and apostle of total abstinence in Ireland.

<sup>8</sup> Sir John Jeremie (1795-1841), Governor of Sierra Leone, formerly public prosecutor of the island of Mauritius, where he had been mobbed for his abolitionist sympathies.

spoke earnestly about Mauritius & the Coolies—shook his head much—Henry Corbit<sup>1</sup> arrived. left our seats to speak to him—reported British Queen at Portsmouth—lunch at eating house—large company—E. Pease & her Parents there—talked with Josiah Forster, George Stacey & Joseph Sturge about a meeting for women exclusively—threw some obstacles in the way—promised to try—Stacey said rather pettishly, our coming as Delegates had made it more difficult—tea at E. Reid's in company with Joseph Marriage—Anne Knight—John Keep and William Dawes—the two latter from Oberlin<sup>2</sup>—make their home there—left early to call on Henry & Sarah Corbit—had so much to say, stayed late—rode there and back—Cabs & Omnibuses a great convenience in this widely extended City.

4th day [June] 17th. Introduced S. Corbit to the meeting—not so interesting as some days. T. F. Buxton<sup>3</sup> was happy to address an assembly he respected so much. Dr. Madden read a long account of the West Indies—read our letters from home a great treat—heard that Garrison, Rogers, Remond & Adams<sup>4</sup> had arrived—left at 2 o'clock to

<sup>1</sup> Henry Corbit (1800-1851) and his wife Sarah were Philadelphia Quakers.

<sup>2</sup> John Keep (1781-1870) and William Dawes were members of the Board of Trustees of Oberlin College in Ohio, the centre of the abolition movement in the midwestern states. Keep, as Chairman, had cast the deciding vote in 1836 for the admission of Negroes to the college. The two men were in England as delegates to the Convention and also to raise money for the college; they collected more than \$30,000, more than half from Friends.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845), successor to William Wilberforce as leader of the anti-slavery forces in Parliament, had introduced the resolution for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. He had just published, in 1839, *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Columbus*, bearing four belated American delegates, docked at Liverpool on 16 June. William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), editor since 1831 of *The Liberator* and one of the most articulate and well-known, though not the most influential of American abolitionists, was a universal reformer, equally dedicated to the emancipation of the slave, the rights of women, temperance, war-resistance, and a half-dozen other causes. Nathaniel Peabody Rogers (1794-1846) of New Hampshire was editor of *The Herald of Freedom* and a close friend of Garrison. Charles Lenox Remond (1810-1873), eloquent Negro leader, was the first member of his race to address public gatherings in the United States on behalf of abolition; because of his colour he had been obliged to travel steerage on the way to the Convention. William Adams was a Scotch "friend of the Friends" from Pawtucket, Rhode Island, who, although he held Quaker beliefs and dressed in plain Quaker garb, refused to become a member of the Society of Friends because of what he considered its lukewarmness on the subject of abolition.

go to a meeting of the Prison Society at Westminster with William Ball's wife & many others—stopped & bought cakes—met E. Robbins & Lavinia Rand—lunch in basement of sandwiches &c.—house full of aristocracy & nobility—not specially interesting as we were losing that which to us was more so, at the convention—E. Fry gave an account of her labors on the Continent—Secretaries read reports—among them a handsome Friend from Ireland. E. Fry unassuming, meek—modest—nothing very striking. Has done immense good to the poor prisoners by moving in her own & her God's sphere—rather than in man's & the Devil's. Rained after meeting, no uncommon circumstance in England—Rode back to our meeting with the Countess of Brunswick—found a poor man, caretaker of the house, had fallen from the top of the room, when he went to shut the windows, a distance of 30 feet—hurt one or two in his fall—he died in a day or two after—much excitement—M. Grew fainted—J. M. also faint had to leave the meeting—business suspended—all felt sad. J. Forster and Joseph Sturge conferred again about meeting for us—desired us to stop at the close of the session that evening & withdraw to the adjoining room to consult with some Female members of the Several Societies—we did so—rather a slim affair—J. Forster asked if a social party of Ladies would answer our purpose—Committee appointed to attend to it. E. Reid accompanied us to our lodgings—met William L[loyd] G[arrison] & Co. "with joy & sorrow too"—they had resolved not to enter the Convention where we were excluded—reasoned with them on the subject—found them fixed—G. Thompson came & after tea bore them off to Joseph Pease's where the British India Committee were meeting.

5th day [June] 18th. Present of strawberries from A. Knight—of flowers from E. A. Ashurst—engaged to visit the latter—Lady Byron<sup>1</sup> at the Meeting—handed her my letter

<sup>1</sup> Anna Isabella Milbanke (1792-1860) had married Lord Byron in 1815 and separated from him in the following year. Thereafter she led a retired life, devoting herself chiefly to religious and charitable activities. It is reported that when Ralph Waldo Emerson heard of Lady Byron's favourable reception of Lucretia Mott, he remarked: "I don't wonder Lady Byron liked her. She belongs to the aristocracy."—Mary Clemmer, "Lucretia Mott," in *Our Famous Women* (Hartford, Connecticut, 1888), 489.

of introduction from C. Combe<sup>1</sup>—asked my address. Resolutions on Church action—much said—Bradburn versus the clergy—especially Hoby—Dr. Cox<sup>2</sup> quite earnest in self defense—Johnson the only church minister present—spoke of Universal Charity.

J. A. James fine speech—Birney opposed Bradburn—he "as cool as a cucumber," was accustomed to tumultuous meetings—if the New testament was found to sanction slavery, its leaves had better be scattered to the four winds of heaven & he would go to the trees & flowers for his religion—for he could not receive such doctrine as the word of God—orthodoxy horrified—he replied that however man might condemn him—he felt confidence that his Heavenly Father would not reject him for having too good an opinion of him. Resolution on prejudice against color—Morrison<sup>3</sup> hoped, when a controversy arose between his nose & his conscience—that he should decide in favor of the latter. J. & self left early to call on George & C. Combe—went upstairs first to sit awhile with Garrison & Co. & Ann Phillips<sup>4</sup>—Lushington<sup>5</sup> introduced—made a speech—much fuss made when noted characters spoke yet would not entertain T. F. Buxton's remedy for slavery<sup>6</sup>—he denied any

<sup>1</sup> Cecilia Combe, wife of George Combe (1788-1858), the phrenologist. Daughter of the actress Mrs. Siddons, she had become Mrs. Combe in 1833 after an examination of her head had convinced her future husband that her qualities of benevolence, conscientiousness, self-esteem, and love of approbation were sufficiently well developed to promise a happy marriage. The Combes had been entertained by the Motts in Philadelphia earlier in the year. See George Combe, *Notes on the United States of North America during a Phrenological Visit* (Philadelphia, 1841), I, 231n; *Memorial of George Bradburn*, 39.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. James Hoby (1788-1871) had held successive Baptist pastorates at Birmingham, Weymouth, Twickenham, and elsewhere; in 1840, according to the *Proceedings* of the Convention, he was at Aberdeen. The Rev. Francis A. Cox (1783-1853) was minister of Mare Street Chapel (Baptist), Hackney. In 1835 the two men had visited the United States. Though they were both abolitionists, they carefully eschewed public statements on American slavery during their stay, because of its domestic political implications. For their neutrality they were bitterly attacked by George Thompson, Garrison, and other radicals. See their travel account, *The Baptists in America* (New York, 1836), 100-124.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. J. Morrison was a delegate from Durham county.

<sup>4</sup> Ann T. Greene Phillips (1813-1885) was a delegate with her husband Wendell Phillips from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Lushington, M.P. (1782-1873) was a close parliamentary associate of Thomas Fowell Buxton in his anti-slavery efforts.

<sup>6</sup> Buxton argued on the Convention floor for a complete boycott of slave-grown sugar.



connexion with American Colonization—called that "a fatal delusion"—begged hard to explain his plan—politely refused—with flattering speeches—H. Webb said "more praised than trusted."—O'Connell followed us upstairs—to apologize for not immediately answering my note—spoke to the strangers—Garrison & Co.—several went up to welcome them—some tried to announce them to our new-organized meeting—but were hushed. Wendell Phillips tried to read their credentials, but was put down with a kind of promise that he should have a hearing the next day—dined at Thomas Sturge<sup>1</sup> & sisters—Jonathan Barret<sup>2</sup> & wife of Croydon—left Friends & joined the Plymouth brethren, of whom J. Post told us there were a "goodish few." A singular family of brothers & sisters—rich & very kind—tea at E. Reid's. missed some company at our lodgings among whom a particular friend of George Thompson—a Mrs Rawson of Sheffield (Wincobank Hall)<sup>3</sup>—John Scoble<sup>4</sup> & others.

6th day [June] 19th. I. & A. Braithwaite<sup>5</sup> & daughter politely spoke to us—invited part of our company to dine—Wendell Phillips again tried to introduce Garrison & company without success—some angry debate—we all felt discouraged—J. Sturge came to us—doubted whether the ladies would have a meeting—they feared other subjects would be introduced and he partook of the fear. Some were then invited to meet us at our lodgings—much disappointed to find so little independent action on the part of women. Called a Meeting of the Delegates in the evening—so that such as were dissatisfied might prepare a protest.

N. Colver intruded himself—William Adam appointed to draw up a paper—talked of a public meeting for Garrison, Thompson & others—difficulty as regarded a room—and time to give notice—gave it up.

Lunch at a coffee house—tea at home.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Sturge (1787-1866), shipowner, of Southwark, London.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Barrett (1790-1860), of Croydon, Surrey.

<sup>3</sup> After the Convention Mary A. Rawson entertained Garrison at Sheffield; when wine was served, the guest remonstrated and converted his hostess to total abstinence on the spot!

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. John Scoble, of Newark, was Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. In 1837 he had visited the West Indies with Joseph Sturge to investigate the working of the apprenticeship system among the former slaves there.

<sup>5</sup> Isaac (1780-1861) and Anna (1788-1859) Braithwaite had visited America several times during the years preceding the Great Separation. They took a strong position on the "orthodox" side.

7th day [June] 20th. Amelia Opie stopped us to speak as we went into the meeting. said "you are held in high estimation & have raised yourselves by coming."

Lady Byron sat upstairs with Garrison & Remond—conversed freely with the latter—told him who the poet Campbell<sup>1</sup> was, when he entered. Much fuss made with Campbell—a poor Imbecile—he spoke of our Poets unhandsonely—replied to nicely by H. B. Stanton who quoted from Whittier. Campbell spoke of flattery—how mistakes were borne when on the credit side—alluded to the eloquence of Channing<sup>2</sup> & of their O'Connell.

British India question—Wendell Phillips excellent—Professor Adam gave valuable information. Sams & J. Pease & R. R. Moore.—The convention not disposed to entertain the question, altho' many had something to say on it—Clarkson's address at the opening of the meeting robbed of that part by the convention.—gave great offence—Colver made a speech betraying, as in the meetings at the Anti-Slavery rooms, his want of confidence in moral power—depended too much on appeals to avarice—said—with the slaveholder all else would be powerless.—Seth Sprague<sup>3</sup> too unsound in saying the work will be done by proving free labor the cheapest—made some good remarks on Philanthropy.—Many more unsound on abstinence from Slave products. I. Crewdson used to be particular till he considered if all should do so, the Manchester Mills must stop & the people starve—so forthwith he let fall his testimony & now aids in perpetuating our slavery that is cruelly starving its thousands, lest his own countrymen should have to seek other business. Joseph Price of Wales<sup>4</sup>—once so zealous as to have the cotton linings taken out of his vests, & denied himself of many sweets &c.—when all at once he feared he might be carried too far, so he sagely concluded to immerse his conscience to the full in slave gotten goods. Then N. Colver told how tender he was *once* on the subject, how he gathered his little ones about him, and explained to them the

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), author of *The Pleasures of Hope*, *Gertrude of Wyoming*, and other poetical works.

<sup>2</sup> William Ellery Channing (1780-1842), leading American Unitarian preacher and author of an influential *Essay on Slavery* (1835).

<sup>3</sup> Seth Sprague of Duxbury, Massachusetts, was a merchant and member of the Massachusetts legislature.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph T. Price (1784-1854), of Swansea.

cruelty & wickedness of such participancy and such was the effect of his fatherly labors, that those children couldn't have been hired to touch a sugar plum or cake &c. ; when he too discovered self-denial was not easy & gave it up & his children full latitude in robbery & spoil & the gain of oppression. George Bradburn too, from whom we might have expected better things—added his arguments to the wrong side, and all the comfort we had was in beholding how weak they all were—He thought we couldn't carry out this principle without a resolve not to live another day—so we might as well not try to convince ourselves of its inconsistency—or rather we might close our eyes to the sunlight of truth which made it so manifest—& go on in sin—giving all the encouragement to the slaveholder he could desire.

Plainly as all this sophistry might have been exposed—the weak & flimsy arguments were suffered to pass almost unanswered. H. Grew was not in the meeting at the time. Charles Stuart's<sup>1</sup> mind swallowed up in the littleness of putting down woman & helping the pitiful new-organization—James Mott discouraged—took little interest in the proceedings of the Convention. N. Colver then for the first time sallied forth to our bar saying "now if the spirit moves you to speak on this subject—say on—you'll be *allowed* to say what you wish." Out of the abundance of a full heart and an indignant spirit, here might words have been uttered—but if the Psalmist withheld his mouth even from good when the *wicked* were before him—even so now. G. Bradburn did make some confession afterward by acknowledging he said what he did more to bring out others than in full persuasion of the truth of his arguments—expecting a glare of light to be thrown on the subject by several present. Our Free Produce society will have to double their diligence & do their own work—and so will American Abolitionists generally—& especially women. Dined at I. & A. Braithwaites lodgings in company with Garrison—Rogers & others—very open & kind—not in full unity with the measures of the British & Foreign Society. More liberal toward us than we expected—their children Episcopalians—the need of charity enlarged upon toward such by A. B.—

<sup>1</sup> Charles Stuart (1783-1865), a native of Jamaica and a retired British army officer, had taken an active part in the anti-slavery movement, both in the United States and in the West Indies.

applied her remarks to those they had cast out as evil. Her appearance not so altered as had been represented.

Returning to the Meeting with Col. Miller and E. Neall, met Lady Byron in the entry—she had called on us & left her address—Col. Miller begged an introduction, having been in the Greek war with Lord Byron—alluded to it—she quickly understood it—made some brief reply and turned away—E. Neall enjoyed the scene much—W. Boulton sat by us to say how well he liked Dr Parrish's<sup>1</sup> book—had marked it much—told us how dissatisfied he was with the arrangements of the committee, that he had been interested in this cause many years & now wished to speak but he was denied utterance until he threatened to give all up & go home—when way was made for him. This speech was good—as principle was dwelt upon rather than expediency—"the highest expediency is to act from principle"—H. B. Stanton not so strong in confidence in moral power as desirable.

Another meeting at Mark Moore's in order to agree on the protest—much talk with Thompson & others—J. C. Fuller presided. Elizabeth Stanton gaining daily in our affections—hope she may be a blessing to her H. B. S.

1st day 6 mo. 21st. Went to meeting<sup>2</sup> with Susan Hutton who called for us—heard her husband preach—very good—conferred with him as to meeting on 3rd day evening. He gave notice of it. Went in two cabs to William Ashurst's to dine—in company with W[illiam] L[loyd] G[arrison], N. P. R[ogers], S. Pugh, A. Kimber & E. Neall—met there Joseph & E. Pease—H. Martineau's mother & brother—a Dr. Epps<sup>3</sup>—homœopathic & liberal—& William & Mary Howitt<sup>4</sup>—visit full of interest and delight—walked up a hill commanding a beautiful prospect—the pleasure increased by

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Joseph Parrish (1779-1840), former President of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, had published in 1830 *A Letter from a Young Woman to a Member of the Religious Society of Friends, with Her Reply*. More recently, just before his death in March, 1840, he had been working with a committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting which published three pamphlets on slavery.

<sup>2</sup> At the Unitarian Chapel in Carter Lane.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. John Epps (1805-1869) had been a well-known phrenologist before he took up the study of homœopathy in 1838; he interested himself in a multitude of reforms, political, social, and religious.

<sup>4</sup> William Howitt (1792-1879) and Mary Howitt (1799-1888), both Friends, were popular writers in prose and verse on a variety of subjects. Together in 1823 they published *The Forest Minstrel*, a collection of their poems. William Howitt was the author of *A Popular History of Priestcraft in All Ages and Nations*.

the information that Johnson wrote his Rassales on that hill. Stood there half an hour—W. L. G. explaining to William Ashurst & William Howitt our exclusion from the Convention. Returned to their sweet cottage—partook of a real English dinner—talk on temperance—Non-resistance & a variety of subjects—Informed William Howitt that S. Pugh aided in re-printing his "Geo. Fox & his first disciples, or Quakers, as they were & as they are."<sup>1</sup> Stayed late—On our ride home saw a real ale-house fight. "Glory enough for that day" say our young ones! Mrs. Thrale's near.

2nd day [June] 22nd. Could no longer have the use of Free Mason's Hall—met in Friends' Meeting house Grace Church St—front seat upstairs appropriated to "rejected delegates"—didn't like being so shut out from the members. Walker<sup>2</sup> of the Royal Navy on slave trade—singular in his quick answers & manner of bowing—Campbell,<sup>3</sup> Gov. of Sierra Leone—rather tedious. Resolutions calling on Government for religious & moral effort—William Forster called to order on his resolution about American Slavery—E. Fry present—Lady Byron with Mrs. Jamieson<sup>4</sup>—left her seat & sat on step to hand a note & essay on Education—pleased with her—Rev. Swan<sup>5</sup> spoke, compared Knibb to O'Connell—spoke of W[illiam] L[loyd] G[arrison], M. W. Chapman, A. G. Weld.<sup>6</sup> Price, of Wales, consequential. Lunch in the neighbourhood—J. Morgan walked with us—thought Haydon<sup>7</sup> had succeeded in sketching that morning

<sup>1</sup> Originally published in *Tait's Magazine*, October, 1834.

<sup>2</sup> Lucretia Mott misunderstood this name; it was Captain *Wauchope*, a delegate from Carlisle.

<sup>3</sup> Major-General Sir Neil Campbell, Governor of Sierra Leone from 1826 to 1833.

<sup>4</sup> Anna Brownell Jameson (1794-1860), author of many books on travel and the fine arts, was a close friend of Lady Byron.

<sup>5</sup> The Rev. Thomas Swan of Birmingham.

<sup>6</sup> If, as Lucretia Mott reports, Swan mentioned Garrison, Maria Weston Chapman, and Angelina Grimké Weld, the references to these radical American reformers have been edited out of the official *Proceedings* (see p. 483).

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846) was commissioned to paint a picture of the entire Convention (see frontispiece). He occupied a room adjoining Freemasons' Hall, and sketched the heads of 52 attenders in the first five days. After arranging for a total of 103 heads, the committee requested him to include 31 more; "rather a joke," the artist observed, "but if they like, they shall have heads all over, like a peacock's tail."—*The Autobiography and Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. Aldous Huxley (New York, n.d.), II, 680-83, 690; see also *Memorial of George Bradburn*, 97.

at our lodgings. Afternoon Dr. Hodgkin<sup>1</sup> permitted to speak on colonization—made no impression<sup>2</sup>—only laughable—he sincere doubtless. evening at lodgings—agreed on Protest. C. E. Lester spoke foolishly—J. Scoble intruded, answered in a pet—gave no others a chance to speak—acknowledged that he brought the word from America about the appointment of women. much said & felt. Wendell Phillips took an active part—conducted nobly—as did his whole-souled wife.

William Edward Forster suggested alteration in protest aside—noble young man—like him much—he often came to our lodgings.

3rd day [June] 23rd. Last day of the Convention—some excitement about the protest—Scoble & others begged it might be presented to the committee instead of the Meeting. Abby Kimber wrote a note to Scoble on this wise: "Professor Adam, W. Phillips & others think conscientiously that their protest should be presented to the Convention. They are men who have unwavering confidence in the triumph of Truth. Their motto 'Fiat justitia' &c. Since we left America, the *man* question has, it seems, split the National Anti-Slavery society; therefore it has a tremendous significancy in our country—and it does seem to us that you have been warped from your propriety, by the influence of those who stand directly opposed to that Society in this matter. The seceders in America have taken the name of 'American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.' This will give the impression that they alone of the American Abolitionists act in concert with you. We know the magic of a name, and we do not choose to be exorcised from Anti-Slavery Society by such sorcery. Now if you can honestly deny, that you intend to support the American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in drawing around us a circle beyond which we must not pass, why not do so publicly? Why not call

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hodgkin, M.D. (1798-1866), a Quaker, one of the founders of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and author of pamphlets defending the British and American efforts to colonize former Negro slaves in Africa.

<sup>2</sup> Colonization had by this time been renounced by most radical abolitionists in the United States and England. The Convention went on record as unalterably opposed to the scheme as "inadequate to the overthrow of slavery in the United States" and "unworthy of the countenance and aid of the philanthropist and the Christian."—*Proceedings*, 498.

upon the Malcontents, W. L. Garrison, W. Phillips & others, to meet you to present their Protest, to explain their position, and in short, to give them that opportunity which their opponents have enjoyed hitherto, of telling their own story. From some of thy remarks I thought there might be no unwillingness in the Committee to do this. It seems to me the 'amende honorable' might be made—all the evils of your course obviated, the protest thus kept out of the convention & left for the discussion of the parties concerned, and all the clamor of opposition, so disgraceful & degrading in such an assembly, provided all parties act in good faith, be entirely prevented. Thou knowst as I am not a Delegate, I do not speak with authority in this matter; but if there is a conciliatory spirit in the Committee I should be glad indeed if it would display itself, not in the *courtesy* of gentlemen, but in the honesty of purpose becoming *men*, who have *unwittingly* done deep wrong to a large proportion of the Abolitionists of the United States." This note was handed by I. Winslow, but no answer returned. We were honored with seats down stairs, so that we could hold conference with those who chose to come to us—dined at Joseph Pease's in company with William Boulton who said he was on good terms with all on theological points as he never asked their opinions and never told his own. Rode back to Meeting with Elizabeth & her Mother—Protest offered. Colver boldly & impudently moved that it be laid on the table<sup>1</sup>—afterward made a crying, farewell speech, completely disgusted with him. J. Price overbearing—H. B. Stanton opposed Colver—plead for the right—Wm. [*sic*: should be Thomas] Scales made excellent closing remarks that altho' on some subjects they had had conflicting sentiments—dividing them "distinct as the billows"—yet he believed there was unity enough in our common cause to make us again "one as the Sea." And so the Convention closed! Joseph Sturge announced the death of the poor man who fell in their service.

<sup>1</sup> This protest against the exclusion of women delegates was drawn up by William Adam and signed by Adam, Wendell Phillips, Jonathan P. Miller, C. E. Lester, James Mott, George Bradburn, and Isaac Winslow. It was presented by Phillips, who moved that it be laid on the table and entered on the minutes. Colver promptly moved an amendment that it merely be tabled. The amendment was carried; the original motion was lost.—*Proceedings*, 563.

Henry Sparks<sup>1</sup> & wife called & engaged us to visit them on 6th day.

Answered Lady Byron's note—rather an effort.

4th day [June] 24th. Exeter Hall Meeting—under the direction of British & Foreign Society Committee. G. Thompson not prominent—loud call for him—short speech—very smart—pointed rebuke—Garrison kept himself back—refused to go on the platform—Women Delegates excluded from that, tho' a seat of honor provided—generally occupied by the queen—our company select—Mrs. Upsher—friend of E. Fry—daughter of Z. Macauley<sup>2</sup>—didn't like the welcome O'Connell received—dissatisfied that Buxton & Lushington were not equally applauded—complained of the treatment their Father had received—not named as one of the pioneers in the cause—the sacrifices he had made &c.—said the meeting was of a lower stamp than that of the 1st of June when Prince Albert presided. T. F. Buxton's wife also with us—C. Braithwaite—Mrs. Rawson, &c. Duke of Sussex in the chair—Joseph Sturge announced him—"didn't wish to prevent the usual expression for his Royal Highness"—but when Thomas Clarkson entered begged they would not receive him in that way as his health & strength would not bear it.

E. Fry & Duchess of Sutherland<sup>3</sup> introduced—much clapping—taken to front seats on the platform—after repudiating such exposure of ladies—rather inconsistent.

S. Gurney's daughter<sup>4</sup> also there with her aunt—subject of remark by our company—probably reported to E. Fry by her friend Upsher, as she afterwards apologized for her conspicuous seat—told her it was just the seat she ought to have occupied in a Prison meeting & no objection to it in that only as shewing the inconsistency of our opponents. Meeting interesting. Charles L. Remond's speech most

<sup>1</sup> Henry Sparks is mentioned by George Bradburn as "a Quaker banker, who once swallowed a forged note on the witness-stand to save the criminal from conviction, and consequent death."—*Memorial*, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Zachary Macaulay, father of Charlotte Upscher, had been a pioneer English opponent of the slave trade.

<sup>3</sup> Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland (1806-1868) was interested in many philanthropic causes; it was at Stafford House, her London residence, that a group of English women were to frame a protest against American slavery in 1853. She struck George Bradburn as "perhaps the most beautiful woman I had ever seen,"—*Memorial*, 112.

<sup>4</sup> One of the nine children of Samuel Gurney (1786-1856), wealthy banker and brother of Elizabeth Fry.



applauded—Mrs. Upsher took his name & address—William Allen<sup>1</sup> spoke—George Alexander a plain Friend on the platform clapping the speakers—he interested in Slavery in the Danish & Swedish W. I. Islands, made speeches in the Anti-Slavery rooms & in the convention—ready, fluent speaker.

H. B. Stanton's speech too short—Guizot, French Ambassador, interesting<sup>2</sup>—translated by Dr. Bowring—cakes sent us by John Morgan—thought to be in honor of E. Neall. William Boulton came up & sat with us—brought some O'Connell buttons for the girls. Much amusement by them about his manner of obtaining them. engaged J. & self to stay at his house in Birmingham. Called on H. C. Corbit's children—Lunch at confectioners—Tea at Crown & Anchor—closing scene of Abolitionists—informed on entrance that it was a more liberal Meeting than any we had had—under the management of the Abolitionists from England, Ireland & Scotland united. Very large company—simple preparations—as these soirees are generally understood to be for moral and intellectual purposes—or political as the case may be—hence not much catering to the animal appetite—were pleased with this feature in these feasts—after tea & cups &c. removed—a chairman appointed—the company all keeping their seats—when a subject being proposed speakers are called on one by one—or if any one of the company has any remarks to make, liberty is readily granted by the Chair—here were about 400 present—at 3 tables the length of the room & the 4th across the "top" of the room, in the center of which William D. Crewdson sat as Chairman. The speakers J. G. Birney—H. B. Stanton—W[illiam] L[loyd] G[arrison]—Charles L. Remond—Campbell, Gov. of Sierra Leone—G. Thompson, who had read also Beattie's poetry & gave some account of the Delaware mob. A paper was sent up saying "L. M. is confidently expected to make the next speech." She was therefore called on—the President announced her, when J. Scoble who had a choice in her not thus exposing

<sup>1</sup> William Allen (1770-1843), "the Spitalfields genius," had been an early associate of Wilberforce and Clarkson in the anti-slavery movement. Like many other Quakers he was a universal reformer, equally concerned about the condition of the poor, the care of the insane, the education of youth, and the reform of the prison system.

<sup>2</sup> François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874) historian and politician, had just accepted the post of Ambassador to the Court of St. James; his period of greatest influence in French politics lay just ahead.

herself—stood & requested to first make some explanations of Campbell's speech as *that* was of *importance*—his request was drowned by cries of "No! No!—Mrs. Mott"—so she had to inform them that she would endeavor to occupy but little time as what she might have to say was probably of comparative *unimportance*. She was patiently heard<sup>1</sup>—& no explanation was then begged by friend Scoble as the time was passed. Turnbull introduced America Vespucci<sup>2</sup>—who left her card & asked an exchange. Countess of Brunswick was also specially civil—Mrs. Reid & several others very kind. A stranger from Portsmouth who afterward wrote a letter to O'Connell invited us to go into his neighborhood & appoint meetings. Crown & Anchor soiree ended satisfactorily—Mary Dudley<sup>3</sup> presented a pocket handkerchief.

Received a letter from H. Martineau.<sup>4</sup>

5th day [June] 25th. Visited the Borough Road School by invitation from Robert Forster who was there to receive & explain to us. It was the first monitorial school taught by Joseph Lancaster<sup>5</sup> who commenced while working at his trade opposite there—many improvements since that time—boys well instructed—girls too much confined to sewing. Some talk on the subject—not liked by I. Crewdson's compy who were present—also E. Pease & mother there—J. G. Birney—H. B. Stanton & wife—G. Bradburn & others.

<sup>1</sup> According to James Mott, her remarks were devoted to "the subject of the use of the produce of slavery." In passing, she mentioned the example of certain Friends in this respect, which led Josiah Forster, upon the conclusion of her speech, to say that he "felt conscientiously bound to inform the company, and he did so with no other than feelings of kindness, that Lucretia Mott"—but when it became apparent that he was about to say that she was no Friend, there were cries of "down! down! order! order! shame! shame!"—*Three Months*, 28-29.

<sup>2</sup> The only living descendant of Amerigo Vespucci, the explorer after whom America was named.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Dudley (1782-1847), daughter of a famous Quaker preacher of the same name and author of *Scripture Evidence of the Sinfulness of Injustice and Oppression* (1828), an anti-slavery tract.

<sup>4</sup> Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), a Unitarian like her brother James, was a successful writer of stories popularizing economic subjects. After a visit to the United States she wrote *Society in America* (1837) and *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838). A valetudinarian all her life, she nevertheless turned out a prodigious amount of literary work. Her letter to Lucretia Mott will be found in the Appendix, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Lancaster (1778-1873), a convinced Quaker, had opened the Borough Road School for poor children in 1801. Having no funds with which to pay assistants, he employed the older pupils as "monitors" to teach the younger; this system was known as the "Lancasterian" or "monitorial" system.

Afternoon went to William Ball's to tea with large company—Elizabeth Fry—Countess of Brunswick—Amelia Opie—Isaac & Anna Braithwaite & daughters—William Allen—George Stacey—Jonathan Backhouse—Elizabeth Pease—Anne Knight & many more beside all our company—everything in style—servants in livery—shewn up stairs by a plain Quaker servant—tea handed—much conversation—reading scripture—way opened by William Ball for any one to speak who had a wish to—E. Fry asked if that included women—G. Stacey essayed to limit the license given—William replied "No, I cannot do it." He had been remarkably kind during the convention—said when he invited us "I wish you to understand, that tho' we differ materially on what I consider very important points, yet my heart goes out towards you in much affection." He gave a short address after reading a chapter—then W[illia]m L[loyd] G[arrison] spoke at some length very well—E. Fry followed in prayer—that our mission might be blessed in breaking the fetters of the poor captive, but above all blessed to ourselves, in bringing us to the unsearchable riches of Christ.<sup>1</sup> William Adams made some remarks on Non-resistance. We were then invited into a room for refreshments—E. Fry talked of her brother's visit to America<sup>2</sup>—divisions &c.—she hoped to be excused from visiting our land as anything like dissensions were particularly unpleasant to her. Rode home in Omnibuses and other carriages. They reside at Tottenham, 5 miles from London.

6th day [June] 26th. Sir John Soane's Museum—greatest curiosity the arrangement of the house—such economy of space—beautiful paintings—every part filled from garret to cellar—model of Pompeii. Thence to British Museum—so much to see that the eye is wearied—could not

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was growing in affection and respect for Lucretia Mott, had a different recollection or interpretation of this prayer. She reported it later as "a solemn Jeremiad against the apostasy and infidelity of the day in language so pointed and personal that we all felt Mrs. Mott was the special subject of the petition."—*History of Woman Suffrage*, I, 423.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), the most influential spokesman for the evangelical trend in English Quakerism, visited the United States between 1837 and 1840. There was resistance to his views, not only among Hicksite Friends but also among the more conservative "orthodox" Friends led by John Wilbur of Rhode Island. These differences resulted ultimately in further separations—in New England in 1845, in Ohio in 1854, and elsewhere at later dates.

keep together—lost one another—met Richard Webb there while looking at the Portland Vase. Gladiators in abundance. Every thing on large scale—tiresome to go over the building—slept while others were looking. Lunch near—tea at Henry Sparks's who is engaged in the Bank—remarkable act of generosity related of him by G. Thompson—short of stature—tall, fine looking wife—met Mary Ann Lalor—G. Thompson, Garrison & several others there—Collected autographs—talked Non-resistance. N. P. Rogers took part—like him more & more.

7th [day, June] 27th. Stayed at home & wrote—received books & note from Lady Byron—Cousin Starbucks &c. Call from Samuel Gurney—arrangements for a visit to them. Company of Anti-Slavery Ladies at our lodgings—stiff—poor affair—found little confidence in women's action either separately or con-jointly with men, except as drudges—some sectarian zeal manifested. J. Pease came in—hoped we would encourage C. C. B.<sup>1</sup> to come to England & labor in the British India Society—James Haughton there, invited us to visit them.

1st day [June] 28th. Put down a week ago by mistake, when I then stayed at home to write—H. C. Corbit called—just returned from Scotland &c. Finished our letters & packages for home—passed the evening with Henry & Sarah—hearing & telling some new things. Coates was there—was sorry to hear him say he could not in London avow himself a Unitarian because of popular prejudice.

2nd day [June] 29th. Letters & package by George Stewart [?] for home. Two hours at Hayden's—Robert Douglass with us at his own request—Hayden took him into his ante room & showed him his mode of proceeding—made himself quite agreeable while employed—plenty of flattery<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Charles C. Burleigh (1810-1878), Connecticut anti-slavery lecturer, associated with William Lloyd Garrison in editing *The Liberator*.

<sup>2</sup> This comment is surprising in view of the entry Haydon made in his diary after this sitting: "Lucretia Mott, the leader of the delegate women from America, sat. I found her out to have infidel notions, and resolved at once, narrow-minded or not, not to give her the prominent place I first intended. I will reserve that for a beautiful believer in the Divinity of Christ."—*Autobiography*, 684. Haydon relegated Lucretia Mott to the background, made her a mere blur amongst the 138 faithful portraits which cover his vast canvas. A key to the portraits can be consulted at the National Portrait Gallery, where the painting now hangs. Lucretia Mott's grand-daughter states that Haydon later painted a portrait of her for the Duchess of Sutherland (Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott*, 162n), but no such portrait has been located.

pleased with his success in historical painting. When his "Christ entering Jerusalem" was exhibited in Scotland, he went into the room with his hat on, when a woman observing him, not knowing he was the artist, said: "Thee had better take thy hat off in such an awfu' presence." In the exhibition of his "Judgment of Solomon" another said: "Jist look at the King, he is putting out his twa fingers as if he wad say—'Stop a wee.'" Called on Lady Byron—talked with her of our views of woman—as we had been misrepresented—were pleased with her—She told us we were to have the company of the Duchess of Sutherland & daughter<sup>1</sup> that day at Samuel Gurney's—hoped we would talk with her daughter as she was an uncommon girl only 16—she invited us to take lunch with her—declined, having stopped at confectioners.

At two o'clock 7 carriages sent to take all our American company to S. Gurney's—pleasant ride 5 or 6 miles East or West Ham—called Ham House—beautiful park—grass mowed every two weeks—soft as velvet—swept clean as a floor—tent erected in case the house should overflow—T. F. Buxton & wife & children there—E. Fry & husband & son—the Braithwaites—Forsters—& many more. Much fuss when the Duchess & daughter & Lord Morpeth arrived—in coach & 4 greys—outriders &c.—6 servants in livery—"where will the duchess sit?" "Will the Duchess like to walk?"<sup>2</sup> S. Gurney introduced the daughter & proposed her walking with L. Mott—After all were coupled & ranged we paraded about the lawn awhile—Then stood in a group & heard S. Gurney read a letter from the Marquis of Westminster<sup>3</sup> on the Convention—British India, the cotton trade &c. which elicited some remarks that were listened to with attention—tho' startling in the beginning—50 sat down to the table—a cold collation except the fish & soups & vegetables—E. Fry asked a blessing—conversation free & pleasant during the meal—after which S. Gurney made a

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the Duchess of Argyle.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton relates the somewhat improbable story that, as the Duchess approached in state, Samuel Gurney "in great trepidation" said: "What shall I do with the Duchess?" to which Lucretia Mott replied: "Give her your arm and introduce her to each member of the delegation." Mrs. Stanton adds that the American Quakeress "did not manifest the slightest restraint or embarrassment during that marked social occasion."—*History of Woman Suffrage*, I, 421-22.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Grosvenor, 2nd Marquis of Westminster (1795-1869).

short speech expressive of his satisfaction at having so many American guests—then invited W[illia]m L[loyd] G[arrison]—J. G. B[irney]—H. B. S[anton]—T. F. Buxton &c to speak, all of whom complied—made me the offer—declined—invited the young people to help themselves to wine—gently reproved for it—bore it well—honored with a seat at his right hand—A. Braithwaite at the left. Many more joined at tea which was served in the drawing room, as is the invariable custom in England. All went off well—rode home in style—shall long remember the visit—breakfasted that morning with James Haughton & two daughters from Dublin—his Father disowned for countenancing H. Barnard<sup>1</sup>—A son of Thomas Foster also introduced himself at Crown & Anchor party—liked to meet with those who had suffered for their liberal views of Christianity. Had some talk with Josiah Forster at Samuel Gurney's relative to the difference of views between London Yearly Meeting Friends & those of us in America who had not suffered ourselves to be led about with diverse and strange doctrines.

3rd day [June] 30th. Letter from William Howitt—probably published<sup>2</sup>—expressive of his dissatisfaction at the decision of the Convention on the woman question—and his admiration of the noble course pursued by Garrison. Robert Owen<sup>3</sup> called—explained his system—altogether visionary—great benevolence—has expended a fortune in his endeavors to benefit mankind—gave an account of a recent mob, when he was pleading the cause of the poor operatives—his head a poor development—lacking in causality. R. R. Moore called—presented a book—lecture delivered on knowledge.

Went in Steamboat on Thames to Westminster—visited the Abbey—much of interest related by many—Hall largest in the world unsupported by pillars—House of Commons—

<sup>1</sup> Hannah Barnard, a Friend from Hudson, New York, had incurred the censure of London Yearly Meeting in 1800 because she questioned the historical accuracy and moral elevation of certain parts of the Old Testament. An excerpt from a letter of Lucretia Mott concerning Hannah Barnard is printed in Appendix II of Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott*, 477-79.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, imputing the exclusion of women delegates to sectarian prejudice, is printed, apparently in full, by James Mott in *Three Months*, 43-48; also in *The Liberator*, 10 (28 August, 1840), 139. An incomplete text appears in an appendix to Hallowell, *op. cit.*, 474-77.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Owen (1771-1858), textile manufacturer and Utopian socialist, had experimented unsuccessfully with a socialist community at New Harmony, Indiana, between 1825 and 1828.

had a chill—left the girls & went home—call from Turnbull & Dr. Madden—invited to Dr. Beattie's<sup>1</sup>—meeting at Carter Lane—Lady Byron & her friends there—also Dr. Bowring—Samuel Wood—the Ashursts &c.—reporter employed to our sorrow—A. Knight & E. Pease there—went with us afterward to Dr. Beattie's—found a large company of abolitionists & intellectual persons—among whom a French Gentleman of some distinction—looked over his books of Illustrations of Switzerland, Scotland &c.—returning, found cards & letters. T. Clarkson sent his autograph to each of our company—a note from his daughter in law expressive of much feeling—alluding to the evening of their call on the "American Ladies," says: "That evening I shall never forget; & bowed down as I was in my *inmost* spirit by the recollection of the missing link between grandfather & grandson, and by a glimpse of the uncertain future as it regarded my precious Boy, I could not but catch the warmth of the enthusiasm around me, and felt that if wisdom & strength were given me from above, my greatest earthly solace would be, to train the dear child of him who was dearer to me than my own existence in the upward path, which though often toilsome, leads through Infinite Mercy to Eternal glory."

4th day 7 mo. 1st. Visited National & Adelaide gallery with large company—joined by E. Robbins & L. Rand—much, very much to interest—looked till the eyes were so weary—could look no more—Went to E. Reid's to dine with Lady Byron & W[illia]m L[oyd] G[arrison], N. P. Rogers, Remond &c. H. Martineau's Mother—Dr. Hutton & wife—joined by J. G. Birney, H. B. Stanton, Wendall & A. Phillips & many more to tea—had to lie down awhile after the fatigue of the morning.

Invited by Lady B[ Byron ] to visit her school—much conversation on housekeeping—neglect of families—woman's sphere &c.—very pleasant visit.

5th day [July] 2nd. R. Owen called with maps &c.—explained his social system—fallacy on its face.

Went to Lady B's according to appointment—saw Lady Lovelace & her three sweet children—autographs—talked of Col. Miller—she could excuse his abrupt manner in the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Beattie (1793-1857) was a confidential friend of Lady Byron and of the poet Thomas Campbell.

evidence of sincerity—saw the quiver of his lip—sent invitation to him to visit them—which he accepted—Went with Lady B. to her school—5 miles from London—had much talk of the Combes—Dr. Channing—Unitarians generally—her children joined—she not quite satisfied with any sect—had often thought Quaker & Unitarian combined would suit her—was not expecting to meet one so soon—thought an advantage would arise from visits to other places of worship—sensible remarks on most subjects—dignity of character—Christian simplicity—her manual labor school, an experiment answering well—addressed the children—teacher expressed unity which she said was sincere—"his eyes suffused with tears when he spoke to her"—presents from her to the children—all happy—a Welsh harper whom Lady Lovelace had taken from the streets & sent there. Called to see Mrs. Jamieson on our way home. talked slavery & other subjects—she was invited to Amelia Opie's with us but company would prevent her going—wished Mrs. Reid had asked her there—she and Lady B. friends—Stopped at A. Opie's lodgings at her cousin Briggs's—parted with Lady B. with mutual expression of affection—found large company at A. Opie's—Countess of Brunswick, William Ball, E. Robbins & L. Rand, E. Pease, A. Knight & a host of Americans—rooms full—supper in the artist's room hung round with pictures—abundant provision fruits—ices—custards &c.—not so much conversation as at some other places—received papers from America—letter from C. C. B[urleigh ?]

6th day [July] 3rd. Breakfasted at Dr. Bowring's—Turnbull—A. Knight—E. Pease &c. In the house of Mills<sup>1</sup> the historian—overlooking Milton's garden & the house of Jeremy Bentham—made us presents of ancient relics—Bentham's hair—took us into several rooms lined with books & curiosities—an Urn presented him with this Inscription :

"Presented to John Bowring L.L.D. By his friends in Kilmarnock, as a memorial of their gratitude, for his assiduous & faithful discharge of his duties when their Representative in Parliament—and for his unwearied labors in promoting *Knowledge, Peace, and Commercial Freedom* as the basis

<sup>1</sup> James Mill (1773-1836), utilitarian philosopher and historian of India. The house, in which Mill had lived for a few months to be near his friend Bentham, had also been the home of William Hazlitt, the essayist.



of Prosperity to the Many." Talk of Jewish wars—war in general—confession of man who shot at the king of France—J. Neall's visit to Bentham too long & too familiar. Dr. B. venerated the old man—his executor—his likeness & bust in his library. His wife sensible. 9 children—eldest daughter eleven—Hayden's to finish picture—E. Robbins met us there—went to Chelsea—visited Thomas Carlyle—conversation not very satisfactory—Anti-Abolition—or rather sympathies absorbed in poor at home & own poverty & slavery—illustrated by story of ox, slaughtered—disappointed in him—more free before we parted—gave us his autograph—talked of Emerson—Furness &c.<sup>1</sup>—Chelsea Hospital—poor soldiers—talked with a number—lunch at neat inn—pease pudding—returned in steam boat—found G. Thompson—lively with the girls.

7th day [July] 4th. Breakfast at Dr. Hutton's with Mr. Madge<sup>2</sup>—talk of Emerson—Carlyle—Furness—miracles—schools—worship—transcendentalists—stayed till 1 o'clock went to Greenwich—down the Thames—extensive docks—shipping crowded—Tower & Tunnell at a distance—the Hospital—large—full of idle people of the Navy, living on the labor of others—friend of J. Bancroft educated at Ackworth school. Returned on railroad—car over the tops of houses—cottage gardens &c.

Note from Lady B[yron] asking us take an engraving to Dr. Channing, which she wished to send as a mark of her grateful regard, adding: "I say *grateful* because his writings have done good to more than one of those whom I love best. I have desired my bookseller to send you two or three little works which will perhaps interest you on your voyage back, & prove of some little use in America."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One would give much to know more of what passed between Lucretia Mott and Carlyle. The latter's lack of sympathy with the anti-slavery agitation was notorious. Nevertheless, Mrs. Carlyle later told George Bradburn that her husband had been "much pleased with the Quaker lady . . . whose quiet manner had a soothing effect on him."—*Memorial of George Bradburn*, 104. The Rev. William Henry Furness (1802-1896) was minister of the Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, founded by Joseph Priestley. An early exponent in America of the "higher criticism" of the Bible, he was also an ardent abolitionist and a close friend of the Motts.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Thomas Madge (1786-1870), Unitarian minister of Essex Street Chapel, friend of Thomas Clarkson and admirer of Wordsworth.

<sup>3</sup> The original of this letter, dated 4 July 1840, is in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Tea at John & Mary Ann Lalor's<sup>1</sup>—he obtained prize for essay on means of elevating Educator—one of the books presented by Lady B. Clapton Square—teacher—much company there—W[illia]m L[loyd] G[arrison] & others called on to explain causes of division in our ranks in America & views of Woman—intellectual feast—delightful visit—Sarah & Abby stayed the night. Acquaintances of Joseph Lile, Philadelphia attentive to us at Meeting at Carter Lane. examined scripture for Woman's preaching.

1st day [July] 5th. Strand to Meeting—Madge—good sermon—acknowledged their liberality in notifying the Meeting in Carter Lane—Dr. Bowring there—dined at Muswell Hill, Wm. Ashurst's, R. Owen there—talk with W[illia]m L[loyd] G[arrison] of paying priests' demands & military fines—not quite satisfied with his views—Dr. Epps there—N. P. Rogers rode with E. Neall & self—had much talk on religion—original sin, change of heart &c. William Ashurst gave account of his efforts to establish penny post law—gave J. M. book on the subject—enlarged views—general good.

2nd day [July] 6th. British India Meeting—not so large as we hoped—Sir Charles Forbes<sup>2</sup> in the chair. Mussleman & 4 Bramins on the platform—Wendell Phillips's best speech—William L. Garrison middling—O'Connell amusing—Lady Byron there—treated me with sandwiches—last time we met—parting expressions not forgotten. Left at 4 o'clock to go to our cousin Charles Starbuck's to dine 3 or 4 miles from London—French Gentleman there whom we had met at A. Opies—talk of church influence in riding out with him & Edward Starbuck in Omnibus. Amiable family—cousin Charles confined to the house with lame back & limbs occasioned by a fall from horse—orthodox friends his brother & sister attached to Church—his wife attended John Wilkinson's Meeting<sup>3</sup>—liked him before he changed, his

<sup>1</sup> John Lalor (1814-1856), a journalist, won a prize of 100 guineas offered by the Central Society of Education for an essay entitled "The Expediency and Means of Elevating the Profession of the Educator in Society" (1839). Born a Roman Catholic, he joined the Unitarian Church ca. 1844.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Forbes (1774-1849), Conservative M.P. from 1812 to 1832, had spent his early years in India as head of a great mercantile house in Bombay; an untiring advocate of justice for India, he was also one of the early spokesmen for woman suffrage in England.

<sup>3</sup> John Wilkinson (d. 1846) had been Clerk of London Yearly Meeting from 1808 to 1814. In 1836 he withdrew from the Society of Friends and published *Quakerism Examined*.

preaching was then plain. One child—a little Lucretia—after her grandmother. M. Holland stayed with them—thought her not sufficiently exertive—returned late in the evening—talked with cousin Edward on Unitarianism in riding in—found our company delighted with a Temperance Meeting they had had at Exeter Hall. A. Knight & A. Pease at our lodgings.

3rd day [July] 7th. Went with J. M. before breakfast to see the crowd at the execution of the murderer of Lord William Russell—much talk on our return—Grosvenor<sup>1</sup>—Galusha & others in favor of taking life—rather abusive—Clark from West Indies answered them well—parted with several of our company who left for Paris.

Went to Coliseum—viewed London on all sides—lunch at confectioners.

Lodgings to tea—Susan Hutton with us. Meeting in the evening at Carter Lane—certificates read by J[ames] M[ott]. G. Bradburn spoke on slavery—after which addressed them on subjects as they arose. Received note from E. Starbuck informing E. Rotch<sup>2</sup> was in the city. Talked with N. Colver.

4th day [July] 8th. Walked 3 miles to Dr. Hutton's to breakfast—met friends of theirs who knew William Dillwyn's children<sup>3</sup>—talk on theatres—read L. M. Child's letters<sup>4</sup>—Went to Infant school—Pestalozzi teacher, with an owl—children attentive—"Lady Pease" there—thence called on Eliza Rotch in company with S. Hutton who left us there—passed an hour pleasantly with her—resembled the Barkers—talked over old times—the Bunkers—Hussey's—Rotches & Rodmans<sup>5</sup>—E. Fry—J. J. Gurney—saw the likeness of her husband & the chair he occupied—pictures of several of the family. Took lunch with her—shewed us her New-York Chair—a coffee pot her son had brought her from France of a new kind—makes her coffee herself—lives alone with her

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor of Worcester, Massachusetts, delegate from the National Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Barker Rotch (1764-1857), widow of Benjamin Rotch of Nantucket, Dunkirk, and Milford Haven, Wales, a great figure in the whaling industry.

<sup>3</sup> William Dillwyn (1743-1824) was a New Jersey Friend of strong anti-slavery views, who lived in England after the American Revolution.

<sup>4</sup> Lydia Maria Child (1802-1880), prolific author of children's books and abolitionist tracts.

<sup>5</sup> All Quaker families of Nantucket and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

servants—her daughter lately confined—son resides in London—talked of Professor Farrer & wife<sup>1</sup>—hoped he was better—shopping—home to tea with G. Thompson—Garrison & Co. went to Windsor—returned late.

5th day [July] 9th. E. Pease—G. Thompson—Col. Miller & others met to talk of the agent for Canada—talk with W[illia]m L[loyd] G[arrison] on abstinence from slave products—rather inconsistent—sorry—Dr. Hutton called—gave him "Head & Heart" & "Dr P's letter"—he gave us several of his works—his wife "Woman's Mission." recommended an article in Westminster Review—tea at Dr. Bowrings—met Villiers<sup>2</sup>—liberal Member of House of Commons, corn law &c.—also old gentleman Dyer,<sup>3</sup> author of popular hymn—with his wife whom he married at 70—he is blind—very cheerful.

G. Bradburn there—evening passed pleasantly—talk of Eastern customs—possessed of devils—working miracles—extreme thirst—the beauty of the lily—of many scripture comparisons. Well acquainted with G. Combe—respects him much—with Owen, thinks him a visionary enthusiast, tho' very benevolent. Fanny Wright<sup>4</sup> superior mind, but lacking in feminine qualities—suffers her child to go unclothed—Westminster Review—acquainted with all the Editors—asked of our literary men—ashamed of ignorance. G. Bradburn's talk with Villiers interesting. Walked home with us, two miles—tried to persuade us to go to France. Dr. Bowring familiar with 20 languages—his speech in Convention very interesting, going to shew a nice sense of justice & religious principal existing in the East—remarking "When Christianity comes recommended by its benevolence as well as its creeds, it will commend itself to all."

6th day [July] 10th. G. Thompson to Breakfast—interview with C. E. Lester—Prof. Adam—Robert Forster—E. Pease &c.—dined at home. J. Scoble called about protest—spoke unadvisedly with his lips to Garrison.

<sup>1</sup> Professor John Farrar of Harvard College and his wife Eliza, author of *The Young Lady's Friend* (1837) and other juveniles.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Pelham Villiers (1802-1898), Member of Parliament for Wolverhampton, an early and vigorous opponent of the Corn Laws.

<sup>3</sup> George Dyer (1755-1841), former schoolmaster and dissenting clergyman, friend of Charles Lamb.

<sup>4</sup> Frances Wright (1795-1852), Scottish-born free-thinker and author, spent many years in the United States, lecturing on women's rights, free education, birth control, and the errors of organized religions.

Took tea at William Ashursts, Muswell Hill. Met Mrs. Saxton & Fanny Wade—talked of meeting—new views—woman—S. M. Grimke's book<sup>1</sup>—went into their nice kitchen—buttery &c.—delightful evening—G. Bradburn with us.

7th day [July] 11th. Dr. Hutton called & took leave. brought us letters of introduction to his Parents & friends in Dublin—E. Pease—R. Forster—G. B. & others—bade all farewell—present of book from E. Moore—T. Sturge—& E. Pease—rode to E. Reid's—met her sister—talked 1/2 an hour—affectionate farewell. Railroad to Birmingham—bought sandwiches—arrived at 6—met William Boulton & M'Donald the Catholic Priest who was introduced in London & offered the use of a room in Birmingham for a Meeting. He now went to our kind friend Boulton's with us & renewed his offer—were received there with kindness by W. B's daughter Frances—William Morgan called—his Father a Baptist minister of that place—talk on Baptism—Garrison—our rejection—his brother John engaged in the A. S. office in London—had been very kind & attentive to us—to whom the following note was sent :

"L. M. cannot leave London without acknowledging her obligation to her friend J. Morgan for his repeated acts of kindness & attention to her & her friends during their stay in this City. Should he or his friends visit America, she hopes to reciprocate the favors. The neat package of Slave-stamped paper is valued—& thanks returned.

While L. M. deeply regrets that English Usage, American New Organization, & sectarian proscription combined, have excluded herself & her friends from such participation in the labors of the Convention as they as American Abolitionists had a right to expect, she nevertheless rejoices in every effort sanctioned by justice & humanity, for the liberation of the slave & can therefore bid 'God speed' the Managers of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in their labors in his behalf—even though they betray their short-coming as respects Human Freedom on the broad scale."

<sup>1</sup> Sarah Moore Grimké (1792-1873), like her younger sister Angelina, was born in South Carolina, but reacted against the gay society of Charleston, the ritualism of the Episcopal Church, and the cruelties of Negro slavery. Moving north, the sisters joined the Society of Friends and presently took the unprecedented step of lecturing on abolition to mixed audiences. The reference here is undoubtedly to Sarah Grimké's *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* (1838).

1st day 12th of 7 mo. William Boulton called on Hugh Hutton<sup>1</sup> & introduced us & our mission—were cordially received by him & invited to go & hear George Harris<sup>2</sup> of Glasgow. Went to Catholic Meeting in the morning—heard M'Donald—a good practical discourse—nonsensical forms—low-high mass—sacrament—called to see him—found him eating breakfast, having fasted all the morning. Conversed pleasantly—was glad we had been in good company that morning—heard G. Harris in the evening—also good—his manner not so easy as McDonald's who preaches extempore.

2nd day [July] 13th. Joseph Sturge & sister called—invited us to breakfast—prior engagement prevented—talked of protest—Garrison—J. Scoble—not satisfactory—dined at home with McDonald & H. Hutton—some wine—talk on the subject—went to soiree under new chapel—400 present—excellent discourse from G. Harris—McDonald—William Boulton & others—house built by working men—resolution offered by H. Hutton welcoming us & inviting us to take part—satisfaction expressed—a bag sent for A. S. Fair<sup>3</sup> made with left hand—preparations all simple—tea, bread & butter & sandwiches—Eyre Lee<sup>4</sup> chairman—man spoke who was with Priestley when he was so persecuted there<sup>5</sup>—a small boy—his Father's house destroyed—offered house to me—separated at 11—all delighted—walked with Hugh Hutton—congenial mind.

3rd day 14th of 7 mo. Breakfasted at Morgans—family all kind—William Boulton and daughter accompanied—William waited on us to Unitarian Charity School of girls—designed to make good servants—not taught enough—

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Hutton, minister of the Old Meeting, Birmingham, from 1822 to 1851.

<sup>2</sup> George Harris (1794-1859) had held Unitarian pulpits in Liverpool and Manchester; since 1825 he had been in Glasgow.

<sup>3</sup> Anti-slavery Fairs were held every year from 1835 to 1861 in Philadelphia to raise money for the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. See N. Orwin Rush, "Lucretia Mott and the Philadelphia Anti-slavery Fairs," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 35 (Autumn, 1946), 69-75.

<sup>4</sup> G. Eyre Lee (1770-1847), was a member of the Old Meeting (Unitarian) in Birmingham.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), the discoverer of oxygen, was a liberal theologian, minister of the New Meeting in Birmingham until he was driven out for his radical political views. He emigrated to America in 1794 and spent his last ten years in Northumberland, Pennsylvania. He was buried in the Friends burying ground.

confined to sewing, reading & writing and little figures—house in nice order—well ventilated—do all their own work—one woman Superintendent, teacher, nurse &c.

thence to Lacker ware waiter &c. manufactory. bought a small specimen—to new Cathedral—saw the Priest—Abbott—intelligent man—but no reformer like McDonald—likes old forms—& would be quiet as to abuses—submit to the "powers that be"—opposed him—disliked their rearing again such costly edifices—he defended it—took us into the vaults below—for their dead—vulgar fears of dungeons—Inquisition &c.—much opposition to them by Protestants—stranger present listening to us, united with all the lady said—would know her name & where from—met him afterward in Dublin & found him a wealthy citizen.

Returned home alone—James & William B[oulton] called on William Harrold—not in town—on Samuel Lloyd—left Friends—joined the Plymouth Brethren—introduced to Charles Sturge<sup>1</sup>—brother to Joseph—wrote to Lady Byron—H. Hutton brought books & poetry for our Fair—took tea with us—went to Town Hall—heard an excellent lecture from George Harris on capital punishment—2,500 present—much applause—our friend Morgan united with him—asked to offer resolution thanking him—declined, but made a few remarks—cheered—so much for English Usage—High Bailiff presided—beautiful eulogium of E. Fry—G. Harris invited us to be his guest at Glasgow—gave notice of meeting for us the next evening.

4th day [July] 15th. James went with William B[oulton] to coal-pits—passed Shenstone's beautiful place<sup>2</sup>—descended the pit 720 feet perpendicular—near 1/2 mile level—stayed at home & wrote—call from intelligent scotch woman with her daughter—her husband Editor of the radical or Liberal paper in Birmingham—called with Fanny B. on C. Sturge's wife—next door—saw their little children. 2 visitors there single sisters—both talked together—amusing to hear them—reminded of S. Bettle's sisters<sup>3</sup>—beautiful green—boys

<sup>1</sup> Charles Sturge (1802-1888), like his brother, Joseph, was a businessman in Birmingham.

<sup>2</sup> William Shenstone (1714-1763), a minor poet who spent most of his life and fortune beautifying his elegant estate, The Leasowes—chiefly, as Horace Walpole unkindly remarked, "that it might be talked of."

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Bettle, a Philadelphia merchant, was Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at the time of the Great Separation.

dressed in girls' clothes 5 or 6 years old, playing with boats in tub of water—H. Hutton's wife called—took tea there—pictures in abundance—books innumerable—reading Todd's Students Manual—his little son handed tea—Meeting large—several expressed satisfaction—rode home.

5th day [July] 16th. H. & M. Grew called—pleasant chat of an hour or so—then parted with our hospitable friends, hoping to see them in America—Railroad to Derby & Ambergate—waited there several hours for Omnibus—in toll house & on the road—talked with poor Irish beggar & daughter—gave her old shoes &c.—was brought up by Friends—married a soldier too young—little boy died 2 weeks ago—to Matlock—old Bath Hotel—good supper—walked up a long hill to Cumberland Cave entered light in hand—guide—long narrow way—to table where scores had dined—Jacob's ladder—Lots wife—Diamond hall—2 singular arches—snow spar—veins of lead petrified water—Queen's palace—straits of Gibraltar—distance under mountain 180 feet—flitches of bacon—deaf man, miner in company view from the hill fine—High Tor—heights of Abraham—bought spar at small shops—3 or 4—petrified well—lovers walk &c. tiresome walk—retired to room—toothache.

6th day [July] 17th. Rose at 4 o'clock to write—breakfast at New Bath—walked over the place—nature grand—romantic scenery—disappointed of seat in coach—visited baths, museum—dined at Hodgkinson's—rode to Buxton in Fly with 3 ladies—one Scotch Presbyterian—gave me tracts—Bunyan—rocks high—lovers leap—Buxton Crescent—hard rain—stopped at Grove house—clean & nice—tired & sick.

7th day 18th 7 mo.—Top of Coach to Manchester loaded too much—difficult to ascend the hill—beautiful prospect—25 miles stopped at Argel Hotel—lunch—railroad to Liverpool—at Miss Knibb's Bold Street—comfortable—letters from home—great treat.

1st day [July] 19th. Went to Meeting—heard Thom<sup>1</sup>—spoke to William Rathbone & brother Richard—sickness at home—daughter confined—rain afternoon—wrote—James went to Meeting—spoke to Francis Thompson and Thomas George from America—some English Friends.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John Hamilton Thom (1808-1894), Unitarian minister in Liverpool, co-defender of Unitarianism with James Martineau in the "Liverpool controversy."



2nd day [July] 20th. Went to Mechanics Institute—one room devoted to Phrenology & Anatomy—William Rathbone called—invited us there to tea—had a pleasant visit—his 2 sons in law there—Thom & Paget—talk of women—Hicksites—Unitarians.

3rd day [July] 21st. Wrote & packed trunks to leave behind—left in Steamboat at 2 o'clock for Dublin—very sick all night—arrived at Kingstown early in the morning.

4th day [July] 22nd. Went to Hotel at Kingstown—breakfasted—to Dublin on Railroad—stopped at commercial house—James Haughton called—invited to his house to tea—4 daughters & one son—wife deceased 11 years since—all tee-totallers went with him to Temperance Meeting—heard good address from Charles Cockran—Richard Webb & some remarks from J. Haughton—accepted an invitation to speak—people appeared satisfied<sup>1</sup>—300 present in the Exchange—The Webbs & J. Haughton waited on us home.

5th day [July] 23rd—Changed lodgings to Lower Abbey St. No 11—Hardings'—James Haughton's daughters called in their car—took us to Joseph Hutton's, father of Dr H. of London—he not at home—his wife fine old lady—beautiful garden—full of fruit—feast of gooseberries—strawberries—met the wife of the assistant Minister—lunch bread & butter—baked apples (last year's) & milk & cream—buttermilk—all in antique style—real Irish hospitality—rode thro' the principal streets of city—wide & beautiful—buildings of stone—residence of O'Connell rather neglected—handsome squares—rode to Park—residence of the Lord Lieutenant, Viscount ——<sup>2</sup>—man thrown from horse—jaunting car upset—much riding in Dublin—rather dull for business—dined & took tea at J. Haughton's joined by the Webbs, Richard Allen, Charles Cockran, Editor of Temperance paper, William Dawes from Oberlin—much talk—said a little to children before leaving.

6th day [July] 24th. Breakfast at Richard Webb's—

<sup>1</sup> According to one attentive auditor, "her remarks were discursive—the anti-slavery enterprise, moral reform, temperance, and the promotion of peace, were all touched upon, not forgetting another of her favorite themes, the exaltation of the moral and social condition of woman."—Webb, "Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Convention," *Liberator*, 10 (23 October, 1840), 170.

<sup>2</sup> The Lord Lieutenant, whose name Lucretia Mott neglected to fill in, was Hugh, Viscount Ebrington, later Earl Fortescue.

William Dawes lodging there—party to sea side, in company with Richard Webb—car to Kingstown—outside car to cottage—all things in simplicity for country residence of Thomas Webb & wife Mary with their 3 children—walked up Killiney hills—beautiful prospect of Dublin—the sea-coast—harbor of Kingstown (formerly Dunleary) cultivated vale—miles around—stone quarry—granite—mud cabins—pigs—children—poor Irish—Obelisk—Telegraph—Brayhead—Wicklow mountains—sugar loaf<sup>1</sup> &c. &c. dined there—joined in the afternoon by Hannah Webb—James H. Webb & wife Ann—& Charles Cockran—much conversation—stayed till 9 o'clock—returned to R. Webb's & sat an hour with William Dawes.

7th day [July] 25th. Call from J. Hutton & wife—invitation to visit them—morning at home writing—afternoon walked with R. Webb around the City & Liberties—saw the poor in their hovels—their degradation—their wretchedness<sup>2</sup>—conversed with some of them—weaver—returned to R. Webb's to tea—stopped at the College-yard—rained, walking bad—met Thomas Irwin, teacher of the Kildare St. school—formerly national—Catholics wouldn't have the bible introduced—another established—Thomas great Tory & churchman—sensible—amusing—lent us "Tour thro Ireland"—talked of the condition of poor compared with our slavery—looked over Hannah Webb's notes—Richard's books—pictures in drawing room of Garrison—Birney—G. Smith<sup>3</sup>—Clarkson.

1st day 26th 7 mo. Went to Friends' Meeting—large—galleries high—only 2 men & one woman in upper gallery—broke their silence after sitting more than an hour<sup>4</sup>—closed by prayer from the only Minister belonging there—a woman—dined at James Webb's 3 miles from town—rode in outside car with William Dawes—R. Webb & wife—met there Thomas & Mary Webb—Richard & Ann Allen—James Haughton—Charles Cockran & some cousins—beautiful place

<sup>1</sup> The Great and Little Sugarloafs are two striking eminences in the Wicklow Hills.

<sup>2</sup> "The contrast between the rich and poor was more striking than in any other place we visited."—James Mott, *Three Months*, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Gerrit Smith (1797-1874) was a wealthy American lawyer and land speculator. Converted to abolition by James G. Birney, he contributed liberally to schemes for colonization and the rehabilitation of fugitive slaves.

<sup>4</sup> A Friend later told James Mott that "he expected every minute Lucretia would be requested to sit down."—Hallowell, 169n.

Green Mount—near the cemetery—garden extended to it—wall fruit—plenty of gooseberries—large house—everything in good taste—much talk—enquired about Hicksites—ignorant of causes of separation. American Female writers—literature in general—stayed late in the evening—Dr. Drummond<sup>1</sup> called—also James Haughton & daughters.

2nd day [July] 27th. Wrote till 12—visited Thomas Irwin's school—commented on girls' education—his boys forward in arithmetic—girls sampler work—stitching & other nonsense—no black board—drawings & problems for them—rod dispensed with—trying to give up all punishments, since our talk at R. Webbs. From there with R. W. to National school—large—many rooms—same objection as in others as respects girls—Wilderspin's daughter<sup>2</sup> teaching infant school—intelligent—agreed with us as to female education—R. Allen joined us there with his car—took us to the Mendicity<sup>3</sup>—not so many poor there since the public provision for the poor—tasted their oatmeal stirabout & milk. Dined at Richard Allen's with William Dawes & a stranger—joined at tea by the Webbs—Charles Cockran—James Haughton & several strangers—much talk—on Temperance—Tait's magazine<sup>4</sup>—R. Webb's poetry—Lady Byron & daughter Ada's picture—stay'd late—C. Cockran walked with us—call from Joseph Hutton.

3rd day [July] 28th. Rode with J. Haughton's daughters around Park—strawberry beds—called on Dr. Drummond—had much talk—dined in company with him & others at Joseph Hutton's—walked around Botanic garden—saw dove plant & more curious ones than ever before—admired the interest manifested by the old gent. & lady—their daughter very polite & attentive—sumptuous dinner—too much wine—talked on the subject—received presents from them—of her own knitting—J. Haughton & daughters joined us at tea—

<sup>1</sup> William Hamilton Drummond (1778-1865), poet and preacher, occupied the Presbyterian pulpit at Strand Street, Dublin, and published a number of treatises defending Unitarianism.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Wilderspin (ca. 1792-1866) was one of the founders of the infant school system in the British Isles. In 1840 he was headmaster of the Central Model School in Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> "An institution supported by voluntary contributions, where many hundreds daily resort to obtain their meals."—James Mott, *Three Months*, 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* was a monthly magazine of Radical politics to which men like John Stuart Mill and John Bright contributed.

Dr. D. walked home with us—presented books of his own writing—pleasant day.

4th day [July] 29th. William L. Garrison & N. P. Rogers arrived, walked a mile along the Quay to meet them—passed the morning delightfully with them at R. Webbs—hearing & asking questions. Dined at our lodgings—returned there to tea—finished letter to C. C. B.—wrote to M. W. Chapman—finished letters home—met large company at R. Webb's—talk non-resistance—met George Downes & wife—obliged to leave them all early to pack up & be off next day—so took leave of all our dear friends!<sup>1</sup>

5th day [July] 30th. Left Dublin on top of coach for Belfast—very rapid driving—pleasant day—aristocrat in company—talked with him—not satisfactory—stranger united with me. Passed miserable huts—poor villages—wretched looking people—women & children all barefoot—great quantities of peat or turf cut for burning—passed the ground of battle of Boyne—Dondor<sup>2</sup>—Burdens folly—monument of William Bath<sup>3</sup>—Dooleek church the oldest in Ireland—Drogheda, sad specimen of town in Ireland—beggars in abundance—place altogether *beggars* description. Monument supposed to be built in the time of the Druids—fire worshippers. Lisburn—linen bleaching—flax growing—very few comfortable dwellings—absentee proprietors—large domains—poor oppressed with rents—women working & carrying as heavy burdens as men. Stopped at Temperance house, Belfast—William Dawes arrived there the day before—called on us with William Bell, cousin of Abraham Bell—acquainted with I. T. Hopper—editor of Irish Friend.

6th day [July] 31st. Breakfast at William Bell's—coffee made at the table—scriptures read—William Webb's wife called—invited us there to dine—read William Howitt's letter—much conversation followed—William Dawes objected to part of it—copied it for William L. Garrison.

<sup>1</sup> Had Lucretia Mott been less laconic, she might have echoed the words of N. P. Rogers, who spoke glowingly of the "great-souled time" he experienced with the Webbs, the Allens, the Haughtons, and the other Dublin reformers. "I never met with such a circle as that Dublin one," he wrote, "and never expect to again. I have seen the Boston Abolitionists but they were not *Irish*. It takes Old Ireland to top out *darling* human character."—Quoted in Wigham, *A Christian Philanthropist*, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Donore, Co. Meath, Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> William Bathe, of Athcarne. A cross to his memory (erected in 1601 by his widow) stands in the village of Donore.

Dined at William Webb's—aged mother in law Lamb—knew H. Field & aunt E. Barker—talked of H. Barnard's infidelity & of Hicksites—did some shopping—bought linen—took passage in steam boat to Glasgow—aground—talk with William Dawes—not very sick—good passage.

7th day 8 mo. 1st. Arrived in Glasgow at 12 o'clock—stopped an hour at Gre[e]nock—admired the views up the Clyde—Ben Lomond at a distance—Dumbarton Castle—Dunglas[s] Palisades—Lord Blantyre's seat—walked banks. Went to Temperance House, McFarlane's, Argyle St.—lodged across the street "3 stairs up" as is the common direction at the entrance of the "Close" or Court—good rooms—as well finished as the 1st floor—lower floors used for shops—no display in the street—Glasgow remarkable for its high buildings—streets not so wide as Dublin—more activity—fewer omnibuses & more people walking than in any city we have been in—women drawing handbarrows heavily laden—generally barefoot—some carrying heavy burdens on their back—fewer servants than in England—landlady & daughter waiting on us themselves. Called at Wm Smeal's—found letters from our English friends—William Boulton—F. Wade—E. A. Ashurst &c. expressive of their interest in the Anti-Slavery cause—their friendship & their wish to have the Grimke's works on Woman's sphere—long call from John Keep—talk on Theology till toward twelve.

1st day 8 mo. 2nd. Attended Friends' Meeting—quite small—strangers there from England—Forsters<sup>1</sup>—one in supplication—the other tedious & dry, dwelling on the system of the Schools of Divinity, which is so completely interwoven with Quaker faith as to divest it of its original simplicity & beauty—mourned their degeneracy while they lamented our heresy—William Smeal & sister spoke kindly to us—invited us there to tea—introduced us to the strangers & to Friend named White<sup>2</sup>—active in the Anti-Slavery cause & would like to pay us attention—but afraid of our principles—took a walk to High Church cemetery—beautiful on the side of a hill overlooking the town—Rotten Row St. view of crowded situation of the poor up the allies & closes. Dined

<sup>1</sup> James Mott identifies these Friends as "ministers from Yorkshire, brothers, by the name of Foster."—*Three Months*, 61.

<sup>2</sup> William White (1773-1855).

at our lodgings—wrote letters home till late tea time—went to William Smeal's—their mother sick—made short visit—Jane kind & disposed to be social—William deprecated the treatment of G. Harris & other Unitarians by the Orthodox.

2nd day [August] 3rd—Letter from S. Pugh announcing their arrival at Edinburgh—Went there to meet them—on top of Coach—fine roads—nice cottages—different from Ireland—Iron founderies—coal pits—stone fences, like Chester County in appearance of farms—some drinking—licensed dram houses thick on the road—Stopped at Temperance House kept by a daughter of Mrs. McFarlane—rode to G. Thompson's found Sarah & Abby enjoying themselves—Ann Thompson in her chamber—a little daughter making 5th child—neat & comfortable residence—all cheerfulness.

3rd day [August] 4th. G. Thompson & girls called for us. Went to Castle—fine view of city & surrounding country—soldiers in abundance—lunch at our lodgings—rode thro' the principal streets high & low—Cannon-gate—Holy Rood house—Cowgate—thro new town—crescents—saw where G. Combe used to live—Salisbury Craigs—Arthurs seat—modern ruins Parthenon—Prison—took tea at G. Thompson's with a Mrs Gardner.

4th day [August] 5th. Rode out to Gorgie Cottage to see our friends George & Cecy Combe—passed 1/2 an hour pleasantly with them—admired their pretty place—surrounded by every comfort—promised a visit—walked thro' several streets—admired the city much. Left in the afternoon in Steam boat on the Forth to Stirling, 30 miles—fine views—winding river—called "links of Forth"—arrived late in the evening, girls & G. T. there before us—had tea prepared—read poetry—talked till late.

5th day [August] 6th. Rose at 1/2 past 4—posted 16 miles to Callander—admired Stirling castle—mountains & hills—rivers & runs—Ochill mountains—Firth & Doune<sup>1</sup> rivers from Callander to Stewarts Inn 10 miles thro' beautiful hills—girls tell me when to admire. Pleasant conversation with G. Thompson—amusing time at breakfast—entrance to Trossacks—walk 1-1/2 miles to Lake Katrine—several joined our party—rowed by 4 men—guide amusing—quoted much of Lady of Lake—rowed Walter Scott over

<sup>1</sup> Probably Lucretia Mott meant the Forth and Teith rivers; the latter ran past the village of Doune.

before he wrote—learned his poetry by hearing young ladies recite it when rowing them—echo in the Trossacks—Ben Nevis—Roderick Dhu's craigs—house—spot where Lady of Lake issued with her boat—& a' that—10 miles up the Lake—ponies all the other side—lunch of oaten cake & milk—walk thro' Highlands 5 miles—The McGregors—to Loch Lomond & other mountains—stopped at Tarbet Inn—lodged there—G. T. gave us Elisabeth Pease's history—interesting.

6th day [August] 7th. Down Loch Lomond in steam boat 30 miles to breakfast—pictures in room—some diversion for girls—crossed the Lake in Omnibus—rode to Dumbarton—girls & G. Thompson visited castle—Charles L. Remond met us there—went up in boat to Glasgow—passed John Murray's place, Bowling<sup>1</sup>—dined & took tea at our lodgings in Argyle Street. Went to Anti-Slavery meeting in the evening—heard several speak—principally Americans—women voted down—J. Murray spoke to us—G. Thompson gave notice of meeting for me—censured for it—Letter from G. Harris, had kindly offered use of house & pulpit<sup>2</sup>—accepted it.

7th day [August] 8th. J. Hedderwick called—invited us to go & see Jonathan Phillips & wife from Boston—found they had left the city for Lanark—went to Paisley—visited many shawl manufactories—called at J. Henderson's—his wife and daughters kind to us—called to see Kennedy the schoolmaster—talked with him on government—he walked with us to the Omnibus. Rode to the Clyde—steam boat to J. Murray's—walk in garden—plenty of gooseberries—dined & spent the afternoon pleasantly with our friends—his wife hard of hearing—their son a fine lad—read Burns in broad Scotch for Abby's amusement—returned to Glasgow that evening—walked & wrote.

1st day, 9th of 8 mo.—James went to Friends Meeting—heard H. Backhouse—meeting small—afternoon put off till 6 o'clock—near the hour ours was appointed. S. Pugh &

<sup>1</sup> John Murray (d. 1849), a Scottish philanthropist and friend of Garrison, had an estate on Bowling Bay.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Davis Hallowell quotes part of this letter: "I am happy in offering you the use of my chapel pulpit, either on Sunday evening, or any evening of the following week you may choose, to address the people on slavery, education, or our common faith in God and man and our Saviour. The committee of our chapel likewise unanimously offer you the place of worship for these purposes."—*James and Lucretia Mott*, 170-71.

self to Union Street conferred with Mrs. Harris about evening meeting—seemed anxious that all things should be right—questioned as to service—would we like to have prayer? Met at 1/2 past 6—house full—very attentive—abundant satisfaction expressed<sup>1</sup>—ministers there from England & Ireland, strangers—took a walk to the Green—up High Street to George Street—multitudes of people in the street till late at night.

2nd day [August] 10th. Went to cemetery<sup>2</sup>—church yard—John Knox & other reformers—high monument—church, the only one not destroyed at the Reformation—bridge between cemeteries—appropriate inscriptions—the Jews enclosure particularly interesting—inscriptions on gate posts & gate :

Oh! weep for those that wept by Babel's stream,  
Whose shrines are desolate, whose land a dream ;  
Weep for the hasp of Judah's broken shell,  
Mourn—where their God hath dwelt the godless dwell !

And where shall Israel lave her bleeding feet ?  
And when shall Zion's songs again seem sweet ?  
And Judah's melody once more rejoice  
The hearts that leap'd before its heavenly voice ?

Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,  
How shall ye flee away and be at rest !  
The wild-dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,  
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave !<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to George Combe, James Mott opened the meeting by explaining his and his wife's " differences in religious views from the Society of Friends in Britain " and reading their certificates from their Monthly Meeting and the abolition societies which they were representing. " Mrs. Mott then spoke for nearly two hours, and held a delighted audience in breathless attention."—*Notes on the United States*, I, 232n. A full account of the meeting, quoted from the London *Christian Pioneer*, may be found in Hallowell, 171-72n.

<sup>2</sup> This was the famous Necropolis, a steep hill near the Cathedral, studded with monuments, that to John Knox towering above them all.

<sup>3</sup> Three verses from Byron: *Hebrew Melodies*. In Lucretia Mott's MS. verse 2 is first, and her verse 3, line 2 reads " We roam the Earth around yet find no rest."



" Thus saith the Lord—Refrain from weeping " &c.

" There is hope in thine end, saith the Lord " &c.

" How hath the Lord covered the daughters of Zion as with a cloud " &c. " For the Lord will not cast off—but though he cause grief he will not afflict willingly " &c., &c. " Leave, thy fatherless children." The first interment in this cemetery was that of a Jew—6 years ago.

Many of the epitaphs were striking. In the church yard the following pleased us :

" George Rodger Junior aged 26—Erected by the workmen under his care—The warmth and generosity of youth, with the coolness and experience of age."

" He whose loved ashes moulder here below

" Was one—the gentlest model of his kind,

" He lived—nor made himself a single foe,

" He died—nor left an enemy behind."

Walked home in the rain—called at the High School taught by D'Orsey to whom George Combe had given us a letter of introduction. Pleased with his mode of instruction.

Went in the rain to the adjourned meeting of the Emancipation Society—James seconded resolution, listened to patiently—his wife called for—a compliment from him—informing her name was not in the programme. Chartists took the Meeting into their own hands—wouldn't let George Thompson speak—a socialist, Johns & a chartist, Jack had the floor. Called to the platform & made good speeches—was not very sorry that they could be heard to plead the cause of their own poor.

Hedderwick, sat near—shewed a leaf from Channing's letter on slavery—present of his late lectures—on " Self Culture " on " the Elevation of the working classes "—& on " Temperance "—Letter from H. & M. Grew informing they should sail for America on the 7th—Wrote to them when in Edinburgh & sent letters.

3rd day [August] 11th—Left Glasgow for Edinburgh by way of Lanark—passed falls of Stone Byre—girls got off the coach & ran down with a guide to see the beauties—came back most amused with their guide—visited Owen's school—the falls of Cora Linn &c.—left Sarah & Abby there—went on to Edinburgh—3 chained prisoners in Company—to be transported for stealing sheep—their wives & children crying

pitiously—heart ached for them—shame! that man has such power "To make his fellow mourn."—arrived at Edinburgh at dusk—passed Gorgie cottage—George Combe standing at the end of the lane to welcome us—he & Cecy had written to us at Glasgow inviting us to be their guests while in Edinburgh—went to Family Hotel St. Andrews Square.

4th day [August] 12th. Rode to G. Thompsons for the girls' trunk—saw Ann & the babe—heard of G. Bradburn—sought him in vain—G. Combe sent in carriage for us—had a delightful visit there—his brother Andrew<sup>1</sup> & niece Miss Cox dined with us. some friends called—walked in the garden—ate gooseberries—had much conversation in the afternoon of America, Germany, &c—walked a mile up the road—Dr. Andrew & niece returned home—passed a delightful evening—bright moonlight—sat without light talking till 10 o'clock—when with his characteristic punctuality, he proposed retiring to rest—shewn into chamber where was every comfort.

5th day [August] 13th. Rose at 7—wrote till 8—found G. Combe at his writing before breakfast—James walked in the garden—Cecilia all cheerfulness—very social—many pretty things in their parlor to admire—called down to breakfast room—good fire—pleasant sight when there is so much cold weather & scotch mist. Oaten cakes—all things in nice order—letters brought in—Cecilia helped read them—James rode into Edinburgh—brought out George Bradburn who dined with us there—the gentlemen all took a ride of several miles around the country. Cecilia amused herself taking a sketch—shewed me her own taken in the glass—gave me an engraving of herself when a child taken by Sir Thomas Lawrence—saw her mother's in several characters—took a short walk—rode in to Dr Andrew Combe's to tea—found there a German Physician Dr. Hirschfield & wife of Bremen—he first translated the "Constitution of Man" into their language—& is an enlightened Phrenologist—G. Bradburn enjoyed the visit—and so did we—Dr C. presented me his work on the "Treatment of Infancy." tea was handed in the drawing room as is customary—Parted with them all with mingled emotions—increasingly attached to them—they

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Andrew Combe (1797-1847), physiologist and phrenologist, was physician to the Queen in Scotland and author of many books, including *The Physical and Moral Management of Infancy* (1840).

expressed much for us—Sad that we should probably meet no more! returned to our lodgings—found our girls had enjoyed themselves much with George Thompson, J. Dunlop & Patrick Brewster—all of whom were at our lodgings to take leave—much pleased with the latter, a moral power Chartist.

6th day morning [August] 14th. Top of Coach to Melrose—Georgia planter in company tried to convince us the slave was better off than the working man in England & Ireland—not succeeding—begged off—as he did not want the pleasure of his day's ride destroyed as it was in Ireland by talking on that subject—seemed to like our company—asked us to join with their party to Abbotsford—we didn't spare him. Arrived at Melrose at 12 o'clock—visited Abbey before dinner—bought primers on the way—much to admire—all been described—found a grave opened—scull & bones plenty lying near—hurried from dinner back to the "burying"—arrived in time—one of the Scott family—girls followed—disappointed of the parson—Rode to Abbotsford—Walter Scott's celebrated mansion & grounds—all around marked the Antiquary—much interested—guide rather crabbed—hurried us through as another party was in waiting—accidentally met with the widow of Scott's trusty servant Tom. Purdie—very communicative—invited us into her cottage on the premises—gave us some of her newly baked bread & water from a silver cup presented by Scott's son, the present Sir Walter—sixpences dropped into it whereupon she was loud in praise of Americans—gave us leaves from her husband's account book—told us all that the time would admit of—Georgia companion grateful to me for going back to find him & introduce him to her. Thence to Dryburgh Abbey—rode in two carriages—crossed the Tweed in a small boat—rowed over by the Georgia man—was glad to do what he could to bring us over to the *other side*. Abby laughed at him for having such a company of Abolitionists under his charge—long walk after getting over—plenty of cherries in the enclosure—lagged behind to eat, while the girls were hastening to sentimentalize & gather flowers over Scott's grave—beautiful ivy over the ruined window—climbed up narrow staircase to top of ruins—gathered blue bells & a heap of pretty posies—went down to the dungeon—The Crypt—or Chapter house—busts & broken things wisely kept for shew—the whole not much—back to tea—Melrose by

moonlight—exquisite—pale & bright—Walter Scott never saw it in the evening—intelligent young woman guide—Baltimorean there with the Georgian—sketched Michael Scott—the wizard's tomb—shadow of a *sprite*—all called into the church yard to see it—much enjoyment rambling over the old ruins—returned late to a supper of oatmeal porridge & milk—applied poultice to chest by advice of Dr Combe.

7th day [August] 15th. Shopping—girls bought pictures, a tin wheelbarrow & some ginger cakes—wrote a little—coach to Newcastle upon Tyne—Georgian left behind—sorry for him—passed Jedburgh Abbey—beautiful arches—mostly ruins—castle &c.—thru hills near Melrose—whole ride very hilly—mountain scenery—heath & moor—saw shepherds with plaids, crooks, & dogs—sheep plenty—road very winding—everything new & interesting. London travelling companion—hunter or sportsman joined us with grouse—plucked feathers for Abby—arrived at 8 o'clock—took tea at Inn. James found Dr. Greenhow—brother-in-law of H. Martineau—who walked over the town with us—beautiful new buildings & market place, the finest in England—all the architecture in the new part exceedingly beautiful—Literary Institution fine large rooms—good museum of natural science.

1st day [August] 16th. Rode to Tynemouth on Railroad—walked a mile to seaside—found H. Martineau in comfortable lodgings seated at a window overlooking the sea—she received us cordially—entered into pleasant conversation & two or three hours passed almost before we were aware of it—James walked out to the shore and castle—her sister Greenhow called & sat awhile with us—a handsome & agreeable woman—many subjects touched upon—the Furnesses a favorite theme—the loss of so many of her friends a painful one—she had just written to the family of the lamented Lord Durham<sup>1</sup>—read us a letter from the widow of Charles Follen<sup>2</sup> to the Unitarian minister at the

<sup>1</sup> John George Lambton, Earl of Durham (1792-1840), Liberal statesman of advanced views, author of the memorable "Report on the Affairs of British America" (1839), in which were laid down the basic principles which have guided British colonial policy ever since.

<sup>2</sup> Eliza Cabot Follen (1787-1860), widow of Charles Follen (1796-1840), German-born scholar and Unitarian minister, whose radical position on abolition lost him his professorship at Harvard. Simmons, the Unitarian minister mentioned below, held a pulpit at Mobile, Alabama, until he lost it on account of his abolitionism.

South who lately lost his place for preaching truth on abolition, Simmons—Susan Capon [Casson ?] had copied the letter & sent it to H. Martineau. C. Follen had preached at his Installation—recommended his ever preaching truth without stopping to consider whether the people could bear it. Asked her to write for our book for the Fair—returned at 2 o'clock—parted with her never expecting to meet again—as she is afflicted with a disease which she thinks will prove fatal—dined at Hotel—parted with girls—they going to Carlyle—walked around the old & poor part of the town—every where black with coal.

2nd day 8 mo. 17th. Top of coach to Leeds—hard rain—wind so high that umbrellas could not be opened—breakfast at Darlington—good fire—glad to dry bonnet & cloak & several handkerchiefs which were thoroughly wet—left our Indian Rubber cushion there by mistake—passed Joseph Pease's place—stormy day—so that we could not see the beauty of the country—arrived near night—not a very pleasant house—tho comfortable—had good fire in parlor to ourselves & wrote all the evening.

3rd day [August] 18th. James called on woollen manufacturers & visited Cloth Hall where their goods are sold twice a week—each having his particular stand—finished letters home for packet of 19th. afterward concluded to send by British Queen. Left at noon for Sheffield in Railroad car—stopped there long enough to visit Rogers' shew room—purchase some articles—examine many—returned to Hotel—had dinner & tea together—and took cars again to London—rode all night—met with man who had lost his travelling bag containing valuable papers—amused with talk of girls to each other—slept some—arrived in London early in the morning—

4th day [August] 19th. Took cab to Queen Street Place—enjoyed the early ride thro London streets—all clean & quiet—houses & stores open late there as elsewhere in England—called Walter ("the Boots") up to let us in—found letters in waiting for us—read all before breakfast with deep interest—rejoiced to hear such good accounts from home—met Elisabeth C. Stanton very pleasantly to us—went to Houndsditch—E. Wallen's to have bonnet turned—spoiled by the rain—made some purchases—to toy shop for dolls—walked to the Strand to find Ackerman's—no Ivory paper

books there—old bonnet attracted notice, so turned homeward—lunch in Cheapside—gravy soup & tart—went to lodgings & took a nap—passed the evening pleasantly with E. Stanton and the family—

5th day [August] 20th. India Museum in company with E. C. Stanton—not much to admire—thence to Ludgate Hill—to fancy shop—purchased boxes & a few articles—James called on G. Combe's book-seller with order for books for I. Hopper, met William E. Forster—informed of the arrival of J. J. Gurney—met Robert Forster—invited to tea with him at Tottenham—called on Susan Hutton—Dr H. gone to Dublin—passed an hour with her—received from her an essay on Slavery—by young woman who was at one of our meetings at Carter Lane—sent also a box of fancy articles for the Fair. Lunch at confectioners—rode out to R. Forsters late—found them at tea—kindly received—walked around their garden and grounds—men retired to have private conversation—left with the sisters—sent for Wilderspin—had talk with him of Infant Schools—visiting America—left there after 9 o'clock—waited sometime for Omnibus—met with a stranger who wished to send letters to his sister in Philadelphia, Mrs. Mansfield, 468 North 2nd St.—his name Blanchard, Secretary to British & Foreign Missions.

6th day [August] 21st. J. Morgan called—talked of Scoble's conduct—Hayden's picture &c.—visited Infant School with E. C. Stanton—not equal to our expectation & hopes—felt much for the poor little children in Spitalfields—E. Stanton would like to remove them in Omnibuses to Hyde Park to romp & play—talk with her on increase of poor &c.—from there to British Museum—lunch in Gladiator's room—company there—found ourselves among the curiosities—thence to Hayden's—saw picture—talked with him—rode back in Omnibus to Holburn Hill—went to Fleet St. to buy metallic paper Memorandum books—could find none ruled as we wished—bought some—paper—wafers, &c.—called at William Ashurst's office—returned to our lodgings to tea with Zilpah Elaw—had some talk with her.

7th day [August] 22nd. Call from E. A. Ashurst—Mr. Blanchard—gave us some Moral Reform papers & tracts—went shopping—bought trunk—hose &c.—James called at Coates & Co., settled postage &c.—lunch at favorite place in

Cheapside—oxtail soup & sandwiches—walked to Strand—Regents Quadrant—Soho Square—Bazaar—Oxford St.—home in Omnibus—found H. B. Stanton—evening walk to Post Office to see Mails start—thence to Madam Toussaud's museum—perfect figure, of Scott—Byron—Victoria & Prince Albert in bridal dress, with attendants—ancient Kings & Queens—Luther—Calvin—John Knox—William Penn & many more—room of horrors—Bastile—Guillotine &c.

1st day [August] 23rd. Susan Hutton breakfasted with us—went with her to meeting—met the Ashursts—discourse on the nature of mind—called on Professor Adam—top of the house—had an hour's pleasant converse with him—returned home to dinner—packed our trunks—received call from J. Morgan—parted with all our friends—took cab to Rail Road—S. Hutton met us there—talked till we started—affectionate take leave [*sic*] farewell to London—feeling of sadness. rode all night—slept well—delicious plums bought in London to eat on the road—arrived in Liverpool at 7 o'clock.

2nd day [August] 24th. Found Sarah & Abby had arrived just before us from Dublin where they had passed a week in delightful intercourse with our friends—stopped at 15 Bold St., Miss Knibbs—James Webb & Hannah Suliot called—she said to be Hicksite—William Rathbone called—invited us out to their place—engagements such, & time so short, could not accept—his wife had written desiring, after we had travelled over England and had seen their women, that we would let her know, how far we considered their minds fettered and crushed by public opinion and external restraints—also that we would give our opinion of the comparative situation of American & English Females. And if we returned by Liverpool that we might have an opportunity of discussing many very important subjects—saying our visit had left a pleasant and lasting impression on her mind & hoped it would sometimes recur to ours, &c.

Joseph Pease arrived also G. Thompson expecting a meeting at Manchester when O'Connell was to speak—delighted to meet again—dined with us—Charles Remond & William Adams called—the latter sailed from Glasgow or Gre[e]nock 10 days ago for America—was out in the late storm—the ship sprung a leak & put in to Bristol—he left it & concluded to go with us. walked to the cemetery—admired the Church St. Lukes—did some shopping—wrote all the evening.

3rd day [August] 25th.—Visited Town Hall—splendid—walked through some of the streets—bought trifles for children—had a call from E. Rathbone & daughter—E. Pease arrived—joyful meeting with the girls—sat up nearly all night.

Received letter from H. Martineau expressive of satisfaction in our late visit . . . Answered it before leaving Liverpool.<sup>1</sup>

4th day [August] 26th. The last day we passed in England. Our friends Joseph & Elizabeth Pease breakfasted with us—James Webb called and after writing divers notes & making sundry arrangements & some purchases we once more took leave of our loved friends, with full hearts & rode down to the Patrick Henry, Captain Delano—12 cabin passengers—137 steerage—one born on the passage—making in all 150—some 3 or 4 boys secreted themselves for a free passage—found & sent back by pilot—one found after being several days out. Not so sick as in the voyage out. Read, wrote, talked, worked & played from day to day. Some Slave-holders in company—who didn't relish the discussion of the subject.

William Adams often came on deck for a chat—& spoke to the Steerage passengers & such others as chose to give ear ; the 1st day of each week we were out—on non-resistance—monopoly of wealth, slavery &c.—a methodist minister from Ireland also frequently held meetings in the steerage—One meeting in the cabin with doors open to the steerage—Catholic Priest—passenger—took no part—nor gave his presence—Catholic bigot in steerage made objections to what he heard—only 5 in Ladies Cabin—Catherine M'Gain an Englishwoman who has lived in New Bedford 10 years—has passed thro many afflictions—is still young—was married at 16—a widow 6 years & has improved her opportunities—has good natural abilities & moral sentiments well developed—cheerful temper—understands most that's passing around her—quick of apprehension & withal quite companionable—Isabella Wilkin—much younger also English—going to New Bedford to reside with her brother—retiring—modest—rather taciturn—industrious—in delicate health—looks to

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix for the letters from Harriet Martineau, Richard D. Webb and Elizabeth Pease, which Lucretia Mott copied into her diary at this point.



Mrs. M'Gain as her adviser. Large family from the south of England named Say going to Skaneateles—another 9 in number going to Long Island—thence out west—one of their little boys fell down the Hatchway & was much hurt—an old lady also fell. Some alarm one night with ship coming in close contact—bells rung—shouting & noise—carried away our Gibboom—did them some damage—sail in sight every day—spoke one—Captain harpooned a porpoise—great applause—sailors soon had it skinned—cut up & divided—were cooking it all night—when watch below—bird caught—Captain D always cheerful—full of play—very active—well read scientific mind—books plenty on each branch of natural science—nice observer of the physical laws—ship well ventilated & kept clean.

Peter Kendrick—Ireland—Catholic Priest—retiring—quiet—rather diffident—kept himself at safe distance from heretics.

Thomas Bentley—originally from Liverpool—some years resident in Pennsylvania & Delaware—advocate for slavery and many more bad practices—talked his worst to us—with great coolness—contemning religion and morals.

Wentworth W. Peirce, Virginia—educated at West Point—quite young—shrunk from the discussion of slavery—as a child who has something belonging to another, cries when an attempt is made to take his stolen treasure from him—pleasant & polite if let alone on that subject.

Francis Bourasso—Massachusetts—man of kind feelings sympathy for him on account of loss of large sum of money.

William Appleton—New York—so quiet that we find out little of his character—favorably impressed however—attempt at mustachios.

John Cheetham—from England—resident some years in Cincinnati. A young Physician—his skill called in requisition on several occasions—acquitted himself well—his moral sentiments not so well cultivated—advocated slavery—fighting &c.

James Mott—Philadelphia—last—not least—eldest of the company.

## APPENDIX

*Harriet Martineau to Lucretia Mott. Received 24 June, 1840*  
(see above, p. 47).

My dear friend I cannot be satisfied without sending you one line of love and sympathy. I think much of you amidst your present trials; and much indeed have I thought of you & your cause since we parted.<sup>1</sup> May God strengthen & comfort you! It is a comfort to me, in my absence, that two of my best friends, Mrs. Reid & Julia Smith, are there to look upon you with eyes of love. I hear of you from them; for, busy as they are, they remember me from day to day & make me a partaker in your proceedings.

If you & Mr. Mott *should* be coming near this way, how joyful it would make me to see you! I am too unwell to offer more than a few hours a day of intercourse with anyone; but love from my heart I do offer you.

At some leisure hour (if you cannot come) will you write me a few words about the Furnesses? They never send letters 3,000 miles, they say; & so I rarely hear of them. If you can tell me of their health & welfare, & above all, of their having been roused to action in your great cause, it will be welcome news. I long to see pure & devout hearts like theirs engaged for the Slave. Dear friend, it is doubtless a disappointment to us both that we have not met; but if we cannot do so, we can I hope bear it cheerfully.

Though ill I suffer little. I should suffer greatly if I thought my friends were uneasy for me. Yet I cannot but grieve for you, in the heart-sickness which you must have experienced this last week. We must trust that the spirit of Christ will in time enlarge the hearts of those who claim his name—that the whites, as well as the blacks, will in time be free. With kindest regards to Mr. Mott, & remembrances to Miss Pugh, I am yours affectionately

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

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*Harriet Martineau to Lucretia Mott, 19 August, 1840, received 25 August, 1840* (see above, p. 77).

[There is a MS copy of this letter among the Mott Manuscripts in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College; since it is apparently complete, its text is reproduced here in lieu of the extracts which Lucretia Mott copied into her diary.]

<sup>1</sup> The two women had met in America several years before.

Tynemouth, Aug. 19, 1840

Dear friends :

I trouble you with these letters. Do not scruple to break the seals if you find it safest to do so.

I cannot express my sense of the kindness of Mrs. Mott yourself and your friends in coming to see me. I felt hardly as if I knew what I was about that morning, but I was very happy, & I find I remember every look & word. I did not make all the use I might of the opportunity but when are we ever wise enough to do so? I do not think we shall meet again in this world and I believe that was in your mind when you said farewell. I feel that I have derived from my intercourse with you somewhat that will never die, & I am thankful that we have been permitted to meet. You will tell the Furnesses where & how you found me. Tell them of my cheerful room & fine view of down & sea. I wish my friends would suffer and fear no more for me than I do for myself. I hope you have yet many years of activity & enjoyment before you. My heart will ever be in your cause and my love with yourself. God bless you!

With kind regards to Mr. M and your friends Kimber and Pugh, I am, dear friends, yours affectionately,

H. MARTINEAU.

P.S.—I have just heard from Lady Durham, he was deceived quite to the last by his life and energy. He could not think death so near, there is some comfort in feeling that he must have enjoyed and used life to the last.

My sister is here and sends her kind regards to you.

---

*Richard D. Webb, Dublin, to Lucretia Mott, received 25 August, 1840.*

We have enjoyed with unabated relish the company of S. Pugh & A. Kimber & am glad that we have had such opportunity of becoming acquainted with so many delightful people of the right stamp from the abolition ranks. Before the convention & for years past, there was no class of individuals, anywhere with whom I so much desired to be acquainted. My expectations were consequently high, & I am glad to say that they have not been disappointed. I am not aware that my intercourse with you has unsettled any previous opinions which I held upon religious matters, but it has surely confirmed my views respecting the unimportance of dogmas in comparison with the "weightier matters of the law." I look on creeds & professions with increasing indifference; and on real, substantial, fruitful action to a good purpose, with additional respect. But I did not mean to trouble you with my confession of faith.

I am glad you have met with some in this country, who "agree to differ" with you, whilst they rejoice to have met with you for your own sakes, & the pleasure they have enjoyed in your enlightened society, as well as for what you have done & sacrificed for the poor coloured man & the slave. Any *abolition* friends of yours will always

be welcome to us. I say *abolition friends*, for tho' I consider toleration an important attainment which I preach upon all occasions, I have not yet acquired such a measure of it, as to look with complacency on any American who has arrived at years of discretion, without having acquired correct opinions on this most important subject of Slavery.

I would be most anxious to know more about C. C. Burleigh, of whom I heard so much & so favourably from you. He appears to me to be one of a thousand—a man among men. And I will take it as a favour conferred, if you will recommend any such person as he (in case he should come to Ireland) to come first to us in confidence of a hearty welcome—so long as we have a house over our heads, & the means to support it. Let us forget the points on which our respective sects differ, & be thankful that there are so many more in which we can most cordially agree. Hoping you will write to us on your return—& afterwards, I remain &c.

---

*Elizabeth Pease to Lucretia Mott. Received 25 August, 1840.*

I shall I believe look back thro life with pleasure to the hours we have recently passed together. It has never appeared to me that a difference in religious faith, ought to prevent a cordial co-operation in works of benevolence—quite the reverse—and I cannot help regretting that some have thought and acted otherwise;—but my dear friend, we must strive to make allowance for natural disposition, the influences of early education &c.—and forgive (as I well know it is thy desire to do) the errors or unkindness into which they may betray; remembering for our consolation, that to our own Master we must all stand or fall. Remember me kindly to thy husband & to thy son & daughter Davis.

Please accept thyself & hand to Sarah & Abby the assurance of my affectionate remembrance & most sincere wishes for the best welfare & happiness of you all & for your continued usefulness in the cause of the Slave.

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