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A Retrospective Perusal Of An Unlikely Friendship In Nineteenth Century America: Frederick Douglass And William Lloyd Garrison

Melissa Ann Saenz

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A RETROSPECTIVE PERUSAL OF AN UNLIKELY FRIENDSHIP IN NINETEENTH
CENTURY AMERICA: FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

A Thesis

by

MELISSA ANN SÁENZ

Submitted to Texas A&M International University
in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

December 2018

Major Subject: History and Political Thought

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ABSTRACT

A Retrospective perusal of an unlikely friendship in 19th century America: Frederick Douglass
and William Lloyd Garrison (December 2018)

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This thesis reexamines the evolving friendship between the two most prominent U.S. abolitionists of the Nineteenth Century, Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison. The purpose is to provide a more complex picture of their friendship than one-sided antagonistic view often highlighted by scholars. While applying the political principle of egalitarianism and Aristotle's three notions of friendship (pleasure, utility, and goodness) from *Nicomachean Ethics*, one can derive an alternative vista to a profound and fruitful relationship. By doing so, one can acknowledge that within their friendship, they were morally sovereign men led by reason despite the adverse events that played out in the public eye, events that tend to overshadow their virtuous friendship.

By acknowledging an Aristotelian friendship, one can derive the goodwill and generosity between the Douglass-Garrison friendship, their actions, intentions, and character despite their differences and in spite of their commonalities. The argument is not to disprove what was, but to

reveal the discourse of an undiscovered layer of the Douglass-Garrison friendship. It is significant to recognize that although this initial relationship between Douglass-Garrison was pleasant because of one another's knowledge and similarities and their goal of emancipation; the friendship between the two men cocooned into an interdependent relationship of convenience where both were each other's equals.

They were sovereign men who were nonetheless transformed by the friendship that shaped them into the men they eventually became. This relationship is crucial to revisit not only for the integrity of the Douglass-Garrison friendship, but to recognize that although the world discriminated, this impartial friendship, existed between two sovereign men. It was, not, as may appear at first glance, a relationship based on oppression or victimhood.

DEDICATION

For my corner stone, my comfort, my Father, and my shield and protector, Jesus Christ God Almighty. There is no possible way I could have accomplished anything without HIM. I dedicate this to my beloved families, the Madrigal's, the Rodriguez', and the Saenz'. I also dedicate this to my beloved, my husband, my love, and unwavering supporter through my meltdowns and panic attacks, Eddie "Lovey" Saenz. To my mommy-n-law, thank you for your love, understanding, and never-ending support; I will always be indebted to you. I would also like to recognize my father-in-law, Lalo and my step mommy-n-law Juanita, for their encouragement throughout my endeavor. To my older sister and brother, Gladys and Hugo, thanks for always looking up to your little sister. I would also like to dedicate this project to my mother for refusing to let me think that a disability like dyslexia would hold me back from anything, for constantly listening to me over the phone as I read my papers or bounced off ideas, thank you for your unnecessary apology and relentless overbearing love. To the first man I loved, my father, for reassuring me when you spoke to me that I could accomplish my goal by reiterating, "tu si eres chingona mija" meaning a bad a** intelligent woman who defies the odds and gets things done. I also want to dedicate this thesis to all "my kids" (students) that I have educated and to those whom God will place in my path, and to my unborn child I hope to meet one day. Also, to my angel Mema, my stellar grandmother that watches over me, and last but not least to generosity and sacrifice both my vice and virtue.

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My sincerest thanks and appreciation to my friend and colleague, Linda Garcia and Monica Vela who cheered me on, bounced ideas off of and offered advice when I got stuck or unsure of my approach. I would also like to express my most heartfelt thanks to the rest of my families and friends for understanding when I could not attend special family events or travel due to my studies or would take my work with me to the ranch. I would like to acknowledge a couple of my students who inspired me and encouraged me along the way. These particular students have offered prayer and have supported me since day one and continue to do so. They remind me that I am almost done, and asks for my progress, Ruben and Livier, thank you and may you both be even greater than what I have become, God, bless you always.

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November 2018

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When one is born into the world, our first experience of a relationship is usually with our parents and members of our immediate family. As time marches on, we meet other people in life outside of our family's sphere and venture off into the world with wonder. Some relationships turn into friendships that could arise from within our profession, or in different social classes, different ages, different religions, at various times in our lives i.e., when we are children, young adults, or at elder age, or even friendships with people of different ethnicities. Relationships, in general, might be simple, swift, sophisticated, loving, hurtful, hateful, forgiving, but most of all relationships ordinarily teach us lessons. In the crusade for emancipation in the eye of the storm of White tyranny, a multifaceted friendship between a black runaway slave and a white man were no exception to the rule.

The time between 1841 to 1851 were the defining moments of not just the U.S. Abolitionist Movement in America during the 19th century but that of the friendship of abolitionists Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison. Using an amalgamation of Aristotle's ideas on friendship with constitutional principles, this thesis aims to reconstruct the Douglass-Garrison relationship to provide a different point of view about their friendship to the historical literature. As opposed to seeing their friendship as a one-sided unsettling relationship or continuously being defined by the breach that caused the demise of their friendship, this thesis presents their friendship as an evolution. The literature and events of the Douglass-Garrison

This thesis follows the model of *The Journal of American History*.

friendship will be described by re-counting how it underwent a friendship of pleasure, utility, and then one of goodness. This idea will allow one to practice generosity that although they lived at a time when racism and slavery ran rampant, and African Americans fought against the oppressive system within a nation led by democracy, they were sovereign over their own decisions. At least within the friendship of equals, these men were led by reason in becoming a virtuous, true friendship despite differences and confrontational discourse.

The idea that the friendship was an evolution is contrary to how other scholars think or describe the relationship. It is important to emphasize that I did not find specific literature that argues the exact notion in that the relationship, transformed through all three of Aristotle's manifestations of friendship. Nor did I find any literature that implicitly integrates constitutional principles to the friendship in the Douglass-Garrison relationship. What I did notice in recent literature to support my ideas is how each man brought a certain skill set to the friendship and "how their collaboration spun a new stream of thought into American political rhetoric." To which the friendship "ultimately reinvigorated the entire abolitionist movement" and in part it was because of the happenings between the friendship of these men that made them the abolitionists they had become.¹ That the relationship, is more profound and intense when acknowledging certain constitutional ideals and Aristotle's notions of what defines a friendship as virtuous. The introductory chapter analyzes the methodology in using Aristotelian ethics and the convictions that led these men to coalesce a friendship. This notion further provides context to acquire knowledge about the foundational ideas between the commonalties and differences as

¹ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery: Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and Formation of the Abolitionist Discourse, 1841-1851*. First ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press), 2016, 258.

per their beliefs in both political and societal issues that ignited each man to do what they did.

Chapter II entails the literature review, which describes what recent scholarship says about the relationship and how these findings fit into my argument. This chapter covers both narrative and philosophical outlooks on behalf of different scholars. Chapter III, IV, and V dive into the three friendships of pleasure, utility, and virtue respectively while analyzing several of Douglass-Garrison's extensive surviving writings. Each chapter breaks down and describes the friendship of pleasure (Chapter III), the friendship of utility (Chapter IV), and goodness (Chapter V), in conjunction with events and/or literature to support the evolution in the Douglass-Garrison friendship. Thus, when applying political principles of egalitarianism² to the decisions and circumstances surrounding the Douglass-Garrison relationship, one can acknowledge the goodness of each man and their actions for the good they saw in one another, despite the rift in the relationship. Lastly is Chapter VI, which describes the implications and conclusion of this research.

Numerous literary sources have been written and continue to be written about these men, and one might ask, why write about this friendship? How is this relationship still relevant? What can we still learn from this friendship/relationship? Why is it important to acknowledge the friendship as an Aristotelian process as opposed to one or the other as scholarship describes? It is significant to write about this friendship in such a way that it brings both sides, critics of Garrison's goodwill to all men, especially towards Douglass and Douglass's defenders against Garrison's "oppressive" handle, to discern another possibility such as a virtuous friendship. The

² The word egalitarianism refers to either a) describing the equality within the Douglass-Garrison friendship b) the men being equals within their friendship or c) used interchangeable with the concept of sovereignty in that the men held equal independent power to decide what each wanted for themselves.

purpose is not to disprove that either is correct or incorrect but to offer an alternative lens that although certain scholars might perceive the relationship the way it always has been argued, it is quite possible it was more of an evolution or transition from a friendship of pleasure to utility to a relationship based on goodness.

This relationship more than ever is important and relevant to write about considering the ongoing societal and political issues that plague American culture. People of this nation continue to be subjugated and vilified to similar issues that arose during Douglass-Garrison relationship i.e., inhumane treatment, racial reform movements, hate crimes, racial profiling, fighting for equal protection for women rights and in this case race relations amongst white and black people. Writing about this relationship brings honor and glory to the Douglass-Garrison friendship and the personal/political sacrificial endeavors both men endured for the greater good of a nation that was divided. Writing about the relationship in such a way is not denying but supporting both sides of the spectrum. By conceding that the friendship was more of an evolution, that nonetheless incorporated both argumentative viewpoints by of the relationship having been either pleasurable or utilitarian, at the end, it aspired to one of virtue.

There are three kinds of love, Greek philosophers describe, when it comes to the essence of friendship. The first one is *agape*, which pertains to unconditional love, like a parent would love their child. Something like an overbearing love which would do anything and sacrifice self-interest or material wealth for the sake of the beloved person in the relationship. An example of this would be “the love God has for us which inspired him to sacrifice His son and for His son to obey and sacrifice himself.” In other words, this is the kind of love that is characterized as an unconditional type of love. The second kind of love, *eros*, is associated with passions and sexual relationships between a man and a woman, like a husband and a wife. The other is *philia* or

platonic brotherly love, is the kind of goodwill friendship that ignites a desire to want to be friends with someone. This is the most general kind of love that expands to family, friends, and business partners.³

The reason Aristotle's philosophical notion of friendship is utilized in describing the Douglass-Garrison friendship is that it lends itself to the idea that the relationship went through an evolution of the three kinds of friendship. Although his description does not include his idea of friendship as an evolution, as I do, it is more descriptive of what kind of a friendship one could have with another. Aristotle, moreover, is considered the primer philosopher of friendship. He is a point of reference for all western philosophers of friendship when discussing the topic. For certain, there are various interpretations to the *Nicomachean Ethics* and arguments as to what exactly Aristotle means when it comes to his concepts and how they apply to his notions of friendships. I largely stay out of these debates. Instead, I follow the rich secondary literature of Aristotle's conception of friendship and rely on the least controversial aspects in the literature.

Concerning *philia* love, Aristotle describes that there are three kinds of love one could have for a friend. The general idea of each friendship is how one may love a friend "because of the pleasure I get out of her, or because of the ways in which she is useful to me, or because I find her to have a virtuous character."⁴

Thesis sources further substantiate that "according to every view" as per the "condition of friendship," both friends care for one another or love one another. This involves a person showing true compassion for the other person's wellbeing and "promote the other's good for her

³ Bennett Helm, "Friendship," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, August 07, 2017, accessed August 21, 2018, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/friendship/>.

⁴ Ibid.

sake and not out of any ulterior motive.⁵ So, although the Douglass-Garrison relationship might have initially seemed to have been one of pleasure that converted into one of utility, at the end, it showed its true colors of goodness.⁶ In making this argument about the friendship being a virtuous one, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*⁷ is used to describe what the three different defining friendships look like. To help facilitate with some of the interpretation, John M. Cooper's article, *Friendship and the Good in Aristotle* to further elaborate on the three friendships. Cooper places more attention to how Aristotle integrated friendship with happiness and discusses Aristotle's "views on the value of friendship" and elaborates on "what is good about friendships" while using *Nicomachean Ethics*.⁸ This notion will allow me to use his findings and argument about friendship but particularly on how we are not "psychologically sufficient" enough to "sustain our own lives" and how it is through "intimate friendship that we can come to know ourselves and to regard our lives constantly as worth living."⁹ Furthermore, it reinforces the notion of how the Douglass-Garrison friendship made these men. All the while being led by reason and how the personal and sociopolitical discourse in their lives made the relationship sufficient to live and strive to fight for emancipation.

The other journal that will be used to help dissect Aristotle's thoughts on friendship is

⁵ "Massachusetts Historical Society. Founded 1791.," MHS Collections Online: The Liberator (first Issue), accessed July 22, 2018. In other words, Aristotle is referring to how a virtuous friendship is characterized by empathy in which case Garrison felt all along despite the breach with Douglass.

⁶ When the word goodness, virtue, virtuous, and noble is used, it also refers to a true friendship and vis-à-vis. As per Aristotle for a friendship to be considered virtuous it takes time and effort and is not possible for everyone. The person must be good, his mindset and actions must correlate with the goodness of their actions/activities i.e., living together or in this case "the mean" in finding a solution to slavery i.e., emancipation and must love each other and bare goodwill to one another see *Nicomachean Ethics* book VIII.

⁷ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁸ John M. Cooper, "Friendship and the Good in Aristotle." *The Philosophical Review* 86, no. 3 (1977): 290-315. doi:10.2307/2183784.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 313.

Daniel Maher's *Contemplative Friendship in Nicomachean Ethics*. It will add a dynamic comparison of different scholars' interpretation of Aristotle's three friendship and most of all the characteristics of what constitutes a virtuous friendship in part by understanding and sharing each other's thought-provoking ideas.¹⁰ So, although these men partook in opening and pushing forth national discourse among the citizenry to allow the chains of slavery to be broken and initiate action i.e., speaking tours, advocating via political groups or organizations and networking towards abolition of slavery, the friendship is what molded the virtuous outcome. Maher, further adds how Aristotle states that it is "through enduring evils and sometimes only in death or at the point of death"¹¹ one might have a virtuous friendship and therefore at the "end of courage is noble and it is only to the virtuous man that the noble appears pleasant."¹² Aiding in the argument of a virtuous friendship, but more of an expansion on this idea in chapter five.

Now, combining the details, commonalities, and differences that would inevitably drive a wedge between the two men, would be the defining factors that would categorize their friendship a virtuous one. Aristotle says that "like-mindedness of the friends, a moderate form of goodness can be achieved by opposites precisely because their differences can potentially drive them toward "the mean."¹³ Which both Douglass and Garrison's personal life experiences were "dramatically [from] different backgrounds [that] provided the foundation for their mutually beneficial relationship."¹⁴ This is not to say that the men did not have commonalities that also

¹⁰ Daniel P. Maher, "Contemplative Friendship in "Nicomachean Ethics." *The Review of Metaphysics* 65, no. 4 (2012): 771.

¹¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, 1117b6.

¹² Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, 1117b3.

¹³ Peter Dennis Bathory and Nancy L. Schwartz. *Friends and Citizens: Essays in Honor of Wilson Carey McWilliams*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman Et Littlefield), 2001, 55.

¹⁴ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 152.

brought forth the men to sympathize with one another. Aristotle writes that “in a sense the love of the contrary is the love of the good; for the opposites desire one another because of the mean; they desire one another like tallies because thus out of the two arises a single mean”.¹⁵ For example, even though Garrison believed Douglass should focus on being a great orator and not a writer, or might have disapproved of Douglass branching out to make his own paper, or differences in him changing ideologies that created a breach, they still had one ultimate “mean” in mind,- immediate emancipation. In the same vain, one can also see the aspect of self-efficacy and autonomy over their own decisions within the relationship.

Using the Douglass-Garrison friendship and the discourse between one another will substantiate the argument that it went through the three stages of Aristotle’s friendships to then evolutionized itself at the end to a virtuous relationship which helped shape both men. In this research, it was important to keep a clear and unbiased belief of these men and consider the integrity of their friendship and the events surrounding it. Furthermore, it is only natural that one understands where Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison’s political and social convictions laid on issues of their time.

To support the reader in understanding this 19th century whirlwind of a friendship, one must recognize Douglass and Garrison’s moral convictions, where they lie, and how these might have been a defining factor to the friction of the relationship. In other words, what were both of their original beliefs at the start of the relationship, did those beliefs change over time, and did they continue believing those convictions even at the end their virtuous friendship? Taking their

¹⁵ Aristotle writes “Further, the love is accidentally of the opposite, but per se of the mean, for opposites desire not one another but the mean. For if over-chilled they return to the mean by being warmed, and if over warmed by being chilled” (EE 1239b).

sociopolitical convictions into consideration, one gets the impression or at least considers, that both men initially agreed on political ideologies on issues of their time. Both men were “supporters of women’s rights...and defended each other from attacks by critics [and naysayers]” by sheltering the integrity of their friend[ship], substantiates Douglass as an equal among all men and the good they saw in one another.¹⁶

So, for instance, Garrison argued how Douglass and all other blacks are equal to whites and that the lack of “high attainments” by their race was not in part by their biology but more so because of the conditions of slavery.¹⁷ There were social improvements including women’s rights and antislavery reforms spearheaded by Garrison. He also argued that the U.S. Constitution’s “language on property and ownership, either paved the road for slavery or was intent to dismiss black rights to humanity.”¹⁸ Garrison did not participate in the Fourth of July celebrations and believed the institution to be a farce since it did not include slaves and bared no significance. He avidly “opposed the movement to colonize blacks to Africa...[and] helping the free blacks to rise in the culture.”¹⁹ Garrison’s usual ideas spread across his newspaper were themes of social equality among the races, how Black men and woman should not only work together but encourage their talents and last but certainly not least was that white people ought to listen to what they both had to say about the injustices they had to endure.²⁰

He was one that pursued and advocated for abolishing slavery although he was known to

¹⁶ "Garrison and Douglass: Friendship and Estrangement," Pilgrim Pathways: Notes for a Diaspora People, July 29, 2010, , accessed November 30, 2018, <https://pilgrimpathways.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/garrison-and-douglass-friendship-and-estrangement/>.

¹⁷ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 52.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 206.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁰ Virginia Kearney. "William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass: Racism in the Abolitionist Movement?" Owlcation. December 15, 2017. Accessed December 12, 2017. <https://owlcation.com/humanities/William-Lloyd-Garrison-and-Frederick-Douglass>.

be a pacifist that practiced moral suasion.²¹ Garrison proclaimed loud and proud when it came to the wage against the injustices of slavery and the broken system of democracy, “I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation...I will not retreat a single inch-AND I WILL BE HEARD.” This was in reference to Douglass “unequivocal recantation” to his original notion of “gradual abolition” to immediate emancipation adding, how can you “Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher” but then ask him and other abolitionist like him to practice moderation when it came to abolition of slavery.²² He declared:

‘Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now-
For dread to prouder feeling doth give place
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel-but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base:-
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalizing sway-till Afric’s chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,-
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take-SO HELP ME GOD!²³

For proclamations such as these and others he was tarred and feathered by a mob, charged and convicted for libel, “spent seven weeks in jail” detested and ostracized by his own fellow white

²¹ Scholars are quick to point out the nonviolent approach Garrison advocated other take his 1831 editorial into consideration when it came to the Nat Turner Rebellion, it would leave no other option but to fight back.

²² "Massachusetts Historical Society. Founded 1791.," MHS Collections Online: *The Liberator* (first Issue), accessed July 22, 2018.

²³ *Ibid.*, *The Liberator*.

man and at one-point, southern states made it illegal for *The Liberator* to be circulated. He was one to push forth aggressively “anti-slavery views.”²⁴

Douglass, just like Garrison, initially believed the same moral convictions. He also at first believed in nonviolent measures since he argued it would cause more harm against the movement than good.²⁵ Eventually his and Garrison’s stance would change and “pragmatists who were capable of adjusting their principles to the demand of the moment.”²⁶ He too was conflicted as what position he should take on certain issues. Resisting, rebelling, and beating slave breaker Edward Covey and the institution of slavery does open up the idea that Douglass might have been more open minded about using violence when all else fails. One might even think that in comparing him to revolutionaries by Garrison himself, could assume that he too, might have agreed when all else had failed, violence would be the last resort. So, when it came to this issue the line becomes a bit blurred. Nonetheless, Douglass, believed that the Constitution alone would be able to do away with and outflank the “individual or governmental greed, selfishness, or betrayal” happening within the country. Thus, trusting that the Constitution was not proslavery and “the founding principles still held true for the nation.”²⁷

²⁴ Garrison, William Lloyd, "The African-American Mosaic Conflict of Abolition and Slavery," Conflict of Abolition and Slavery - The African-American Mosaic Exhibition | Exhibitions (Library of Congress), July 23, 2010, accessed May 10, 2018.

²⁵ *Dismantling*, 50, At the National Convention of Black Men August 1843.

²⁶ Robert S. Levine, *The Lives of Frederick Douglass*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 2016, 116.

²⁷ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 95.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

While researching the friendship between Nineteenth Century U.S. abolitionists Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, to the naked eye, one can clearly see that the relationship is between a White and Black man to which one must acknowledge, considering the time frame, that the white man had a better advantage as opposed to a runaway black slave seeking his freedom. To better facilitate the meandering, complex, and ever evolving Douglass-Garrison friendship one must first understand what previous and current scholarship says about this relationship. Often times there are three truths to a story: their side, the other person's side, and the truth. Both men wrote and spoke their truth via their newspapers, books, and/or their speeches they gave on political tours and conferences. The purpose of this literature review is to describe and summarize the different scholarly perceptions that were used to support the argument about Aristotle's three friendships to the Douglass-Garrison relationship, and moreover what recent historical research says about it. The sources used in this research was conducted particularly by using journals, books, academic online databases such as *The Liberator Files* and the *Frederick Douglass Papers* at the Library of Congress. The primary emphasis is to examine what current historians have to say about the relationship between Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison.

Historians, thus, use all of these primary sources and additional secondary sources written by other scholars to reexamine the Douglass-Garrison relationship to bring forth new ways at looking at their literature, concepts, arguments and/or in this case, their friendship. This retrospective revisionist literature is possible by researching and *studying* historical literary works which is called historiography. Studying historical writings allow a historian to

reconstruct, revisit, and/or at times develop new arguments to write about in historical scholarship.

There are Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Century historical texts, journals, and authors that use these varied sources to make different claims about the Douglass-Garrison relationship, but not the way it is perceived to be in this thesis. What historical literature was found, were representations and perceptions of this friendship in that it was either describing Garrison as the mentor, oppressor, and paternal person in the relationship or how Douglass was objectified, used, then liberated not just from slavery, but Garrison/Garrisonian abolitionist grasp. By incorporating events and literature in part by Douglass-Garrison and what other scholars have written about these men in conjunction to their friendship, political interactions, literary works, and personal happenings at the time of their relationship, will help facilitate the argument that the friendship revolutionized itself to a virtuous friendship despite the breach between the two men.

It is vital to acknowledge that their relationship in most scholarship often times depicts it as having been more oppressive and despotic on behalf of Garrison/Garrisonian abolitionist who took advantage of Douglass for the greater cause of the movement while pushing forth their radical political agenda. Other historians describe Garrison as the wise sage to which if it were not for *his* encouragement, Douglass, would have not amounted to much without his aid and his personal/political connections.²⁸ Then there are other scholars that accuse Garrison as a racist to which he “did not allow African Americans to lead in [their own] movement.”²⁹ While other

²⁸ Robert S. Levine, *The Lives of Frederick Douglass*, 49, 60.

²⁹ Kearney, Virginia. "William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass: Racism in the Abolitionist Movement?"

scholarship portrays Douglass as Garrison's unappreciative hero-worship apprentice that got too big for his britches and parted ways from Douglass and his initial ideas.³⁰ Then there is recent scholarship from 2017 about this relationship from Virginia Kearney where she argues that by using Douglass' "quote from *Bondage* as proof of Garrison's poor treatment of his friend, is *not* an accurate representation of how Douglass presents Garrison and his newspaper in that work."³¹

She continues that in fact Douglass kept "the two paragraphs from *Narrative* and adding three more long paragraphs which describes his appreciation of the editor [Garrison,] , and his paper in glowing terms."³² To emphasize the depth of this friendship and her perception of it, she adds, that Douglass describes loving Garrison's paper and him as he loved his bible. This leads the reader to the idea that, the Christian Bible, the truth the light and the way, just as he believed initially in Garrison's ways, made Douglass believe that "Prejudice against color was rebellion against God. Of all men beneath the sky, the slaves, because most neglected and despised, were nearest and dearest to his great heart."³³ In addition to this description, Kearney, reiterates this idea that although Douglass rewrites portions of *Life and Times*, by the third autobiography, the "overall tribute to Garrison's work as an abolitionist is undiminished."³⁴ Taking scholars historiographical literature into account about these two men and the interaction that took place at the beginning, during, and after their friendship, one must contemplate, has every perception been considered when observing this friendship? The answer to that question, is no.

³⁰ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 258. She writes that historians like Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Robert B. Step describe based on their research on the men that "Douglass resented the limited role they envisioned for him." Douglass describes Garrison as a paternalistic and racist in *My Bondage and My Freedom*

³¹ Virginia Kearney. "William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass: Racism in the Abolitionist Movement?"

³² Ibid.

³³ Frederick Douglass. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company), 1962, 216. Reprinted from the revised edition of 1892.

³⁴ "William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass: Racism in the Abolitionist Movement?"

Dismantling Slavery by Nilgün Anadolu-Okur painstakingly analyzes the discourse, progress, and of course the conflict in the lives of the Garrison-Douglass relationship during the Abolitionist Movement. The main premise of her book is to “illuminate the propositional discourse conceptualized through a mutually rewarding, decade-long expression of solidarity between the two masterminds of the Northern antislavery movement.”³⁵ This contemporary book is a historiography of both Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison through the lens of both their foundry of literary works that would forge their relationship/friendship as abolitionist only to succumb to a smoldering estrangement between the two scholars. The reason this book is important, is that it is the closest literature to what this thesis argument is trying to convey. To which the author uses Douglass-Garrison literary works to explore the depth of the relationship between the two men to reexamine the true sentiment both these men had for one another. This book argues how the relationship and literature written by these men help shape antislavery politics and plunges into the significance of their psychological bond in discussing their mutual beneficial friendship. Furthermore, this would support evidence for two of the three friendships i.e., pleasure and utility to validate at looking at the friendship as this thesis argument suggests as an evolution.³⁶

Additionally, this author’s literary evidence aids to shape the Douglass-Garrison friendship in that if it weren’t for the goodness they had for each other, discourse, and interaction of their relationship, although at times it might have not seemed like it, these men would have not been one without the other. Using each other’s literary text, she is able to build that their relationship was one of equals that encompassed respect, took pleasure in the each other’s

³⁵ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

knowledge for a common goal and admiration of one another's endeavors. This relationship would transition into a decade long coalition of utility up until 1851³⁷ to which later in the "winter of 1853" Douglass, visited Garrison at *The Liberator* and then, "meet once more in May of 1854."³⁸ In light of an effort on behalf of Douglass to make a mends not only with the American Anti-Slavery Party, but with his friend Garrison, this would come to no avail. Douglass, in the end, would give a tribute death speech for Garrison in 1879.³⁹

The other book used in this proposal is *The Lives of Frederick Douglass* by Robert Levine. The author goes to great lengths and accomplishes combing through the major differences and commonalities of Frederick Douglass' autobiographies from 1845, 1855, and his other editions later published in 1881 and 1892, which include themes such as egalitarianism, self-promotion, self-reliance, race, and violence. Not only that but how a rebellious fictitious character in his novella *The Heroic Slave*, Madison Washington, nonetheless, "had an autobiographical component, and major impact on his depiction of himself as a black revolutionary in *My Bondage and My Freedom*."⁴⁰ These findings from this book will facilitate that one, Garrison/Garrisonians did not hold sovereignty over Douglass, two, Douglass was in fact more sovereign over his decisions as opposed to other scholars claim and three, it describes his decisions for playing his cards right with Garrison and within the abolition groups to serve his will in accordance to a friendship of utility he had with Garrison.

Levine is able to revisit and argue Douglass' reasons for so many changes to his

³⁷ Robert S. Levine, *The Lives of Frederick Douglass*, 76.

³⁸ Ibid. 263.

³⁹ Frederick Douglass. "Speech on the Death of William Lloyd Garrison" The Library of Congress, June 2, 1879, accessed May 14, 2017, Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mfd.23012/>.

⁴⁰ Douglass, Frederick. *My bondage and My freedom*. Part I-Life as a Slave Part II-Life as a Freeman. Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855, 25-26.

autobiographies. As time passed, Douglass, saw his initial autobiography molded via a white envelope while promoted by Garrisonian abolitionists and not so much as he had envisioned his story. The author is able to give new perspective not just to Douglass' endeavors as an orator, reformer, or writer but also as a friend and the interaction he partook within the relationship with William Lloyd Garrison. It is refreshing to see how Levine was able to "help [one] to construct a more vital Douglass for our own... [and not] simply a figment of our collective cultural imaginations."⁴¹

Other books such as *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, the *Narrative, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass and My Bondage and My Freedom* will be used within this proposal as well to cross reference what more recent literature and its scholars have written. Other sources such as letters that were published via *The North Star* or *The Liberator* will also be incorporated as evidence to further support the concept of their friendship having been transformed through all of the Aristotelian friendships.

⁴¹ Robert S. Levine, *The Lives of Frederick Douglass*, 29.

CHAPTER III

A PLEASURABLE GENESIS

This chapter first identifies the characteristics of Aristotle's conception of pleasurable friendship. These characteristics facilitate a foundational background that will help the reader, better connect the notion of a pleasurable friendship to the initial relationship between Douglass and Garrison. Thus, acquiring a deeper comprehension of how the first of the three friendships Aristotle describes in *Nicomachean Ethics*. We will begin with the multifaceted historiography of the men and an unlikely friendship of a black runaway slave and a free white man during the 19th Century in the heart of the struggle for emancipation of slaves in the United States. Other themes that are intertwined within each chapter besides the idea of an Aristotelian evolution of the friendship that made these men who they had become, is the concept of these men being led by reason, the topic of race, egalitarianism, and self-sufficiency used in part by both men within the relationship.

Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison might have been a very unlikely friendship in the 19th Century, but the truth of the matter was that they both had one essential unequivocal agenda that brought them together-the abolition of slavery. Douglass lived as a slave and Garrison spoke against the horrid institution of slavery and the implications it had on the nation, its people, slaves, and the United States Constitution.⁴² One might think what an unlikely coupling of a relationship this might have been, but nonetheless it was one of the most significant friendships in the midst of a nation that was divided based on the topic of slavery and abolition.

⁴² Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 76.

Although, White Garrison, by proxy was seen as an authoritative figure, he like Douglass advocated for the liberty of slaves. Garrison having been a pacifist and losing support for his political inaction towards abolition of slavery, caused his American Antislavery Society to branch off into a rival organization known as the American Foreign and Antislavery Society in 1840.⁴³ Even though, it seemed as if Garrison was losing headway in the movement by practicing moral suasion, fate, would have him meet and “use” Douglass that would make a difference in his Society and their future. To elaborate on what moral suasion is, it is being able to convince by using rhetoric to persuade or cause a change based on appealing to one’s morals. On a side note, a pleasurable friendship between a great orator and a great writer would begin in 1841. One of the major reasons for the rift between the men in the American Antislavery Society is that for the most part, abolitionist, were pro-Union, and Garrison thought the Constitution advocated the institution of slavery. This too, amongst other issues, will also become a disappointing misadventure between the Douglass-Garrison friendship. Although there are many differences between these men such as race, equality of conditions, or lack thereof, and socioeconomic stratifications on behalf of social constructs, they would nonetheless have some commonalities.

These commonalities and differences will ultimately be defining factors within different stages of the Douglass-Garrison friendship evolution. Although Douglass and Garrison lived very different lives, life had a strange way of dealing slightly similar cards to both men. Neither Douglass nor Garrison might have lived the others life, but when they meet a discovered one another’s struggles, they both saw something that resembled the other. Let me clarify that I do

⁴³ Nina Mjagkij (ed.). *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 2001. pp. 31-32.

not mean to demean by any means the struggle and pain endured by Frederick Douglass in his plight for emancipation or make the institution of slavery seem humane in any way, shape, or form by comparing Black runaway slave Douglass' life to white Garrison as a free man.

To better understand these similarities which deepened the relationship between Douglass-Garrison one must look at the beginning of each man's life story. Before I begin with the similarities, I must state the obvious, that race, was a fundamental factor which made this interracial relationship fundamentally different and that in itself made both these men different in the eyes of world of social constructs, but not among themselves. Thus, it is understandable how one can acknowledge that Garrison, a White free man, would have more of an advantage as opposed to a black slave in Nineteenth Century America.

Frederick Douglass was born Frederick Baily, presumed to be born around 1817 to which he was eventually separated from his mother, grew up fatherless into slavery and in the care of his enslaved grandparents, Betsey and Isaac Bailey, only to be separated from his grandparents, would soon have to fend for himself early on in his life.⁴⁴ He often times questioned the justification for slavery and how could "Divine Law" allow there to be masters and slaves when in fact "all black people were not slaves, and all white people were not all masters."⁴⁵ Douglass struggled relentlessly, carefully, and cautiously to learn his alphabet by tracing letters and then learning to read from listening to his new mistress, Mrs. Auld, when she read the bible, when he went to live at Baltimore, or snatching a book or paper to read in the house or learning via his

⁴⁴ Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass, an American slave, written by himself*. The John Harvard Library. Edited by Robert B. Stepto. Reprint, revised ed. (Harvard University Press, 2009), 27-28.

⁴⁵ Frederick Douglass. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. (New York: Macmillian Publishing Company), 1962, 50. Reprinted from the revised edition of 1892.

“young white playmates”.⁴⁶ There, is where young Douglass would take to the streets and converse on a “curbstone or a cellar door” and vocalize to his white playmates “I wish I could be free, as you will be when you get to be men.”

Garrison, on the other hand, was born in 1803 which later he and his siblings would be given to another family, due to the lack of economic support on behalf of his mother, since his father, Abijah Garrison, deserted the family.⁴⁷ Garrison would be sent to live with Deacon Ezekiel Bartlett’s family where the principles of “moral and spiritual sensitiveness,” “liberty, and patriotism which pervaded the political and social atmosphere of the time,” and “Divine Law.”⁴⁸ Furthermore, his Baptist mother instilled in him would be further sharpened by his stay with the Quaker family.⁴⁹ Garrison, struggled to learn the English language and was not “an apt scholar, being slow in mastering the alphabet, and surpassed even by his little sister.”⁵⁰ At the tender age of thirteen he would become a hired apprentice for the *Newburyport Herald*, to become the foreman and a printer expert.

From the beginning of both their lives’ journey one can see how some of their similar experiences might have led one another to empathize with one another and ignite a friendship between the two. Douglass, *knowledgeable* in not only what he saw, but what he experienced within the institution of slavery and the psychological and physical atrocities, made Douglass a key tool for Garrison’s Abolitionist Movement and his initial fascination of pleasure. To follow

⁴⁶ Ibid., 82.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 83.

⁴⁸ Johnson, Oliver. "William Lloyd Garrison and His Times; Or, Sketches of the Anti-slavery Movement in America, and of the Man Who Was Its Founder and Moral Leader: 1809-1889." Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1880. Accessed August 16, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/williamlloydgarr00john/page/314>.

⁴⁹ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 23.

⁵⁰ Wendell Philips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told by His Children* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894) IV, 357.

where these descriptive initial examples are leading to, one needs to first understand Aristotle's conceptualization of the three types of friendships in his *Nicomachean Ethics* in Book VIII where he states that "Friendship[s] [are] both necessary and noble".

Here, Aristotle explains the three kinds of friendship one could have with another, such as a friendship of utility, pleasure, or one based on goodness. A friendship based on pleasure is one that is enticed by things such as intelligence, charm, or qualities. This type of relationship, Aristotle states is something one encounters in their youth since one tends to indulge in their feelings and is predisposed by passions or pleasures. By Aristotle's standards this friendship tends to relate between lovers or likeminded people who partake within such friendship for enjoyment not because of their friend sake but for their own sake. Such as the intellectual pleasure that brought both men to desire each other's company because of what each man felt from the other that filled them with pleasure. By the same token Douglass was also captivated by Garrison's intellect at the inception of the friendship.⁵¹

Frederick Douglass was born a slave, a runaway, and "reaching New Bedford" is where he first came to know about the "mind of William Lloyd Garrison" in which his *paper* "took its place...next to [his] bible" and was literature after his "own heart".⁵² It is not inaccurate to say that although Douglass himself describes the emotion he felt towards Garrison's *words* were "[*something*] of a hero worshiper, by nature, here was one, on first sight, to excite [his] love and reverence"⁵³ which is up for interpretation. *Something* can be characterized *as to some degree* or

⁵¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, 1156a-15, 1156a-32 to 36.

⁵² Frederick Douglass. *My bondage and My freedom*. Part I-Life as a Slave Part II-Life as a Freeman. Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855. 354.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 354.

a bit in which the *words/ideas* of the man (Garrison) should be loved and respected.⁵⁴ The reason why I think it is important to interpret this phrase is because it is one that any scholar would be quick to point out that in fact it was a relationship of hero worship since he did mention it word for word. It would be hasty to jump to this conclusion and not leave space and be generous to Douglass' words for what the true face value and meaning of this phrase really describes...the *words* that brought meaning to what Garrison so intelligently wrote and those being read by Douglass. Nonetheless this shows Douglass' pleasure towards Garrison's knowledge, skill of discourse, and the same passion of immediate emancipation for slaves.

Just because Douglass writes this does not mean that the relationship he would eventually have with Garrison would be one based on submission, servitude, and obligation on behalf of Douglass towards Garrison. On the contrary, the relationship would become a friendship based on the principle of egalitarianism and one of utility. In addition, Douglass would become the "master of its contents" never thinking he could become "a public advocate,"⁵⁵ but with a brush of fate in the "summer of 1841 at [an] antislavery convention held in Nantucket,"⁵⁶ both men would meet one another. Douglass, enamored by Garrison's newspaper, had an opportunity to hear him give a speech. Both men met one another at the American Anti-Slavery Society; Garrison was presenting a speech and Douglass was there to listen, but by some strange chance, would give his own personal account of life as a slave and his journey to escape. Enthralled by his story, Garrison magnetized to Douglass that:

⁵⁴Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling*, 49. Douglass would acknowledge Garrison as "Dear Friend," and sign off his letters as "respectfully" or "faithfully."

⁵⁵ Frederick Douglass. *My bondage and My freedom*, 356.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, xxi.

William Lloyd Garrison, who was happily present, writes thus of Mr. Douglass' maiden effort; "I shall never forget his first speech at the convention—the extraordinary emotion it excited in my own mind—the powerful impression it created upon a crowded auditory, completely taken by surprise. * * * I think I never hated slavery so intensely as at that moment; certainly, my perception of the enormous outrage which is inflicted by it on the godlike nature of its victims, was rendered far more clear than ever. There stood one in physical proportions and stature commanding and exact—in intellect richly endowed—in natural eloquence a prodigy.⁵⁷

Captivated by his story, Garrison was magnetized with Douglass, and there we find yet again another example of not just an Aristotelian friendship, but one led by reason.⁵⁸ Garrison quickly encouraged Douglass to do more, and *that*, is what they both provided for one another. Both men went on public speaking tours together and supported one another. Here enters “The Moral Crusader,”⁵⁹ William Lloyd Garrison, a white man that fought with his words and published his ideas via his newspaper *The Liberator*. He too, was very familiar with unjust treatment because of his moral position against slavery. Garrison, was “ostracized, denounced as a vagarist, a lunatic a blasphemmer, a creature whom to insult and assault was in the interest of good society, the peace and welfare of the country.”⁶⁰ These examples of a pleasurable friendship between Douglass and Garrison are an insight to how it might have seemed to convert into one of convenience. Both bringing their own knowledge, dexterity, and fortitude to accomplishing the common goal with reason in mind.

⁵⁷ Ibid, xxi.

⁵⁸ So, although both Douglass and Garrison were at one point at odds with one another, they saw the bigger picture and used reason to lead them towards their common goal. Keeping this in mind Spinoza adds “rational people repay hate with love,” (4p465) in which both men repaid each other with love.

⁵⁹ Goldwin Smith. *The moral crusader: William Lloyd Garrison; a biographical essay founded on "The story of Garrisons life told by his children,"*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1892.

⁶⁰ Frederick Douglass. *My bondage and My freedom*, 1.

CHAPTER IV

BENEFICIAL EGALITARIAN MEN

Both Douglass and Garrison brought key skills and advantages that would nonetheless suit both of their future endeavors. The notion of looking at this relationship through a divergent retrospective perusal will allow for one to acknowledge that although discrimination occurred because of skin color, against Black Douglass, within the relationship it was one of sovereign egalitarian men distinctive from the discrimination of the happenings in their country. Let me be very clear that although scholarship and Douglass himself is quick to point out and use the famous quote to show he was being discriminated by not allowing him to critique or analyze slavery, Douglass does not mention that Garrison said this himself, but a Garrisonian George Foster, which Douglass describes as “Friend.”⁶¹ Therefore, these men were not only becoming self-sufficient and self-made men but that the *friendship and its experiences* with one another, events, public and private discourse in literature ultimately made *them* the abolitionist we now have come to know.

The next portion of this thesis describes some of their literary works and events in the Douglass-Garrison friendship while integrating the concept of egalitarianism to provide that within their friendship they were sovereign men despite Douglass not having that opportunity out among the citizenry. What I mean by comparing their relationship to the principle of egalitarianism of a democracy, I am referring to how the people hold the ultimate power or sovereignty within their government just like these men did within their own personal lives within the friendship. Just as people in a relationship hold power or are sovereign to their

⁶¹ Frederick Douglass. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company), 1962, 216. Reprinted from the revised edition of 1892, 217.

decisions within their friendship. In other words, no one forces anyone to do something they do not want to do within a friendship. People, just like our government, should have integrity, laws (boundaries), and a system in place so that we are protected from one another (separation of powers) and protected from a tyrannical government. This is to see that although Douglass was a runaway slave, and eventually bought his freedom, he and Garrison had their own sovereign decision-making power, deciding on their own decisions as people do within a democracy and in this case within their friendship. I intend to compare their relationship with constitutional characteristics to show that Douglass, although a runaway slave buys his freedom, was his own man and not a “slave” or puppet to Garrison’s endeavors towards abolition of slavery but that the relationship morphed into one of utility on both of their behalf’s, not just Garrison.

A friendship based on utility is when both persons in the relationship would be benefiting from one another, considered between the old, and would inevitably end up estranged since it is based on what one brings to the relationship and is grounded on the idea that opposites attract and nothing to do with commonality amongst the friends involved in the relationship. Aristotle writes, “Therefore those who love because of utility love because of what is good for themselves, and those who love because of pleasures do so because of what is pleasant to themselves, and not because of who the loved person is but in so far as he is useful or pleasant.”⁶² He mentions that the friendship will dissolve if the people change from being who they originally portrayed themselves to be at the beginning of the relationship. Consequently, this would drive for one to stop loving the other since they cease to be useful or pleasant. Furthermore, a utilitarian friendship is one of self-interest or *utility* which both manipulate each other with the intention to

⁶² Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, II56a.3-10.

garnish materialistic or superficial recognition, favors or social status by partaking in this type of friendship.

Understanding the characteristics of what a friendship of utility looks like will ease the transition into the events and literature that might lead one into thinking it was a relationship of convenience. Scholarship is quick to condemn Garrison and Garrisonians actions and literature written by Douglass, to emphasize how he was used or bound in servitude to their vision of expediting emancipation. But, vaguely skims the surface of the other side of the coin. Douglass wrote that the slave masters “imagine that their poor slaves are so ignorant that they don’t know the meaning of the language they are using.”⁶³ To which author Gary S. Shelby writes, “In reality, he [Douglass] said, slaves engaged in carefully scripted behavior calculated to perpetuate this image in order to help ensure their own survival,” to which Douglass elaborates that “the slaves always pretend to be stupid, they commit all sorts of foolery and act like baboons and wild beasts in [the] presence of their masters.”⁶⁴

Shelby, then argues that “Douglass’s anecdotes and references to personal experiences, then, is a rhetorical construction of slave identity in sharp contrast to the kind of identity he believed the Garrisonians envisioned for him in their movement, as a passive victim.” Interjecting and highlighting that this information leads one, to both how Douglass refused to play the victim i.e., self-efficacy. Two, opens the debate of utility on Douglass’ behalf by using the Garrisonians in his favor for his vision of abolition, for his fellow black people and their story, not in a white envelope. Shelby continues to state that by slaves consciously choosing to

⁶³ Frederick Douglass, *Frederick Douglass papers: Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews: Vol. 1, 1841-46*. John W. Blassingame Ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press). 6.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

seem “ignorant and docile” proved that they “strategically [made] choices in response to the constraints of their situation” i.e., Douglass’ “constraints” to Garrisonians ideology of the abolitionist movement.⁶⁵

In other words, just like slaves playing dumb, Douglass had to play the part to ensure his, all black, and enslaved people’s voice and their version of independent discourse for emancipation in the world apart from Garrisonians. To further add to this utilitarian friendship, Tyrone Tillery, describes Douglass as having been “psychologically ready to become his own master” by 1838.⁶⁶ Douglass, unfortunately “had neither the ways nor the means to accomplish it.”⁶⁷ This example gives way to yet another example of a relationship of usefulness. Tillery continues to claim that of “all the avenues which afforded Douglass the opportunity to exploit his doormat powers of oratorical and intellectual expression, his introduction to the abolitionist movement vis-à-vis Garrison wing was the most fruitful.”⁶⁸ Having said this the friendship of utility was also high-yielding on Garrison’s end.

Anadolu-Okur describes how Garrison automatically saw the “opportunity of vocal assent in Douglass” and how adapting Douglass’ personal rhetoric of the institution of slavery and the “dehumanizing effects on human[s] and society” would further “advance the antislavery discourse.”⁶⁹ She goes on to write, like previous scholarship, that “Garrison was able to validate not only the disparity between freedom and unfreedom, man and property, power and powerless,

⁶⁵ Ibid., 61.

⁶⁶ Tillery, Tyrone. "The Inevitability of the Douglass-Garrison Conflict." *Phylon* (1960-) 37, no. 2 (1976): 137-49. doi:10.2307/274765.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Nilgün Anadolu-Okur, *Dismantling Slavery*, 9.

but expose the ill-effects of exploitation of the African by the European.⁷⁰ Anadolu-Okur claims that Garrison “knew that he would be able to carve out for himself a significant victory through his mentoring of Douglass because his presence next to him on the rostrum legitimized and strengthened [his] arguments. Garrison was not the only mentor in the friendship. Douglass was seen by Garrison’s standards in his preface, that abolitionists were “his students as well alluding to the idea that they were each other’s equals.”⁷¹ This notion lends itself to the idea that when the egalitarian principle is applied to their friendship, they ultimately ruled over their own lives and not bound to one another and not taken advantage by the other.

Let us begin with this idea in mind and characteristics of what democracy looks like in order to compare Garrison and Douglass’ friendship to this concept. Please keep in mind that I am merely attempting to describe some characteristics of democracy based on scholarly ideas of what democracy entails to build the argument that the men, especially Douglass, was sovereign when it came to the decisions that were made within the friendship. It is said that “democracy [is] fundamentally [an] institutio[n] that give[s] [its citizens]” the right “to change the status quo [with] “the power to do so.”⁷²

So, if we critically look at this definition of democracy and compare it to their friendship, Douglass had the right and the power to change the social construct of the current status of his status quo. In doing so, that meant he relinquished his relationship of utility and became his own man apart from Garrison. Douglass eventually came to terms with how he could no longer tell

⁷⁰ Ibid., 53.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷²Gerardo L. Munck. "What is Democracy? A Reconceptualization of the Quality of Democracy." By Gerardo L. Munck :: SSRN. February 13, 2016. Accessed October 05, 2017. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2731459.

the same “old story” of his experience with slavery on public speaking tours with Garrison. So, Douglass decided that he could no longer oblige to the white envelope-black message since he was “now reading and thinking”⁷³ for himself. This in turn, parallels the idea of individual rights and limited government of a democracy.

Just like the principle of egalitarianism within an institution of democracy (the people in the relationship) must respect the peoples’ inalienable rights in which those rights cannot be denied or jeopardized. Case in point, they could not stop or not allow (separation of powers) Douglass to forgo his decision and critique/analyze slavery in which he felt he had to denounce the “narrat[ive] wrongs”⁷⁴ he spoke about in his speeches. He wanted to be more than just a runaway slave speaking about his personal experiences he endured as a slave. To further add to this idea, Douglass challenged Garrison’s political ideology on whether or not the constitution was promoting and protecting slavery. As opposed to what Douglass later changed his mind to in believing that “the framers had intended the Constitutional compromises with slavery to be short lived, that slavery was un-constitutional, and that Congress had the power to end slavery.”⁷⁵

Again, Douglass challenged Garrison’s idea and in public no less, which is important to point out that people are protected by unalienable rights and are able to petition and challenge ideas within our country i.e. their decisions within the friendship. Although Douglass was at first fighting for the right to exercise his constitutional God given rights in challenge the governmental system, once a free man, he did, just like he did within his friendship with

⁷³ Frederick Douglass. *My bondage and My freedom. Part I-Life as a Slave Part II-Life as a Freeman.* Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855. 361.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 362.

⁷⁵ "Garrison and Douglass: Friendship and Estrangement," *Pilgrim Pathways: Notes for a Diaspora People*, July 29, 2010, , accessed November 30, 2018, <https://pilgrimpathways.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/garrison-and-douglass-friendship-and-estrangement/>.

Garrison. While Douglass was told on occasion by Garrisonians and the Anti-Slavery Society that it was not prudent, or he should not venture out in making his own paper, just like in a democracy; Douglass went about and did it as his right to do so. This helped to secure rightfully so in establishing the right to fair economic gains just like Garrison did for himself in establishing *The Liberator*, which I would further like to add that Douglass became Garrison's "economic revival especially for black subscribers".⁷⁶ Douglass writes about this in *My Bondage and My Freedom* where he states, "the Garrison party, to which he still adhered [to at that time], did not want a colored newspaper-there was an order of cast about it."⁷⁷

A good democracy is when it "realizes the liberty and equality of citizens [which satisfies] the citizenry and "enjoy[s] at least a moderate level of liberty and equality".⁷⁸ Both men had the opportunity to do so within their friendship. It is not my intention to prove one had more liberty or equality than the other but to argue that both men none the less, had these opportunities among themselves. Take for instance that although both were treated differently for the sake of color or their ideology, both did not always have the opportunity to speak at political events, and both were ridiculed for sharing their ideas of abolition, the Constitution, and both at times were mocked for supporting one another. So, both in essence knew what it was to be ostracized from society and were willing to be able participates for liberty and equality for all men.

⁷⁶ "Garrison and Douglass: Friendship and Estrangement," Pilgrim Pathways: Notes for a Diaspora People, July 29, 2010, , accessed November 30, 2018, <https://pilgrimpathways.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/garrison-and-douglass-friendship-and-estrangement/>.

⁷⁷ Frederick Douglass. *My bondage and My freedom*. Part I-Life as a Slave Part II-Life as a Freeman. Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855. xxii.

⁷⁸ Leonardo Morlino. "What is a 'good' democracy?" *Democratization* 11, no. 5 (January 24, 2007): 10-32. doi:10.1080/13510340412331304589. Consolidated & Defective Democracy? Problems of Regime Change. What is a 'good' democracy"?

Garrison was a free man and was able to practice his liberty and equality, he was able to borrow money and start his newspaper, *The Liberator*, without any mind or approval from anyone. Just like Garrison, Douglass, was able to pursue to his own newspaper, *The North Star*, despite Douglass not having or asking for Garrison's blessing could allude that to some degree Douglass relished a moderate level of socioeconomic liberty and equality when compared to slaves and even poorer white men of his time. Douglass, nevertheless, had the freedom to pursue the same as his white counterpart. Within a "good democracy" citizens are the ones "who have the power to check and evaluate whether the government pursues the objectives of liberty and equality according to the rule of law."⁷⁹ In other words, whether or not Garrison agreed to Douglass's new endeavor in creating his own newspaper publication, it was not up to Garrison but the rule of law to allow Douglass to do so.⁸⁰ It was up to Douglass alone to decide for himself, since each man was their own separate power like the branches of a government i.e., separation of powers. This is where no one branch of government holds more power over the other, in the case of the Douglass-Garrison friendship, no man held power over the other. Just like within a democracy, it is not up to the government, but the people to choose what we want for ourselves, which is just like Douglass who had the right to choose what he wanted for himself.

Another example of this is when Garrison asked on Douglass' behalf to help him out of the U.S. and into Great Britain to escape the risk at being captured and face return to his former

⁷⁹ Ibid.,12.

⁸⁰ Dictionary.com "the principle that all people and institutions are subject to an accountable to law that is fairly applied and enforced; the principle of government by law."

slave-owner.⁸¹ Despite Garrison's deep conviction "against schemes of ending slavery by paying off slaveholders...[and] defended the morality of escaped slaves and against man-stealing," Garrison compromised and "helped raise money and purchased [Douglass's] freedom" despite his position for the good of his friends sake and the common goal or "the mean" as Aristotle called it to the movement.⁸² Compromise, is about giving and taking, and again, both men were sovereign in the decisions that played out in these events and within their relationship. One chose to free himself and pay for his freedom and the other, Garrison chose to fundraise for Douglass' freedom despite his own moral convictions. To add to this idea of sovereignty, Douglass could have stayed in England but chose to go back to the United States, not for Garrison, but for the "life battle against slavery and caste to which he was pledged" to defeat for his fellow men.⁸³ He was not bound to Garrison but bound to the necessity to abolish slavery for all slaves in the United States.

Moreover, democracy is "not bound up with any particular area, race, culture, or economic system, though of course, all these have their bearing upon democracy...it is essentially flexible and adaptable".⁸⁴ So, although these two were quite different in race, socio-economic status, and culture, just like in a democracy, both had much to do with one another. Additionally, "democracy is especially concerned with the struggle for economic liberty: the

⁸¹ This is alluding to a virtuous friendship where Aristotle describes it when one "reaches this nobility [i.e. a virtuous friendship] only through enduring evils and sometimes only in death or at the point of death"

⁸² "Garrison and Douglass: Friendship and Estrangement," Pilgrim Pathways: Notes for a Diaspora People, July 29, 2010, , accessed October 11, 2018, <https://pilgrimpathways.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/garrison-and-douglass-friendship-and-estrangement/>.

⁸³ Frederick Douglass. My bondage and My freedom. Part I-Life as a Slave Part II-Life as a Freeman. Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855. xxiii.

⁸⁴ Eugene Forsey. American Journal of Sociology 48, no. 1 (1942): 133-34. <http://www.jstor.org.tamui.idm.oclc.org/stable/2769977>.

right to a job, to economic security, [and] to a fair share in the gains of civilization,”⁸⁵ just as they did within their friendship. They both had to be flexible and malleable with the surrounding, events, and happenings within the realm of their friendship. Keeping this flexibility in mind will allow one to conceptualize how some of the seven constitutional principles, when applied to the ascending Aristotelian evolution of a virtuous friendship, catapulted these men in becoming the great abolitionist of the 19th Century.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 134.

CHAPTER V AND GOODWILL TOWARD MEN

This chapter will be the culmination of all three friendships, the friendship of goodness. The characteristics of what Aristotle defines as a good friendship intertwined and supported by Benedict Spinoza's ideal of a true friendship gives a bird's eye view to the goodness of the men and their actions because of the love, admiration, and respect they had for one another despite the differences that caused a rift between them. They both were enthralled with one another's ideas and the skill set they both brought to the relationship that not only made them equals but men led by reason in striving for a common purpose. Thus, adding to the idea that although the relationship might have seemed to have characteristics of a friendship of pleasure and utility, it ultimately was one of goodness. To be explicitly clear, I merely borrow notions from Spinoza to push forth and solidify Aristotelian friendship of virtue. That the idea of good friendship, just like Spinoza's notion of a true friendship, is based on respect, honor, and strive to better one another for the common goal or truth in mind. In which case Aristotle, I believe it to reference what he refers to as how the opposites attract because of the common "mean" or "truth" they both strive to accomplish despite their differences.

It is said that "like-mindedness of the friends, is a moderate form of goodness that can be achieved by opposites precisely because their differences can potentially drive them toward "the mean."⁸⁶ Aristotle writes that "in a sense the love of the contrary is the love of the good; for the opposites desire one another because of "the mean;" they desire one another like tallies because

⁸⁶ Peter Dennis Bathory and Nancy L. Schwartz, eds. *Friends and Citizens: Essays in Honor of Wilson Carey McWilliams*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2001. Chapter 6 Friendship and Politics: Ancient and American, Aristotle on civic relationships page 55.

thus out of the two arises a single mean”.⁸⁷ So, although their ideological ideals might have changed on behalf of Douglass or ventured off on their own, Douglass and Garrison kept the “mean” at the end of the tunnel in mind. Now, let us take a virtuous friendship into consideration, it is said that “it is a relationship which in turn is characterized by affection, reciprocity, intimacy, equality, asymmetrical sharing, morality, being ‘voluntarily contractual,’ toler[ant] and of benefit to society,” which I argue that Douglass and Garrison had with one another.⁸⁸ Aristotle further elaborates that in order for a friendship to be considered virtuous the:

Perfect friendship is the friendship of men who are good, and alike in virtue; for these wish well alike to each other *qua* good, and they are good in themselves. Now those who wish well to their friends for their sake are most truly friends; for they do this by reason of their own nature and not incidentally; therefore, their friendship lasts as long as they are good — and goodness is an enduring thing. * And each is good without qualification and to his friend, for the good are both good without qualification and useful to each other. So too they are pleasant; for the good are pleasant both without qualification and to each other, * since to each his own activities and others like them are pleasurable, and the actions of the good are the same or like. And such a friendship is, as might be expected, permanent, since there meet in it all the qualities that friends should have. For all friendship is because of good or of pleasure — good or pleasure either in the abstract or such as will be enjoyed by him who has the friendly feeling — and is based on a certain resemblance; and to a friendship of good men all the qualities we have named belong in virtue of the nature of the friends themselves; for in the case of this kind of friendship the other qualities also are alike in both friends, and that which is good without qualification is also without qualification pleasant, and these are the most lovable qualities. Love and friendship therefore are found most and in their best form between such men. But it is natural that such friendships

⁸⁷ Ibid., 55.

⁸⁸ Heather Devere and Graham M. Smith. "Friendship and Politics." *Friendship and International Relations* 8, no. 3 (2010): 341-56. Accessed October 10, 2017. doi:10.1111/j.1478-9302.2010.00214. x.

should be infrequent; for such men are rare. Further, such friendship requires time and familiarity; as the proverb says, men cannot know each other till they have ‘eaten salt together’; nor can they admit each other to friendship or be friends till each has been found lovable and been trusted by each. Those who quickly show the marks of friendship to each other wish to be friends but are not friends unless they both are lovable and know the fact; for a wish for friendship may arise quickly, but friendship does not.⁸⁹

The Douglass-Garrison friendship lasted by scholarships account from 1841 to 1851 in a span of a decade. Keep in mind that “time and familiarity” is important to a virtuous friendship. It is also noted that it should be continuous. To which scholarship adds that the Douglass-Garrison division occurred at different points of time within the friendship. Now here is where it might get a bit complicated as per when the breakup of the friendship happened.⁹⁰ But nonetheless it is stated over and over that in fact there was a breakup between the two men. In light of this information these men kept in contact through their discourse until 1856⁹¹ when Douglass replied to Garrison’s critic to *My Bondage* which puts them into contact with one another well over a decade and a half.⁹² Although some of the proceeding examples might circle back around

⁸⁹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, II56b-7 to 26.

⁹⁰ The breakup happened 1843 when Douglass felt he could no longer tell the same story. Levine writes that “Douglass had returned [from Liverpool] to the United States in May 1876, had pretty much gone his own way, apart from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, despite professing allegiance to Garrisonian principles until 1851 (p76 Levine).” Others say it was when Douglass established *The North Star* in 1847 (p. 115 Levine) or when Douglass declared it in 1848 or the camel that broke the camel’s back was when a public letter declared Douglass was having indiscretions with Julia Griffiths that hit the last nail on the coffin in 1853 (p.169 Levine). In actuality written and oral discourse between these men continued well into the late 1950’s p.175 Okur Douglass would still use poems made by Garrison on speaking tours well into the early 1850’s p 210 Okur

⁹¹ Robert S. Levine, *The Lives of Frederick Douglass*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 2016, 70.

⁹² Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II57a-35. Aristotle writes that when it comes to pleasant and pleasurable friendships that “these two kinds of friendships are not often united, nor do the same people become friends because of utility and of pleasure; for things that are only incidentally connected are not often coupled together.”

to both the first two friendships it is because Aristotle states that often times a friendship of virtue might often resemble some aspects of friendships of utility or pleasure because it:

... bears a resemblance to this kind; for good people too are pleasant to each other. So too does friendship because of utility; for the good are also useful to each other. Among men of these inferior sorts too, friendships are most permanent when the friends get the same thing from each other (e.g. pleasure), and not only that but also from the same source, as happens between ready-witted people, not as happens between lover and beloved.* For these do not take pleasure in the same things, but the one in seeing the beloved and the other in receiving attentions from his lover; and when the bloom of youth is passing the friendship sometimes passes too (for the one finds no pleasure in the sight of the other, and the other gets no attentions from the first); but many lovers on the other hand are constant, if familiarity has led them to love each other's characters, these being alike. But those who exchange not pleasure but utility in their amour are both less truly friends and less constant. Those who are friends because of utility part when the advantage is at an end; for they were lovers not of each other but of profit.⁹³

This following example shows how Garrison wished good for the good in Douglass, the good of his gift as an orator, and takes pleasure in Douglass' good virtue. Garrison was in awe with Douglass and encouraged him to, "join [him], you have a gift you have an opportunity to strike a blow for the slaves who continue to suffer as we speak. Did the Lord give you these gifts so that you could work in the shipyards?" Douglass says, "now I know why you are such an effective advocate."⁹⁴ Despite this sentiment, within a democracy people are entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,"⁹⁵ in which case whether Garrison, Garrisonians or the Anti-Slavery

⁹³ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II57a-1 to 15.

⁹⁴ *The Abolitionists-Part 2*. Directed by Rob Rapley. By Paul Taylor. Performed by Oliver Rapley, Jeanine Serralles, Ingrid Alli. New Castle, Delaware, USA. January 15, 2012. Accessed October 01, 2017. Season 25

⁹⁵ "The Declaration of Independence: Full text." *Ushistory.org*. Accessed November 25, 2017. <http://www.ushistory.org/Declaration/document/>.

Society disapproved, Douglass had the right to do so, in which he did. Again, adding to the idea of an egalitarian relationship.

This was evident until the end of their relationship. I am not doubting or arguing that they did not have a falling out with one another because they did all while playing in the public eye and in their newspapers. But, if they were not a friendship or relationship of equals, I believe that there would not be so much literature written about one another in praise or acknowledgement of the intellect of each other. Take for instance, what Garrison wrote about Douglass in his preface where Garrison adds, "...I rose and declared that PATRICK HENRY, of revolutionary fame, never made a speech more eloquent in the cause of liberty, than the one we have just listened to from the lips of that hunted fugitive. So, I believed at that time-such is my belief now."⁹⁶

It is imperative to keep in mind this is a white man during the 19th Century describing a black man in front of a white audience proclaiming to compare Douglass, a black man, to the most reverend and intellectual white man that spoke of independence. If this is not acknowledgement of Douglass' intellect and acknowledgement on both men being on each other's level, I do not know what better example there is. Likewise, Douglass adds:

His paper took its place with me next to the bible. The Liberator was a paper after my own heart. It detested slavery—exposed hypocrisy and wickedness in high places—made no truce with the traffickers in the bodies and souls of men; it preached human brotherhood, denounced oppression, and, with all the solemnity of God's word, demanded the complete emancipation of my race. I not only liked —loved this paper, and its editor."⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Douglass, Frederick. Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass, an American slave, written by himself The John Harvard Library. Edited by Robert B. Stepto. Reprint, revised ed. (Harvard University Press, 2009). Preface 3. ISBN 0674053753, 9780674053755

⁹⁷ Frederick Douglass. My bondage and My freedom. Part I-Life as a Slave Part II-Life as a Freeman. Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855. 354.

Either way, this proves that they were men and a relationship of equals as opposed to oppressive. By comparison, democracy is a government that allows certain liberties and is liberating and not oppressive. Case in point, both of these men living under the U.S. Constitution of a democratic country, feeding one another's minds with new knowledge and ideas to rid the country of slavery, looked past each other's race, color of status, and basked in each other's knowledge and became a tag team of orators and writers who encouraged each other led by reason, despite their differences. Both, we could say, received some type of benefit in crusade for the common cause. Garrison was wanting Douglass to speak about his experience as a slave so that others could see that there was a dire need to end slavery in which he could not push forth even more as a white outsider of an African American cause. While on the other hand Douglass needed Garrison to support and recognize him as a nullified slave to credit his literary works to the public as having been the author of such works.

After all, in my opinion, it is in a democracy where people should have the most freedom, the most opportunity for prosperity and the most stable form of government, in which Douglass was able to have and expand in the relationship he held with Garrison. Again, I am not denying that their relationship was far from perfect in fact it was not. I am not denying the fact that Douglass was treated differently by others and might have been at times by Garrison. I am not trying to erase what occurred between their rocky friendship. I am merely offering a different perspective to understanding their friendship that no one has thought to write about before. It was a relationship of equals, admiration, competition, sovereignty, limits, and most of all the opportunity to change the status quo. The purpose of this paper is to compare their friendship to constitutional characteristics. In which I gave examples and dissected scholarly literature to compare their relationship. Although they lived in the 19th Century as a black and

white man, within their relationship, they had a true friendship.

There are many examples, events, and public declarations where both men respectfully pledge their *true friendship*⁹⁸ and appreciation of each other. Before I dive into the examples in the following paragraph, I want to clarify what reason and true friendship are, so that the reader can comprehend and easily make connections to a new way at looking at this friendship. With that being said, let us describe what true friendship looks like in the eyes of Benedict Spinoza. Friendships are of the most importance in life, after all, what is life without friends. In Letter 19 to William De Blyenbergh, Spinoza writes, “I esteem none more than being allowed the honor of entering into a pact of friendship with people who sincerely *love the truth*. Because the love they bear *to one another* is based on the love each has for *knowledge of the truth*, it is impossible to destroy it as not to embrace the truth once it has been perceived. Moreover...nothing but the truth can completely unite different opinions and minds”.⁹⁹

Frank Lucash describes a true friendship in *Spinoza on Friendship*, which further extended what a true friendship actually means. Some of the characteristics that describe a true friendship are “active emotions that follow reason, both receive benefits from one another, each desire to increase in power and help each other to increase in power, equality between individuals, truth [must always] come first and is the basis for a [true] friendship, both work together to achieve their goal, [praise], honor, genuine self-esteem, but ultimately truth is their goal”.¹⁰⁰ Just like these men’s friendship and the pursuit of the true justice for slaves, they too,

⁹⁸ True friendship is interchangeably used with a virtuous friendship.

⁹⁹ Baruch De Spinoza, Samuel Shirley, Steven Barbone, Lee Rice, and Jacob Adler. *The letters*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. Co., 1995. Page 132

¹⁰⁰ Frank Lucash. 2012. “Spinoza on Friendship.” *Philosophia: Philosophical Quarterly of Israel* 40 (2): 305–17. doi:10.1007/s11406-011-9325-6.

were lovers of this truth, and lovers of each other's knowledge. Although their friendship came to an end, nothing that happened veered them off the path to the ultimate truth and purpose, which was intended all along-immediate emancipation for all slaves. Lucash adds, "once this love [is] achieved [it] cannot be shattered, [this love] is the highest source of pleasure and brings people of different opinions together".¹⁰¹ So, in spite of their split, Garrison and Douglass, relied on reason alone to push forward and beyond for the sake of the truth by using reason despite their affects.

This is the reality that both men rationalized by understanding the system they lived in and their place within it, and "when each man most seeks his own advantage for himself, then men are most useful to one another" in which a true friendship arises.¹⁰² For instance, Garrison was seen as a "loyal companion that would [decline] privileges that were not offered to Douglass," or should I say discriminated against by the color of his skin.¹⁰³ Often times it is the trials and tribulations of ones experiences that bring forth and solidifies the bond of a friendship even more, in which this case I believe it did. Garrison once wrote, "I think I never hated slavery so intensely as at the moment," referring to Douglass' first speech about his life as a slave. Likewise, Douglass wrote that Garrison was "one, on first sight, to excite my love and reverence."¹⁰⁴ One could say these men were led by reason in which they held a mutual reverence of their goodness and saw themselves ignited and intrigued by what each had to say

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Michael Della Rocca. *The Oxford handbook of Spinoza*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018. Page 416 (E4p35c2)

¹⁰³ Jay Thompson. "Frederick Douglass Project: Jay Thompson's Essay "Toward Douglassian Abolitionism: The Rift Between Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison"." Frederick Douglass Project: Jay Thompson's Essay "Toward Douglassian Abolitionism: The Rift Between Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison" | RBSCP. 2002. Accessed October 1, 2017. <http://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/2842>. Letters used: 89;104 Transcriptions 89;104

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

about the same issue both were fighting against.

I want to further clarify what it means for a man to be led by reason or what reason is for that matter. In order for one to be led by reason there are characteristics or virtues that have to be met. Spinoza says, “the essence of reason is nothing but our mind insofar as it understands clearly and distinctly.”¹⁰⁵ In other words, knowing what you are going into and what is at stake, a friendship that is based on reason is one that rationalizes and “understands things as necessary” i.e., abolition of slavery, freedom, sovereignty. Lucash wrote, “so far as the mind understands all things as necessary, it has a great power over the affects or is less acted on by them. So, although both Douglass and Garrison were at one point at odds with one another, they saw the bigger picture and used reason to lead them towards their common goal.

Keeping this in mind, Spinoza added “rational people repay hate with love”¹⁰⁶ in which both men repaid each other with love. A great example of this, is when Douglass wanted to develop his own newspaper. Knowing there was disapproval on the behalf of the Garrisonians’ which were led by Garrison himself, Douglass, felt it was better parting ways with his colleagues and venture out on his own with or without his approval. The only historical information I came across is a letter from Garrison to his wife from Ohio who wrote about Douglass’ abrupt departure and not hearing a word from him. He stated in October 20, 1847:

Is it not strange that [Frederick] Douglass has not written a single line to me, or to any one, in this place, inquiring after my health, since he left me on a bed of illness? It will also greatly surprise our friends in Boston to hear, that, in regard to his project for establishing a paper here, to be called “The North Star,” he never opened to me his lips on the subject, nor asked my advice in any particular whatever. Such conduct grieves me to the heart. His conduct [...] paper has been impulsive, inconsiderate, and highly

¹⁰⁵ Spinoza 4p26

¹⁰⁶ Spinoza 4p465

inconsistent with his decision in Boston. What will his English friends say of such a strange somerset? I am sorry that friend [Edmund] Quincy did not express himself more strongly against this project in the *Liberator*. It is a delicate matter, I know, but it must be met with firmness. I am sorry to add, that our friend Saml. Brooke is at the bottom of all this, and has influenced Douglass to take this extraordinary step, as he thinks the *Bugle* might as well be discontinued or merged in Douglass' paper! Strange want of forecast and judgment! — But, no more now.¹⁰⁷

If anything, different assumptions can be made from this letter, but I do not care to indulge in “what ifs.” This information further adds to the *true friendship* idea, that these kindred souls although different not only by their ethnicity, upbringing, and eventually difference in political ideology, and convenience, they were led by reason. They were sovereign over their own person and virtuous to which the friendship created the abolitionist they had become.

Then in 1850, the two were at the Anti-Slavery Society in New York where Garrison states “Frederick Douglass distinguished himself on this occasion, as on many others, by his wit and eloquence”.¹⁰⁸ Dorsey states “a few years later”¹⁰⁹ in 1855, Douglass wrote in his introduction of *My Bondage and My Freedom*, “The Garrison party, to which he still adhered, did not want a colored newspaper—there was an odor of caste about it,”¹¹⁰ again, even this seems to be scathing on the idea of speculation as to why *The Garrisonians*, 'not Garrison, himself disapproved. Now if this was not a *true friendship*, I do not think Douglass or Garrison

¹⁰⁷ William Lloyd Garrison, October 20, 1847, Letter to Helen E. Garrison. Merrill, Walter (ed). *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*. Vol. III: No Union with Slave-Holders 1841-1846. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1973, p. 531.

¹⁰⁸ Oliver Johnson. “*William Lloyd Garrison and His Times; Or, Sketches of the Anti-slavery Movement in America, and of the Man Who Was Its Founder and Moral Leader: 1809-1889.*” Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming." Internet Archive. January 01, 1880. Accessed August 16, 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Peter A Dorsey. “Becoming the Other: The Mimesis of Metaphor in Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom.*” *PMLA*, vol. 111, no. 3, 1996, pp. 435–447., doi:10.2307/463167. Page 438.

¹¹⁰ Douglass, Frederick. *My bondage and My freedom. Part I-Life as a Slave Part II-Life as a Freeman.* Auburn, NY: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855. Xxiv.

would have acknowledged each other the way they did in each other's books, all the while using reason to guide them and the external events happening around them. Douglass adds, "His paper took its place with me next to the bible. The Liberator was a paper after my own heart. It detested slavery—exposed hypocrisy and wickedness in high places —made no truce with the traffickers in the bodies and souls of men; it preached human brotherhood, denounced oppression, and, with all the solemnity of God's word, demanded the complete emancipation of my race. I not only liked —loved this paper, and its editor."¹¹¹

It is by Aristotle's account that the interpersonal interaction that "seeks out the good of one's friend is to exercise reason and virtue, which is the distinctive function of human beings which amounts to happiness".¹¹² In which case, Douglass and Garrison nurtured in one another by implementing their love of knowledge into action for the same goal in mind to abolish slavery. Another example of how this was a virtuous friendship was when Douglass would speak on his life as a runaway slave knowing that at any moment he could be enslaved once more. But he knew (because he was led by reason) what was at risk and was willing to take the chance to accomplish *their* goal of abolition of slavery.¹¹³ Garrison, on the other hand, was also subjected to penalties under the law for aiding and abetting a runaway slave. One could acknowledge that

¹¹¹ Oliver Johnson. "*William Lloyd Garrison and His Times; Or, Sketches of the Anti-slavery Movement in America, and of the Man Who Was Its Founder and Moral Leader: 1809-1889.*" *Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming.*" Internet Archive. January 01, 1880. Accessed August 16, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/williamlloydgarr00john/page/354>.

¹¹² Neel Burton. "The Philosophy of Friendship." Psychologytoday. April 18, 2012. Accessed October 01, 2017. <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/hidden-and-see/201204/the-philosophy-friendship> According to Aristotle, "for a person to be friends with another 'it is necessary that [they] bear good will to each other and wish good things for each other, without this escaping their notice'. A person may bear good will to another for one of three reasons, that he is good (that is, rational and virtuous), that he is pleasant, or that he is useful."

¹¹³ John M. Cooper writes that for one to be considered "virtuous requires knowing (1) what the desires are that in fact motivate one's actions, and (2) that these desires depend upon the same scheme of ends as one's reasoned conception defines for one's life" like both Douglass and Garrison knew the abolition of slavery motivated their actions and the common plan for all men to be treated equal.

both these men were acting on “active emotions that follow reason and work[ing] together to achieve their common goal.”¹¹⁴ Both, we could say, receiving some type of benefit for the same cause. Garrison was wanting Douglass, to speak about his experience as a slave, so that others could see that there was a need to end slavery. Douglass needing and feeling the obligation to speak on behalf of other slaves for emancipation, but by doing so, he would have to learn from the knowledge Garrison was so willing to provide. Both men benefited from their relationship of equals. Garrison was an extraordinary writer and Douglass an incomparable orator, which meant that they both did learn to be better at their weakness from one another.

Another example of this true friendship, based on reason, is when Douglass against the wishes and ideology of Garrison, made his decision based on reason to “[help] him raise money and purchase his freedom so that he could return to America without risk of arrest under the Fugitive Slave Law”.¹¹⁵ It is crucial to keep in mind that without Douglass’ will to want to be free and Garrison’s willingness to help in the fundraising, the mutual goal would have not succeeded without either of these men being led by reason.

Alas, the eulogy given on June 2, 1879 comes back full circle to the initial Aristotelian idea in the first chapter where he describes what constitutes a friendship as virtuous. Aristotle mentions that wither at the point of death or when there was a death, one would come to the realization of a virtuous friendship. In this case both men sacrificed their very existence in fighting for the same cause. Douglass was the principle eulogist at the Garrison Memorial

¹¹⁴ Frank Lucash. 2012. “Spinoza on Friendship.” *Philosophia: Philosophical Quarterly of Israel* 40 (2): 305–17. doi:10.1007/s11406-011-9325-6.

¹¹⁵“Garrison and Douglass: Friendship and Estrangement,” Pilgrim Pathways: Notes for a Diaspora People, July 29, 2010, , accessed October 11, 2018, <https://pilgrimpathways.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/garrison-and-douglass-friendship-and-estrangement/>.

Meeting nine days after William Lloyd Garrison's death, would seal the deal in their friendship having been a virtuous one. You see, if Douglass was not a man of virtue, as described by Aristotle, he would have moved on with his life and pay no mind to Garrison once the breakup was done, but on the contrary, both men continued to have discourse even after the alleged breakup.¹¹⁶

In the end Douglass speaks at Garrison's tribute giving the eulogy to the masses in saying that: "He moved not with the tide, but against it. He rose not by the power of the Church or the State, but in bold, inflexible and defiant opposition to the mighty power of both. It was the glory of this man that he could stand alone *with the truth*, and calmly await the result."¹¹⁷ Over and over Douglass stated that "he [Garrison] knew," in which he was acknowledging the love and honor towards Garrison's goodness, love of knowledge, and reason behind both of their virtuous goal. If it was a friendship not based on reason, then I do not think Douglass would have even written, let alone spoke the way he did in acknowledging William Lloyd Garrison, despite their difference. Douglass uttered that in the death of Garrison, "a great life ended, a great purpose achieved, a great career beautifully finished, and a great example of heroic endeavor nobly established" leading to the all-encompassing good-hearted friendship led by reason, becoming an unlikely relationship in 19th Century America.

¹¹⁶ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by David Ross, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1157b-3. Aristotle describes "good men will be friends because of themselves. in virtue of their goodness. As one can see that although Garrison and Douglass did not always see eye to eye they nonetheless saw the goodness of the man, the goodness behind the not so agreeable political ideologies, and the virtue of "the mean."

¹¹⁷Douglass, Frederick. "Speech on the Death of William Lloyd Garrison" The Library of Congress, June 2, 1879, accessed May 14, 2017, Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mfd.23012/>.

Before concluding, it would be prudent to insert a poem written by William Lloyd Garrison that was commonly used by Douglass on his speaking tours and especially on a particular date on July 5, 1852 in Corinthian Hall. The date is emphasized because this is well past the breach of the friendship, yet Douglass chose to use the poem during the time they “had come to hate each other,” or did they? ¹¹⁸ Douglass then recited, “In the fervent aspirations of William Lloyd Garrison, I say, and let every heart join in saying it.”

God speed the year of jubilee,
 The wide world o'er!
 When from their galling chains set free,
 Th' oppressed shall vilely bend the knee,
 And wear they yoke of tyranny,
 Like brutes, no more: -
 That year will come, and freedom's reign
 To man his plundered rights again
 Restore.
 God speed the day when human blood
 Shall cease to flow!
 In every clime be understood
 The claims of human brotherhood
 And each return for evil, good -
 Not blow for blow;
 That day will come all duels to end,
 And change into a faithful friend
 Each foe.
 God speed the hour, the glorious hour,
 When none on earth
 Shall exercise a lordly power,
 Nor in a tyrant's presence cower;
 But all to Manhood's stature tower,
 By all to Manhood's stature tower,
 By equal birth!
 That hour will come, to each, to all
 And from his prison-house the thrall
 Go forth.
 Until that year, day, hour arrive,
 With head and heart and hand I'll strive
 To break the rod, and rend the gyve -

¹¹⁸Robert S. Levine, *The Lives of Frederick Douglass*, 39.

So witness Heaven!
 And never from my chosen post,
 Whate'er the peril or the cost,
 Be drive.¹¹⁹

It is important to point out that although this poem is about emancipation it mirrors the battle scars of their friendships and how it “evokes the memory of golden years Douglass and Garrison spent together on numerous antislavery tours” and how they “remained friends throughout [the] early 1850’s.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ A poem written by William Lloyd Garrison, “God Speed the Year of Jubilee” from the book *Dismantling Slavery* by Nilgün Anadolu-Okur on pages 210-211. This poem should help the reader understand and circle back to Aristotle’s idea of risk and death and how that applies to a virtuous friendship. One can identify how Garrison although white, was virtuous in his words, actions, and intentions and by Douglass reciting Garrison’s own words in public deduce his goodness by doing so and the goodness of his friend.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

When remembering situations that have occurred in life it is easier to remember when we have been wronged than when someone has been kind in action and generous with their words. In some occasions, one can remember verbatim the offense committed and the scornful words used against us. Just like the case of the Douglass-Garrison friendship, it is easier for scholars to point out the offenses without looking at the bigger picture of the friendship. Rather than constantly nitpicking at the negative aspects of the relationship one ought to take all aspects including the good that aspired not just within the movement but within a good relationship with good men that had good intentions for one another and the greater good of a nation.

Despite the sociopolitical heated dissent in 19th Century America and the odds stacked against a questionable friendship, it is not unlikely to think that this relationship will continue to be thought of as ambiguous in nature. This is not to say that although this might be true, these were men that loved and cared for each other because they saw the goodness in one another and each other's endeavors, despite their ever-evolving differences. In addition to this, when applying constitutional principles to the relationship one can see clear as day that not only did Garrison believe Douglass was his equal, but respectfully heeded to Douglass' decisions despite not concurring with all of his choices.

Although the friendship shaped itself to look like a friendship galvanized by intellectualism that converted into one of efficacy where both were equally their own men in their own benefited from one another only to have been a friendship of virtue all along. Moreover, it was the events, the joy and admiration, the discourse, the estrangement, their struggle for emancipation, but most of all the generosity and goodness that radiated from the

friendship that molded the abolitionist that they had become. Ultimately, the choice is in the hands of the audience, to soak up all of the happenings that occurred between both Douglass and Garrison, to objectively render their decision in acknowledging that there is still yet another possibility at looking at this friendship.

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Education

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Office Assistant/Tutor (January 2004-January 2006)

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Social Studies Teacher Assistant (August 2006-May 2007)

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