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# Francis William Bird: A Radical's Progress through The Republican Party

Donald B. Marti

By 1872 many Radical Republicans had lost their "ardor" for reconstructing Southern society. Generalists of reform, they turned to new issues and enthusiasms as most of them had done at other points in their careers. Some of them judged that their new concerns, especially about the failings of Ulysses S. Grant's administration, obliged them to leave the Republican Party. For such radicals, the party was only an instrument of reform that had become obsolete as the direction of reform itself shifted.<sup>1</sup>

Francis William Bird is an important example of a radical whose wide-ranging zeal led him into, and out of, the Republican Party. A leader of Free Soilers and then Republicans in Massachusetts, he was also distinguished by an intense, often idiosyncratic, radicalism. Both qualities made him a nearly ubiquitous figure in reform and politics from the early 1830s until he bolted the Republican Party in 1872.<sup>2</sup>

Bird spent most of his life in East Walpole, where his father manufactured paper. He attended Brown College, probably because his father intended him to be an attorney, but he did not practice law after graduating in 1831. Instead he marked time keeping school until a personal crisis turned him to his father's business and to his first venture in reform. The crisis is described in an autobiographical essay that Bird contributed to the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity*. Published in Boston from 1837 to 1839, the *Journal* advocated Sylvester Graham's widely-discussed system of healthful living. People who had adopted the system were urged to contribute accounts of their previous habits, particularly their indulgence in "liquor, tobacco, opium" and other vices such as "flesh meat, fat meat, gravies . . . warm bread and butter, etc." They were to detail the sufferings that naturally followed, and describe the new and better lives that Graham had opened to them. Bird testified in the prescribed manner.<sup>3</sup>

He had lived badly. As a student he made "free use of alcoholic and narcotic stimulants," the latter being coffee, tea, and tobacco, while taking few baths and little exercise. Retribution came as a "slight attack of cholera morbus," loss of

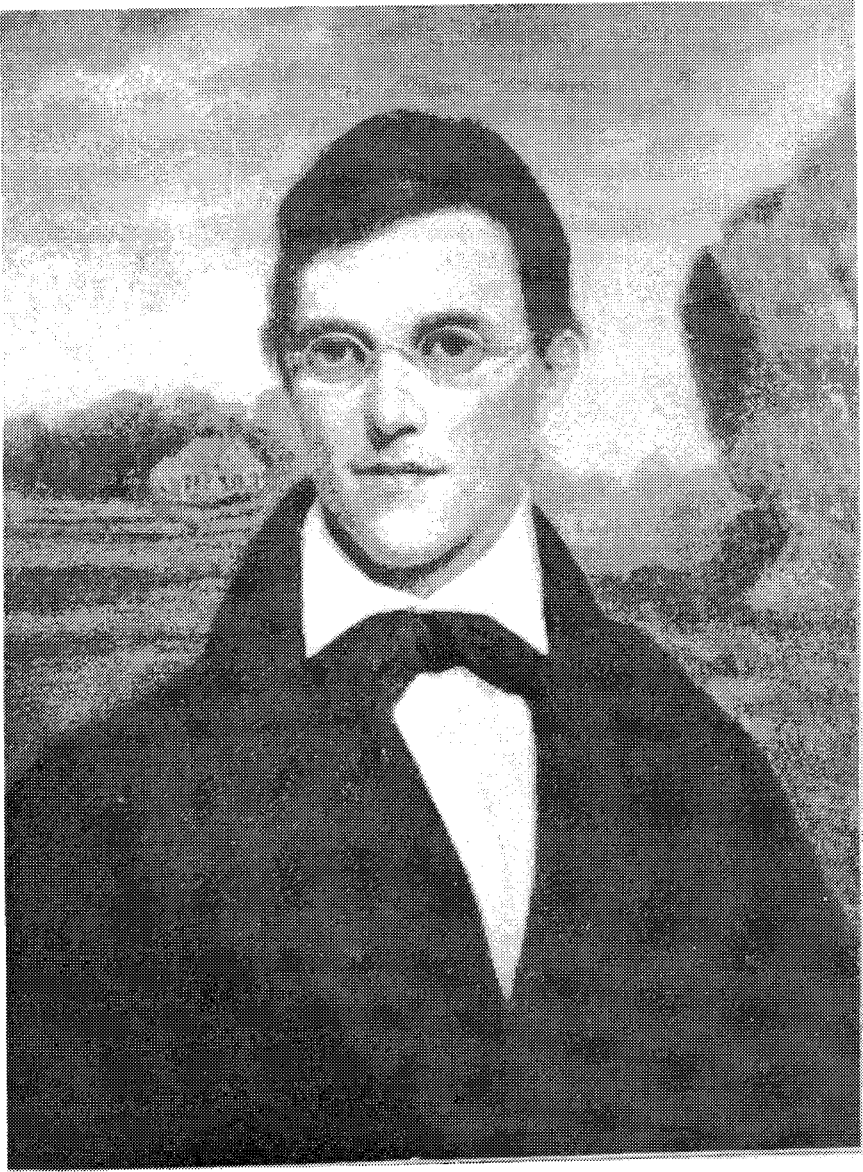
a tooth or two each year at college, eye strain, and emotional instability. In some dark moments he "dared not finish shaving alone for fear I should commit suicide." Finally, in the year after graduation, he fell into a particularly deep depression, feared "every imaginable ill," and sought medical treatment. Physicians prescribed beefsteak, wine, unspecified pills, and exhausting travel. Nothing helped. Then he tried to drown his troubles in work, making paper in a mill hired from his brother. That gave some relief. At the same time, in the early part of 1833, he renounced coffee, tea, and alcohol, reduced his smoking, and began to eat "coarse wheaten-bread." Graham extolled such bread, but Bird was not wholly won to his system. He had to suffer more before the light fully dawned. He suffered intensely in 1835. Married only a year, he lost both wife and infant daughter to illness. His own health collapsed, he lost all interest in work, and "his appetite became more depraved" as his condition worsened. A Boston physician brought him back to the redemptive bread after a short lapse, but Bird remained ill and distraught. He needed a more potent healer.

Fortunately, Sylvester Graham gave a course of lectures at Dedham in January, 1836. They inspired Bird to make a thorough reform, dropping butter, "mixtures of grease with cake, and by degrees, hot food of all kinds, and feather beds." As a rigorous Grahamite, Bird took cold baths, four hours of hard exercise and only two meals every day. His rewards were sound sleep, new relish for labor, and faith that God's universe is governed by reasonable laws. That faith inspired Bird to address a great range of subjects with high confidence. It made him a reformer.

Bird's account of his conversion neglects the fact that he had been quietly reformist even before embracing Graham's truth. Active in the Congregational Church at South Dedham during his brief marriage, he caused a little stir by seating a black servant in the family pew. He also belonged to a temperance society, one moderate enough to condone wine, beer, and cider. Finally, after his wife's death, he began walking the sixteen mile round trip to Fort Hill, a poor district in Boston, where he taught in a mission school. The second Mrs. Bird, who married him in 1843, was also active in that school.<sup>4</sup>

The new Bird wrote for the *Graham Journal* and the *Norfolk Advertiser*, a Dedham paper dedicated to temperance. He also took a great deal of responsibility for East Walpole, the village adjacent to his paper mill. Continually "planning for the improvement of the people," he contributed a meeting house for the Congregational Church on condition that it be open to other denominations as well. He also led the fight to get service from the Norfolk County Railroad, a new line that bypassed East Walpole. That losing cause gave him a start in elective politics as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1847.<sup>5</sup>

Bird started political life as a Whig. Addressing interests beyond East Walpole's rail service, particularly the westward expansion of slavery, identified him with the "Conscience" faction of the party. He was one of the six "Conscience" leaders whom Charles Francis Adams called together before the 1848 Whig national convention to plan a response to Zachary Taylor's nomination. He was



**FRANCIS WILLIAM BIRD** on leaving Brown University.  
From Lewis, *History of Walpole* (1905).

among the forty-eight who signed a call for the insurgent convention that met at Worcester soon after the national party took its expected course. Bird served on the state committee of the Free Soil Party which emerged from that convention. The Whigs had held him for only a year.<sup>6</sup>

Leadership in the Free Soil Party meant fund-raising among his fellow manufacturers, campaign planning sessions in Charles Sumner's law office, and frequent contributions to the party newspaper, *The Daily Whig*, which became *The Republican* during the campaign. Already well-acquainted with Bird through *The Norfolk Advertiser*, William S. Robinson edited the paper through the year. Bird, Robinson, and other regular contributors formed a close, lasting association. They became the Bird Club.<sup>7</sup>

The club met for dinner at two o'clock on Saturday afternoons when members happened to be in Boston. John A. Andrew, James W. Stone, and Henry L. Pierce were original members, with Bird and Robinson; later additions included Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, William Claflin, Samuel Gridley Howe, and Benjamin Butler. They met regularly from the 1850 campaign onward, though they suffered an important division over the Know Nothing movement a few years later. At the height of its "immense, informal influence," reached when John Andrew became Governor in 1861, the club had about one hundred members. Its influence lasted for a decade after that; it survived much longer as a social club.<sup>8</sup>

Bird sat at the head of its table, above men of more obvious distinction. John Andrew attributed that to a marked "social gift," and to a moral rigor that commanded respect. An occasional visitor, Carl Schurz, missed Bird's charm but came to feel that the "somewhat rustic" and often eccentric man had a "moral power" that made others seek his approval. Robinson corroborated that perception by his affectionate mockery of "the Bird of freedom"; like the eagle, he was an emblematic figure for his political friends. On that account he was forgiven eccentricities, even asked to remain in the club after defecting from the Republican Party in 1872. "You may go to the devil if you choose politically," one friend wrote on that occasion. Nevertheless, Bird left the club, which was no longer very important, despite his special license to diverge from its Republican purity.<sup>9</sup>

After the 1848 campaign Bird continued to raise funds and do other chores for the new party. Because *The Republican* stopped daily publication in 1849, one pressing task was the acquisition and support of a new party organ. In 1850 a four-man board of trustees, including Bird, bought *The Republican* and two other anti-slavery papers in Boston. They combined them as *The Commonwealth*; its first number appeared on January 1, 1851.<sup>10</sup>

The trustees relieved themselves of responsibility for publication by March, though the paper's commercial failure required further support from party trustees before it folded in 1854. Bird, however, stayed with the paper as political editor through its first Spring. Under his hand *The Commonwealth* took high moral ground against slavery, particularly against the Fugitive Slave Law, and

pressed his grievance with the clergy for their general failure to adopt the same position. He recognized that ministers, unlike paper-makers, were intimidated by their congregations, but temporizing with sin to retain their pulpits made their calling "baser than a United States Marshallship."<sup>11</sup>

Bird accepted editorial office, not primarily to quarrel with ministers, but to help create a coalition between his party and the Democracy. He had been committed to that strategy since the 1848 election showed that Free Soil had broad support among Democratic voters in Massachusetts. Despite the opposition of more distinguished Free Soil leaders, such as Charles Francis Adams and John Gorham Palfrey, the coalition solidified after the 1850 state legislative elections. It created an irresistible opportunity for Free Soilers and Democrats to share Massachusetts' principal offices between them. Bird advanced the alliance by praising the "Democratic faith" that required the best Democrats, such as Robert Rantoul, to oppose the Fugitive Slave Law.<sup>12</sup>

The coalition came apart in 1852. Irish voters, normally Democratic, withdrew from the coalition because some of its leaders had begun to express the nativist sentiments that later produced the Know Nothing movement. Before the coalition failed, however, it was able to call a state constitutional convention and elect a majority of its delegates. The convention was intended to enact reforms and to reduce Whig representation in future legislatures.<sup>13</sup>

Bird represented Walpole in the convention. One of the coalition's floor leaders, under Henry Wilson, he was also active in debate, not always siding with his majority colleagues. He was hostile to the militia, for example, guessing that it would die out if the Maine Law against intoxicating beverages was really enforced. He also took an independent line on the coalition's proposal to ban state aid to church-sponsored schools. He feared that it "may seem to be aimed at our Catholic citizens" because the issue had arisen in connection with their schools. In fairness, he said, all aid to sectarian schools, including colleges, ought to be prohibited. Ideally, Bird argued, the Commonwealth should create public colleges either by "converting" Harvard, Williams, and Amherst, or by establishing new institutions. Only public foundations, he declared, from colleges to common schools, should have any share in public resources. Bird was in the minority, but he remembered to make a similar appeal to fairness when the Know Nothing movement appeared.<sup>14</sup>

Bird also took a minority position in arguing that the state supreme court should be elected. When it was objected that no such innovation was contemplated when the convention was called, Bird answered that "democratic ideas" had made more rapid progress during the intervening five months than in the entire history of Massachusetts. Further, he denied that the burden of proof belonged with those who proposed the change; it lay with those who would continue a great exception to democratic practice. Ultimately the convention voted to leave appointment to the Governor, but to limit the justices' terms to ten years. Lesser judges were to be elected.<sup>15</sup>

Bird worked with the coalition on what it viewed as the main point of the

convention: breaking the bloc of forty-four Whigs who came to the Assembly each year from Boston. In one of his longest speeches Bird declared that Boston was hostile to the countryside. Boston votes had chartered powerful banks and, in the most recent legislature, had appropriated ten thousand dollars to raise a statue of Daniel Webster. If only Boston could be stopped from electing all of its legislators on one general ticket, its sinister influence might be reduced by the choice of a few urban Democrats and Free Soilers.<sup>16</sup>

Whigs, however, raised an embarrassing issue. Boston and other large towns were underrepresented in a system that awarded seats to much smaller towns. Nathan Hale of Boston proposed, therefore, that apportionment no longer take account of towns, but that the Commonwealth be divided into 240 equal districts for the election of representatives and 40 equal senate districts. With that, Bird complained, Boston Whiggery seized the reform initiative.

Bird countered the Whig demand for equality by insisting that it was more important to preserve liberty. By tying representation to population the Whig scheme augured an end of liberty for the rural towns; it would put "the whole power of the State absolutely, hopelessly, and forever, under the control of Suffolk and the suburban counties." Then the "money power of Boston" would dominate the whole of Massachusetts. Surely, Bird concluded, it was better to suffer a few rotten boroughs, which might "occasionally fall into the hands of representatives, who should have some sympathy in common with the people," than to deliver the Commonwealth to certain tyranny.<sup>17</sup>

The constitution that emerged from the convention reflected Bird's thinking but because of its clear bias against the larger towns, it was defeated by a combination of Whig and Catholic votes. That defeat and an "ukase" from U.S. Attorney General Caleb Cushing, warning his fellow Massachusetts Democrats that further cooperation with Free Soilers would be thought hostile to the Pierce administration, thoroughly discouraged the coalitionists. In 1854 a remnant gathered in Worcester, where Massachusetts Free Soil formally began, to regroup as Republicans.<sup>18</sup>

The Republicans were only one of the new formations to emerge in 1854. As Bird remarked in the Worcester *Spy*, conventions met "almost every week" in that year of turmoil over Anthony Burns, Nebraska, and shifting party alignments. Unfortunately for the Republicans, one of the new groups had a strong appeal for fellow veterans of the coalition. The Know Nothing movement absorbed votes that would otherwise have been Republican, ensnared leaders such as Henry Wilson, and drove a moral wedge between men close to Bird who thought it wholly disgraceful and fellow Republicans who hoped that it might become part of a new coalition. In 1856 the latter group prevailed in the Republican state convention; no candidates were nominated for state offices in hope that Republicans would support Know Nothings at that level while Know Nothings voted for the Republican national ticket. In protest Bird organized an "Honest Men's" slate offering Josiah Quincy for Governor and John Andrew for Attorney General. They received only about five thousand votes.<sup>19</sup>

The battle continued in 1857. Republicans then hoped to inherit votes from the expiring Know Nothings by nominating Nathaniel P. Banks for Governor. His attraction was a record of support for both Republicans and Know Nothings. Bird tried to organize opposition to Banks in the 1857 convention and continued in opposition even after Banks had the nomination in hand. With Bird Club friends, including William S. Robinson and Henry L. Pierce, he staged a tiny convention of "Straight Republicans" which nominated Dr. Caleb Swan, a homeopathic physician from Bristol County, to run against Banks. Despite the combined journalistic talents of Robinson, Bird, Pierce, and Estes Howe, through the campaign who cooperatively published *The Straight Republican*, Swan got precious few votes as Banks swept to victory. Robinson made the best of the situation, in one of his pseudonymous "Warrington" letters to *The Springfield Republican*, by congratulating "the Bird of Freedom" that Walpole was the "banner-town" with fourteen votes for Swan.<sup>20</sup>

Bird shared credit for one material success in 1857. With other Bird Club members he helped to organize Charles Sumner's near-unanimous return to the United States Senate by the Massachusetts legislature. The year was otherwise devoted to desperate causes, notably the State Disunion Convention that gathered at Worcester in response to Thomas Wentworth Higginson's call. Bird also joined Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips in calling for a national disunion convention to be held at Cleveland in the Fall. It proved abortive. Few Republicans were radical enough to join Bird in the disunion movement.<sup>21</sup>

Laboring on the Party's outermost radical frontier, Bird devoted himself to helping Charles Sumner and injuring Governor Banks. When Banks' friends in the 1858 state Republican convention offered a resolution obliquely criticizing the ailing Senator's long absence from his post, Bird headed them off by proposing his own resolution of sympathy and regard for Sumner. He also struck at Banks directly, writing against the moral and intellectual flaws in the Governor's veto of a legal code that emerged from the legislature, after years of study, in 1859. Banks objected that the code would have violated federal law by admitting blacks to the militia. Bird argued that this showed a bigotry consistent with Banks' Know Nothing career, and "flunkeyism" before the Slave Power as well.<sup>22</sup>

Radicals wanted someone to take the Republican gubernatorial nomination away from Banks at the 1860 convention. Their obvious candidate was John Andrew, a charter member of the Bird Club who put himself at the head of Republican radicalism in Massachusetts by organizing John Brown's legal defense. Unfortunately, as Bird later recalled, Andrew had too much regard for party unity to strike against the Governor. Andrew became a candidate only on the eve of the convention when Banks told state Republican committee chairman William Claflin that he was going to withdraw in order to become President of the Illinois Central Railroad. Then Bird had a serious gubernatorial candidate to support for the first time since the coalition failed.<sup>23</sup>

By radical standards Andrew was a better governor than Banks had been, but even he disappointed the exacting Bird in 1861. He asked the legislature for



authority to send delegates to the Peace Congress, Virginia's desperate attempt to reconcile the already divided states. Bird was then writing against Massachusetts' participation in the Congress under the impression that the Governor agreed with him. The two had a painful interview in which Bird's "looks and acts" expressed his "mortification" and certainty that another downward spiral of compromise with the Slave Power had begun. For his part, Andrew asked Bird to advise freely, but not to "criticize *afterwards*" when advice had not been sought.<sup>24</sup>

Andrew also disappointed Bird by refusing to speak at a meeting of the Emancipation League in November, 1861. Samuel Gridley Howe, Bird, and other radicals organized the League during the summer as a step toward making the war a crusade for liberty. Andrew declined to appear because he thought that his association with the League would endanger party and national unity. Bird had little interest in that; the war should be fought for liberty even if that antagonized men who only wanted to preserve the union. He promoted the higher goal throughout the war by corresponding with army officers responsible for "contrabands" and publishing what he learned in sympathetic newspapers. Keeping his readers aware of the blacks' ambiguous status, Bird urged their definitive emancipation.<sup>25</sup>

Blacks had only part of Bird's concern as the war began, and less of it thereafter. In 1862 he joined battle against the Troy and Greenfield Railroad which was seeking state aid for its tunnel through the Hoosac Mountain in Berkshire County. Opposed to public support of a private business, Bird was even more concerned by the apparent fact that western Massachusetts towns were subordinating all other public interests to their support of the tunnel. The area had gone over to the Democracy in 1861 and threatened to desert still more heavily in 1862 if Governor Andrew opposed aid for the tunnel. One of Bird's informants in Greenfield guessed that the Republicans stood to lose six to twelve thousand votes in the area. Andrew could survive the loss, but it might well have cost Sumner his place in the senate. Additional aid was finally provided; Bird marked the occasion with vitriolic pamphlets against *The Modern Minotaur* and its demands for tribute. He finally abandoned the struggle in 1869, when the state contracted for the tunnel's completion by 1874.<sup>26</sup>

Bird was also involved in the long fight over state credit for the Boston, Hartford, and Erie Railroad. As a member of the legislature he voted for loans to that corporation in 1867 and 1869, though he privately told Governor Claflin that it had been "very hard" to support the 1869 bill. A year later, when it was clear that the state's trust had been abused, Bird confessed to a legislative committee that "my personal and business interests and my private friendships led me to act contrary to my duty in a public matter." Thus shriven, he made a successful run for the state senate as an opponent of further aid to the corporation, published a little newspaper entirely devoted to the issue from May through June, 1870, and urged Governor Claflin to veto the aid bill that the legislature passed. Claflin did as Bird and many others advised.<sup>27</sup>

A host of good causes demanded Bird's attention in the same years. For example, in 1867 he presented a petition on women's suffrage, originated by



**FRANCIS WILLIAM BIRD.**  
From Lewis, *History of Walpole* (1905).

Lucy Stone, to the legislature. He continued a friendly interest in that reform at least through the 1870s. The other great moral issue of the day for many of his Republican friends was the prohibition of alcoholic beverages, but Bird opposed that, writing in favor of suasion rather than compulsion. By that time he was enjoying an occasional glass of champagne, and a regular evening cigar, quite in defiance of Grahamite principles. Finally, the defense of Charles Sumner needed special effort after the Senator's 1870 opposition to the annexation of Santo Domingo. Bird thought that the issue required him to repudiate Grant and the Republican Party itself.<sup>28</sup>

Bird attended the Liberal Republican convention of 1872, represented Sumner by fighting against Charles Francis Adams' bid for its presidential nomination, and tried to cajole Sumner himself into joining the movement. Still deeply concerned about Southern blacks, the Senator feared to divide the party that had been their defense. After much persuasion, Sumner finally endorsed Horace Greeley, who had both the Liberal Republican and Democratic nominations, but harshly rebuked Bird when he was himself nominated to be the Liberal Republican-Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Massachusetts. Bird preserved his friendship with Sumner by substituting his own name at the last possible moment.<sup>29</sup>

With that, Bird was out of the party he had helped to found, whose radicals he had helped to lead against Know Nothings, slavery, and corporations. He discovered that he had always been a "Democrat of the old school," and that it was no longer consistent with old Democratic principles to be a Republican. Parties were unimportant anyway; a more persistently Republican friend observed that Bird considered them useful only "for the opportunity they afforded him to hit the delinquent and laggard in official station." He left, therefore, while his surviving friends continued to meet for Saturday dinners that were increasingly given to recollection and eulogy.<sup>30</sup>

#### NOTES

1. This is a commonplace observation. See, for example, John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago, 1961), p. 197.
2. Charles Sumner Bird, *Francis William Bird, A Biographical Sketch* (Boston, 1897), privately printed by Bird's children, is the only general account of his life.
3. *The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* I (April 4, 1837), 2; (October 17, 1837), 222-224.
4. Charles Sumner Bird, *Francis William Bird*, pp. 15-19.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22; Harriet Robinson, "Warrington" *Pen-Portraits: A Collection of Personal and Political Reminiscences From 1848 to 1876, From the Writings of William S. Robinson* (Boston, 1877), p. 18; Francis W. Bird, *An Address Delivered Before the American Physiological Society, At Their First Annual Meeting, June 1, 1837* (Boston, 1837).
6. Willard De Lue, *The Story of Walpole, 1724-1924* (Norwood, Mass., 1925), pp. 266-268; Martin B. Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams, 1807-1886* (Boston, 1961), pp. 102-103; Charles Endicott to Bird, June 25, 1849, Bird Papers (Houghton Library, Harvard).
7. William Jackson to Bird, Sept. 20, 1849, Bird Papers; Harriet Robinson, "Warrington" *Pen-Portraits*, pp. 40-41.
8. Henry G. Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrews I* (Boston and New York, 1904), pp. 58-60; David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1961), p. 321.
9. Henry G. Pearson, *The Life of John Andrew I*, pp. 58-59; Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz II* (New York, 1909), p. 129; Harriet Robinson, "Warrington *Pen-Portraits*", p. 222; Edward W. Kinsley to Bird, June 11, 1872, Bird Papers.
10. Harold Schwartz, *Samuel Gridley Howe, Social Reformer, 1801-1876* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 176-181.
11. *The Commonwealth*, May 10, 1851.
12. Donald, *Charles Sumner*, pp. 189-194; *The Commonwealth*, April 4, 1851.
13. Samuel Shapiro, "The Conservative Dilemma: The Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853" *New England Quarterly* XXXIII (June, 1960): 207-224.
14. *Official Report of the Debates and Proceedings in The State Convention, Assembled May 14th, 1853, to Revise and Amend the Constitution of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1853), I; 6; II: 6-7, 548-549; III: 748-749, 752.
15. *Ibid.*, II; 818-819; III: 746-747.
16. *Ibid.*, I: 938.
17. *Ibid.*, I: 936; II: 158.
18. Shapiro, "The Conservative Dilemma," p. 224; Henry G. Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew*, I: 64; Donald, *Charles Sumner*, p. 256.
19. Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew*, I: 64, 66.
20. David W. Alford to Bird, June 2, 1857; June 4, 1857; June 14, 1857. All in Bird Papers; Harriet Robinson, "Warrington" *Pen-Portraits*, pp. 220-223.
21. Donald, *Charles Sumner*, p. 322; Louis Ruchames, ed., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, IV* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 454-458; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Boston and New York, 1898), pp. 237-238; Thomas Wentworth Higginson Bird, Jan. 7, 1857, Bird Papers; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (New York, 1970), pp. 140-141.
22. Donald, *Charles Sumner*, p. 343; Francis William Bird, *Review of Gov. Banks' Veto of the Revised Code, On Account of Its Authorizing the Enrollment of Colored Citizens in the Militia* (Boston, 1860), p. 11.
23. Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew*, I: 218-220.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-158. Their relationship survived such strains. Bird served on the Executive Council with Andrew from 1863 to 1865.
25. Francis William Bird to *The Boston Herald*, Dec. 9, 1861; C. B. Wilder to Bird, Nov. 4, 1862; Oct. 31, 1864, with similar letters in Bird Papers; Francis William Bird, "Let My People Go" (Boston, 1861), reprinted from the *Norfolk County Journal*.
26. Edward Chase Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation*, (Cambridge, 1948), I: 387-432; Francis William Bird, *The Road to Ruin: or, The Decline and Fall of the Hoosac Tunnel* (Boston, 1862); Francis William Bird, *The Modern Minotaur* (Boston, 1868); Daniel W. Alvord to Bird, April 10 and 15, 1862, Bird Papers.
27. Edward Chase Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation*, II: 37, 43-46; Charles Sumner Bird, *Francis William Bird*, p. 71; Francis William Bird to William Claflin, June 28, 1869, Claflin Papers (Rutherford B. Hayes Library); *The Tocsin*, May 17 to June 29, 1870.
28. Lucy Stone to Bird, Jan. 24, 1882; Henry Blackwell to Bird, Sept. 4, 1876; Charles Sumner to Bird, Sept. 13, 1872, in Bird Papers; Francis William Bird, *Modification, or Absolute Prohibition; Which?* (Boston, 1869); Charles Sumner Bird, *Francis William Bird*, p. 94; David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York, 1970), pp. 542-552.
29. Matthew T. Downey, "Horace Greeley and the Politicians: The Liberal Republican Convention of 1872" *Journal of American History* (March, 1967), LIII: 750; Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man*, p. 557; Charles Sumner to Bird, Sept. 15, 21, and Oct. 4, 1872, Bird Papers.
30. Charles Sumner Bird, *Francis Williams Bird*, p. 142.