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*“Some twelve or fifteen others . . .
the committee would
recommend for publication”*

Domestic Abolitionists and Their Publishers



In 1833, Lydia Maria Child received such harsh condemnation for *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of American Called Africans* that “[she] not only suffered financial ruin and social ostracism, but was also forced to end her *Juvenile Miscellany*” (Roberts 354; see also Bardes and Gossett 41). In 1850, Sarah Jane Clarke Lippincott (alias, Grace Greenwood) lost her job as editorial associate at *Godey’s Lady’s Book*¹ upon writing antislavery articles for the *National Era*, an abolitionist newspaper (Gray 364; Born 305). Similarly, Jane Grey Swisshelm, editor and publisher of the antislavery *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor*, “was attacked not so much because she was an editor but because she dared to comment directly on politics, a topic perceived to be the domain of men only” (Okker 16). Like the women who published their abolitionist views, women who addressed mixed audiences did not escape criticism. For example, the Grimké sisters often encountered critical public receptions and Jane Elizabeth Jones did not escape egg-pelting mobs during her lectures (Moser 6). These women’s experiences suggest that except for organizing activities such as antislavery fairs and petition-signing campaigns from within all-female antislavery societies, women lacked literary and public platforms that did not transgress the “gendered expectations of bourgeois publicity” (Isenberg 61).

Domestic abolitionists, however, walked the tightrope between the legitimate “literary public sphere” (Isenberg 44) and inappropriate gender behavior by

writing antislavery children's literature through which they mapped a space for themselves as other women had done in fiction and women's magazines. Susan Coultrap-McQuin reveals that

[b]efore 1830 about one-third of those who published fiction in the United States were women. During the antebellum years, almost forty percent of the novels reviewed in journals and newspapers were by women, which suggests that an equally high percentage were being published. Best-seller lists reveal that by the 1850s women were authors of almost half of the popular literary works. (2)

Similarly, Patricia Okker suggests that women created “a market for periodicals by and for women” (6) that gave women a public voice. Although still inherently separatists, “[w]hatever their intentions, women editors employed a version of separate spheres that challenged the association of men with public life and women with private life. In doing so, they exploded limiting definitions of what they—and other women—could do and be” (Okker 15). Domestic abolitionists found a similar “literary public sphere” in abolitionist juvenile literature, a genre which appeared firmly grounded within the domestic realm, the nursery and schoolroom, but transcended into the marketplace. The frequent number of pseudonyms may reveal women's fear or criticism; however, domestic abolitionists negotiated a place within the public, abolitionist debate through the sectarian organizations, abolitionist societies, and commercial publishers who marketed their abolitionist juvenile fiction and thereby sanctioned their political voices.

American domestic abolitionists most likely found inspiration in their British foremothers who wrote abolitionist children's literature in the early nineteenth century. Government proceedings and public consciousness had already led the British to prohibit participation in the slave trade in 1807 and to abolish it in 1833. According to Anne Trugman Ackerman, children's books by Charlotte Maria Tucker (1821–1893)² and Mrs. Henry Lynch reflect these national decisions (301), as do works by Eliza Weaver Bradburn, Amelia (Alderson) Opie, Maria Edgeworth, and Mary Martha Butt Sherwood. However, the important connection for American women rests in the path that British women paved to American presses. For example, Amelia Opie (1769–1853), a very well educated member of Norwich's intellectual community, gained considerable popularity (Balfour 79). In 1793, she married John Opie, a poor but rising artist; but when he failed to sustain his notoriety, “Mrs. Opie's pen was most active” (84). Stemming from her interests in writing and abolitionism,³ Opie wrote *The Negro Boy's Tale: A Poem*, originally published with London-based Harvey and Darton in 1824 and then published and sold at Samuel Wood's Juvenile Book Store in New York. Even more prolific than Opie, Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849), the daughter of an agricultural reformer (Crawford 137), secured an international readership (Hawthorne 1). Of her many children's books, *Popular Tale*, which includes “The Grateful Negro,” debuted in England and America in 1804 and appeared repeatedly in the United States under various publishers until 1859.⁴

American women may have had access to works by the most prolific British woman author, Mary Martha Butt Sherwood (1775–1851), whose narratives enjoyed repeated publication in America. According to M. Nancy Cutt, Sherwood’s evangelically based didactic tales stressing missions and exposing slavery (38)⁵ sustained popularity until the 1840s because her evangelicalism complemented the traditional Puritan theology that influenced New England’s development (112). As a result, several northeastern publishers willingly produced her abolitionist works. For instance, Sherwood’s *The Re-Captured Negro*⁶ was published by the following: S. T. Armstrong from Boston in 1821; the Protestant Episcopal Sunday and Adult Society of Philadelphia in 1822; and Ansel Phelps, from Greenfield, Massachusetts in 1834.⁷ In 1827, Boston-based James Loring boldly advertised *Choice Gems for Children Selected from Mrs. Sherwood’s Writings. Never before Published in This Country*, which included “The Poor Little Negroes.” His support bolstered his business interest: (1) he gained recognition for publishing many English authors during his twenty-two-year partnership with William Manning (Thesing 347) and (2) he distinguished himself as an independent publisher of children’s literature from 1815 to 1837 (Mahoney 294). Finally, Mahlon Day at the New Juvenile Bookstore in New York published and sold Sherwood’s *The Babes in the Wood of the New World* (1831). Considering the potential criticism that could arise from publishing her political beliefs in the 1820s, the fact that Sherwood’s works often appeared may have spurred American publishers to consider works by American women.

Publishers’ willingness to print English women’s abolitionist works in the early decades of the nineteenth century most likely opened doors for American domestic abolitionists. By the time the British abolished slavery in 1833, Americans had established the beginnings of an abolitionist movement. Publication rates suggest that British women stopped publishing such works after slavery’s abolition and only renewed their commitment to the cause after Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (Ackerman 290 n45).⁸ With British women’s silence and American’s strengthening abolitionist efforts, American women had publishers’ increasing attention.

THE AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION

Well-educated, middle-class British women’s presence in the American marketplace conceivably opened publishing house doors for American women who dared to walk the tightrope between acceptable and unacceptable political expression. Isabel Drysdale, one of the earliest American domestic abolitionists,⁹ submitted her work to the American Sunday School Union (ASSU), established in Philadelphia in 1791 (*The Charter* 3–4). In addition to *The Lucky Stone* ([nd]) and *The African Woman* (1835), two works about slavery by unknown authors, the ASSU published Drysdale’s “The Negro Nurse” from *Scenes in Georgia* (1827)

and thereby commended her views to a vast audience of all denominations, age groups, and social classes. For instance, by 1819, the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union had 127 schools that enrolled 10,550 white and 660 black children as well as 377 white and 716 black adults (*Fifty-Second* . . . 48). In 1823, they formed a national society and within one year, the ASSU had 49,619 students and 7,300 volunteer teachers (*Fifty-Second* . . . 48; *Charter* 4). Its commitment to making books and tracts available only at “the lowest price” (*Sixth Annual Report* 18) to schools, students, libraries, and depositories gave works published for the *Sunday School Library* a wide circulation. Thus, by joining this extensive enterprise that “[b]etween 1817 and 1830 . . . published six million copies of its various titles, many of which were for children” (Taylor 13), Drysdale’s views must have gained widespread circulation.

The ASSU perhaps accepted “The Negro Nurse” because Drysdale demands neither colonization nor immediate abolition; rather she shows Northern and Southern children that slaves could attain “freedom” through religious conversion. Through her protagonist, Drysdale suggests that slavery’s worst evil stems not from how it deprives personal freedom but from how it threatens religion. Enslaved for forty years, Chloe has forgotten about the “land of her freedom” (29) and her branded cheek serves as the only visible reminder of slavery’s brutality. According to Drysdale, neither the forced journey from Africa to America nor slavery’s whip threatens to destroy Chloe; rather the hazard arises from her having forgotten her religion, which places Chloe “in the region of the shadow of death” (30). At death’s door, Chloe’s physical illness prompts her “liberation” when Frances Ridgely, the white child whom Chloe views as “a superior being” (31), encourages Chloe’s religious conversion. Frances visits her dying “mammy,” articulates basic religious principles, and reads Scripture selections. Chloe survives her illness and when she eventually accepts Frances’s religious lessons, she “receive[s] that freedom which cometh down from above, and walked in the liberty and light of the gospel” (43). This gesture of “liberation” allows the slavocracy to mask Chloe’s literal enslavement and defend her contentment since “the months and years glided peacefully over the happy family at Fair Lawn” (42). One must wonder whether the ASSU published Drysdale’s narrative because it advances spiritual rather than literal liberation or because the organization hesitated to support the abolitionist movement just getting underway by 1827.

On the other hand, did the ASSU in actuality censor and/or revise a more radical narrative depicting a female liberating a slave? The ASSU’s publication policies could explain the nonradical nature of Drysdale’s narrative, which never extends beyond the religious and didactic rhetoric compatible with ASSU goals. According to the Pennsylvania Charter, the ASSU supplied their schools and libraries with reading materials that would “confe[r], gratuitously, moral and religious instruction on that part of our population, who, from their poverty, ignorance, or misfortunes, are unable to obtain these valuable acquisitions through the ordinary means, but more especially on the youth” (6). Thus, the ASSU only

“circulate[d] works which . . . do the most good” (*Sixth Annual Report* 18), meaning that they had to have “a decidedly religious character” (*Seventh Annual* 15).¹⁰ Furthermore, to insure that all denominations found its books, tracts, and juvenile magazine (*The Youth’s Friend*) acceptable, the ASSU formed a Committee of Publication consisting of no more than two members each from Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Dutch Reformed churches. The committee rejected, expurgated, censored, and edited manuscripts (*Seventh* 14) before it unanimously approved them for publication (Taylor 13; *Charter* 8; *Sixth Annual* . . . 13). According to the *Sixth Annual Report*, “In many instances, words, phrases, and even pages of our books have been altered or expunged, on the suggestion that they might reasonably occasion offense or misapprehension” (16). To reach their audience, ASSU contributors clearly had to observe a strict rhetoric that stressed religious rather than political and social aims. By 1833, the ASSU planned to establish Sunday schools and to extend its publications in the South; however, they refused to exert any political power or to reform civil rights violations (*Southern Enterprise* 1833). One must, therefore, question the degree to which the committee influenced and/or modified Drysdale’s narrative as the title suggests they did to her later work: *Evening Recreations: A Series of Dialogues on the History and Geography of the Bible. Written for the American Sunday School Union. Revised by the Committee of Publication.*

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Whereas the ASSU often censored antislavery texts, the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) created a rhetoric and a print campaign to circulate their opinions on a national and international scale. On January 6, 1832, William Lloyd Garrison convened with twelve other men in the basement of Boston’s African Baptist Church to organize the New England Anti-Slavery Society (Cain 13), the foundation for the national American Anti-Slavery Society (1833–1865). In its *Declaration of Sentiments* (1833), the AASS employed language synonymous with the rhetoric of both the church and ideal womanhood. For example, its *Declaration* states: “Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance” (American 45). Having “adopt[ed] the printing, distribution, and organizational methods of the Bible and Tract Societies” (Nord 23), the AASS vowed to spread its message of purity, truth, love, and repentance in order to “circulate, unsparingly and extensively, antislavery tracts and periodicals” (American 48). With the editorial experience Garrison had gained from working on Benjamin Lundy’s newspaper, he started publishing the Boston-based *Liberator* on January 1, 1831.¹¹ Notwithstanding its perceived radicality, the *Liberator’s* readership steadily increased. It had five hundred subscribers after the first volume in

1831, between 1,000 and 1,500 by the third volume, and 2,300 by spring 1834 (Grimké 197). Archibald Grimké states that the 2,300 copies printed in 1834 were distributed as follows:

Philadelphia, four hundred; in Boston, two hundred, in other parts of the free States, eleven hundred; and that of the remaining three hundred, one-half was sent as exchange with other papers, and eighty of the other half were divided equally between England and Haiti, leaving seventy copies for gratuitous distribution. (199–200)¹²

Furthermore, Nord states:

In 1835 the society flooded the mails with more than a million pieces of anti-slavery literature, sent free to people all over the country, including the South. The materials ranged from four new monthly journals and a children's newspaper to tracts, woodcuts, handkerchiefs, and even chocolate wrappers. This great "postal campaign" . . . was in many ways simply another campaign in the tract war that the Tappans and others had been waging for more than 10 years. (23)

Thus, while Drysdale may have had to edit her work to benefit from the ASSU's extensive distribution patterns, domestic abolitionists who subscribed to Garrisonian rhetoric and tactics may have had far-reaching influence, especially since subscription numbers do not account for those who shared the newspapers with nonsubscribers.

Extending a hand to women authors, the AASS appeared to recognize women's precarious tightrope walk. In contrast to the AASS's auxiliary all-female societies, the AASS and Garrison's decision to publish a children's column in the *Liberator* and a poetry collection created domestic and appropriately "female" spaces for women's abolitionist sentiments. Within its decidedly male, public, and political realm, the *Liberator* printed several women's voices in the "Juvenile Department," a weekly column devoted to presenting children with poems and stories about slavery. The April 9, 1831, issue contains Mary Russell Mitford's "The Two Dolls," which originally appeared in the London edition of *Our Village: Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery*.¹³ Beginning on January 22, 1831, the *Liberator* published U.I.E.'s "The Family Circle," a series with titles such as "The Family Circle; or, the Story of Helen, George, and Lucy" and "Helen, George, and Lucy: The Eclipse." Although it remains almost impossible to identify U.I.E., the attribution of these two titles in *The Edinburgh Doll and Other Tales for Children* (1853) to "Aunt Mary" partially resolves the question of gender. Other female contributors also used pseudonyms: "Medora" wrote "On Hearing a Child Say 'Father'"; "Margery" claimed the work "Aunt Mary"; Philo Paidos wrote "Letter: The Little Slaves to the Sabbath School Children of New England," and "Zillah," a young African American woman from Philadelphia, signed her penname to "A True Tale for Children," "For the Children," and "A Dialogue

between a Mother and Her Child.” The AASS clearly welcomed women’s abolitionist juvenile literature in this print campaign; however, the tendency to use pseudonyms reflects the hazardous tightrope women walked. Interestingly, Garrison respected women’s predicament and yet he fostered their voices when he republished these and other works in *Juvenile Poems, for the Use of Free American Children of Every Complexion*.¹⁴ Considering that the nineteenth-century society granted mothers responsibility for shaping moral, patriotic, and civic-minded citizens, Garrison probably had few qualms about publishing women’s abolitionist fiction for children. Actually, Garrison defended this collection’s domestic and patriotic goals, stating:

The only rational, and certainly the most comprehensive plan of redeeming the world *speedily* from its pollution, is to begin with the infancy of mankind. If, therefore, we desire to see our land delivered from the curse of PREJUDICE and SLAVERY, we must direct our efforts chiefly to the rising generation, whose minds are untainted, whose opinions are unfashioned, and whose sympathies are true to nature in its purity. (*Juvenile* Preface [3])

Sales figures for *Juvenile Poems* have not survived; however, if Garrison used strategies like those for distributing other AASS publications, then these domestic abolitionists’ works secured an extensive readership.

Although little biographical information has surfaced about the women Garrison published, we may find an example of their lives in Elizabeth Margaret Chandler (1807–1834), a middle-class woman who opposed slavery and published her views in newspapers, but concealed her identity either due to modesty or fear of repercussions. Chandler was the youngest child and only daughter of Margaret Evans Chandler, who died during Chandler’s infancy, and Thomas Chandler, a doctor who died when his daughter was nine years old. After her mother’s death, the family moved from Center, Delaware, to Philadelphia, where Elizabeth attended the Friends’ School until she turned thirteen and received strict religious training from her grandmother, Elizabeth Evans (Dillon, *Notable* 319; Lundy 8). Her upbringing in this Quaker community, with its tradition of allowing women to speak to mixed audiences, possibly sparked Chandler’s abolitionist interests. According to Lundy, Chandler joined the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, where

she did not, in consequence of her retired habits, take a very active part in its *public* proceedings, [but] she felt deep and lively interest in its success. . . . At various times, she expressed her desires for the prosperity of the institution, as well as for the advancement of the cause general, in the most feeling terms. (39)

There, she met other abolitionist women like Hannah Townsend and Lucretia Mott, the latter of whom endured persecution when she endorsed Garrison’s demand for immediate emancipation (Hare 104).

Although part of this women's coalition, Chandler exerted her influence *not* by speaking publicly or gathering petition signatures door-to-door, but by addressing women who read the "female" columns in abolitionist newspapers, a public but more acceptable forum. Chandler apparently followed the rules of decorum throughout her literary career. As a child she wrote poetry, some of which her friends and relatives published when Chandler was twelve. By age sixteen, Chandler's articles had appeared in newspapers (Bowerman 613), but Benjamin Lundy reports, "such was her retiring modesty, and native diffidence, that she did not, for a considerable length of time, permit her name to be used publicly, as an author" (10). Despite her modesty, Chandler felt insulted when her first antislavery poem, "The Slave Ship," originally won only third place in the *Casket*,¹⁵ a popular, Philadelphia monthly magazine. Yet this "consolation" prize may have helped her career as an abolitionist spokeswoman. In a letter to her good friend Hannah Townsend, Chandler describes how reprinting "The Slave Ship" led to her association with the Quaker Benjamin Lundy and his newspaper. She writes:

["The Slave Ship"] was copied into the "Genius of Universal Emancipation"; when the signature was recognized by a friend of mine, who acquainted the editor (B. Lundy) with the name of the author, and conveyed me a request from him, to write occasionally for the paper. An introduction and acquaintance afterwards followed; and I continued to write, sometimes, for the poetical department, until I was formally installed into the editorship of the "Ladies Repository"—and our own friendship has been the result. (Lundy 11–12)

As her letter implies, Lundy provided Chandler with the forum to link her literary talent, political views, and her awareness of women's "place" to a public, literary sphere. From 1826 to 1834, Chandler wrote for the "Ladies Department" in Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation*,¹⁶ "which in 1827 had a weekly circulation of nearly 1,000 subscribers" (Jones 14). By late 1829, at the age of twenty-two, she became the column's editor. Through her literary talent and her experiences with the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Ladies' Free Produce Society, Chandler encouraged women to oppose slavery (M. Jones 2; 100–101). Dillon argues:

Miss Chandler continually encouraged women to make greater use of their intellectual abilities, and in her columns for the *Genius* she appealed to them to take their place alongside men in the fight against slavery. In particular she advocated the free-produce movement, an enterprise especially favored by the Quakers, as a means by which women could make their influence felt most effectively; since women more than men controlled the purchasing of food, clothing, and household supplies, they could refuse to buy goods produced by slave labor. (*Notable* 319)

Adamant that women engage in abolitionist politics like their male counterparts, Chandler wrote "An Appeal to the Ladies of the United States" to awaken female philanthropy and reform efforts (Lundy 16–21; see also Bowerman 613 and

Sklar 323). Even after her move in 1830 from Philadelphia to “Hazelbank” (her family’s farm in Lenawee County, Michigan), this private, self-effacing woman continued inspiring women with her pen. She “spread her gospel of abolition among [Michigan] settlers” (Filler 276) and as column editor she sustained her influence over the women (from the midwest to the northeast) who read the *Genius* as well as other newspapers and magazines that republished her works (M. Jones 14–15, Dillon, *Benjamin* 173–74; see also Bowerman 613).

Chandler’s connection and friendship with Lundy facilitated her subsequent acquaintance with William Lloyd Garrison. Chandler met Garrison in 1829 while he co-edited Lundy’s *Genius*. This close working relationship and their mutual defense of women’s rights (Cain 14; Reynolds *Uncle* 77–78)¹⁷ helped Chandler crystallize, as Merton Dillon argues, her support for Garrison’s conviction in immediate abolitionism rather than Lundy’s support for gradualism and colonization (*Notable* 319). Consequently, when in 1831 Garrison broke ties with Lundy, left the *Genius*, and started the *Liberator*, Chandler gained an entrée into another abolitionist arena. From her Michigan residence, Chandler permitted Garrison to republish her juvenile literature, often forgotten due to the attention given to her essays for women. Except for “The Child’s Evening Hymn,” which Chandler published in the *Liberator* (May 7, 1831) before the *Genius* (June, 1831), and “Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again,” which appeared exclusively in the *Liberator* (December 1, 1832), her juvenile poems typically appeared in the *Liberator* approximately a month after the *Genius* publication date.¹⁸ Credited to “Margaret,” one of Chandler’s pseudonyms, “What Is a Slave, Mother?” first appeared in the May, 1831, issue of *Genius* and then in the June 4, 1831, issue of the *Liberator*’s “Juvenile Department.” “Looking at the Soldiers” (1832), “The Sugarplums” (1832),¹⁹ and “Christmas” (1834) follow this same publication pattern and request for anonymity. Thus, Garrison enlarged Chandler’s sphere of influence by publishing her poems in the *Liberator*’s juvenile column and later in *Juvenile Poems*.

Even after her death in 1834, Garrison and Lundy continued to place Chandler on the abolitionist podium. Garrison reprinted “What Is a Slave, Mother?,” “Oh Press Me Not to Taste Again,” “The Sugarplums,” and “The Child’s Evening Hymn” in his collection, *Juvenile Poems* (1835). Sustaining Chandler’s desire for privacy by not attributing the poems to her, Garrison nevertheless presents Chandler’s voice and views to another distinctly abolitionist forum and audience, children whose parents supported Garrisonian politics with their purses.²⁰ Similarly, Lundy printed her collected abolitionist poems and essays in *The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler* (1836). Lundy calls Chandler

the first American female author that ever made this [slavery] the principle theme of her active exertions: and it may safely be affirmed, without the least disparagement to others, that no one of her sex, in America, has hitherto contributed as much to the enlightenment of the public mind, relative to this momentous question, as she has done. (12–13)

Assembled with Hannah Townsend's assistance, Lundy, however, finally exposes Chandler's identity as well as the breadth and depth of her abolitionist sentiments.

As it did for Chandler, the AASS extended to Chandler's friend Hannah Townsend (?–1865)²¹ the opportunity to move beyond the all-female antislavery society into the "safer" public realm of children's literature when it published the *Anti-Slavery Alphabet* (1846). Townsend does not have Chandler's prolific publication record; yet, these two women's paths intersected. Like Chandler, Townsend's Quaker background may have spurred her participation in Philadelphia's female antislavery society and given her the courage to voice her convictions in this female coterie. John W. Jordan suggests that Townsend

was an active member with her husband of Abington Quarterly Meeting, she being clerk for several years. About fourteen years after the death of her husband she moved to Philadelphia, and re-united herself with the Friends' Meeting at Fourth and Green Streets, of which she had been at one time clerk. She took an active interest in philanthropic work, was an ardent Abolitionist, and a friend of Lucretia Mott. . . . Sympathetic and kind of heart by nature, and possessed of fine literary taste and talent, she was a welcome visitor in many homes, and her company was much sought after. (1538)

The work with the Female Anti-Slavery Society on Cherry Street in Philadelphia (Lundy 30n) kept Townsend within gender-appropriate politics. It also generated friendships with important women like Mott and Chandler, who later dedicated "Remember Me" to her (M. Jones 84). Townsend continued the intimate friendship through correspondence even after Chandler moved to Michigan (Lundy 10–11; 28). Upon Chandler's death, Townsend helped Lundy collect her friend's works.

Perhaps reading Chandler's feminist and juvenile abolitionist works inspired Townsend to write the *Anti-Slavery Alphabet*. However, Townsend apparently did not emulate her friend's publication habits until she gained access to another gender-legitimate forum: the antislavery fair. According to Jean R. Soderlund, abolitionist women from Philadelphia held their first antislavery fair in 1836 and raised seven hundred dollars in 1839 "by charging a small admission and selling antislavery publications as well as their plain and fancy handiwork" (81). The fair expanded over the years, but the women maintained primary control and "from 1836 to 1853, the women raised about \$16,500 from the fair" (82). Lloyd Hare states:

The annual fairs inaugurated at Philadelphia became in them a Pennsylvania institution. The social attraction of these assemblies induced young persons to mingle in them, and thus were brought within the circle of anti-slavery influence laborers who might not otherwise have been converted. (95–96)

Submitting the *Anti-Slavery Alphabet* to the AASS for the 1846 and 1847 fairs, permitted Townsend to solidify her alliance with an influential Philadelphia

institution, to influence young fair-goers, and to secure a large audience for her abolitionist views. Although difficult to determine her financial gains from the publication, Townsend added her voice to a women's organization that made the highest contributions to the state antislavery society and as a result, maintained power and "won a share of authority at the state level" (Soderlund 84). Townsend's experience suggests that the AASS again moved women from all female spaces to public forums while providing them with a "safety net" by claiming that they wrote for the children, an appropriate women's audience.

The AASS also welcomed vocal women, like Jane Elizabeth Jones (1815?-1896), who dared walk the tightrope with and without a safety net. Jones resided in Vernon, New York, and was from an "economically comfortable family" (Moser 7). She taught in Mount Vernon Academy school for boys, but ultimately

became a pioneer Abolitionist lecturer in New England and eastern Pennsylvania. She first visited Ohio, accompanying another controversial abolitionist lecturer, Abby Kelley. In 1845 the two women arrived in Salem, Ohio, a center of fervent abolitionism, and Hitchcock/Jones quickly became involved; she helped to organize antislavery activists and co-edited *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*, official voice of William Lloyd Garrison's Western Anti-Slavery Society. (3)

In this respect, she resembles Chandler in her influence, but not in her modesty. Chandler (as "Margaret") spread her abolitionist views through female- and child-centered forums. Conversely, Jones risked mob attacks and criticism during her public lectures at abolitionist and women's rights conventions from 1850 until her husband's death in the 1860s (5-6). Although her later feminist writings (*The Wrongs of Women: An Address Delivered Before the Ohio Women's Convention, at Salem, April 19th, 1850* and *Address to the Women's Rights Committee of the Ohio Legislature* [1861]) have survived, many of her *Anti-Slavery Bugle* articles went unsigned and Moser has not located Jones's abolitionist lectures. Ironically, therefore, Jones's *The Young Abolitionist; or Conversations on Slavery* (1848), remains the only identifiable record of her abolitionist thoughts. Although this children's book represents the "safest" thing Jones ever wrote, its contents underscore her nonconformity, activism, and feminism, evident through its fictional mother-historian who chronicles slavery's history to give her children a more accurate understanding of American history.

As little as we know of Chandler, Townsend, and Jones, we know even less of other women who published through AASS affiliates. Little biographical information has surfaced regarding "Cousin Ann"; however, we can speculate that she held abolitionist principles based on her decision to publish *Cousin Ann's Stories for Children* (1849) through J. M. McKim. According to William Cohen's "James Miller McKim: Pennsylvania Abolitionist," McKim renounced his role as a Presbyterian minister to join the abolitionist movement and ultimately to serve as an AASS agent in Philadelphia (167-68). He lectured for the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society (PASS) and as "corresponding editor," he published descriptions

of these traveling lectures in Lundy's *National Enquirer* (181). But he may have stopped doing so when by 1845 he decided to support Garrison fully (219). Moreover, in 1839, Lucretia Mott offered him a job as the organization's publisher. In February 1840, McKim restocked the failing bookstore on 31 North Fifth Street with tracts on temperance and women's rights (229), goods from the Free Produce Society (230), and antislavery tracts, of course. Thus, when Cousin Ann sent *Cousin Ann's Stories for Children* (1849) to him, she affiliated herself with a powerful individual and Garrisonian politics. Furthermore, Cousin Ann probably suspected that her short-story collection would gain wide circulation under McKim. He contributed to the New York based *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (Cohen 235), in which he advertised *Cousin Ann's Stories for Children* until 1858, nine years after the book's original publication. Thus, published by this influential abolitionist with connections to Garrison and other prominent abolitionists, Cousin Ann's antislavery politics reached a large audience.

Finally, in addition to his abolitionist views, Garrison's support of women's rights perhaps facilitated the publication of some women's work when the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society had Merrihew and Thompson publish S.C.C.'s *Louisa in Her New Home* (1854). S.C.C. authored several juvenile texts such as "The Wishing Cap" (which appeared in Eliza Follen's 1847 issue of *The Child's Friend*), *The Wonderful Mirror* (1855), and *A Visit to the Country* ([nd]). The children whom the AASS influenced in the 1830s with its "Juvenile Department," *Juvenile Poems*, and other abolitionist texts had come of age; therefore, by publishing S.C.C.'s novel about a young female protagonist,²² the AASS offered the post-Stowe generation a female who acted upon her abolitionist beliefs. Moreover, it gave S.C.C. the opportunity to voice her beliefs about women's political actions in a genre that did not appear as threatening

The publication of these recovered texts reveals that for over twenty years the AASS gave domestic abolitionists a "safe" place from which to voice their opinions. Whether through the *Liberator's* "Juvenile Department," its *Juvenile Poems*, or its regional publishing affiliates, the AASS offered women a "safety net" by concealing their names while identifying them as women. For those women like Townsend and Jones who dared to traverse the tightrope without anonymity, it published names. Regardless, the AASS affirmed women's roles as mothers and teachers and yet, in very feminine ways, it allowed them to overstep the boundary that otherwise kept them from the public abolitionist debate.

COMMERCIAL PUBLISHERS

The AASS and its regional offices made an obvious commitment to publishing antislavery works; yet according to John R. Adams, "[a]bolitionist literature was frankly boycotted by many [commercial] publishers" (33), a circumstance that invites examining those who marketed juvenile abolitionist texts. Despite the boy-

cott by some, commercial publishers in urban centers such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati disseminated women's abolitionist juvenile literature. Publication and sales figures remain unavailable; yet the geographic decentralization attests to some publishers' willingness to support children's abolitionist socialization and to make women's abolitionist voices audible to wide audiences.

Boston commercial publishers accepted many manuscripts from abolitionist white women, but at least one sanctioned an African American woman's abolitionist project for children. Susan Paul (1807–1841),²³ a prominent African American abolitionist and feminist from Boston, wrote *Memoir of James Jackson, the Attentive and Dutiful Scholar, Who Died in Boston, October 31, 1833, Aged Six Years and Eleven Months* (1835). Daughter of Thomas Paul, who was an apprentice for Garrison's *Liberator* (Cain 5), an abolitionist, and founder and pastor of Boston's influential African Baptist Church (Hansen, "Boston" 47–48),²⁴ Susan Paul followed in her father's activist footsteps. She served as a member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, an officer in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society (one of the few integrated female antislavery societies),²⁵ a delegate to the 1837 Anti-Slavery Convention in New York, and a vice president of the Second Annual Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia. Many famous abolitionist women such as Anne Warren Weston, Lydia Maria Child, Hannah Southwick, and Henrietta Sargent championed Paul.

In addition to Paul's community status and activism, several related factors may have prompted the Boston-based James Loring to publish Paul's *Memoir of James Jackson*, grounded in the experiences at her school for black children. After her father's death, Paul tried with great difficulty to support her mother and other family members by opening a school for black children that "combined general education with religious education" (Yee 65). Loring possibly published *Memoir of James Jackson* to alleviate the Paul's financial difficulties. More likely, however, he published her text because it reflected his interests in Baptist and children's literature. He printed many Baptist works since he and his former partner, William Manning, were the leading printers for New England Baptists (Thesing 347). Paul's narrative also corresponded with Loring's record for publishing many juvenile texts between 1815 and 1837 (Mahoney 294), such as Martha Sherwood's "The Poor Little Negroes." Their mutual interest in abolitionism may have also influenced Loring's decision to publish Paul's work because he knew her personally since he sold tickets at the *Liberator's* office for concerts given by Paul's students in "Garrison's Juvenile Choir" (Yee 65–66). Thus, Paul's text found a publisher whose business interests as well as religious and political beliefs matched her abolitionist views, thereby allowing her work to circulate in the public realm.

Like Susan Paul, Eliza Lee Cabot Follen's (1787–1860) status as a prominent Bostonian, an "upper-class activist" (Hansen, *Strained* 19) devoted to abolitionist sentiments, and a popular children's author may have helped her secure publishers willing to support her abolitionist views. Samuel Cabot's work as a

merchant often led to uncertain financial circumstances; yet, neither lack of money nor the distraction of having twelve siblings prevented Eliza from receiving considerable intellectual stimulation through the family's ties to many prominent Bostonians (Schlesinger 157). The family's residence in Cambridge affiliated her with an intellectual community and facilitated friendships with Harriet Martineau, William Ellery Channing, and Catharine Sedgwick. In Sedgwick's home, Eliza met the German refugee and her future husband, Charles Follen. Her friends expressed concern about this engagement to a foreigner, evident in William Ellery Channing's Aug. 23, 1827, letter to Catharine Maria Sedgwick (William Ellery Channing Papers, MHS). However, when Charles Follen's "German fiancée refused to join him, [his] friendship [with Eliza] took a new aspect," and Eliza (then forty-one years old) married him in 1828 (Schlesinger 157; 158). They remained in Boston's intellectual circles because Charles Follen taught German and gymnastics at Harvard and there he "worked actively in the antislavery cause" (Moe 58). But his Harvard career ended when, according to Eliza, their abolitionist efforts provoked Harvard's refusal to continue employing her husband "since many proper Bostonians disapproved of the movement" (Schlesinger 160).

Despite the popular disapproval, Eliza Follen made significant contributions to the antislavery cause. She wrote numerous abolitionist works, including *To the Mothers in the Free States* (1855) and edited the abolitionist annual, *The Liberty Bell*. Follen's contributions to the Anti-Slavery Tract collection include several hymns and songs that approach slavery from diverse perspectives: familial ("Remember the Slave"), religious ("Where Is Thy Brother," "And the Days of Thy Mourning Shall Be Ended," and "Lord Deliver"), and political ("The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave" and "Auld Lang Syne"). In addition to her written work, Follen was also "an active member of abolitionist society both in Boston and Cambridge, she lectured . . . and helped to organize antislavery bazaars to raise funds for the cause" (Schlesinger 166). As a result of this written and public political activity, Eliza Follen's "life as a radical outcast intensified" (MacCann 142).

Historians have shown new interest in Eliza Follen's abolitionist efforts; yet they overlook how, despite her "outcast" status, she continued to write children's literature. In fact, she probably used her popularity as a children's author to voice her abolitionist views. Phyllis Moe states: "Although her children's poetry is now almost forgotten, F[ollen] was a pioneer who turned from the harsh, morbid verse characteristic of early nineteenth-century American children's poetry to rhymes frankly meant to give more pleasure than instruction" (59). Perhaps best known for "The Three Little Kittens" (*Little Songs* 1833), Follen published children's fiction and poetry as early as 1831 in *Hymns, Songs and Fables for Children*. She also wrote *The Well-Spent Hour* (1827); *The Sequel to the Well-Spent Hour* (1832); *Little Songs* (1833); *Nursery Songs* (1839); and *The Liberty Cap* (1837). When a steamship accident killed her husband in January 1840, she taught

school and became a professional writer.²⁶ From 1843 to 1850, she edited *The Child's Friend* and authored collections such as *True Stories about Dogs and Cats* (1856); *May Morning* and *New Year's Eve* (1858); and a twelve-volume collection entitled *Twilight Stories* (1858). Clearly, publishers promoted her work.

Commercial Boston publishers ostensibly accepted that Follen interspersed these and other juvenile texts with several sentimental and overtly subversive antislavery juvenile works. For example, *The Liberty Cap*, a short-story collection about slavery, went through multiple printings. Consumers purchased this four-by-six-and-a-half-inch soft-covered book in 1837 from Boston's Leonard J. Howland and in 1840 and 1846 from Leonard C. Bowles's bookstore. Similarly, in 1832, Boston's Carter and Hendee published *The Sequel to the Well-Spent Hour; or, The Birthday*, which contains a slave's narrative, and a new edition, *The Birthday: A Sequel to the Well-Spent Hour*, appeared in 1848 from Boston's J. Munroe. Another willing endorsement emerges in the publication history of Follen's short story "May Morning." During her tenure as editor of *The Child's Friend*, Follen championed her own voice when she printed this story as "The Melancholy Boy" (1844).²⁷ However, the Boston-based John M. Whittmore (stationer) and Nichols and Hall (publishers) stereotyped this work at the Boston Stereotype Foundry as a little volume entitled *May Morning and New Year's Eve* and issued it in 1857, 1858, 1866, and 1868. Her frequent appearance in print suggests that publishers considered Follen an important and marketable children's author. Furthermore, by reprinting and reissuing her works from 1830 until after her death, publishers also promoted her abolitionist voice in this "safe," public forum.

The publication history of *Hymns, Songs, and Fables for Children* most effectively epitomizes Follen's acceptability and marketability. This collection includes five antislavery poems: "Remember the Slave," "Children in Slavery," "The Little Slave's Wish," "Billy Rabbit to Mary," and "Soliloquy to Ellen's Squirrel on Receiving His Liberty—Overheard by a Lover of Nature and a Friend of Ellen." Opponents of women's political expression could have silenced these texts; yet, this volume went through several Boston publishers for about twenty years. Varter, Hendee, and Babcock first published it in 1831, followed by Leonard C. Bowles (1833), then William Crosby and H. P. Nicholas (1847, 1848, 1851, and 1854).²⁸ Furthermore, these works also appeared individually under various titles. "Children in Slavery" appeared as "Lines on Hearing of the Terror of the Children of the Slaves at the Thought of Being Sold" in Follen's *The Liberty Cap* (1846). Sometime between 1855 and 1856, Follen republished it as "On Hearing of the Sadness of the Slave Children from the Fear of Being Sold" for the AASS's Tract collection. Follen's "The Little Slave's Wish" (1846) even appeared thirteen years later as "The Slave Boy's Wish" in Julia Colman's "Little Lewis: the Story of a Slave Boy" (1859), which identifies Follen by name (29). Criticized for her public abolitionist efforts, Follen nevertheless maintained her popularity as a children's author by tactfully scattering her abolitionist juvenile literature throughout her works and embedding her attacks on slavery in these gender-appropriate spaces.

Boston clearly offered women several opportunities to publish their abolitionist sentiments in juvenile literature: Susan Paul worked with James Loring and Eliza Follen utilized a host of commercial publishers. In addition, others ultimately found a forum for their political views in one commercial publisher, John P. Jewett. Originally a publisher of textbook, readers, and novels, Jewett “rapidly took on longer novels and expanded into other fields, gaining a reputation as a publisher of religious, temperance, and abolitionist titles” (Shackelford & Everett 226). His fame rests with the fact that when Phillips, Sampson, and Co. considered it too risky to print a woman’s thoughts about slavery, Jewett embraced his wife’s advice to publish Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (Hedrick 223). He sold 10,000 within a few days of its first March 1852 issue and 300,000 copies by December 1852 (Shackelford & Everett 226; Lenz 345). His success led him quickly to supplement Stowe’s novel with several juvenile renditions,²⁹ even though Stowe considered the original appropriate for children. Millicent Lentz argues that Stowe “read [the original version] to her own children as she wrote it and shared the first Little Eva episode with her class of school children in September 1851” (345). Furthermore, in the last *National Era* installment, Stowe wrote:

Dear children, you will soon be men and women, and I hope that you will learn from this story always to remember and pity the poor and oppressed. When you grow up, show your pity by doing all you can for them. Never, if you can help it, let a colored child be shut out from school or treated with neglect or contempt on account of his color. Remember the sweet example of little Eva. . . . Then, when you grow up, I hope the foolish and unchristian prejudice against people merely on account of their complexion will be done away with. (qtd. in Lenz 345)

Jewett, notwithstanding Stowe’s opinions, published the child-oriented *A Peep into Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1853), as did the London-based publisher, Sampson, Low, and Sons (“Harriet,” *BAL*). Edited by “Aunt Mary,” whom Blanck identifies as Mary Low, Sampson Low’s daughter,³⁰ *A Peep* contains an address from Stowe “to the children of England and America” that prefaces an abridged *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (front cover [?]).³¹ Jewett also published *Pictures and Stories from Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1853?), the first juvenile work in his “Juvenile Anti-Slavery Toy Books” series (Figure 1). Albeit designed specifically for children, the preface suggests a broader audience:

The purpose of the Editor of this little Work, has been to adapt it for the juvenile family circle. The verses have accordingly been written by the Authoress for the capacity of the youngest readers, and have been printed in a large bold type. The prose parts of the book, which are well suited for being read aloud in the family circle, are printed in a smaller type. . . . ([2])

Jewett’s decision to use two font sizes to accommodate family readings and independent youngsters reveals his conscious marketing to a dual audience. Stressing

the text's appropriateness for the "family circle" reinscribed this political narrative into a gender-appropriate sphere; ironically, its publication opened the political arena to midcentury domestic abolitionists.

Jewett's financial success with Stowe's novel and his promise to continue the "Juvenile Anti-Slavery Toy Books" series attracted other women writers. He may have lured them by promising financial gains and an acceptable published forum for their political views. If the financial prospects attracted them, domestic abolitionists perhaps also recognized that Jewett guaranteed a larger market since he could publish their works from both Boston (1847 to 1857) and from Cleveland, Ohio, before the Panic of 1857 closed his business. For example, Jewett's ability "to distribute his books both to the East Coast and to the growing western market" (S. Williams 181) benefited "Aunt Mary's" *The Edinburgh Doll and Other Tales for Children* (parts of which originally appeared in Garrison's *Liberator* in 1831) and the domestic abolitionists who authored *Grandmother's Stories for Little Children* and *The Lamplighter Picture Book*.³² Similarly, Kate Barclay relied on James M. Alden and J. C. Derby (both from Auburn, New York) and a publisher in Geneva, New York, to publish her earlier works; however, she sent Jewett her antislavery juvenile work, *Minnie May: With Other Rhymes and Stories*. Although now difficult to determine publication statistics, Jewett's success with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, his advertising campaigns, and his two publishing houses most likely increased publication output and sales of these juvenile texts. Consequently, domestic abolitionists may have profited financially and politically by letting Jewett publish their abolitionist sentiments.

Perhaps hoping for success similar to Jewett's, other commercial houses accepted domestic abolitionists' works from the mid to late 1850s. Two New York publishers joined the enterprise. First, adhering to their reputation for publishing juvenile literature and perhaps encouraged by the popularity of Stowe's narrative, Philip J. Cozans and Vincent Dill (stereotyper) published both *Little Eva, the Flower of the South* (185?) and *Little Eva, the First Book* (1853 & 1855). Second, evident from their "List of Books and Periodicals," New York's Carlton and Porter most likely published several abolitionist juvenile works for the Sunday School Union and Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church since work for such sectarian groups bolstered market sales. They published a children's library that included fifteen-cent titles such as *The African Orphan Boy* (1800 and 1852), *The History of Adjai: the African Slave Boy Who Became a Missionary* (18??), *Martyrs of the South* (1853), and *What Will Become of the Baby? With Three Other Stories about Children in Heathen Lands* (1855). Their youth-oriented works about slavery, which ranged from twenty-five to forty-five cents, respectively, included *History of Little Richard and Life of Africaner* (1856) and *The Earnest Laborer; or, Myrtle Hill Plantation. Being Sketches and Incidents Drawn from the Experience of a School Teacher, A Book for Senior Scholars* (1864). Authorship of the former juvenile texts remains anonymous; however, Carlton and Porter clearly attribute *The Child's Anti-Slavery Book: Containing a Few Words about American Slave Children*

ANTI-SLAVERY LITERATURE.

Uncle Tom's Cabin. By Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Paper, . . . . .	.38
" " " " 2 vols., do.,	1.50
" " " " Svo. Illustrated,	2.50
" " " " Svo. Gilt,	3.50
" " " " Turkey, gilt,	5.00
" " " " in German, . . . . .	.50
The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin. paper, . . . . .	.50
" " " " cloth, . . . . .	.75
" " " " 1 vol., 12mo,	1.00
Cabin and Key, bound together, cloth,	1.25

We need publish no comments *of the press* in regard to this work. *We have issued* 310,000 copies.

Speeches of Joshua R. Giddings.	1.00
Writings of Judge Jay on Slavery.	1.00
White Slavery in the Barbary States. By Charles Sumner. . . . .	.50
Life of Isaac T. Hopper. By Mrs. L. M. Child.	1.25
Despotism in America. By Richard Hildreth. . . . .	.75
The American Colonization Society. By G. B. Stebbins. . . . .	.38
A Sabbath Scene. By J. G. Whittier. Illustrated. . . . .	.25
Autographs for Freedom. . . . .	.75
Nebraska; a Satirical Poem. . . . .	.13
Know Nothing; a Poem for the Times. . . . .	.13

Juvenile Anti-Slavery Toy Books.

Pictures and Stories from Uncle Tom (for children.) . . . . .	.13
The Edinburg Doll, &c. . . . .	.13
Grandmother's Stories. . . . .	.13
Minnie May, and other Rhymes. . . . .	.13

The Series to be continued.

FIGURE 1. John P. Jewett's advertised prices for anti-slavery literature, including the Juvenile Anti-Slavery Toy Books series.

and *Stories of Slave Life* (1859) to Julia Colman and Matilda Thompson.³³ The decision to publish a collection that depicts victimized slave children must have been well received because Tebble finds that the Boston-based James P. Walker and Horace B. Fuller, who published “war books and children’s books with equal success,” also published *The Child’s Anti-Slavery Book* (433).

Bridging the antebellum and postbellum periods, Lee and Shepard emerged as one of the last Northern, antebellum, commercial houses to publish domestic abolitionists’ works.³⁴ Located down the street from John P. Jewett’s Boston bookstore (Kilgour 9), Lee and Shepard, was “a champion of women’s rights, a pioneer in educational books” and authors whom others often labeled radical (Tebble 419). Therefore their decision to republish a work that depicts a mother figure voicing antipatriotic, abolitionist sentiments should not surprise. Asa Bullard, the Congregationalist and secretary of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society since 1834 (Kilgour 37), compiled *Aunt Lizzie’s Stories* (1863). The small volume contains the “Fourth of July Address to Children,” which originally appeared in Matilda Thompson’s “Mark and Hasty” (1859). With their commitment to women’s writing and with the “risk” of publishing a new work having passed, Lee and Shepard may have decided to endorse both the author and her abolitionist message.

Commercial publishers from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati sanctioned women’s political voices by distributing their juvenile fiction. Children’s book reviewing did not begin until after the Civil War; therefore, it is difficult to determine how these texts were received. But it seems that these authors and their publishers were willing to take the risk.

THE AMERICAN REFORM TRACT AND BOOK SOCIETY

As opposed to the recognized sectarian societies and commercial publishers discussed above, literary critics and historians have known little about the American Reform Tract and Book Society (ARTBS), which Anne MacLeod has dismissed as a “special press” notwithstanding its publication of the greatest number of domestic abolitionists. The ARTBS, an important Cincinnati-based sectarian reform group, combined Christian and antislavery frameworks, as opposed to the American Tract Society, a Christian organization little interested in slavery.³⁵ The group met at Vine St. Congregational Church in Cincinnati at 10 A.M. on December 17, 1851, and formed the ARTBS ([*Constitution* 2]). Almost one year later, in November 1852, leaders decided to “form a regular incorporation, under the general law of Ohio for incorporating religious and benevolent societies” and at that time the “organization, under State law, was perfected, and the following constitution adopted” (2). According to Walter Sutton, the ARTBS exemplifies one of the “later crusading groups . . . which was organized to combat slavery” (151).

The AASS would have not been born without the support of Garrison and the twelve other leaders who met on a cold Boston day in January 6, 1832; similarly, the AFTBS may have never been realized had it not been for some prominent, abolitionist midwesterners. Reverend John Rankin (1793–1886), the ARTBS's Presbyterian founder and president, wrote letters to his brother opposing slave holding (Coyle 513); housed fugitives in his Ripley house in Ohio, which became the basis of Stowe's story about Eliza Harris;³⁶ and founded the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society. He authored several books, including *A Remedy for Universalism: A Present to Families*, and *An Antidote for Unitarianism* (published by Weed at the Bible Tract and Sunday School Book Depository in Cincinnati). Like Rankin, other ARTBS officers had firsthand experience with slavery. For example, Reverend James A. Thome (1813–1873), a prominent Presbyterian minister from Cleveland, advocated abolitionism in rebellion against his slave-owning father. In 1833, Thome studied with Lyman Beecher at Lane Theological Seminary, where he first met Northern abolitionists. “[O]usted from seminary for extreme views,” he attended Oberlin from 1835–1836, where he received support for his antislavery views and efforts (“James A. Thome” 966). From November 1836 to June 1837, Thome traveled to the West Indies to research the effects of immediate abolitionism and he published his findings in *Emancipation in the West Indies* (Lesick 184). However, his realization that the church could abolish slavery led him, after 1839, to shift from fulltime to part-time antislavery work (187) with several antislavery organizations, as well as accepting the position as one of the ARTBS's vice presidents.³⁷ Finally, as the organization's leaders, Rankin and Thome chose prominent men for its various offices. Most noticeably, Levi Coffin (1798–1877) became an AFTBS director.³⁸ Criticized for conducting a Sunday school for blacks in New Garden, North Carolina, Coffin moved, in 1826, to Newport, Indiana, where with his wife's help, this Quaker assisted fugitives (Coyle 124). John Scott states, “When the Coffins moved to Cincinnati in 1847, they had given help by their own estimate, to two thousand fugitives; and Coffin had won, for his unselfish labors, the title of ‘president’ of the Underground Railroad” (59).³⁹

Just as Garrison supported domestic abolitionists whom the regional AASS presses published, so too, prominent ARTBS leaders and clergymen endorsed these female voices. But domestic abolitionists most likely looked to one man, the AFTBS's secretary and treasurer, Dr. George L. Weed, whose name appears in the society's advertisements and directions for submissions. Originally the publisher at the Cincinnati Bible Tract and Sunday School Book Depository, Weed published religious works,⁴⁰ antitobacco treatises,⁴¹ and children's poems.⁴² He also collaborated with John P. Jewett to publish Charles Torrey's *Home; or, The Pilgrim's Faith Revived* (1845) and Joseph Banvard's *Stories about Hands and Feet . . .* (1846). Weed's expertise as a publisher at the Bible Tract and Sunday School Book Depository and his interest in publishing religious, reformist, and children's literature placed him in an appropriate role as the ARTBS officer