The Grimké Sisters: Providing a Voice for Female Abolitionists

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This paper explores the remarkable careers of nineteenth-century abolitionists Angelina and Sarah Grimké. Born into a slave-owning South Carolina family, the Grimké sisters became staunch abolitionists, gaining national attention through their speaking and writing. This story alone would make for compelling reading, but the paper offers more, explaining how the sisters used the public platform they gained as abolitionists to advocate for women's rights. Drawing on a variety of primary sources, the paper shows how the Grimké's Quaker spirituality and Bible reading shaped their abolitionist and feminist convictions. Where another paper might have been content to treat the links connecting nineteenth-century religion, slavery, and gender in the abstract, this paper explores those connections in all their rich historical particularity.

Women have historically been a crucial part of reform movements in the United States. In the nineteenth century, the majority of social activist group members were women, and the abolitionist movement was no exception.¹ However, although women made up the largest component of the abolition movement, it was the voice of male leaders that consistently carried the most weight, and the expectation for females to participate behind the scenes, mainly unheard. Angelina and Sarah Grimké, two Christian sisters from South Carolina, defied these stereotypes. Beginning in the 1830s, these sisters courageously launched a public campaign in which they openly spoke in opposition to slavery in front of sizeable crowds comprised of both men and women, something unheard of for women at the time. Through their persistent efforts in the anti-slavery movement, the Grimké sisters revolutionized women's role in the abolition movement in the United States

first, because of the impact of their status as former slave owners on the movement, second, because of their faith in the way God could work through women, and third, because of the connections they made between the abolition movement and the women's rights movement.²

FORMER SLAVE OWNERS

On the surface, the Grimké sisters seem unlikely characters to be leaders in the antislavery movement. Sarah and Angelina were born in 1792 and 1805, respectively, to John and Mary Grimké, wealthy southern plantation owners who lived in Charleston, South Carolina. The Grimkés were highly influential leaders in South Carolina, as the girls' father, John Grimké, was the Chief Justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court and much of his wife's family was politically involved as well. The girls' mother, Mary

¹Pamela R. Durso, *The Power of Woman: The Life and Writing of Sarah Moore Grimké*, 1st ed. (Macon, Georfia: Mercer University Press, 2003), 1–3.

² Biographical information about the Grimké sisters can be found in *The Power of Woman: The Life and Writing of Sarah Moore Grimké*, by Pamela R. Durso. Some sources also include primary source documents, such as *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimke* by Larry Ceplair. For the Grimkés and abolition, see Mark Perry, *Lift Up Thy Voice* and *Women and Sisters: Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* by Jean Fagan Yellin. For their role in nineteenth century women's rights, see *The Power of Woman: The Life and Writing of Sarah Moore Grimké* and as well as Katharine DuPre Lumpkin, *The Emancipation of Angelina Grimké*.

Grimké, was a devout and active Episcopalian and a leader of the Charleston Ladies Benevolent Society. Sarah was 12 years Angelina's senior, and served as a mother figure to her. Mrs. Mary Grimké was very busy, and did not have significant amounts of free time to spend with Angelina, so Sarah begged her mother to let her be Angelina's godmother. Her mom conceded, and Angelina and Sarah's close relationship was maintained throughout the sisters' lives, with Angelina sometimes still addressing her sister as "mother," in their correspondences as adults. Growing up in this family, Sarah and Angelina lived a rather opulent life: horseback riding, picnicking, and attending extravagant balls and dinner parties held by some of the finest families in South Carolina. As plantation owners, the Grimké family owned numerous slaves, and each of the twelve Grimké children were even given their own personal slave to attend to them.³

This pampered lifestyle was all that the Grimké daughters knew. As children, Sarah, Angelina, and all of the Grimké children attended school, but while the boys studied arithmetic and Latin, the girls were required to learn gentility and the proper behavior and etiquette for a woman with their social status. Despite this, Judge Grimké still valued the virtue of hard work for his children, so even his daughters were encouraged to pursue, albeit limited, physical labor and educational activities. Sarah loved participating in elementary legal training and practiced debating with her brothers, and it was her dream to go to law school. However, she was crushed when she was not allowed to follow her brothers to law school or study the law beyond elementary academia.4 "If only Sarah had been a boy," her father often said, "she would have been the best jurist in the land."⁵

This was a turning point in Sarah's general acceptance of the values her family tried to instill in her since childhood. Sarah felt trapped by the pressure from her family and society to remain in her traditional sphere expected as a woman. She looked at the slaves on the plantation, and felt sympathy for their feelings of captivity. She took pity on her personal slave, who was also denied what Sarah deemed basic rights, and secretly taught her how to read and write, something forbidden at the time for fear that slaves would read revolutionary ideas in the Bible.⁶ Her sister Angelina, too, found fault in the society in which she lived. She objected to the forced systematic separation of slave families and the lack of basic comforts such as a bed, lights, and blankets that she observed at her own plantation. Angelina was also disturbed by the harsh violence that was too readily shown to the slaves owned by her family and family friends.7 Eventually, both sisters left South Carolina in opposition to the corrupt system of slavery in the south, and moved to Philadelphia to become abolitionists in the North, first Sarah in 1821, and then Angelina a few years later.8

Coming into the abolitionist movement with this background made the Grimké sisters unique, and their story captivated Northerners. Angelina and Sarah were the first women from a Southern, slaveowning family to attack slavery publicly, which made an unparalleled impact on the abolitionist movement. ⁹The sisters' personal anecdotes of the violence that they witnessed as slave owners made a powerful case against slavery for many Northerners. Not only that, but Sarah and Angelina relayed their personal conversations with well-treated slaves who still yearned for freedom, something that contradicted many pro-slavery activists' argument that only poorly treated slaves wanted to be free.

The sisters were the first women invited to publicly speak out against slavery in "mixed" crowds, or audiences composed of both men and women.¹⁰ The sisters met many prominent abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison, who was so impressed with their compelling speech and knowledge in respect to slavery that he invited the women to speak at his

³ Ibid., 12–18.

⁴ Ibid., 14–20.

⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁶ Ibid., 21–22.

 ⁷ Katharine DuPre Lumpkin, *The Emancipation of Angelina Grimké* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1974), 4–18.
⁸ Mark Perry, *Lift Up Thy Voice* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), xii.

⁹ Durso, The Power of Woman: The Life and Writing of Sarah Moore Grimké, 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., 3–5.

abolitionist convention about their observations of slavery "whenever they think proper."¹¹ Sarah took advantage of this invitation to explain to Garrison's convention why she left South Carolina on account of slavery, and to boldly describe the beatings and torture that she knew rebellious slaves had to endure on a plantation.¹²

The Grimké women became so popular within the abolitionist circle that they were eventually encouraged to begin leading "parlor talks," small speeches given in order to mobilize more women behind the abolition movement. Held every Friday in New York for several months in 1836 and 1837, these meetings became so well attended that the Grimkés eventually needed to leave the convention session room and move to a church sanctuary in order to accommodate the over 300 women who regularly listened. So popular were the meetings among women that eventually even men began to listen and attend the meetings. The Grimke's status of former slaveholders-turned-abolitionists won over many men and women in attendance, and the women told a compelling story of firsthand accounts so detailed it seemed they could only really be surpassed by the testimony of former slaves. The Grimke's leadership in an environment of mixed company was unprecedented, and established credibility for the female voices of the abolition movement. For the first time, it was acceptable for abolitionists to gather large numbers of men and women together to listen to a woman speak. This gave room for female abolitionists of the future to speak publically in front of men.¹³

HOW GOD COULD WORK THROUGH WOMEN

Not only did the Grimkés' atypical background help to develop the role of women in the abolition movement, but so too did their faith. Religion had always been a part of Sarah and Angelina's lives.

Growing up with a devout Episcopal mother, the entire Grimké family and their slaves went to their local Episcopal church every single Sunday.¹⁴ But Sarah soon left the Episcopal Church and embraced the Quaker Society of Friends, with Angelina later following her there. As the sisters grew deeper in their faith, they followed the Quaker practices that were unique compared to many sects of Christianity, such as women participating in worship and women permitted to serve the congregation as ministers. Besides the Society of Friends, no other major Christian denominations allowed women to represent the congregation in forms of leadership.¹⁵ But George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, believed that since all people could receive the "Inner Light," or, the divine revelation of God, then therefore all people were equal. This included people of all races, genders, nationalities, and any other qualities in this same vein. Therefore, Fox encouraged the participation of women in the Quaker church, and soon the Quaker membership became predominantly female. The Quakers supported the sisters' belief that God could work through their leadership. Sarah and Angelina were given the opportunity to hone their public speaking skills as well as practice teaching through their time at the Quaker church and were empowered by the Quaker philosophies of the significance and potential of women. Since under Quakerism all races were considered equal, the Society of Friends was also one of the only leading religious communities to condemn slavery and the slave trade.¹⁶

The Grimké sisters believed that if God could use women in positions of leadership in the Church, he could certainly use them in the abolition movement. In their activism, Sarah and Angelina stressed the importance of women in the effort to eliminate slavery, and how women could serve in positions different than the ones they were typically restricted to within the movement. Most abolitionists of

¹¹ Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames, eds., "William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, 22 November 1836," in *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison: A House Divided Against Itself*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 185.

¹² Durso, The Power of Woman: The Life and Writing of Sarah Moore Grimké, 94.

¹³ Ibid., 93–99.

¹⁴ Ibid., 23.

¹⁵ Jean Fagan Yellin, "Angelina Grimké," in *Women and Sisters: Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 2.

¹⁶ Durso, The Power of Woman: The Life and Writing of Sarah Moore Grimké, 75.

prominence were men, who got to speak, write, and publish their thoughts and work. Women were usually restricted to aiding in the movement in behind the scenes work, such as administration. Both genders often cited religious reasons for women's subordination in the movement. However, the Grimké sisters believed that gender should not be a barrier to being a leader for a cause, and argued that in fact, that Christianity advocated for the opposite. Angelina used her own faith and her Episcopalian background to find common ground on which to appeal to the Christian women in the South.¹⁷ She wrote an Appeal to the Christian Women of the South in order to persuade women of their Godgiven importance as women, and convince them of their potential impact on the abolition movement. Angelina called white southern women to action by using biblical examples of women leaders with whom she knew they would be familiar. For example, Angelina related the duty of women to stand up against slavery, even if it meant breaking the law, to the duty of the biblical character of Esther, who had to disobey authority in order to plead for the salvation of her people. Angelina entreated Southern Christian women, "Is there no Esther who among you who will plead for the poor devoted slave?" begging the women to follow God on behalf of slaves by joining the movement.¹⁸

Also in this letter, Angelina implored the Christian women of the south to do four things: the first, read on the subject of slavery, and examine the testimony of the Bible to examine whether God "sanctioned such a system of oppression and crime."¹⁹ It is clear that Angelina believed that upon a careful examination of the scriptures, women would realize that God does not condone slavery. Second, Angelina told women to pray that God would open their eyes to see slavery with a clear vision, as well as pray for the slaves themselves. Thirdly, Angelina urged women to speak out on the subject to relatives, friends, husbands, and sons and explain that slavery is a crime against God and humankind. Lastly, Angelina argues that it was critical that women themselves act on the subject. Angelina called on women to do what was right: to set their slaves free in obedience to God, and convince others to do the same despite the consequences impending.²⁰

Accustomed to the Quaker practice of women having equal rights before God and the Church in the Society of Friends, the Grimkés felt entitled to the right to address any audience, no matter the respondents' gender. Angelina was not the only Grimké sister writing appeals to the Christian south. Sarah also wrote an appeal, but to the church clergy in the South, addressing the moral failure of the Church to address the institution of slavery. Sarah's letter was very controversial at the time, both because many abolitionists who spoke out against slavery were being banished from the southern churches, but also because Sarah was a woman, addressing men in positions of church leadership as "fellow professors." By this, she meant that she and the clergy were fellow professors of the faith, a radical assertion for the time.²¹ Many Christians at the time would have considered this grossly improper. Despite this, Sarah used scripture to urge the clergy to see the sinfulness of slavery, and employed strong language her letter to convict her audience of their wrongdoing. Sarah condemns the clergy, saying "in regard to slavery, Satan has transformed himself into an angel of light, and under the false pretense of consulting the good of the slaves, pleads for retaining them in bondage."22 Sarah believed that slavery was the work of the devil. A church preaching a message of love on Sundays only for members return home, where men, women, and children were kept in bondage and forced to serve them was a church furthering the labor of the devil, not the work of the Lord.²³

Converting to Quakerism helped make the fight for abolition even more important to Sarah and

¹⁷ Yellin, "Angelina Grimké," 33.

¹⁸ Larry Ceplair, ed., "Sarah M. Grimké, An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States," in *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimke* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 60.

¹⁹ Ibid., 55.

²⁰ Ibid., 55–59.

²¹ Ibid., 90.

²² Ibid., 109.

²³ Ibid., 90–115.

Angelina, as it gave religious justification to their cause. "I would not give up my abolition feelings for anything I know," Sarah said in a letter to her friend Jane Smith, "They are intertwined with my Christianity."²⁴

It must be acknowledged that the relationship between the Grimkés and the Society of Friends did not end amiably. The sisters frequently had problems with the Quakers and some of their ideas, and several times thought they were on the verge being asked to leave. The breaking point was when Angelina disregarded the Quaker tenet of Quakers only marrying other Quakers by marrying Theodore Weld, a non-Quaker. When Sarah attended her sister's wedding, both she and Angelina were officially removed from the church. Notwithstanding their expulsion, Angelina and Sarah's experience in the Society of Friends empowered them, allowed them the practice that would make them compelling orators, and provided them religious support for women to be in leadership positions. The sisters' faith allowed them to expand their role as women in the abolitionist movement because of their firm belief that God equipped them as females to compel Christians of any gender to speak out against slavery. Even apart from the Quakers, the Grimké sisters' enduring love of God and study of the Bible allowed them to continue to appeal to Christians about the sinfulness of slavery.

Sarah and Angelina revolutionized the role of women within the abolitionist movement internally, because of their unique background as slave owners and their religious faith and experience as Quakers, but they also significantly impacted the role of women in the antislavery movement by making the connection and forging the path from abolition to women's rights.

CONNECTION BETWEEN ABOLITION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The Grimké sisters not only spoke out to raise awareness of the misery of those literally enslaved.

Sarah and Angelina also saw that they themselves had been stuck in figurative chains since childhood. The fact that women were confined in their designated sphere of the home made the Grimké sisters, and many women, feel imprisoned. Because of their gender, there were always limits to what they could do in society, for a career, in the church, and even within the abolitionist movement for which they so passionately advocated. At this time, women could not vote, run for office, or attend any kind of institute of higher learning. Married women had no property rights, no guardianship rights over their children, and no right to sue. Any job a woman was able to receive often paid her half what a man in her position would earn.²⁵ A Philadelphia newspaper The Public Ledger wrote in 1848, "Who ever heard of a Philadelphia lady setting up for a reformer, or standing out for woman's rights, or assisting to man the election grounds, raise a regiment, command a legion, or address a jury?" The paper continued, "A woman is a nobody. A wife is everything. A pretty girl is equal to 10,000 men and a mother is, next to God, all powerful." Clearly, the potential of women outside of the home was not recognized. The writer concluded that the women of Philadelphia ought to maintain their rights as wives and mothers, but certainly not their rights as women.26

The Grimké sisters knew that this way of thinking was unjust. To prove it, Angelina Grimké made the comparison between women's societal limitations in the United States to the restrictions of slaves. Because of the rights denied them, women were, Angelina Grimké argued, slaves as well. She was an advocate of freedom for slaves, yet also a woman who had not fully attained her own freedom. Angelina believed that although there were many abolitionists who claimed to be supporters of freedom for all; they were not including women in this "all." Women were pushed aside and discriminated against, even within the abolition movement, in favor of men. In Angelina's view, anyone who supported the freedom of slaves but not the women's liberation movement was a hypocrite. She insisted that she, her sister,

²⁵ Yellin, "Angelina Grimké," 2–3.

²⁴ Catherine H. Birney, "Sarah Grimké to Jane Smith," in *The Grimké Sisters* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1969).

²⁶ *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, ca. 1848 [Reprinted in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, editors. *History of Woman Suffrage*. Volume 1. New York: Fowler & Wells, 1881. 804]

and all women should have equal opportunity for leadership and influence within the movement.²⁷

But abolitionist leaders feared the type of reaction Angelina and Sarah's leadership would have on the antislavery movement. Many Americans already viewed the abolition movement as radical, and there was a fear that the feminists might further repel those the movement was trying to attract.²⁸ Before Angelina and Sarah Grimké, women had made attempts to break through the glass ceiling of the nineteenth century, but had for the most part failed. A Scottish-born woman named Frances Wright lectured on equal rights for women throughout cities of the United States but had been labeled by most as a foreign freak. An African-American woman, Maria Stewart attempted to lead a lecture series on education for women in Boston, and failed miserably to garner support. But the Grimkés were different. The abolition events at which they spoke grew larger and larger, until they were eventually leading successful conventions in sizeable venues. Interesting to the masses because of their wealthy, slave-owning, and southern Episcopalian background and their well established reputation from their antislavery advocacy campaign, the Grimkés were eventually asked to speak before men and women all over the United States. Most notably, they were invited to present an anti-slavery petition to the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts. Angelina and Sarah prepared a speech, and on February 21, 1838, people all over Boston gathered to the state house to watch, for the first time in United States history, a woman address a legislative body.²⁹

Although Sarah came down with a violent cold and ended up being unable to speak before the legislature, Angelina Grimké represented both of the sisters, and all women, when she stood before this body of male legislators and female audience members and delivered a bold speech on an antislavery petition, and indirectly, on behalf of feminism. Although she was only asked to speak on the merits of the petition, Angelina made a nod to the women's liberation movement at the start of her oration. Like she had in appealing to the Christian women of the South, Angelina told the biblical story of Queen Esther, who approached the King of Persia and asked for mercy on her people. Before the body of representatives, Angelina proclaimed that today, she was Queen Esther, begging for her dignity and that of all humanity before the ruling authorities. Angelina ended her introduction by declaring that she, as a moral being "feel that I owe it to the suffering slave, and to the deluded master, to my country and the world, to do all I can to overturn a system of complicated crimes...cemented by the blood and sweat and tears of my sisters in bond."30 Angelina, and her sister Sarah, believed that all of humanity deserved equal rights and standing before the law, and Angelina's earnestness captivated her audience in Boston. Many had advised Angelina to avoid the distasteful topic of women's place in a society when trying to get the legislators to consider the antislavery petition, especially when it was controversial enough that she as a female was addressing a group of influential male leaders. But she proceeded anyway. Her audience was enthralled, with many legislators convinced of the advantages of the petition, male audience members in admiration of her boldness, and women in the audience shocked to hear a woman courageously proclaim what many had believed in secret.³¹ Angelina's speech was so well attended that the Boston officials feared the enormous crowds would cause the galleries where Angelina was speaking to collapse.³² In the days following, Angelina's speech was published in The Liberator, an abolitionist paper, as well as in several Boston papers. Some papers praised her speech, her boldness, and her mission, while some ridiculed her and her impassioned advocacy of the notion of the equality of women before the law. Nonetheless, the words of the press could not change the fact that the Grimké sisters, the first abolitionists to defend the right of

³¹ Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina*, 8.

²⁷ Yellin, "Angelina Grimké," 30–32.

²⁸ Perry, *Lift Up Thy Voice*, 147.

²⁹ Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), 4.

³⁰ Larry Ceplair, ed., "Angelina E. Grimké, Speech to a Committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, February 21, 1938," in *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimke* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 312.

³² Ibid., 3–12.

women not to be confined to a sphere of domesticity and the first women to stand and speak before a body of legislatures, were changing the course of history.³³

Biographer Jean Fagan Yellin describes the journey of the Grimké sisters as one that "blazed a trail from abolitionism to feminism along which other women could proceed."³⁴ The Grimkés' persistence in their abolition campaigns, despite objection, helped give women a voice in society. Throughout their campaigns, the Grimkés transitioned from being solely activists in the abolition movement to feminist leaders. They inspired women to do what society had always said that they could not. In this way, the Grimké sisters were role models for women who would come after them to be leaders of the abolition movement and the later women's suffrage movement.

Of course, Sarah and Angelina were not the only feminists in the United States and not necessarily the most well known today. Countless other men and women advocated for the rights of women. For example, the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 was led by another feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton and another Philadelphia Quaker, Lucretia Mott, and is widely revered as a pivotal moment of the first wave of the Women's Emancipation. The convention was the first of its kind to gather women from all walks of life behind the cause of women's rights.³⁵ While the significance of this convention should not be undermined (the Grimké sisters were invited and, although they could not attend, were enthusiastically in support of the mission of the conference), it is important to note that the efforts of the Grimké sisters are so extraordinary because theirs were the first of these successful efforts. It was ten years before the Seneca Falls Convention, in 1838, when Sarah published her first feminist writing, Letters of the Equality of the Sexes. This book was published before the first wave of the Women's Rights Movement had even begun. It was years before the Convention that

Angelina and Sarah began their speaking tours, and months before when they made history as the first women to be heard before a body of the legislature in the United States. In this way, Angelina and Sarah's work for the feminist movement helped pave a path for other feminists to step up as leaders, and their beliefs and writing helped shape the feminist movement that eventually grew out of the convention at Seneca Falls.³⁶

Additionally, it must be acknowledged that the Grimké sisters were not the only abolitionists to make the connection between the antislavery movement and the women's rights movement. But they were the first to explicitly make this connection in their writing and oratory. Angelina and Sarah were the first women to publicly declare that they were in chains like the slaves were.³⁷ Not only that, but they were also two of the first abolitionists in the United States to address the role of women in society using an antislavery platform.³⁸

Angelina and Sarah had a unique story. They went from being slave owners to leaders in the abolition movement, from wealthy and subordinated Southern Episcopalian women to bold and unflinching feminists. The Grimké sisters revolutionized women's role in the abolition movement in the United States because of their unique background as slave owners, their religious training and faith in God that women could be leaders in the church, and the connections they made between the emancipation of slaves and the emancipation of women. The Grimké sisters gave women a means to step up into leadership in the abolition movement, but they also forged a path for the women who would follow through the way they transformed female activism and feminism in the United States.

³³ Durso, The Power of Woman: The Life and Writing of Sarah Moore Grimké, 3.

³⁴ Yellin, "Angelina Grimké," 1.

³⁵ Greene, Dana. "Quaker Feminism: The Case Of Lucretia Mott". *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-atlantic Studies* 48, no. 2 (1981): 143–54.

³⁶ Perry, *Lift Up Thy Voice*, 202–203.

³⁷ Yellin, "Angelina Grimké," 30.

³⁸ Kotef, Hagar. "On Abstractness: First Wave Liberal Feminism and the Construction of the Abstract Woman". *Feminist Studies* 35, no. 3 (2009): 495–522.

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