The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

The Liberator newspaper and its impact on the conditions of slaves (1831-1865) in the United States of America

Maha Nadhim Azeez Al-Jawdah
Place of Work: University of Karbala / College of Education for Human Sciences / Department of History
maha.n@uokerbala.edu.iq

Summary
he Liberator also became an avowed women's rights newspaper when the prospectus for its 1838 issue declared that as the paper's objective was "to redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition," it would support "the rights of woman to their utmost extent In January and February 1838, the Liberator published Sarah Grimké's "Letters on the Province of Woman", and later that year published them as a book, to another of Garrison and Knapp's projects Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.[10] During the following decades, the Liberator promoted women's rights by publishing editorials, petitions, convention calls and proceedings, speeches, legislative action, and other material advocating women's suffrage, equal property rights, and women's educational and professional equality. The Liberator's printers, Isaac Knapp, James Brown Yerrinton (1800–1866) and James Manning Winchell Yerrinton (1825–1893), and Robert Folger Wallcut (1797–1884), printed many of the women's rights tracts of the 1850s.
The Liberator inspired abolitionist Angelina Grimké to publicly join the abolitionist movement. She sent a letter to William Lloyd Garrison recalling her experiences as a member of an upper class, white, slaveholding family. Angelina Grimké's letter to William Lloyd Garrison was soon after published in The Liberator.

Keywords (Liberator newspaper, the social conditions of the slaves)

Introduction:

FOR historians of slave societies in the Americas, the nineteenth century assumes a particular importance. Although slave labor had been virtually synonymous with European settlement in much of the Americas, it was only in the few decades before the end of slavery that the collection of economic and demographic statistics increased in both scope and reliability. Usable trade statistics, census counts, and business records are much more abundant for the nineteenth than for earlier centuries.
The Liberator (1831–1865) was a weekly abolitionist newspaper, printed and published in Boston by William Lloyd Garrison and, through 1839, by Isaac Knapp. Religious rather than political, it appealed to the moral conscience of its readers, urging them to demand immediate freeing of the slaves ("immediatism"). It also promoted women's rights, an issue that split the American abolitionist movement. Despite its modest circulation of 3,000, it had prominent and influential readers, including all the abolitionist leaders, among them Frederick Douglass, Beriah

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

Green, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and Alfred Niger. It frequently printed or reprinted letters, reports, sermons, and news stories relating to American slavery, becoming a sort of community bulletin board for the new abolitionist movement that Garrison helped foster.
Between January 7, 1832 and May 4, 1833, the Liberator published six articles by Maria W. Stewart, an abolitionist and one of the first American women to lecture before mixed-race and mixed-gender audiences
he Liberator also became an avowed women's rights newspaper when the prospectus for its 1838 issue declared that as the paper's objective was "to redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition," it would support "the rights of woman to their utmost extent In January and February 1838, the Liberator published Sarah Grimké's "Letters on the Province of Woman", and later that year published them as a book, to another of Garrison and Knapp's projects Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.[10] During the following decades, the Liberator promoted women's rights by publishing editorials, petitions, convention calls and proceedings, speeches, legislative action, and other material advocating women's suffrage, equal property rights, and women.

Research problem:

Despite the many historical studies on this subject, but they came mostly a holistic nature , Negroes issue is one of the most important issues in American history, and with the transformation of slave trade to a profitable global business, African people have been subjected to the worst forms of persecution, repression, displacement and dispersal, particularly in the United States. and this coincided with the issuance of laws of a barbaric nature that are not related to humanity, especially in the areas where Negroes were forced to live and work at the same time in America, and this is what leads us to think about the social structure of the Americans. We cannot lose sight of an important segment of this society, which played a key role in the North-South American Civil War, It is the category of slaves brought from Africa, and therefore the issue of slave emancipation is a key factor in the history of the United States of America

The Liberator faced harsh resistance from several state legislatures and local groups: for example, North Carolina indicted Garrison for felonious acts, and the Vigilance Association of Columbia, South Carolina, offered a reward of $1,500 (equivalent to $45,780 in 2023) to those who identified distributors of the paper.

Garrison also faced resistance, even to the point of violence. In 1835, a Boston mob formed with support from local newspapers in resistance to the announcement that George Thompson would speak at the first anniversary meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. The mob, unable to find Thompson, redirected their aggression towards Garrison who was in the society's meeting hall. Eventually escalation of the situation led to destruction of the society's antislavery sign, and even calls to lynch Garrison, around whose neck a piece of rope made into a noose was put. Garrison eventually managed a narrow escape; the mayor put him in the city jail for his protection
The research problem is to try to answer the following question: What is the role of the The Liberator newspaper in leading the slave liberation movement in the United States of America during the period from (1813-1856)?

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

1. What were the conditions of slaves in the United States of America during the period (1813-1856?(
2. What roles did the press play in freeing slaves?
3. What role did William Lloyd Garrison play in the slave liberation movement?

Study methodology:

The study relied on the analytical approach, which is generally characterized by penetrating into the heart and depth of the research topic related to the role of The Liberator newspaper in liberating slaves and identifying their conditions during the study period, and analyzing all aspects with the aim of reaching the best and most important results, which is what we will use in our topic related to the role of The Liberator newspaper in liberating slaves, and it is one of the most appropriate approaches for our study as it is characterized by a logic based on analysis, which is considered a special feature and uniqueness for each researcher in building his study according to his starting points.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

Chapter one
History of The Liberator (newspaper)

Garrison co-published weekly issues of The Liberator from Boston continuously, from January to the final issue of December 29, 1865. Although its circulation was only about 3,000, and three-quarters of subscribers (in 1834) were African Americans(1)

the newspaper earned nationwide notoriety for its uncompromising advocacy of "immediate and complete emancipation of all slaves" in the United States. Garrison set the tone for the paper in his famous open letter "To the Public" in the first issue:

scenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park-street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unrelentingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of gradual abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the Genius of Universal Emancipation at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied(2).

I am aware, that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hand of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen

Rather than looking to politics to create change, Garrison utilized nonviolent means, such as moral suasion, as his message throughout the newspaper(3)

Garrison felt that slavery was a moral issue and used his way of writing to appeal to the morality of his readers as an attempt to influence them into changing their morally questionable ways. For example, "No Union with Slave-Holders" was a slogan utilized for weeks at a time throughout the newspaper's publication, advocating that the North should leave the Union

he Liberator continued for three decades from its founding through the end of the American Civil War. It had black columnists and reporters

---

(1)Hayden, Robert C. (1992). African-Americans in Boston: More than 350 Years. Trustees of the Boston Public Library. p. 112.

(2)Henderson, Christina (2013). "Sympathetic Violence: Maria Stewart's Antebellum Vision of African American Resistance". 38 (4): 52–75. doi:10.1093/melus/mlt051.

(3)Jump up to:a b "Book Review: All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery, by Henry Mayer". The Independent Institute. Archived from the original on 2015-09-20. Retrieved 2017-05-22.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

Garrison ended the newspaper's run with a valedictory column at the end of 1865, when the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery throughout the United States. It was succeeded by The Nation. Inspiration among abolitionists(4)

Frederick Douglass was at first inspired by The Liberator. As he commented upon in his first issue of The North Star, Douglass felt that it was necessary for African Americans, such as himself, to speak out about their own experiences with injustice. He claimed that those that experienced injustice were the ones that must demand justice. Soon after, Douglass began writing his own abolitionist newspaper, The North Star.

By 1851 Douglass broke bitterly with Garrison and now worked for abolition and equality through the U.S. Constitution and political system

in 1836, five years after he agreed to be The Liberator's agent in Rhode Island, Alfred Niger helped to found the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society, one of only two Black men in the entire organization

chapter two
the role of William Lloyd Garrison

William Lloyd Garrison was born December 10, 1805 in Newburyport Massachusetts and died May 24, 1879 in New York, New York. Garrison was an American editor, writer, and abolitionist best known for his newspaper, The Liberator, and his successful campaign against slavery.(5)

Garrison's career began in earnest with editing jobs at the "National Philanthropist" in Boston and the "Journal of the Times" in Vermont. At these papers, he began to dedicate himself to moral reform. This led him to become co-editor of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" in 1829 with abolitionist Benjamin Lundy. In 1831, Garrison began The Liberator, one of the most radical antislavery journals. The Liberator sought to educate people on the cruelties of slavery (Ohio History Connection, n.d.). Through The Liberator, Garrison was able to develop and disseminate his moral principles. These principles included moral perfectionism, nonresistance and pacifism, anticlericalism, disunions, election boycotts, women's rights and equality, and African American civil rights (6) .

Carrison and many of his abolitionist associates began their advocacy as a part of the American Colonization Society, which called for the return of free African Americans to Africa (Thomas, n.d.). This idea was borrowed from the situation in Britain, where the emancipation of the West Indies was triumphing under the idea of "immediatism" (Frederickson, 1968). Immediatism condemned slavery and called for immediate emancipation. For those who did not want to be returned to Africa, promoters of immediatism proposed that they be integrated into society. These belief and their

(4)Thomas, John L. (1963). The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison. Little, Brwon And Company. p. 66

(5)I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation.,I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I WILL BE HEARD, William Lloyd Garrison, first issue of The Liberator, https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/eras/antebellum/garrison-william-lloyd/

(6)Fredrickson, G. M. (1968). William Lloyd Garrison. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.,P88.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

proliferation through The Liberator earned Garrison the recognition of being the one of the most radical antislavery advocates in American history (7) .

In 1832, Garrison founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which was the first immediatist society in America. Furthermore, in 1833, Garrison, helped to found the American Anti-Slavery Society, writing its Declaration of Sentiments and acting as the society's first correspondence secretary. Arthur Tappan, Lewis Tappan, and Theodore Dwight Weld also helped found this society In 1837, Garrison began to embrace Christian "perfectionism" doctrine, which supported abolition and women's rights and demanded that citizens not participate in corrupt society. He also asserted that the Constitution was an illegal document because it denied African Americans their freedom By 1844, Garrison had come up with the principle, "No Union With Slaveholders," which was characterized by both pacifism and anarchism. This principle demanded for a peaceful succession from the South (8) .

Garrison's increasingly radical views created controversy, even within his own organizations. Though members agreed that slavery was wrong, they believed that the Constitution was a legitimate document and the foundation of a legitimate government, but one that had to be amended to end oppression (Ohio History Connection, n.d.). In 1840, when the American Anti-Slavery Society voted to incorporate women, more conservative members of society seceded from the organization and instead formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Soon after, the American Anti-Slavery Society further splintered, and the Liberty Party was formed

The Liberty Party later become the Free-Soil Party, and then the Republican Party (Ohio History Connection, n.d.). Garrison's influence continued to taper as he denounced the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott decision. In 1854, Garrison publicly burned a copy of the Constitution at an abolitionist rally, and in 1857 he held a secessionist convention in Worcester, Massachusetts.(9) .

With the genesis of the Civil War, Garrison placed his support in Abraham Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation. However, emancipation unearthed his latent conservatism; he was not in full support of immediate political rights for freed slaves. In 1865, Garrison resigned from the American Anti-Slavery Society after unsuccessfully trying to dissolve it. He published his last issue of The Liberator in December 1865 and spent his retirement supporting the Republican Party, temperance, women's rights, pacifism, and free trade.

The Emancipation Proclamation and Thirteenth Amendment brought about by the Civil War were important milestones in the long process of ending legal slavery in the United States. This essay describes the development of those documents through various drafts by Lincoln and others and

(7)Nye, R. B. (1955). William Lloyd Garrison and the humanitarian reformers. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company,P90.

(8)Ohio History Connection. (n.d.). William L. Garrison. Ohio History Central. Retrievedfrom http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org

(9)Stewart, J. B. (2008). William Lloyd Garrison at two hundred. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,P144..

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

shows both the evolution of Abraham Lincoln's thinking and his efforts to operate within the constitutional boundaries of the presidency.

Almost from the beginning of his administration, abolitionists and radical Republicans pressured Abraham Lincoln to issue an Emancipation Proclamation. Although Lincoln personally abhorred slavery, he felt confined by his constitutional authority as president to challenge slavery only in the context of necessary war measures. He also worried about the reactions of those in the loyal border states where slavery was still legal. Lincoln is said to have summed up the importance of keeping the border states in the Union by saying "I hope to have God on my side, but I must have Kentucky."

Some Union commanders took matters into their own hands, declaring emancipation by proclamation. In September 1861, General John C. Frémont attempted to address the "disorganized condition" in the Department of the West by declaring martial law and proclaiming free the slaves of active Confederate sympathizers in Missouri. Frémont failed to inform first President Lincoln, who requested Frémont amend his proclamation to conform to the 1861 Confiscation Act. When Frémont refused, Lincoln publicly ordered him to do so, which helped calm anxiety expressed from the border states, but angered those who supported Frémont's actions. Although he knew Frémont had exceeded his authority in freeing slaves in Missouri, Lincoln continued to urge the border slave states to explore legal emancipation measures of their own. He also remained hopeful that voluntary colonization options for former slaves would address the concerns of many white Americans about where emancipated slaves would go. While several pieces of emancipation-related legislation included funds for colonization outside of the United States, the few actual attempts at colonization during the Civil War failed. Furthermore, most former slaves had no interest in leaving their homeland.(10)

Like Frémont, General David Hunter also tried his hand at emancipation when in May 1862 he declared slaves free in his Department of the South, which included Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. Once again, Lincoln felt compelled to overrule a commander who overstepped his authority with regard to emancipation. Although in revoking Hunter's action, Lincoln suggested that the power to determine such military necessities belonged to the president.

In principle, Lincoln approved of emancipation as a war measure, but he postponed executive action against slavery until he believed he had both the legal authority to do so and broader support from the American public. Two pieces of congressional legislation passed on July 17, 1862, provided the desired signal. The Second Confiscation Act included provisions that freed the slaves of disloyal owners, authorized the president to employ African Americans in the suppression of the rebellion, and called for exploring voluntary colonization efforts. The Militia Act authorized the employment of African Americans in the military, emancipated those who were enslaved, and freed their families, if owned by those disloyal to the Union. Not only had Congress relieved the administration of considerable strain with its limited initiative on emancipation, but it also had demonstrated an increasing public acceptance of emancipation as a military act.

By July 1862 Lincoln had written what he termed his "Preliminary Proclamation." He discussed his thoughts for an emancipation proclamation with cabinet secretaries William H. Seward and Gideon

(10)Grimké, Sarah (1838). Letters on the equality of the sexes, and the condition of woman : addressed to Mary S. Parker, President of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Boston: Isaac Knapp.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

Welles on July 13, 1862, while sharing a carriage ride from the funeral of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton's infant son James. Welles later recalled External that neither he nor Seward were prepared to offer opinions on a subject that Seward thought "involved consequences so vast and momentous," but he agreed with Seward's initial impression that the measure was both "justifiable" and perhaps "expedient and necessary."
Edwin M. Stanton's notes of the reaction of the cabinet to Abraham Lincoln's introduction of his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, July 22, 1862. Edwin McMasters Stanton Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Nine days later, on July 22, Lincoln again raised the issue of emancipation in a cabinet meeting, at which he read the content of his preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. In addition to reiterating his support for gradual emancipation in the loyal states, the draft proclamation declared that as of January 1, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any state or states, wherein the constitutional authority of the United States shall not then be practically recognized, submitted to, and maintained, shall then, thenceforward, and forever, be free." Whereas the Confiscation Acts freed the slaves of individual owners who demonstrated disloyalty, Lincoln's proclamation freed slaves of all owners residing in geographic areas engaged in rebellion as "a fit and necessary military measure.".(11)

Chapter three

The role of the American press in the slave liberation movement

The reaction of Lincoln's cabinet members was mixed. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, correctly interpreting the proclamation as a military measure designed both to deprive the Confederacy of slave labor and bring additional men into the Union army, advocated its immediate release. Attorney General Edward Bates, a conservative, opposed civil and political equality for blacks but gave his support. Welles feared the unintended consequences of emancipation, but remained silent, as did Interior secretary Caleb Smith. Postmaster General Montgomery Blair foresaw defeat in the fall elections and opposed the proclamation. Treasury secretary Salmon P. Chase supported the measure, which he noted in his diary went further than his own recommendations, but his tepid enthusiasm for the proclamation was surprising given his history as an outspoken opponent of slavery. Secretary of State Seward expressed concern about the diplomatic implications of emancipation and noted the lack of recent Union military victories, which might cause the proclamation to be interpreted as an act of desperation. Better to wait for success on the battlefield, Seward counseled, and issue the proclamation from a position of strength. Lincoln agreed, and the course was set.(12)
Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley, Friday, August 22, 1862 (Clipping from Aug. 23, 1862 Daily National Intelligencer, Washington, D.C.)

(11)Tindal. George and Shi. David, America: A Narrative History, New York, 1984, PP.729- 731

(12)Trelease. Allen, White Terror the Ku Klux Klan, New York, 1971, P. 60

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

While Lincoln waited for his generals to secure a victory, New York Tribune editor Horace Greeley provided Lincoln with an opportunity to test public reaction to emancipation as a war measure. In an open letter to President Lincoln published on August 20 under the heading "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," Greeley urged Lincoln to recognize slavery as the root cause of the war and act boldly with regard to emancipation. Although he already had a draft emancipation proclamation prepared, Lincoln responded with his own open letter to Greeley, which he published in the National Intelligencer in Washington, D.C. Lincoln stated plainly that the goal of his administration's policies, including those related to slavery, was to save the Union. "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that." Lincoln carefully noted that this represented his official position. He intended "no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men every where could be free."

The bloodiest single day of the Civil War occurred on September 17, 1862, as Confederates in Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia battled the Army of the Potomac, commanded by Union General George B. McClellan, at Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, Maryland. While the Battle of Antietam was not quite the decisive Union triumph Lincoln hoped for, Lee's retreat was victory enough for Lincoln to issue the emancipation proclamation on which he had continued to labor since July. Lincoln read the revised proclamation to his cabinet on September 22, 1862. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles recorded in his diary that the president was open to criticism of the document itself, but that "he was satisfied it was right . . . his mind was fixed—his decision made" regarding the issuance of the proclamation(13).

The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, stated that the slaves in all areas designated as being in rebellion as of January 1, 1863, would "be then, thenceforward, and forever free." The preliminary proclamation also reiterated Lincoln's support for compensated emancipation and voluntary colonization of "persons of African descent." Newspapers in the Confederate states predictably denounced the proclamation. The Memphis (Tenn.) Daily Appeal labeled it unconstitutional and "plainly a proposition to incite domestic insurrection." The Charlotte, North Carolina, Western Democratcarried the briefest of notices of the proclamation and brushed aside its significance. "No one in the South cares for that—Lincoln might as well proclaim to the moon." Some in the North thought the preliminary proclamation more serious, but still ill conceived. The Indiana State Sentinel deemed it a "blunder" and "disastrous" in promoting colonization schemes that would deprive the United States of valuable labor and leave loyal taxpayers to foot the bill. But others were elated by Lincoln's proclamation. The Chicago Tribune reprinted laudatory responses from newspapers across the North. Lincoln retained among his papers a number of letters of support for the proclamation, including one from B. S. Hedrick, who identified himself as a Southerner and formerly a professor of chemistry at the University of North Carolina. "In my opinion the whole question of the War is reduced to this. Can the power of the United States Gov't either conquer or exterminate slavery?" Hedrick asked. "If it can, then that should be done, and the sooner the better. If not—we fight with no object."

(13)Greeley, A. L. (1862, August 22). The Abrahm Lincoln Papers At the Library of Congress Series2

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

In anticipation of the January 1, 1863, deadline of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln provided the cabinet on December 30 with the text of the revised Final Emancipation Proclamation, soliciting opinions and necessary alterations. The Final Emancipation Proclamation differed significantly from the previous versions. It designated the areas considered to still be in rebellion, but also those under Union control and thus exempted from the proclamation. The exempted areas included parishes in Louisiana and the city of New Orleans, several cities and counties in Virginia, and all of the counties in what would become the new state of West Virginia. Slaves living in those Union-occupied exempted areas were considered outside of the president's war powers, and would remain enslaved after January 1. Lincoln urged those freed by the proclamation to "abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense" and to "labor faithfully for reasonable wages." Unlike the previous preliminary proclamations, the final proclamation announced that African-American men would "be received into the armed service of the United States." And unlike the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, gone was any mention of compensated emancipation or colonization. Lincoln also incorporated Secretary Chase's suggestion of closing the document with an acknowledgment of the proclamation as an "act of justice" and invoking God and the "judgment of mankind" in supporting the effort.(14)

January 1, 1863, was a "mild and bright day" in Washington. Lincoln had sent the manuscript of the proclamation to the State Department in the morning for copying, and Secretary Seward brought the official version to the White House for Lincoln's signature. Lincoln noticed an error in the document that required amending, which was not accomplished before the annual New Year's reception at the White House, at which Lincoln shook hundreds of hands. Seward and his son Frederick brought the corrected proclamation to the White House later in the day for the president's signature. Frederick Seward recalled External Lincoln saying "I never in my life felt more certain that I was doing right, than I do in signing this paper." Lincoln steadied his tired arm as signed the document, telling witnesses that any sign of a tremor in his handwriting would be interpreted as a mental reservation about the proclamation. And with a signature that was "clear, bold, and firm," Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. .(15)

With the issuance of the Final Emancipation Proclamation the war for the Union also became a war to free the slaves. As was the case with the preliminary proclamation in September, the issuance of the final proclamation received a mixed reception, especially in the North. Abolitionists greeted the news with jubilation. Eliza Quincy wrote to Mary Lincoln that "the thought of the millions upon millions of human beings whose happiness was to be affected & freedom secured by the words of President Lincoln, was almost overwhelming." Benjamin Rush Plumly could not remember a more "devout 'Thanksgiving'" as he witnessed the celebration of African Americans in Philadelphia at the news of the proclamation. Hamilton Gray of Kentucky, however, warned Lincoln that Kentuckians loyal to the Union did not accept the Emancipation Proclamation as a military necessity, and there was word that the Kentucky legislature urged the governor to reject the proclamation. The New York Herald considered the proclamation "unnecessary, unwise and ill-timed, impracticable, outside the

(14)Wright R. Donald, African Americans in the Colonial Era, New York, 1990, P. 18.

(15)Ibid, P. 19.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

constitution and full of mischief," noting that Lincoln freed slaves only in areas where he exerted little practical authority. "But let us hope that this proclamation will prove nothing worse than a nullity and a harmless tub to the abolition whale," the Herald's editors opined. Emancipation, even as a war measure, faced continued opposition months later in Lincoln's hometown of Springfield, Illinois. Lincoln understood that many of his neighbors supported the Union, but resented fighting for the cause of freedom. "You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but, no matter. Fight you, then exclusively to save the Union," Lincoln urged his neighbors in a statement he sent to his friend James Conkling to be read at a Union meeting in September. "I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes."

The president still found it necessary in 1864 to explain and defend his actions with regard to emancipation, which remained unpopular with many Northerners. In an April 4, 1864 letter to Albert G. Hodges, editor of the Commonwealth newspaper in Frankfort, Kentucky, Lincoln was careful to distinguish his own opinions from the actions he felt constitutionally justified in taking. "I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel," he began. "And yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling." His presidential oath bound him to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States," and each step in the process of emancipation was in the interest of preserving the nation, and thus preserving the Constitution. To highlight this, Lincoln used the word "indispensable" six times to distinguish the criteria on which he acted, until emancipation became militarily an "indispensable necessity." In his letter to Hodges, Lincoln also credited a higher power in determining the events of the war. "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me." Lincoln's clear explanation of his presidential evolution on emancipation even won praise from a frequent critic, Horace Greeley. "We are known not to favor his renomination," Greeley's April 29 editorial in the New York Tribune began, but "few men who have ever lived who could have better explained and commended his course and attitude with regard to Slavery than he has done in his late letter to Mr. Hodges of Kentucky." .(16)

Frederick Douglass responded to Lincoln’s suggestion that slaves escape the Confederacy in the event he failed to be reelected in November 1864

Greeley's editorial demonstrated that Abraham Lincoln's popularity was not universal even within the Republican Party as the 1864 presidential campaign got underway. With the Union military effort stalled on several fronts, with the Democrats' delay in naming a candidate and platform, and with emancipation being interpreted as a primary obstacle to a negotiated peace with the Confederates, some political advisors feared Lincoln's chances for reelection and suggested in August that he consider other options. In response, Lincoln even went so far as to draft instructions for a proposed peace conference, at which "remaining questions" like slavery would be "left for adjustment by peaceful modes." Ultimately Lincoln and his cabinet determined that this

(16)"The North Star , American newspaper". Encyclopedia Britannica. Archived from the original on 2017-09-11. Retrieved 2017-05-15

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

course would be, as Lincoln's secretary John G. Nicolay noted, "worse than losing the Presidential contest—it would be ignominiously surrendering it in advance." As it was, Lincoln's concern about reelection prompted him to write a secret memorandum pledging to cooperate with the president-elect to save the union before the March 4, 1865, inauguration, and discussed with Frederick Douglass plans to help slaves in the Confederacy escape while there was still time. .(17)

The despair of August turned to hope in September as William T. Sherman's troops captured Atlanta, Georgia, Philip H. Sheridan advanced in the Shenandoah Valley, and the Democrats faced their own divisions in the candidacy of George B. McClellan and a controversial party platform. Lincoln triumphed in the November election. Although the dire plans and pledges made in August could now be abandoned, the process of ending slavery was not complete. As a wartime measure, the status of the Emancipation Proclamation would be in question after the war, and slavery still remained legal in Union-controlled areas in the Confederacy as well as the border slave states in the United States. Only an amendment to the United States Constitution could end slavery irrevocably. Ceremonial copy of the proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, signed by Abraham Lincoln and all members of Congress who voted for the joint resolution

The United States Senate had passed a joint resolution on April 8, 1864, calling for an amendment to the Constitution that ended slavery, but the House of Representatives had failed to pass it. Pressure on Republican leadership in the House to pass the resolution intensified, and the resolution finally succeeded on January 31, 1865. The proposed amendment stated that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction," and authorized Congress to enforce the amendment with appropriate legislation. Although not legally required to do so, Lincoln personally signed the joint resolution, signaling the importance he placed on the amendment. He also signed several ceremonial copies of the resolution produced in honor of the occasion. The amendment was sent to the states for ratification on February 1, and Abraham Lincoln's home state of Illinois became the first state to ratify the proposed Thirteenth Amendment. Abraham Lincoln did not live to see the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. Nineteen states had ratified it when he was shot by John Wilkes Booth while attending a play at Ford's Theatre on the night of April 14, 1865. Lincoln died the following morning. On December 6, 1865, Georgia became the twenty-seventh state to ratify the amendment, achieving the three-fourths of the states necessary to validate the amendment, which Secretary of State William H. Seward did on December 18.

The Emancipation Proclamation and Thirteenth Amendment brought about by the Civil War were important milestones in the long process of ending legal slavery in the United States. Defining the meaning of freedom, however, continued long after the war ended(18).

(17)Mayer, Henry (1998). All on fire : William Lloyd Garrison and the abolition of slavery (1st ed.). St. Martin's Press. pp. 200–205. ISBN 0312187408

(18)Thomas, J. L. (n.d.). William Lloyd Garrison: American editor, writer, and abolitionist. In Encyclopedia Britannica online. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Lloyd-Garrison.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

Many of the key manuscripts that record the progression of the Emancipation Proclamation from the first known draft in July 1862 to the final version of January 1, 1863 survive today.(19) .
Abraham Lincoln's handwritten draft Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of July 22, 1862 is part of the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. Artist Francis Bicknell Carpenter imagined the scene of President Lincoln first introducing the document to his cabinet in the 1864 painting First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation, which now hangs over the west staircase of the Senate Wing in the United States Capitol. Carpenter worked on the painting at the White House for several months in 1864, and was able to consult with and observe President Lincoln. More information about the painting is available online on the United States Senate website. The painting was reproduced in numerous engravings, including those produced by A.H. Ritchie in 1866
Lincoln's handwritten manuscript copy of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation External of September 22, 1862, is held by the New York State Library in Albany, New York. Abraham Lincoln donated the manuscript for a raffle held at the Albany (N.Y.) Relief Bazaar sponsored by the Albany Army Relief Association in 1864, where it was won by abolitionist Gerrit Smith. The New York State Legislature purchased the manuscript in 1865, and placed it in the New York State Library. More information on the provenance of this document is available online External.
The official engrossed copies of both the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, and the Final Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, are held by the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C., as part of Record Group 11, General Records of the U.S. Government. A reproduction of the official engrossed copy of the Final Emancipation Proclamation is included in the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress.
Several documents containing comments and corrections on the Final Emancipation Proclamation Lincoln solicited from his cabinet members in December 1862 can be found in the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. These include the memoranda provided to President Lincoln by Attorney General Edward Bates, Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase, and Secretary of State William H. Seward(20)
The handwritten manuscript of the Final Emancipation Proclamation no longer exists. In October 1863, Mary A. Livermore wrote to Abraham Lincoln requesting that he donate the manuscript to the Northwestern Sanitary Fair in Chicago, where it would be sold to raise money for soldiers' aid provided by the Northwestern Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission. Mrs. Livermore hoped that the document ultimately would be donated to the Chicago Historical Society for preservation. Her request was echoed by Lincoln's associates Isaac N. Arnold and Owen Lovejoy. Lincoln thought that his name would be most remembered for having issued the proclamation, and as he explained to the ladies planning the fair, "I had some desire to retain the paper." "But if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers," he concluded, "that will be better," and he sent the precious manuscript. The manuscript copy of the Final Emancipation Proclamation was

(19)Joseph T. Crawford to Malmesbury, Jan. 1, 1853; to Russell, June 3, 1853, FO 84/899

(20)Eltis, “The Export of Slaves from Africa, 1821-1843,” Journal of Economic History, 37:2 (June 1977), 409-433; “The Direction and Fluctuation of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1821-43, ” 273-301 for a presentation of an earlier version of these data.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

purchased at the Northwestern Sanitary Fair by Thomas Bryan, .(21) who presented it to the Soldiers' Home in Chicago, rather than the Chicago Historical Society. Unfortunately, the manuscript was destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871. Fortunately, before sending the original manuscript proclamation, Lincoln wisely had the document photographed for posterity, and a lithographic copy is part of the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress. Surviving photographs of the document show it primarily in Lincoln's own hand. The superscription and ending are in the hand of a clerk, and the printed insertions were cut from the September draft.
The Final Emancipation Proclamation has been reproduced numerous times and in many different styles and formats. At the Great Central Sanitary Fair held in Philadelphia in June 1864, forty-eight limited-edition prints of the Emancipation Proclamation, signed by Lincoln, Seward, and John G. Nicolay, were offered for ten dollars apiece to raise money for soldiers' aid. At that price, however, not all of these Leland-Boker edition prints sold. The Alfred Whital Stern Collection of Lincolniana in the Rare Books and Special Collections Division, and the Prints & Photographs Division of the Library of Congress offer many examples of printings of the Emancipation Proclamation produced during and after the Civil War.

On December 25, 1862, Massachusetts historian George Livermore asked Senator Charles Sumner if he might procure the pen that Lincoln would use to sign the Final Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Sumner, a well-known abolitionist, put the request to President Lincoln, who agreed. In thanking Sumner for his efforts, Livermore explained his desire for the pen: "No trophy from a battlefield, no sword red with blood, no service of plate with an inscription, as complimentary as the greatest rhetorician could compose, would have been to me half as acceptable as this instrument which will forever be associated with the greatest event of our country and our age." The pen External is now held by the Massachusetts Historical Society.(22)
To read more about Lincoln and Emancipation, consult the "African Americans, the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment" section on the Related Resources page of the Abraham Lincoln Papers online presentation

(21)Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP), 1845, LVIX, 593-633. The complete data set on which this study is based (slave ship records) is on deposit in machine-readable form at the National Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

(22)Leslie M. Bethell, The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade; Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869 (Cambridge, 1970), 388-390

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

Conclusion:

Between 1832 and 1833, William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, The Liberator, printed three lectures, one book excerpt, and one letter by Maria W. Stewart. One of the first African American women to lecture before a mixed-gender audience, Stewart passionately and publicly advocated for both racial and gender equality. This article explores the ways in which Stewart deployed elements from the black jeremiad tradition used by black nationalists such as David Walker, on the one hand, and from the discourse of women abolitionists who wrote for The Liberator's "Ladies' Department," on the other hand. In her works in The Liberator, Stewart incorporated and reshaped elements from each of these traditions to create a distinctive rationale for resistance against slavery and prejudice.

As a liminal figure situated between black nationalists and predominantly white women abolitionists, Stewart gives contemporary scholars a glimpse of the ways that these larger movements inflected one another. Drawing from the rhetorical strategies of each group, she created moments of paradoxical collaboration. By grounding violent resistance in an ethic of Christian sympathy and kindness, Stewart partnered with black nationalists and white abolitionists, crafting a unique model of love-inspired, but potentially violent, resistance.

Events early in the war quickly forced Northern authorities to address the issue of emancipation. In May 1861, just a month into the war, three slaves (Frank Baker, Shepard Mallory, and James Townsend) owned by Confederate Colonel Charles K. Mallory escaped from Hampton, Virginia, where they had been put to work on behalf of the Confederacy, and sought protection within Union-held Fortress Monroe before their owner sent them further south. When Col. Mallory demanded their return under the Fugitive Slave Law, Union General Benjamin F. Butler instead appropriated the fugitives and their valuable labor as "contraband of war." The Lincoln administration approved Butler's action, and soon other fugitive slaves (often referred to as "contrabands") sought freedom behind Union lines.

The increasing number of fugitives and questions about their status eventually prompted action by the United States Congress. On August 6, 1861, Congress passed the First Confiscation Act, which negated owners' claims to escaped slaves whose labor had been used on behalf of the Confederacy. In 1862 Congress also acted against slavery in areas under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Congress abolished slavery in the federal District of Columbia on April 16 with a compensated emancipation program. This action must have been particularly satisfying to President Lincoln, who as Congressman Lincoln had in the late 1840s drafted a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Finding the measure lacking support, Lincoln never introduced it. Congress further outlawed slavery in federal territories in June 1862.

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

References:

1. Eltis, "The Export of Slaves from Africa, 1821-1843," Journal of Economic History, 37:2 (June 1977), 409-433; "The Direction and Fluctuation of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1821-43, " 273-301 for a presentation of an earlier version of these data.
2. Fredrickson, G. M. (1968). William Lloyd Garrison. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.,P88.
3. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP), 1845, LVIX, 593-633. The complete data set on which this study is based (slave ship records) is on deposit in machine-readable form at the National Archives, Ottawa, Canada.
4. Greeley, A. L. (1862, August 22). The Abrahm Lincoln Papers At the Library of Congress Series2
5. Grimké, Sarah (1838). Letters on the equality of the sexes, and the condition of woman : addressed to Mary S. Parker, President of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Boston: Isaac Knapp.
6. Hayden, Robert C. (1992). African-Americans in Boston: More than 350 Years. Trustees of the Boston Public Library..
7. Henderson, Christina (2013). "Sympathetic Violence: Maria Stewart's Antebellum Vision of African American Resistance". 38 (4): 52–75. doi:10.1093/melus/mlt051.
8. I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation.,I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I WILL BE HEARD, William Lloyd Garrison, first issue of The Liberator, https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/eras/antebellum/garrison-william-lloyd/
9. Joseph T. Crawford to Malmesbury, Jan. 1, 1853; to Russell, June 3, 1853, FO 84/899
10. Jump up to:a b "Book Review: All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery, by Henry Mayer". The Independent Institute. Archived from the original on 2015-09-20. Retrieved 2017-05-22.
11. Leslie M. Bethell, The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade; Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869 (Cambridge, 1970), 388-390
12. Mayer, Henry (1998). All on fire : William Lloyd Garrison and the abolition of slavery (1st ed.). St. Martin's Press. pp. 200–205. ISBN 0312187408
13. Nye, R. B. (1955). William Lloyd Garrison and the humanitarian reformers. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company,P90.
14. Ohio History Connection. (n.d.). William L. Garrison. Ohio History Central. Retrievedfrom http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org
15. Stewart, J. B. (2008). William Lloyd Garrison at two hundred. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press..
16. Thomas, J. L. (n.d.). William Lloyd Garrison: American editor, writer, and abolitionist. In Encyclopedia Britannica online. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Lloyd-Garrison.
17. Thomas, John L. (1963). The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison. Little, Brwon And Company
18. Tindal. George and Shi. David, America: A Narrative History, New York, 1984

The Peerian Journal
Open Access | Peer Reviewed
Volume 42, May, 2025
ISSN (E): 2788-0303
Website: www.peerianjournal.com
Email: editor@peerianjournal.com

19. Trelease. Allen, White Terror the Ku Klux Klan, New York, 1971
20. Wright R. Donald, African Americans in the Colonial Era, New York, 1990,.