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THE ABOLITIONISTS' POSTAL CAMPAIGN OF 1835

Abolitionism in 1835 had reached a crisis. The American Anti-Slavery Society had been founded in 1833, but its aims were still unknown to most Americans. Hampered by inadequate funds, the New York headquarters had not yet undertaken a large-scale missionary campaign nor had it issued an impressive number of pamphlets and journals. The society's *Emancipator* was a dull paper, whose bland editorials reflected the timidity of the New York abolitionists. Moreover, antislavery leadership had nearly divided over William Lloyd Garrison's outspoken radicalism. Arthur Tappan, President of the Society, and his merchant associates on the executive committee suspected that Garrison, the Boston firebrand, was earning more enemies for the cause than friends. For a time in early 1835 Arthur Tappan's dissatisfaction with the Garrisonians nearly caused him to leave the movement.¹

It was essential for the antislavery society to reorganize its publications, to raise more funds, and to resolve internal bickerings in common effort. Above all, by the spring of 1835 the time had come to make the country aware of abolitionism. In response to the need for publicity, the New York leaders decided to flood the country with antislavery literature. The

¹*Liberator* (Boston), December 27, 1834, January 17, 24, 31, February 7, 1835; Arthur Tappan to Amos A. Phelps, January 17, 1836; Elizur Wright to Amos A. Phelps, January 22, 1835, Amos A. Phelps MSS, Boston Public Library; Lewis Tappan to William Lloyd Garrison, February 5, 1835, William Lloyd Garrison MSS, Boston Public Library; Elizur Wright to Theodore Weld, March 16, 1835, Gilbert Hobbes Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, Sarah Grimké, 1822-44* 2v. (New York, 1934), I, 210; Elizur Wright to Beriah Green, March 7, 1835, Elizur Wright, MSS, Library of Congress.

postal effort and the uproar it caused quickened the anti-slavery pace and aroused the nation to the slavery question.

The originator of the pamphlet campaign was Lewis Tappan, a member of the society's executive committee. At the society's annual meeting in May of 1835, he presented the committee's plans. The delegates responded quickly by subscribing almost half of the thirty thousand dollar goal, which Tappan had announced.² Shortly afterward the New York Committee issued an appeal to antislavery friends "to sow the good seed of abolition thoroughly over the whole country." Women were to cover pin-cushions and work-boxes with anti-slavery slogans and devices. The appeal asked children to give their pennies to the cause just as if "their own fathers and mothers were in chains and bleeding beneath the whip."³ Most important, however, was the committee's plea for volunteers to distribute the antislavery literature soon to flow from the New York presses and for lists of prospective readers throughout the nation. While agents began the laborious business of sending in the names and addresses of prominent and potentially sympathetic citizens for the mailing list, the New York headquarters overhauled the society's publications.

Elizur Wright, the society's secretary, R. G. Williams, its publishing agent, and Lewis Tappan established a series of four monthly papers. The *Emancipator*, reduced from a weekly, and the *Anti-Slavery Record*, primarily a fund-raising periodical, were fitted into the new schedule. Tappan edited the children's gazette called the *Slave's Friend*, which was to instill a "perfect hatred" of slavery in the coming generation by printing saccharine anecdotes and crude woodcuts. Hopes rested largely on the success of *Human Rights* under the direction of Elizur Wright. Emulating Garrison's *Liberator* in style and format, he published lively attacks on Southerners and slavery.⁴

²*Second Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society*. . . (New York, 1835), 30; *Emancipator*, June 9, 1835.

³*Emancipator Extra*, June 16, 1835.

⁴Lewis Tappan, Chronological Resumé, 1835, Lewis Tappan MSS, Library of Congress; Philip Green Wright and Elizabeth Q. Wright, *Elizur Wright, the Father of Life Insurance* (Chicago, 1937), 105; *Slave's Friend*, August 1835, II, No. 5; on the purpose of adding the *Anti-Slavery Record* to the society's list, see Elizur Wright to John Greenleaf Whittier, January 6, 1835, John Greenleaf Whittier MSS, Essex Institute.

Unlike later abolitionist efforts, the campaign was truly national in scope. The names of over twenty thousand Southerners appeared on the mailing list. At the end of July some one hundred and seventy-five thousand copies of the four periodicals passed through the New York Post Office. The material was hardly designed to provoke deep thinking on the slavery question, particularly on the part of Southerners. The *Slave's Friend* carried such homilies as "The Poor Mother" and "The Boy and the Dog," while *Human Rights* boasted that antislavery opinion was making rapid progress among those people "who support themselves in the good old-fashioned republican way of honest and honorable industry." Such sentiments were not likely to convert men who profited from the work of slaves. Obviously, the primary object in sending out the material was not conversion but advertisement of the cause. "If you wish to draw off the people from a mad or wicked custom," the editors of *Human Rights* wrote, "you must beat up for a march; you must make an excitement, do something that everybody will notice. . . ." In a later issue, they declared, "Nothing is really anti-abolition but apathy."⁵

The abolitionists were vaguely aware that their effort might create more publicity than they could handle. "We are beginning to see ahead of us a conflict which will outdo—far—all the skirmishes of the past," Wright confided to a friend shortly before the pamphlets arrived at their destinations. It was predicted in *Human Rights* that some Southerners "will rave and scold and threaten" upon reading the literature. Others, the editorial continued, might see the uselessness of resisting immediate emancipation in the face of world condemnation "against which they cannot stand."⁶ Even if the South grew violent, the invasion would still be worthwhile. "Those who doubt the policy of acting directly by such publications on the leading influences of the Southern society," chided an editorial in the *Emancipator*, "greatly undervalue the advantage of unmasking hypocrisy, and drawing the enemies of human nature into the open field." The campaign, the editorial continued, forced Southerners to show "their

⁵*Human Rights*, July, 1835; *ibid.*, September, 1835; *Slave's Friend*, August 1835, II, No. 5.

⁶Elizur Wright to Beriah Green, July 30, 1835, Elizur Wright MSS, LC; *Human Rights*, July 1835.

real views and feelings.”⁷ According to William Goodell at the height of the controversy over the pamphlet invasion of the South, it was the duty of reformers “*to use this very madness and cruelty of the slaveholders as an argument to rouse the Christian world against the SIN OF SLAVERY.*”⁸

On July 29, 1835, the steam packet *Columbia* moored at a Charleston pier on its fortnightly summer run from New York City. Aboard were several mailbags stuffed with the pamphlets. As soon as Charlestonians learned of their arrival, a group of citizens stole the bags from the United States Post Office. Three thousand Carolinians gathered the next evening before the effigies of Arthur Tappan, William Lloyd Garrison, and a third abolitionist. On the signal of a balloon's ascent, the piles of abolitionist papers underneath the gallows were lit, and a cheer went up as the flames rose.⁹ At a later assembly, Robert Y. Hayne, a friend of Calhoun, and other civic leaders proposed resolutions against the “INCENDIARIES in some of our sister states.” A vigilance committee of twenty-one soon formed to help city authorities in suppressing abolitionist activity and any suspicious movements among the free Negroes. Other cities of the South followed Charleston's example, as the antislavery material arrived in their midst. John C. Calhoun seemed amply justified in saying, “The indications are that the South will be unanimous in their resistance . . . even to the extent of disunion, if that should be necessary to arrest the evil.”¹⁰

During the month of August, 1835, torchlight parades, raucous oratory and protest meetings greeted the antislavery pamphlets in the South. Almost every major city and town in the region held anti-abolitionist rallies. Rumors of “Tappan's emissaries” working among the Negroes spread through the countryside. Citizens formed vigilance committees to question suspicious persons, patrol the free Negro quarters, and search post offices, steamboats, and stages for antislavery mat-

⁷*Voice of Freedom*, May 1836; this journal was actually the *Emancipator*.

⁸*Emancipator*, October, 1835.

⁹Charleston *Southern Patriot*, July 29, August 1, 1835; see also, Theodore D. Jervay, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times* (New York, 1909), 379-381; *Liberator*, August 15, 1835.

¹⁰Calhoun, quoted in *Southern Patriot*, September 30, 1835; *ibid.*, August 4, 1835.

ter. In New Orleans a group called the Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society was organized with a proposed budget of one half million dollars to counteract the effect of Yankee agitation. Dr. Reuben Crandall, an abolitionist, was thrown into jail in Georgetown, D. C., on August 17, for "circulating Tappan, Garrison & Co.'s papers. . . ." A defender of the antislavery leaders escaped minutes ahead of a mob at Lynchburg, Virginia.¹¹

The arrival of antislavery literature in the slaveholding states suddenly made the Yankee threat appear real and impending. Frequently in times of crisis, the enemy becomes identified by a personal symbol. In the summer of 1835 that symbol in Southern minds was Arthur Tappan, President of the Antislavery Society. It was a position which Garrison usually filled. A man of unbending reserve and mercantile habits, Tappan hardly fitted the usual image of a martyr. Sarcastically, the Richmond *Whig* demanded Tappan for Southern trial: "The scoundrel who set a whole country aflame, tightened the discipline upon two millions of people, and subjected innocent men to the lash ought by all means to enjoy unmolested security!"¹²

At Norfolk, Virginia, a rally called for a fund-raising subscription "for the heads of Garrison, Tappan & Co." In a Louisiana parish, citizens posted \$50,000 for the delivery of Arthur Tappan dead or alive. When someone confronted the merchant with reports of similar offers in the South, he replied in a rare moment of humor, "If that sum is placed in the New York Bank, I may possibly think of giving myself up."¹³

The excitement was not confined to the South. New York City was a center of Southern trade and finance. Moreover, seven thousand Southerners were estimated to be in the city

¹¹Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (New York, 1951), 126-129, and "Censorship of the Southern Mails," *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (1942-1943), 267-268, 274-275; *Liberator*, August 22, 1835; New York *Evening Post*, September 6, 1835; *Southern Patriot*, August 22, September 3, 1835; [Lewis Tappan], *Arthur Tappan* (New York, 1870), 165; New York *American*, September 10, 1835.

¹²Quoted in New York *American*, September 14, 1835.

¹³Tappan, *Tappan*, 264-265; *Louisiana Journal in Niles Weekly Register* (Baltimore), October 3, 79, November 14, 1835, 172; New York *Evening Post*, August 29, 1835, article originally in *Baltimore Chronicle*.

at the time of the crisis. Riots were expected momentarily. Philip Hone, auctioneer and Whig ex-mayor, confided to his diary that "the least spark would create a flame in which the lives and property of Arthur Tappan and his associates would be endangered."¹⁴ Local papers, particularly those of James Watson Webb and James Gordan Bennett, did little to relieve the growing tension. Instead, Webb enjoined New Yorkers to crush the reptilian egg of abolition underfoot before its advocates brought on "civil war with all its kindred horrors of rape, sack, and slaughter." Learning of an attempt to kidnap Arthur Tappan, the editor published this warning, "Keep a look out, Arthur—a large reward is offered for you—before you are aware, you may be boxed."¹⁵

The abolitionists discovered that local and national excitement had aroused curiosity in what they preached. Lewis Tappan and R. G. Williams, the society's publishing agent, had difficulty keeping the tracts similar to those destroyed in Charleston on hand at the Anti-Slavery Office. Country visitors came in just to stare at the grisly-haired Arthur Tappan as he sat in his cubicle in the center of the store on Pearl Street. Capitalizing on the publicity, Lewis designed a silk print which he called "The Poor Slave," suitable perhaps for covering a purse. More utilitarian were the children's pocket handkerchiefs bearing the "Teetotaller's Temperance and Anti-Slavery Pledge." They were sold at the Anti Slavery Office and perhaps at the Tappans' store as well. In any case, curiosity-seekers helped to increase cash sales during August and September to record proportions, according to a report issued to antislavery friends by the House of Arthur Tappan.¹⁶

There was no doubt, however, that the abolitionist leaders were in danger of their lives. If rumors had the slightest truth, would-be assassins were indeed skulking about. Every

¹⁴Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1823-1851*, 2 v. (New York, 1927), August 26, 1835, I, 173; Bayard Tuckerman, *William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery* (New York, 1893), 67; see also Lydia Maria Child to Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring, August 15, 1835, *Letters of Lydia Maria Child* (Boston, 1883), 15.

¹⁵*Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, September 1, 5, October 1, 1835; Elizur Wright to Phelps, September 4, 1835, Phelps MSS, BPL; see also *Southern Patriot*, August 22, 1835.

¹⁶Lewis Tappan, Chronological Resumé, 1835, L. Tappan MSS, LC; *Liberator*, November 21, 1835.

day Arthur Tappan received threatening letters. The impressionable Lydia Maria Child, then living in Brooklyn, wrote to another abolitionist lady, "I have not ventured into the city . . . so great is the excitement here. . . . 'Tis like the times of the French Revolution, when no man dared to trust his neighbors. Private assassins from New Orleans are lurking at the corners of the streets, to stab Arthur Tappan. . . ."¹⁷ The Mayor of Brooklyn, where Tappan lived, patrolled in the neighborhood from dark to sun-up. Others stood ready to carry the alarm to the Brooklyn Navy Yard.¹⁸ Other members of the New York faction were in danger too. Elizur Wright barricaded his doors and windows with "bars and planks an inch thick." According to an antislavery worker in the city, George Thompson, a visiting British abolitionist, Garrison, and Arthur Tappan were all marked for assassination. In October, Garrison had to face an angry mob in Boston. This famous brush with immorality arose from the agitations over the postal campaign and the presence of Thompson, whose nationality and strong antislavery language were deeply resented.¹⁹

Fortunately, the abolitionists passed through the worst of the crisis without physical harm. "The Lord has hitherto preserved me and my dear brethren of the Executive Committee from the hand of the assassins who have been hovering around our steps," wrote Arthur Tappan to a friend at Oberlin.²⁰ The quiet merchant bore the threats and insults without public complaint, but his brother Lewis hurled his defiance at the South. In a letter to the vigilance committee of a South Carolina county, he said, "We will persevere, come life or death, if any fall by the hand of violence, others will

¹⁷Tappan, *Tappan*, 245; L. M. Child to Mrs. Loring, August 15, 1835, *Child Letters*, 15; David Lee Child to William Lloyd Garrison, September 29, 1835, Garrison MSS, BPL; William Green, Jr. to Charles G. Finney, August 28, 1835, Charles G. Finney MSS, Oberlin College Library; Henrietta Buckmaster, *Let My People Go* (New York, 1941), 87.

¹⁸Tappan, *Tappan*, 249-250.

¹⁹L. M. Child to Mrs. Loring, August 15, 1835, *Child Letters*, 16; Wendell Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879; The Story of His Life Told by His Children*, 4 v. (New York, 1885-1889), I, 490 and *ibid.*, II, Chap. I.

²⁰Arthur Tappan to J. J. Shipherd, September 16, 1835, Miscellaneous File, Oberlin College Library.

continue the blessed work.’’²¹ Like Lewis Tappan, other abolitionists saw the value of the controversy. “The South is pricked to the heart & we shall see gnashing of teeth hereafter . . . What could be better calculated to open the eyes of the people than this spasmodic & terrible ‘kicking against the pricks’?” wrote Elizur Wright.²²

The merchants who sat on the executive committee were not as enthusiastic about martyrdom as those more closely associated with the daily operations of antislavery. It was easy enough for William Lloyd Garrison to sigh that the “burden of the cross” was “light to bear in these modern days.”²³ Economic reprisal could not hurt Garrison, already a poor man, but it could easily ruin the merchant abolitionists in time. Because of the large amounts of money they supplied the antislavery cause, Southerners tried to starve them out.

The effort began at Charleston, where the dry goods dealers had for years purchased their goods from New York. At a rally led by R. J. Moses, a Charleston storekeeper, merchants of South Carolina swore to do no business with abolitionists. The movement quickly spread through the South. At Nashville, the vigilance committee insisted that merchants stop purchases of Tappan silks and other abolitionist goods. The editor of the Petersburg, Virginia, *Constellation* applauded the sanction: “Strike at the root of the evil, fellow-citizens of the South! It is *you* who have enriched these miscreants. . . .” Southern citizens’ groups warned visitors to New York to stay away from the stores of Arthur Tappan, William Green, and John Rankin.²⁴

Faced with the example of Southern unity against these stores, other New York merchants grew increasingly worried. Southern papers began to remand the transfer of Southern

²¹*Niles’ Weekly Register*, September 12, 1835, 20-21, October 5, 1835, 76; Lewis Tappan, *Chronological Resumé*, 1835, L. Tappan MSS, LC; see also L. Tappan to J. J. Shipherd, August 19, 1835, Miscellaneous file, Oberlin.

²²Elizur Wright to Beriah Green, August 4, 1835, E. Wright MSS, LC.

²³Garrison to Lewis Tappan, December 17, 1835, L. Tappan MSS, LC.

²⁴Quotation from *Courier and Enquirer*, August 11, 1835; *ibid.*, Tappan, *Tappan*, 244, 265; *Southern Patriot*, August 4, 1835; *Liberator*, August 15, 1835; *Nashville Banner*, August 24, 1835; see also William Green to Finney, August 28, 1835, Finney MSS, Oberlin.

business to the more trustworthy city of Philadelphia. A protest rally there had resolved to press for state laws against abolitionist agitation. Such threats were to become increasingly frequent in the antebellum years.²⁵

Worried about the threat, some of Tappan's business acquaintances trooped grimly to the silk store to beg him to renounce his abolitionism. After a moment's thought, he replied, "You demand that I shall cease my antislavery labors . . . *I will be hung first!*"²⁶ Despite the extinction of his Southern trade, the merchant weathered the crisis for the time being, mainly by extending liberal credit terms to clients, who were later to default in the panic of 1837. The years and months ahead were to bring fresh problems for the silk firm, until finally Arthur Tappan had to declare himself bankrupt in 1841.

Economic sanctions would take time to succeed, and the South was in a hurry. Editors demanded the extradition of prominent abolitionists to stand trial in the South. A Virginia county grand jury indicted the executive committee and all the other members of the New York Anti-Slavery Society. At Columbia the State Attorney-General's Office received a number of petitions urging a South Carolina trial for the leading abolitionists.²⁷ The Governor of Alabama demanded the extradition of R. G. Williams, the society's publishing agent, from Governor Marcy of New York. "Arthur Tappan and the infuriate demoniacs," he fumed, "have never acquired any considerable notoriety until this opposition commenced."²⁸ Abolitionists could hardly have agreed with the governor more. As time went on, however, Southerners began to recognize that continued uproar against the abolitionists was hurting their cause. Even Charleston's *Southern Patriot*, an extremist paper, called the demand for the extradition of abolitionists to the South a useless gesture.²⁹

²⁵*Niles' Weekly Register*, October 3, 1835, 78-79; see Philip Foner, *Business and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, 1941), for a study of North-South economic tensions.

²⁶Tappan, *Tappan*, 269; see also William Green to Finney, August 28, 1835, Finney MSS, Oberlin.

²⁷*Evening Post*, October 12, 1835; *Southern Patriot*, October 2, 1835.

²⁸Quoted in Thomas M. Owen, "Alabama's Protest Against Abolitionism," *The Gulf States Historical Magazine* II (1903), 28-32.

²⁹*Southern Patriot*, October 2, 1835; Wright to Phelps, September 4, 1835, Phelps MSS, BPL; Tuckerman, *William Jay*, 75-76; extracts in *Niles' Weekly*

To hasten the thawing of Northern feelings, the members of the executive committee signed and published a disclaimer, written by Judge William Jay, one of their most distinguished associates. The document was, in the words of Elizur Wright, a "dignified, calm, and racy" paper.³⁰ The judge denied that the executive committee was promoting insurrection, amalgamation, or even the conversion of Southern free Negroes. Furthermore, the signers pledged to honor the Constitution, including the articles dealing with slavery. Denying sectional and political ambitions, the document reaffirmed abolitionist faith in moral suasion and limited political action to seeking Negro freedom in the federally controlled District of Columbia. The strongest language was reserved for an attack on the Postmaster-General who had issued an order banning abolition literature from the postal routes to the South.³¹ The disclaimer pointed out that proslavery violence and government censorship endangered the liberties of all free men, whether they were abolitionists or not. Northern reaction was favorable to the manifesto. Elizur Wright reported that "none but the determined proslavery presses fail to speak of it as a candid, firm, and honorable, if not convincing document."³²

Reviewing the conflict of 1835, the New York abolitionists congratulated themselves on a successful year of agitation. Elizur Wright thought that pro-Southern response to literary propaganda "has done more than could have been by the arguments of a thousand agents to convince the sober and disinterested" of slavery's crime. Indeed, the antislavery record was impressive. Abolitionists had won their right to Northern attention and to Northern toleration. Philip Hone, who entertained little sympathy for abolitionism, remarked, "I do not choose to surrender the power of executing justice into the hands of slaveowners of South Carolina." His comment was

Register, October 3, 1835, 78-80; *New York American*, September 14, 1835; *Courier and Enquirer*, September 15, 1835, quoting *New York Journal of Commerce*.

³⁰Wright to Phelps, September 4, 1835, Phelps MSS, BPL; Tuckerman, *William Jay*, 56-69; Tappan, *Tappan*, 246-247; Russel B. Nye *Fettered Freedom, Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860* (East Lansing, Mich., 1949), 60.

³¹A copy of the address is in Tuckerman, *William Jay*, 67-73; *Southern Patriot*, September 3, 1835.

³²Tuckerman, *William Jay*, 73.

not unique. Furthermore, the South could take no comfort from the numerous anti-abolitionist rallies in the North, for none of them met Southern demands for the suppression of abolitionism.³³ A few newspapers such as William Leggett's *Evening Post* and Charles King's *New York American*, had defended the abolitionists' cause unequivocally. Abolitionism had tied itself to the popular question of constitutional liberties from which it was never separated. Both Andrew Jackson's and Calhoun's proposals for some form of legal suppression of antislavery mail failed to gain significant support in Congress.³⁴ Antislavery had arrived at the national capital to stay. Soon the petition campaign would follow the postal issue to the floor of Congress. On the state level abolitionists eloquently defended their rights before legislatures considering restrictive postal laws. At least one statehouse official, Pennsylvania's Joseph Ritner, denounced Southern demands for censorship in the free states.³⁵

Within the antislavery movement itself, the postal issue had special impact. It was a factor in the rapid increase of antislavery societies. Their number leaped from two hundred in May, 1835, to five hundred and twenty-seven the following year. R. G. Williams reported that fifteen thousand people had opened subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Society's publications during the same period, a rate of growth, he said, unparalleled in the history of American reform.³⁶

Historians have generally overlooked the significance of the campaign. Furthermore, they have treated the events which grew directly from the postal controversy as unrelated to their origin. Gilbert H. Barnes, the pioneer abolition schol-

³³*Diary of Philip Hone*, August 13, 1835, I, 171-172; *Emancipator*, October, 1835; *New York American*, September 14, 18, 1835; *Rochester Democrat in Southern Patriot*, September 3, 1835.

³⁴Wright in *Third Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, . . . (New York, 1836), 66; see also Lewis Tappan in *Emancipator*, November 14, 1836; "Protest of the American Anti-Slavery Society," *A Collection of Valuable Documents*. . . (Boston, 1836); Eaton, "Censorship of the Southern Mails," *AHR*, XLVIII (1942-1943), 272-273.

³⁵Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery* (Ann Arbor, 1960), 208-211.

³⁶Williams in *Emancipator*, November 14, 1836; C. C. Burleigh in *Emancipator*, March 16, 1836; see also *Friend of Man*, June 30, 1836; *Second, Third and Fourth Annual Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (New York, 1835, 1836, 1837), 37, 99, 140, respectively.

ar, has even declared that at best "it could do no more than convert here and there a thoughtful soul" and that in the end, "propaganda by the written word led to futility and disaster. . . ." ³⁷ Instead, he claimed that the abolitionists turned from efforts to convert the South through the press to converting the North through the spoken word. Abolitionists, of course, had to abandon direct action in the South because of the violence which greeted their pamphlets. However, they never considered their Southern efforts a failure simply because they made no converts. Barnes neglected the obvious point that their missionary efforts had better chance of success after an initial publicity campaign introduced the topic. It was by the postal method that abolitionists gained a hearing in the North. The Southern *cordon sanitaire* made it impossible for the abolitionists to reach the "guilty," but it was this very reaction which in the end enabled them to convince others of the necessity of emancipation.

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³⁷Gilbert Hobbes Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1843* (Gloucester, Mass., 1933, 1957 ed.), 62, 100, and 104.