

THE AGE OF  
*JACKSON*

*By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.*



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### III. *The Whig Tradition: Source Material in Opposition to Jacksonian Democracy*

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“GENTLEMEN OF  
PROPERTY AND STANDING”

*Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America*

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LEONARD L. RICHARDS

*New York · Oxford University Press · 1970*

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## Bibliographical Essay

This essay is selective rather than exhaustive; it calls attention only to those works that I found to be especially valuable.

### I. GENERAL AIDS

The handiest bibliographical guide to abolitionist history is Russel B. Nye, *Fettered Freedom* (East Lansing, Michigan, 1963). Good supplements are Louis Filler, *The Crusade Against Slavery* (New York, 1960); Dwight L. Dumond, *A Bibliography of Antislavery in America* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1961); James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, 1964); and Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery* (Urbana, Illinois, 1967).

The standard guide to Negro history is Monroe N. Work, *A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America* (New York, 1928). More recent, but less exhaustive, is Dorothy P. Porter, "Early American Negro Writings: A Bibliographical Study," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXIX (1945), 192-268. A convenient entry to the most important Negro materials is Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery* (Chicago, 1961).

There is no comprehensive guide to anti-abolitionist literature. Sometimes helpful, but occasionally misleading, are the footnotes and bibliographies in Nye, Filler, and Dumond. More rewarding is Lorman Rather, *Powder Keg: Northern Opposition to the Antislavery Movement, 1831-1840* (New York, 1968).

On mob history, mob psychology, and methodology, the most convenient entry is George Rudé, *The Crowd in History* (New York, 1964). Relevant are R. W. Brown, "Mass Phenomena," in Gardner Lindzey, ed., *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954); Allen Day Grimshaw, "A Study in Social Violence: Urban Race Riots in the United States" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959); Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (London, 1962); and Gordon S. Wood, "A Note on Mobs in the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 23 (October 1966), 635-42.

The handiest guide to the study of violence is "Patterns of Violence," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 364 (March 1966), entire issue. Also helpful are Elton B. McNeil, ed., *The Nature of Human Conflict* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1965); Jules Masserman, ed., *Violence and War* (New York, 1963); Stanley E. Gunterman, "A Bibliography on Violence and Social Change," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 29 (July 1968), 183-90; and Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., *Violence in America* (New York, 1969).

## II. MOBS: PRINTED MATERIALS

Due to the public's appetite for facts and figures about mobs, most of the basic materials on anti-abolitionist mobs are in print. Curious about the workings of mobs, Hezekiah Niles reprinted many valuable "eye-witness" accounts and public documents in his *Weekly Register* (Baltimore, 1811-1849). Antislavery newspapers regularly reported mob activities and reprinted many pertinent articles—both hostile and friendly to the mobs—from other newspapers. Among the more useful abolitionist newspapers are the *Liberator* (Boston, 1831-1865), edited by William Lloyd Garrison; the *Emancipator* (New York and Boston, 1833-1850), edited mostly by Joshua Leavitt; and the *Philanthropist* (Cincinnati, 1835-1847), edited by James G. Birney and Gamaliel Bailey. Also helpful are *The Friend of Man* (Utica, New York, 1836-1842), edited by William Goodell; *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1847-1863; title and place varies); the *Pennsylvania Freeman* (Philadelphia, 1838-1844), edited by John Greenleaf Whittier; and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York, 1840-1870), edited for some time by David and Lydia Child.

Indispensable for understanding violent anti-abolitionism is the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, edited by James Watson Webb from 1829 to 1861. Helpful for the 1850's is the most radical of all anti-abolitionist journals, the *New York Day Book*, edited by John Van Evrie and N. R. Stimson. Almost every newspaper in the North carried articles on the anti-abolitionist uproar of 1835-1837. Particularly useful are: *Albany Argus*, *Albany Evening Journal*, *Alton Spectator*, *Alton Telegraph*, *Boston Atlas*, *Boston Courier*, *Cincinnati Journal*, *Cincinnati Republican*, *Cincinnati Whig*, *Connecticut Journal*, *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, *New Haven Register*, *New York Commercial Advertiser*, *New York Herald*, *Oneida Whig*, *Philadelphia Gazette*, *Philadelphia Morning Pennsylvanian*, *Rochester Daily Democrat*, and *Utica Observer*.

Valuable for colonizationist opinion on mobs is the *African Repository* (Washington, D. C., 1825-1844).

Often more valuable than newspaper accounts are the books, pamphlets, and articles by contemporaries and by later evaluators. An exhaustive bibliographical guide to the Lovejoy episode is John Gill, *Tide Without Turning* (Boston, 1958). The Alton riot can be followed profitably in Joseph and Owen Lovejoy, *Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy* (New York, 1838), and in Edward Beecher, *Narrative of Riots at Alton* (Alton, 1838). More revealing are the "phonographic" reports of the trials of both those who defended the press and those who destroyed it, compiled by William S. Lincoln and published as *Alton Trials* (New York, 1838). Also useful are the reminiscences of Henry Tanner in *History of the Rise and Progress of the Alton Riots* (Buffalo, 1878) and in *The Martyrdom of Lovejoy* (Chicago, 1881). Disappointing are the memoirs of Lovejoy's most formidable opponent, Usher F. Linder; his *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879) understandably minimize his role in the events leading to the riot. More helpful is the account of George T. M. Davis, the lawyer for some of the leading rioters, in his *Autobiography* (New York, 1891). Also helpful is the eye-witness report of an "innocent bystander," which the *Cincinnati Journal* serialized in November, 1837.

Nearly every Garrisonian wrote about the Garrison mob. The fullest accounts include that of his children, Wendell P. and Francis J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison* (4 vols.; Boston, 1885); Maria Weston Chapman, *Right and Wrong in Boston* (Boston, 1836); and *Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Meeting Held in Stacy Hall, Boston, on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Mob of October 21, 1835* (Boston, 1855).

Theodore Lyman III, in defense of his father's actions, published Mayor Lyman's records in *Papers Relating to the Garrison Mob* (Cambridge, 1870). Other documents were published by Ellis Ames, "Garrison Mob," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 18 (February, 1881). The target of the mob, George Thompson, has been frequently ignored by historians; his experiences are partly covered in his *Letters and Addresses . . . During His Mission in the United States* (Boston, 1837); the only study of his life is Raymond English, "George Thompson and the Climax of Philanthropic Radicalism, 1830-1842" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1948).

Information on other New England mobs can be found in various abolitionist reminiscences and biographies. Particularly useful are the accounts of John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Stanton, and Parker Pillsbury. A full abolitionist account of one small-town mob is Isaac Stearn, *Right and Wrong in Mansfield, Mass., or an Account of the Pro-Slavery Mob of October 10th, 1836* (Pawtucket, Massachusetts, 1837).

Less has been written about the New York City mobs. Most helpful is Edward S. Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States* (3 vols.; London, 1835). John Neal's defense of his actions in his *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (Boston, 1869) does not square with his earlier account, which can be found among the papers of the American Colonization Society (Library of Congress). Supplemental are the biographies of Isaac T. Hopper, the Tappan brothers, and Elizur Wright, Jr. Also helpful as Henry Fowler, *The American Pulpit* (New York, 1856); Asher Taylor, *Recollections of the Seventh Regiment* (New York, 1868); and Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie: or Slavery in the United States* (Barbara Chapman translation; Stanford, 1958). The best recent account of the 1834 riot is Linda Kerber, "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834," *New York History*, 48 (January 1967), 28-39.

A few upstate New York mobs are well covered. Important pamphlets are "Defensor" [William Thomas], *The Enemies of the Constitution Discovered, or, an Enquiry into the Origin and Tendency of Popular Violence* (Utica, 1835); *The Mob at Troy* (Troy, 1836); and *The Report of the Committee of Internal Affairs to the Assembly of New York: Dealing with Mobs* (Albany, 1838).

Particularly useful for Cincinnati and other Ohio mobs are Gilbert Hobbes Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844* (2 vols.; American His-

torical Assn., 1934), and Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857* (2 vols.; American Historical Assn., 1938). More detailed are *Narrative of the Late Riotous Proceedings Against the Liberty of the Press in Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1836); William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times* (New York, 1890); and Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati, 1880). The Granville riot of 1836 is covered in two articles by Robert Price, "The Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention of 1836," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 45 (April 1836), 173-188, and "Further Notes on Granville's Anti-Slavery Abolition Disturbances of 1836," *ibid.*, 45 (October 1836), 365-368. Helpful on the Cincinnati race riot of 1829 are "Public Warning to Cincinnati Negroes and Commentary on Their Reaction," *Journal of Negro History*, 8 (July 1923), 331-332, and Richard Wade, "The Negro in Cincinnati, 1800-1830," *ibid.*, 39 (January 1954), 43-57.

On the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, many of the pamphlets that appeared immediately after the event were subsequently collected and published as *The History of Pennsylvania Hall, Which Was Destroyed by a Mob* (Philadelphia, 1838). Supplemental are William Ellery Channing, *Remarks on the Slavery Question . . . to Jonathan Phillips, Esq.* (Boston, 1839), and James Trecothick Austin, *Review of the Rev. Dr. Channing's Letter to Jonathan Phillips* (Boston, 1839). Helpful on Philadelphia and Pennsylvania race riots are Edward R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (Washington, D. C., 1911); W. E. B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro* (Philadelphia, 1899); Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States*; and William F. Wormer, "The Columbia Race Riots," *Lancaster County Historical Society Papers*, 26 (1922), 175-87.

### III. MANUSCRIPTS

Few rioters left any account of their participation in mobs. I did find, however, a few important letters of John Neal on the New York City mob of October, 1833, in the American Colonization Society Papers, and several very suggestive letters on the New York riot of July, 1834, in the Miscellaneous Papers of the New York Historical Society. In reaching an understanding about the workings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I found the society's minutes particularly helpful. I also found the Samuel L. Gouverneur Papers to be most valuable for following the pamphlet campaign of 1835. Like every student of

the antislavery question, I consulted with profit the manuscript collections of white abolitionists. Here is a list of manuscript collections in which I found significant information:

African Colonization Society Papers, Library of Congress  
 American Anti-Slavery Society Papers, Boston Public Library  
 Salmon P. Chase Papers, Library of Congress  
 Joseph Clopper Collection, Cincinnati Historical Society  
 William Lloyd Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library  
 Samuel L. Gouverneur Papers, New York Public Library  
 Andrew Jackson Papers, Library of Congress (microfilm)  
 William Learned Marcy Papers, Library of Congress  
 Joshua Leavitt Papers, Library of Congress  
 Samuel May, Jr., Papers, Boston Public Library  
 Robert Todd Lytle Correspondence, Cincinnati Historical Society  
 Miscellaneous Papers—Alabama, New York Historical Society  
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 New England Anti-Slavery Society, Papers, Boston Public Library  
 Amos A. Phelps Papers, Boston Public Library  
 Gerrit Smith Papers, Syracuse University Library (microfilm)  
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 Timothy Walker Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society  
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#### IV. ANTI-ABOLITIONIST LITERATURE

Anti-abolitionists wrote extensively, both before and after the Civil War, to persuade their fellow Northerners of the correctness of their position. Two typical anti-abolitionist histories of the entire ante-bellum period are Felix de Fontaine, *The History of American Abolitionism* (New York, 1861), and George Lunt, *Origin of the Late War* (New York, 1866). More radical is R. G. Horton, *A Youth's History of the Great Civil War* (New York, 1868). An unbelievable, but once popular, racist polemic is John Van Evrie, *White Supremacy and Negro Subordination* (New York, 1868). Both Horton's and Van Evrie's books went through numerous editions. In addition to these four books, I found the following helpful:

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