SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS OF THE 1830'S AND
THE 1930'S: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

APPROVED:

Lewis W. Newton
Major Professor

Minor Professor

Director of the Department of History
L. A. Sharp
Chairman of the Graduate Council
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THE 1930'S: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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By

Wilma Pace Attebery, B. S.

Marshall, Texas

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CHAPTER I

AN AWAKENING OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The United States has faced many critical periods in her almost miraculous rise from a mere collection of wooded settlements along the eastern coast to a place of prominence in the affairs of the world today. The fact that the American people from time to time became alarmed over their way of life and decided to have a real old-fashioned house cleaning appears strikingly obvious to one who reads American history. This decision to reform the American way of life may be a resolve on the part of the individual to set himself upon a new and improved course as was the case in the first part of the nineteenth century, or it may be the government itself that decides to bring about a new social order, as in the Rooseveltian era of the 1930's.

When one tries to find the cause for this great upheaval of old ideas and the breaking in of new ones the implications all seem to point to the influence of two great periods of world strife, to the backwash of two great wars — the Napoleonic war and the World War. It is more probable that change was already in the air, and that the wars were simply one evidence of the overhauling that was to come. The World
War was more of a struggle to retain the old ideas, the status quo, than it was an effort to establish a new order. It was a terrible outburst of energy to preserve a somewhat mature civilization, without the least forewarning of the complete upsetting of previous standards which should come as the aftermath of this war.

In the world struggle one hundred years before, known as the Napoleonic wars, America's part in this struggle is termed the War of 1812. This has been called our second war for independence, and so it was in many respects. The events of the twenty years ending in 1815 had shattered the glamor of attachment to Old-World standards of government, of commerce, of literature, and of society. The eastern seaboard people had looked to Europe for their standards in society, cultural education, manners, customs, and dress. They had even been a bit afraid of the "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" of the common man as proclaimed in the French Revolution. These descendants of the Virginia Colony, the Pilgrims, and the Puritans were afraid of having their old established social order upset by this swift new tide. How quickly they forgot the very purpose of these new colonies to create a new society in a new land!

Up to this period in United States history the tendency had been for the dissatisfied man to move on west. If he did not like the government, the society, and the manners of the older established community, he simply packed up his scanty household goods, picked up his gun, and moved west beyond
the reach of his obnoxious surroundings. Like Daniel Boone, he sought more room. The West was ever the land of promise. Out on the frontier the government or the society of his eastern brothers did not bother him.

But after the War of 1812, when many of these same frontiersmen had been led by Jackson into battle for the nation, they became conscious of a responsibility toward and a share in their government. They began to awaken to a feeling of pride in the nation and to feel that they should have a greater part in its affairs. Characteristic of this feeling was the struggle in Virginia between the back-country region and the tidewater populations. These back-country Virginians, even in colonial days, were "constantly clamoring" for the privilege of voting.¹ The lack of representation in their government was a constant irritation to them. Their aristocratic, slave-holding neighbors not only looked down upon the westerner's crude manners, but also controlled the government exercised over him. The fight between eastern and western Virginia for the reapportionment of representation in the General Assembly and for the extension of suffrage began in earnest after the close of the War of 1812, and the struggle went on until in 1830 the Virginia Constitution was revised so as to give the western people more voice in their government.

Yes, America was indeed awakening. It was sensing as never before the possibilities of the country. Here, as nowhere else on the globe, were all the requirements for a complete and perfect society. A young America disdained the value heretofore placed on foreign commerce; turned its attention to its waterfalls and other natural resources from which it could raise up its own factories; looked to improvement of its own inland waterways and to the extension of transportation by roads, canals, and later by railroads; established its national bank and its protective system; produced men of literary ability who fashioned great works out of American experiences and scenes on American soil; and turned rapidly from traditional limitations on suffrage and office-holding to the freer equality of the followers of Andrew Jackson.

It was a period of extravagant youth, given over to a cult of romanticism that wrought many marvels. In the South, in New England, and on the western frontier, it laid hold of men's minds, sweeping away the drab realisms of a cautious past, and offering in their stead more alluring ideals. Revolutions came fast; and the final outcome was the emergence of a new middle class. Of a sudden, America was becoming a new world with potentialities never before dreamed of; and this new America was no longer content with the narrow ways of a more cautious generation. The older America of colonial days had been static, rationalistic, inclined to pessimism, fearful
of the new, and clinging to the old. In New England, in particular, human nature was held to be evil and man as incurably wicked.

This new America that succeeded the old was a shifting, restless world, youthfully optimistic, eager to better itself, bent on finding easier roads to wealth than the plodding path of natural increase. It set out to inquire what opportunities awaited it in the unexploited resources of the continent. New commonwealths were rising in the wilderness and new lands were daily coming on the market. Men turned with new interest to the exploitation of unbounded wealth and with an enthusiasm that made many superficial observers believe that the outstanding characteristic of the American life was the pursuit of the dollar.\textsuperscript{2}

One feature of this era was its outstanding Americanism. Americans have from the beginning differed from the world from which they have been drawn, but they have been at no time detached from that world. This, however, was a time when they had less contact than usual with the Old World. Foreign trade had diminished somewhat more than usual. Fewer boys than before went abroad for their education. Americans were proud of their separation from Europe. The Monroe Doctrine had set forth a doctrine of "America for Americans." It was an age of patriotism, of intense pride in the nation. No wonder Mrs. Trollope's criticism on the American manners

\textsuperscript{2}H. U. Faulkner, \textit{American Political and Social History}, p. 262.
raised such a storm of protest! She did not spare the feel-
ings of this independent individualism of the West. Just
imagine the westerner of the Jacksonian type, who lost no
opportunity to declare to the world that he was as good "as
the next one," reading this description of his manners:

Let no one who wishes to receive agreeable impressions
of American manners, commence his travels in a Mis-
sissippi steam-boat; for myself, it is with all sin-
cerity I declare, that I would infinitely prefer sharing
the apartment of a party of well-conditioned pigs, to
being confined to its cabin.

I hardly know any annoyance so deeply repugnant
to English feelings, as the incessant remorseless spitt-
ing of Americans. I feel that I owe my readers an
apology for the repeated use of this, and several
other odious words; but I cannot avoid them, without
suffering the fidelity of description to escape me.3

Nor would this westerner be likely to approve of Frances
Trollope's description of the "fair city" of Cincinnati, the
metropolis of the West. For these Americans had their plans,
they knew their power; to them the future was already real-
ized. Their cities did not equal those of Europe, but in
time they would -- as, indeed, in the twentieth century they
do. They, therefore, resented the criticisms of others, and
they bolstered up their own hopes by suppressing their own
criticism.

Americans were not alone in regarding the United States
as unique. From the pens of many European travelers came
book after book about the life, manners, and customs of this
new country and its people. From such books Americans had an

3Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans,
p. 12.
opportunity to "see ourselves as others see us." Many of these accounts point out the speed with which things were accomplished in this new life.

It was at this time that Americans became hustlers. "The 'quick lunch' was introduced, and everywhere people ate in a hurry."4 Frances Trollope, in her description of life in Cincinnati, gave a very good example of the speed with which that frontier town was fast becoming a thriving city. For instance, she wrote in her journal:

One of the sights to stare at in America is that of the houses moving from place to place. . . . They make no difficulty of moving dwellings from one part of the town to another. Those that I saw travelling were all of them frame houses. . . . The largest dwelling that I saw in motion was one containing two stories of four rooms each; forty oxen were yoked to it. . . . This locomotive power was extremely convenient to Cincinnati, as the constant improvements going on there made it often desirable to change a wooden building for one of brick; and whenever this happened, we were sure to see the ex-No. 100 of Main Street, or the ex-No. 55 of Second Street, creeping quietly out of town, to take possession of an humble suburban station on the common above it.5

This restless hurry was an outward sign of the optimism that was becoming an American characteristic. A spirit of hope pervaded the lives of most of these hustling Americans, and they confidently believed that they themselves would see the realization of human happiness. Nowhere was this more in evidence than in the belief of some of the current religious

4C. R. Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, p. 3.

5Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, p. 73.
sects that this generation would live to see God descend in person upon the earth.

The causes of such optimism are found in the new conditions which this generation encountered. The unlimited natural resources, the abundance of fertile soil for the mere taking of it, made them realize that there were no heights to which they could not ascend if they worked. Boys of that generation were told that they might become president and that the money they could make would be limited only by their own will to work. English travelers of that period wrote of the amount of work done and of how the women who professed to move in the "best society" performed many of the household tasks with their own hands.

Another striking characteristic of the Americans of the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century was their passion for equality. This notion of equality probably went back to the Declaration of Independence. But even Jefferson must have known, when he wrote, "All men are created equal," that that was more of an ideal or an aspiration than the statement of a fact. Europeans laughed at the assertion frequently made that every American was a king in his own country. But to these Americans this was no idle statement. They were bent on obtaining economic equality. They never failed, or, if they did, they turned to something so readily that failure appeared to be turned into success. Their ready adaptability enabled them to turn from failure in farming to banking, from
the broken bank to law, and from law to mining. Their whole
philosophy of life seemed to be built around this premise:
that opportunity plus effort would at once produce anything.⁶

Frances Trollope deplored this passion for equality as
upsetting to her English ideas and customs. She wrote that
one would be as likely to be introduced to the market man or
the garbage collector at a social function as one would to
meet the most refined and cultured members of society. The
familiarity of the Trollope neighbors in Cincinnati was
startling to them at first. She wrote of this familiarity:

But the point where this republican equality was
the most distressing was in the long and frequent
visitation that it produced. No one dreams of fasten-
ing a door in Western America; I was told that it
would be considered an affront by the whole neigh-
bourhood. I was thus exposed to perpetual, and most
vexatious interruptions from people whom I have often
never seen, and whose names still oftener were unknown
to me.⁷

To the mind of this democratic middle-class individual
Andrew Jackson typified the ideal of "all men are created
equal" or "every American a king." Did he not rise from their
own frontier ranks to bring the national capital the very
breath and spirit of this new-found freedom? He was one of
their own kind elevated from the ranks to the highest office
in the land. He gave them a new lease, a new interest in
national government, and a claim on the White House itself.

⁶Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, pp. 7-10.
⁷Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, p. 83.
They had somehow lost this feeling of proprietorship since the days of George Washington. They had been too busy building an empire in the wilderness; and, besides, they could not abide the aristocratic Virginia dynasty, who professed democracy but practiced very little of it. Consequently, they stayed out in the West and let matters take their course in Washington. But now -- now they had a neighbor in Washington, so the would go over and "set for a spell." And they did just that. Oh, of course, the White House furniture suffered somewhat. The brocade-covered sofas and the shining mahogany tables were a little the worse from the contact with mucky boots; but what mattered that? Was this not the property of the common man? Did they not suffer and die for this at Valley Forge and, what was much more recent and nearer to them, at New Orleans? Yes, these enthusiastic westerners invaded the stronghold of the aristocrats, and, what was more important, their spirit of optimism and equality began to manifest itself even among the people of the East.

Staid New England began to awaken to the call of the common man. Emerson began to write of equality and to set forth the doctrine that all men were divine and could become as God, thus placing equality upon a superhuman plane. This elevation of mankind was open to all, but it could be attained only by effort. So the impulse toward self-improvement was awakened in New England. Self-improvement became a solemn duty, with the fear of failure always present and with
escape from damnation as its most insistent motive.

Both Jackson and Emerson believed that one improvement to be brought about was the realization of the equality of men. Both recognized the fact that this equality did not yet exist. Jackson and the disciples of Emerson set themselves to make it so by throwing down the obstacles they saw in the way and by fearlessly breaking old habits and customs. Restrictions as to the suffrage, long terms of office, the slow progress of public education for all, continued imprisonment for debt, even the existence of slavery; all these and more stood in the way of equality for men, and to annihilate them was the dominant idealistic aim of this generation.8

A virtual tide of reform swept the country in the early nineteenth century. There was an extraordinary spiritual and intellectual awakening, reaching from the backwoods of Kentucky to the rock-bound coast of Maine. Everywhere men and women from all walks of life and with all degrees of education tried to understand the meaning of the new age, and turned enthusiastically in search of a method to produce a better civilization. Literature and science felt the force of the great awakening, while many optimistically embarked on experiments in democracy, education, religion, humanitarianism, and socialism. All sorts of fads, cults, and schemes for a perfect society were founded, some to last many years, others to fail in a few months or years.9 It was about this

8Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, pp. 11-12.
time that Emerson wrote to Carlyle in the following manner:

We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket. I am gently mad myself, and am resolved to live cleanly. George Ripley is talking up a colony of agriculturists and scholars, with whom he threatens to take the field and the book. One man renounces the use of animal food; and another, coin; and another, domestic hired service; and another, the state; and on the whole, we have a commendable share of reason and hope.  

These schemes for reforming society in most cases aimed in the right direction. Almost no real harm was done by any of them. Much worthwhile enthusiasm was spent upon schemes of doubtful value, but the reforming spirit of the period effected a change almost as remarkable as the Industrial Revolution itself.  

The reformers of the 1830's sought the ears of the world from the platform, the press, and the pulpit. Indeed, much of the spirit of reform was manifest in the religion of the day. Men were constantly seeking the "right religion." They changed from one sect to another and then back again. Ministers of the day became the leaders in other reform movements. A large percentage of the members of the early peace movement was made up of the clergy. Some of them became abolitionists and many of them became identified with the temperance movement. There was a widespread belief, especially among the various religious groups, that the millennium was


10 Paulkner, American Political and Social History, p. 262.
almost at hand and that the time was very short in which to set the world at rights and to save sinful mankind. Some of the leaders of this doctrine even went so far as to set the day and hour when Christ would descend upon the earth, and many of the believers spent the day or night out on a hill watching for His coming.

Such waves of religious frenzy were bound to reach out and touch other social customs and injustices. A spirit of humanitarianism took hold of the people. The English reform movement was in full swing during this period, with debate after debate and investigation after investigation going on in Parliament. Men, women, and children were brought before investigating committees, usually dripping wet from the mines and only half clad, to tell their story of long hours and hard work.

All this helped to bring about a feeling in the United States that here, too, were social injustices that needed looking into. Prisons and prison conditions came in for their share of investigation. The young giant known as the factory system came under the critical gaze of the public. It was just possible that this system, with its dormitories for women that received such favorable notice about 1815 or 1820, was working its laborers too long hours. And the system that was once lauded as a great benefit to children, in that it gave them useful employment and kept them out of mischief, was now noted as also keeping them out of schools
and stunting their natural physical growth to a deplorable degree.

With the growth of the spirit of democracy and a better understanding of the meaning of liberty, the plight of the negro slave came in for its share of public sympathy. Although the avalanche of concern was small at first, it gathered momentum with the years until it finally ended in the holocaust of the Civil War.

 Everywhere the press took up the fight for social justice. Newspapers were started with the avowed aim of the regeneration of man. Magazines sprang up almost over night, many to last only a few months, all with the purpose of creating a new and better society. Women began to venture out of their kitchens and parlors where, for many years, proper society had imprisoned them and to lend their voices and pens to whatever great "cause" that happened to be uppermost in their respective communities at that particular time. Novelists, poets, writers, lecturers, all took up one or more of the popular reforms and worked toward perfection in society.

With all their striving after perfectionism, their struggle toward a Utopian society, these nineteenth century idealists felt an individual responsibility for the improvement they desired in the church, in the state, and in society. They did not lean on any support or look to any agency other than their own hard work and individual effort, to attain the standards they had set for themselves. If it was a
better home and better living conditions they wanted, they went after that with a zeal that sometimes astonished the British onlooker. If they felt some change was needed in the church, they went at that with the same zealous effort. They put into practice the old maxim, "If you want anything done well, do it yourself."

The government they regarded as something to be restricted to the preservation of order among individuals, leaving the impulse to advance to individual initiative. The consequence was that throughout this period the agency of the national government was reduced to a minimum. The failure in the 1830's to extend the charter of the National Bank was an example of this trend toward reducing the power of the national government. With Jackson's policy of "to the victors belong the spoils" came the idea that men should not hold office long. Rotation in the holding of offices from the most important to the least significant was wont to destroy the hold of the aristocracy on the machinery of government. All this tended to lessen the power of the national government.\footnote{Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, pp. 32-43.}

Thus the important trends of the crusading 1830's may be compared with or contrasted to the equally crusading 1930's. The people of the 1930's look back on the chaos that followed the World War as the chief source of tremendous changes that
have swept the United States in the last twenty years. At the close of that war the industries of the United States were in full swing. To the superficial observer it appeared that the millennium was indeed at hand, and that never again would men have to wear cotton shirts or women have to look for a job. The pendulum was swinging far to the left. But as early as 1920 or 1921 the close observer began to suspect that all was not well with the world and that the pendulum must soon start its backward swing.

It was true that the war had shattered many of the old ideas and standards and had completely changed the point of view, but in the main society hoped that when it came out of its daze it could again play the game of life, business, and religion according to the old rules. The public calmly waited for that "return to normalcy" promised by Harding, "sat tight" and quiet with Coolidge, and decided to stand Hoover if it could -- when, presto! came October, 1929! This volcanic eruption threw the entire country into utter confusion. Since then there has been a bewildered scramble either to regain the old balance or to find some new fulcrum upon which there may revolve a more secure society.

Numerous plans for reconstructing society have been proposed. Many of the plans are as "crack-brained" as any of those advanced one hundred years ago. Every plan, every formula of the public or social order which existed prior to 1929, has been condemned as totally unsound and unworkable.
Many have spoken of the 1930's as a new age, a new youth, a new economic order, a new deal, or even a new religion -- perhaps with a new God. Change! What visions that one word brings up!

When Roosevelt promised the people a "New Deal," he did more than give a new meaning to an old phrase. He started a dramatic epoch in the history of the United States. The people took new hope from an almost hopeless situation. Millions were unemployed, thousands were homeless wanderers, and other thousands were underfed, poorly clothed, and wretchedly housed. Unlike their ancestors of the 1830's, they looked to the government to remake the social order and to provide them with ample security. The government, to them, had become a huge paternalistic order to which they could look for social and economic security for themselves and for their children.

Just as in the nineteenth century, people began to come forward with scheme after scheme for stabilizing and changing the social order. If Emerson had lived in this age, no doubt he would have noted the multiplicity of "vest pocket" plans for a new society. There were the Technocrats who believed in a scheme known as Technocracy.

Technocracy rested upon the thesis that technological unemployment was permanent and destined to increase. It contained a plan whereby each individual would be required to fulfill a period of service to the state known as an energy contract. The period was to be for four hours per day, one hundred and sixty-five days...
per year, and for those between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five. Relative costs of all consumers' goods were to be determined by the relative amount of energy required to produce and deliver them. Every individual in the state would receive periodically an energy certificate from which would be deducted the amount of each purchase. There would be no profits under this scheme of complete social ownership and every one would have an equal income through life.¹²

Senator Long's "Share the Wealth" program was another plan to make for social and economic equality among the people of the nation. The Louisiana Senator went to the United States Senate in January, 1932, and immediately launched a campaign to save the country by redistributing its wealth. In February, 1934, he presented his complete program, which he called a "Plan to Carry out the Command of the Lord." It was the program of his Share Our Wealth Society, the motto of which was "Every Man a King." The program provided for old age pensions, $5,000 for every family, limitation of the hours of work to prevent over-production, balanced agricultural production, care for the war veterans, taxation of big fortunes, a homestead for every family, and a standard income for every family in America. He continued to popularize his Utopian dream of a debt-free home, a motor car, an electric refrigerator, and a college education for everybody until an assassin's bullet, in the summer of 1935, brought to an end the spectacular career of the Louisiana "Kingfish." Who knows to what

¹²D. L. Dumond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, pp. 412-413.
heights this impractical dreamer might have soared had the assassin missed his mark on that summer day in 1935?  

Plan after plan was put forward in the early days of the 1930's. They ranged all the way from Francis E. Townsend's radical Old Age Pension Plan of providing every worthy citizen over sixty years of age with two hundred dollars per month, to the less radical but no less revolutionary deluge of alphabetical orders laid out by Franklin D. Roosevelt and his brain-trusters. The school children of the 1930's have become better acquainted with their "A. B. C.'s" from the newspapers, magazines, and billboards setting forth the order of the latest "Works Project" than they ever did from McGuffey's reader in the days gone by.

That much good has come from this medley of ideas cannot be denied. How much of it will prove to be permanent is to be decided by the future. There is a distinct moral tone in this modern reform movement; an idea that industrial relations are matters of social justice, of ethics, of morality, as much as they are matters of economic expediency. This is a far cry from the McKinley-Rooseveltian era of some forty years ago, when a policy of laissez faire was the rule of the day.

13 Ibid., pp. 414-416.
CHAPTER II

THE AGENCIES OF REFORM

Along with the spiritual and intellectual awakening experienced in America during the first half of the nineteenth century came a quickening of the literary pulse. During the colonial period there had been not only an intellectual dependence upon England but one of political and economic purport as well. The Revolutionary War snapped the political bond; the War of 1812, together with the Industrial Revolution, was breaking the economic bond; and the new forces within the country were creating a national literature. The certainty of a high destiny for America gave a feeling of self-confidence to the writers of the day, and there was a growing realization that here in America there was much to write about.

Books depicting American scenes and American life began to appear. The East was old enough for history and tradition to have grown, and the dramatic episodes of colonial New England and New York were soon woven into essays, fiction, and poetry. The new interest in public education, the numerous newspapers and magazines that everywhere began to roll off the presses, the platform lecturers, and an increasing
interest in the projects of reform, all stimulated a reading public. The improvements in transportation enabled magazines and newspapers to be more widely distributed than ever before.\footnote{Faulkner, \textit{American Political and Social History}, pp. 277-278.}

There was an increasing demand for books all through the 1820's, and by 1827 a project for the opening of public libraries in each state to be financed by means of a lottery was being considered. During the 1830's many subscription and free public libraries and libraries open to particular classes of people were founded. All through these years book buying by private individuals became more general and on a much larger scale than it had been up to this time. It was estimated that fifty thousand separate works were printed in the first thirty years of the century, some of them belonging to the great men of American literature, such as Irving and Cooper.\footnote{Edward Channing, \textit{A History of the United States}, V, 275-277.}

In the early part of the nineteenth century New York first became the center for American literature, and here developed the first purely American school of literature. Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and William Cullen Bryant, who had come to New York from Massachusetts, were outstanding among these early writers. Some of Irving's best works dealt with the history and traditions of the Dutch
in the Hudson River valley. Many of the names used in these stories were those of the old historic Dutch families of those early settlements. After a tour in the West Irving wrote of the romance of the West in his A Tour of the Prairies, Astoria, and in other stories of the frontier. James Fenimore Cooper, another New Yorker to write of American scenes, chose as one of his themes the border warfare between the pioneer and the Indian. In his The Pioneers, The Last of the Mohicans, and The Prairie he went far into the wilderness and out beyond to the vast prairies for his purely American scenes. In these and in others of his Leatherstocking series, he gave a heroic account of America's conquest of the wilderness.

Of these three early New York writers, William Cullen Bryant was, perhaps, the one most clearly connected with the reform movement. As a newspaper editor Bryant fought on the liberal side. He defended the right of workmen to strike and in May, 1836, after the courts had denied the right of the labor unions to strike, he attacked the judge and the court. His next step was to defend the right of free speech and he spoke out vigorously against the Cincinnati mob that suppressed the press of James G. Birney. When Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered in Illinois and his press thrown into the river, Bryant replied to those who believed that the Abolitionists had got their just deserts: "Whether they erred or not in their opinions, they did not err in the conviction of their right, as citizens of a democratic State, to express them:
nor did they err in defending their rights with an obstinacy that yielded only to death."3 From the defense of free speech Bryant went forward to the defense of free soil. He was a liberal defending the rights of democracy, and his sturdy defense of the rights of free men, his championship of unpopular causes, his tolerance and fairness and keen sense of justice, made him a great American.4

It was in New England where the great awakening caused the most pronounced change in American literature. Here the spirit of humanitarian reform took root and profoundly changed the outlook of Puritan Congregationalism. William Ellery Channing and his followers created New England Unitarianism and "out of Unitarianism was to come the intellectual renaissance, with its transcendental philosophies and social reforms, its enlarged conception of democracy and its Utopian dreams, which made New England count so effectively in the developments of the half century."5

At the height of Unitarianism, its more intellectual branch became enmeshed with the super-idealistic movement of the times -- that movement, philosophy, or faith known as

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4Farrington, The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860, II, 244-246.

5Tbid., p. 322.
Transcendentalism. There is no philosophy current in modern society so full of hope, so upward reaching, so brimming with exaltation, or so supremely confident of the inner worth of the individual. The Congregationalists declared that every person is born in iniquity; the Unitarians, that he is born good; the Transcendentalists, that he is born divine. Human nature, according to the Transcendentalists, should be content with nothing less than to walk among the stars. Ralph Waldo Emerson in *The American Scholar* and in his *Essays* best expresses the fundamentals of Transcendentalism.

Other writers joined the crusade for reform or tried some new scheme to attain this idealism characteristic of the times. Henry David Thoreau not only took a stand against slavery but he also declared himself against the state, and, on refusing to pay his poll tax, was arrested and thrown into jail. Later he tried a plan of going back to nature and actually retired to the woods near Walden Pond and lived an isolated life in a cabin. He ate little meat, living almost entirely on vegetables and fruits, and he drank nothing but water.6

Among the militant abolitionists of the day was John Greenleaf Whittier, and though Parrington says of him, "if Garrison was the flintiest character amongst the militant

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Abolitionists, Whittier was certainly the gentlest, "7 he was, nevertheless, a decided abolitionist. In 1833 he published, at his own cost, a little Abolition tract entitled Justice and Expediency, which was reissued by Lewis Tappan and scattered broadcast in a great edition. For the next thirty years he wrote abundantly in prose and verse for the cause of abolition and served as editor of Abolition publications. At one time he was hunted by a mob and stoned.

The lecture platform shared in furthering the reform movement. The Lyceum movement was originated in Willimantic, Massachusetts, in 1826, by Josiah Holbrook. It soon became a national organization. By 1836 the American Lyceum Association represented almost a thousand local societies throughout the North generally, and became the distributive channel of eager curiosity about literature, the arts, the sciences, moral ideas, and the new social and educational movements. 8

Probably one of the greatest women lecturers of the early 1830's was an English woman, Frances Wright. After failure in her negro emancipation venture at Nashoba in Tennessee, she began a lecture tour. She was a pioneer in this field for women and in some instances was not received with very much enthusiasm. This was partly because she was a woman but also because she was far ahead of her time in


8E. D. Branch, The Sentimental Years, 1836-1860, p. 119.
many of the things she advocated and was looked upon by the public as an actual corruptor of morals. She stood for woman's rights, birth control, and liberal divorce laws — things almost unheard of in this period. She was a defender of the labor movement and lent her support to public education. As co-editor of the Free Enquirer she wrote many articles also on the various reform movements. She was interested in any kind of reform, whether social or political, but her chief concern was for the welfare of mankind.

As voices of the new spirit, newspapers came in for their share of growth, both in number and in extent of circulation, in the early nineteenth century. In 1800 there were between one hundred fifty and two hundred newspapers, by 1810 there were three hundred sixty-six, and during the next two decades the increase was equally rapid. The press followed the population as it moved westward, and by 1835 newspapers had spread to the Mississippi River and beyond, to St. Louis and even to Texas. Though often poorly written, these newspapers helped to bind the far-flung population into a nation. Daily newspapers were increasing in number in the cities. The first had appeared in Philadelphia and New York in 1784 and in 1785; in 1796 one appeared in Boston. By 1810 there were twenty-seven in the country. As early as 1835 the Detroit Free Press began its long career. Among the other newspapers established in the 1830's was The Globe in Washington, edited by Francis P. Blair; the New York Sun
in 1833 became the first penny newspaper; and the New York Herald, established a little later, was also a penny paper. The Herald and the Sun were at once successful and became influential in altering journalistic practices of the times. 9

The period of widespread unrest and change caused many specialized forms of journalism to flood the country. Religious, educational, agricultural, and commercial journals found many readers. Labor problems, socialistic ideas, Unitarianism, and Transcendentalism all were finding expression in various papers or journals. Temperance, peace, and the political status of women were being discussed. The Mechanics Free Press of Philadelphia in 1827 was the first labor paper in the United States, and by 1837 sixty-eight such papers had appeared. But the Abolition question was probably the most controversial of all the current problems. William Lloyd Garrison published the first issue of the Liberator in January, 1831, thus forcing the slavery question upon the newspapers.

Magazines also flourished during this period. Many of the American authors found expression in the periodicals of the day. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia led in magazine publication, but magazines, like newspapers, were following the spread of the population. The South had its share, and the region west of the Alleghenies had a surprisingly large

number. Cincinnati and Lexington were important publishing centers, and by 1831 James Hall had started The Illinois Monthly Magazine at Vandalia.¹⁰

Among the more serious types of magazines were The North American Review and The American Quarterly Review. There were many general literary magazines containing fiction, essays, poetry, scientific and historical articles. The Godey's Lady's Book made its appearance and was a great favorite with ladies. The United States Literary Gazette, to which Longfellow was a contributor, and The New England Magazine, to which Holmes and Lowell contributed, were among those magazines in the late 1820's and the early 1830's. The Dial, published quarterly by a group of New England Transcendentalists, was started in Boston in 1840, with Margaret Fuller as editor and Emerson, Alcott, and Thoreau among the contributors.¹¹

Many magazines edited by women appeared in print during this time. Some like Godey's Lady's Book appealed to women through the colored fashion plates and through sentimental poetry and fiction; others became virtual crusaders of the reform movement. Women up to this time had not been very prominent in public affairs. When Frances Wright began to edit the Free Enquirer in 1828, she set about to usher in a new type of reform periodical. Women writers had been known

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 162-163.  
¹¹Ibid., pp. 164-165.
before and some women were known to be interested in reforms; but no publication directed by a woman had attempted to regenerate erring humanity, nor had any periodical intent upon bettering the world summoned the ladies of the country "to stand forth in their might against some menacing evil." The lady-editors who by 1828 were just beginning to take charge of periodicals for their own sex had no thought of sponsoring questionable projects.12

With the Free Enquirer, edited by Frances Wright, the story of these periodicals may properly be said to have begun. This weekly paper made its first appearance in New York City on October 29, 1828, and proposed to deal with a wide variety of subjects in its "single honest desire to promote the cause of human improvement."13 It further expressed its desire to open the eyes of the "gentler sex" to the evils of the day and to arouse them to the injustices and restrictions imposed upon the female of that period. But, for the most part, it aroused consternation among the "gentler sex" instead of opening their eyes.

When the New York Amulet and Ladies' Literary and Religious Chronicle made its appearance on January 9, 1830, with the avowed purpose of doing what it could to "check

12Bertha M. Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," The American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 678.

13Free Enquirer, October 29, 1828, as quoted in Stearns, op. cit., p. 679.
intemperance and infidelity," it was immediately attacked by Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of the Ladies Magazine of Boston, in the February, 1830, issue, who labeled it a direct insult to the "ladies of America." Editor Hale's only excuse for the paper, which was also a veiled attack on Frances Wright, was offered in these words:

As one of the most noted infidel teachers at present in our country (though fortunately not a native) happens to be a woman, there may be some excuse for preparing a paper opposed to her principles, purposely for the sex; otherwise we should deem such a proceeding a libel on the ladies of America.14

Disapproval by the more genteel, parlor-type ladies' magazines had little effect on these "reforming upstarts," and magazines continued to roll off the presses exhorting the women of America to arise and lead the crusade against the vice and crime rampant in the land. The Female Advocate appeared in January, 1832, and announced its determination to enlist "the females of New York in the work of moral improvement and the elevation of the fair sex."15 The Advocate was started by William Goodell with the intention of furthering the work of a fanatical young man named John R. McDowall who was working among the outcasts of New York City. Goodell attended one of McDowall's lectures and was determined through the columns of his new periodical to assist the young reformer by enlisting the sympathies of the women in

15Female Advocate, November 2, 1832, ibid., p. 682.
McDowall's work. This paper was especially interested in encouraging the organization of "Moral Societies" which should devote themselves to rescuing unfortunate women from idleness, vice, and misery, and to inculcating in their members "purity of thought, word and deed." ¹⁶

These moral crusaders seemed to be uneasy and much concerned about the fashions of women, for the Advocate begged its readers "to break the chains which vice assisted by fashion had rivetted on thousands of the fair daughters of America," and to think seriously on the subject of "female dress and ornament." Dress, the editor believed, constituted "the leading temptation of both sexes and engulfed thousands, year after year, in the sinks of pollution which abound in all our great cities." ¹⁷

Not even the diet of the "ladies" of that time escaped the notice of the reformers of that day, and the following sounds like an admonition given to a modern Hollywood movie actress. The Advocate suggested the forming of "Female Retrenchment Societies" "which should dispense with tea, coffee, rich cake, pastry, preserves, snuff, and tobacco, as well as spirits, wines, and cordials." In the same issue of the Advocate, indiscriminate reading was warned against, one correspondent attacking Sir Walter Scott in the following

¹⁶Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," The American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 81-82.

¹⁷Female Advocate, November 2, 1832, ibid., p. 682.
manner: "I have never met anyone who has been benefited by
Scott, but I have seen many on whose moral and religious
principles his writings have had a pernicious effect. His
profane oaths must shock every person of correct taste and
religious feeling."18

Later the Advocate turned its attention more to the
temperance movement and left the moral campaign up to Mc-
Dowall's Journal, started about 1833. In this paper McDowall
stated that he would do everything in his power to arouse all
"Christian females in the United States" to embattled action
in behalf of "moral purity." He threatened to make New York
tremble for its sins. He proposed to make every woman real-
ize the dangers that threatened the "young and unguarded
females." The Female Moral Reform Society of New York, or-
ganized as an auxiliary to the American Seventh Commandment
Society, declared its fidelity to his cause, purchased his
paper at the end of the year 1834, and continued to issue it
as the Advocate of Moral Reform. By 1835 the paper had
changed editors and announced that while the new paper would
be "full in its exposure of vice," it would at the same time
be "sufficiently delicate and chaste in character" to circu-
late freely among all classes. Later it became much milder
in tone and became more of a family magazine. Its red flag
of moral reform had turned pink to say the least.19

18 Ibid.

19 Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers,
1830-1860," American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932),
683-684.
The "ladies" of Boston organized a Female Reform Society in 1835, and determined not to be outdone by their New York sisters, established their paper in 1836, called the Friend of Virtue. In this new periodical they appealed to the New England ladies to resist the evils in their land.

Dear Sisters, we would hold up to your view the violated law of God as contained in the seventh precept of the Decalogue, and ask you what will be done to save it from universal desecration. We present it to you in behalf of our beloved New England, exalted to heaven in point of privilege, yet by her departure from the purity and simplicity of our pilgrim fathers standing on a verge of a fearful destruction. Dear Sisters, shall this state of things continue? 20

Evidently the New England ladies decided "things should not continue so," and proceeded to go after the evils in their midst, led on by the Friend of Virtue. All were cautioned against the vices of the day and were told to work toward the growth and the spreading of the principles of their society, though it was painful to the female mind to "contemplate the prevalence of licentiousness," but it was only by facing such evils that women could hope to set higher standards. 21

Although reform periodicals prepared for and by women in the 1830's and 1840's concerned themselves chiefly with improving the public morals or enlarging the sphere of women,

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20 Friend of Virtue, October 15, 1839, ibid., p. 684.

21 Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," The American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 684-685.
they were not unmindful of such incidental interests as health and dress. The *Health Journal and Advocate of Physiological Reform* was established in 1840. Its editor pointed out the evils of overeating, of indulgence in meat, tea, coffee, and other unwholesome food.  

The legal status of married women of the 1830's was ably attacked by Frances Wright. She condemned the system of law which deprived a woman upon marriage of what property she possessed and merged her legal identity with that of her husband, a system which inflicted "absolute spoliation, and allows of absolute robbery, and all but murder, against the unhappy female who swears away, at one and the same moment, her person and her property, and as it but too often is, her honor, and her life."  

In the columns of the *Free Enquirer* she appealed to the fathers of young women to demand a change in these laws to protect their daughters from such legal bondage. She wrote:

I would ask every father not absolutely dead to all human feeling how he can permit his daughters blindly to immolate all their rights, liberties, and property by the simple utterance of a word, and thus place themselves, in their tender, ignorant, and unsuspecting youth, as completely at the disposal and mercy of an individual, as the negro slave who is bought for gold in the slave market of Kingston or New Orleans.  

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22Ibid., p. 697.  
Frances Wright was one of the first women to speak out for the rights of women, and this demand that the legal and property rights of married women be recognized was not her only demand for women. She also demanded more liberal divorce laws so that her sisters who were unhappily wed might go their separate ways in life. Although Frances Wright married later, theoretically at least she was opposed to the marriage tie. But "realizing the hopelessness of substituting the moral obligation for the legal in the present state of society," she could see no way to freedom for her sex other than divorce. She was also an advocate of birth control. She believed that with the growth of the population of the United States, it would become increasingly harder to provide for the large family, and that among the working class, at least, this would mean increasing poverty and neglected children. To Frances Wright there seemed to be no greater evil possible than bringing children into the world who could not be properly provided for. The remedy, she thought, lay in restricting the size of the family to the number of children the parents could adequately care for -- in other words, intelligent birth control. If her radical ideas as to the rights of women alarmed the public, just imagine what the reaction of the "delicate" 'thirties must have been to birth control! For such ideas to be aired in public, and openly advocated by a woman from a public lecture platform -- that was something the conservative could never
forgive. Frances Wright had fallen hopelessly from grace. Almost anything might be believed of such a traitor to the modesty of her sex. 25

Harriet Martineau was another European woman who became the champion for the rights of the American woman. She quoted the American Declaration of Independence and then proceeded to show that the United States did not follow the principle that "governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed." She asked,

How can the political condition of women be reconciled with this?

Governments in the United States have power to tax women who hold property; to divorce them from their husbands; to fine, imprison, and execute them for certain offences. Whence do these governments derive their powers? They are not "just," as they are not derived from the consent of the women thus governed.

Governments in the United States have power to enslave certain women; and also to punish other women for inhuman treatment of such slaves. Neither of these powers are "just"; not being derived from the consent of the governed. 26

In writing of property laws for women, Harriet Martineau asked, "Whence do governments derive the unjust power of thus disposing of property without the consent of the governed?" She said, "The democratic principle condemns all this as wrong; and requires the equal political representation of all rational beings." 27

26 Waterman, Frances Wright, pp. 158-160.
26 Harriet Martineau, Society in America, p. 102.
27 Ibid., p. 103.
The American of the late 1820's and the early 1830's did not patronize the theater very often if he valued his good name. The ministers thundered against the theatrical boards, declaring them to be the direct path to the regions of the damned. However, in the larger cities, the men, at least, enjoyed the theater and other amusements offered them. Women sometimes ventured out, but not often. In New England most amusements were frowned upon, and evidently the western settlements did not go in for much entertainment, either. At any rate, Frances Trollope did not find much to do in Cincinnati. She wrote in her journal:

I never say anyone who appeared to live so much without amusement as the Cincinnatians. Billiards are forbidden by law, as are cards. To sell a pack of cards in Ohio subjects the seller to a penalty of fifty dollars. They have no public balls, excepting, I think, six, during the Christmas holidays. They have no concerts. They have no dinner-parties. They have a theatre, which is, in fact, the only public amusement of this triste little town; but they seem to care little about it, and either from economy or distaste, it is very poorly attended. Ladies are rarely seen there, and by far the larger proportion of females deem it an offence against religion to witness the representation of a play.28

The crusading reform periodical of Boston did not miss the chance to point out to its readers the damnation that would overtake those who attended the theater. The Friend of Virtue reminded the women that the most "polluted and polluting characters were sure to be seen at the playhouses,

28 Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, pp. 59-60.
and that many deluded females had taken their first steps to destruction because of a desire to appear gayly clad."29 However, the theater made progress and in the 'forties began to gain favor with the public.

Just as the theater grew in the nineteenth century, so did all of the worthwhile social agencies, and in the twentieth century we find many of the old ones, sometimes under new names, and a host of new ones. As America grew and prospered and many individuals amassed great fortunes, a new institution, philanthropy, flourished in the new century. By the 1920s organized charity had become an outstanding activity in America. This new form of charity was concerned with the maladjustments of the individual and tried to straighten out the psychological, functional, and vocational kinks of people. It had become an organized charity run by a routine.30

Another phase of philanthropy's growing in importance was the foundation. Wealthy men began setting aside large sums of money in trust to be devoted to a unified program. Andrew Carnegie led the way, to be followed by John D. Rockefeller, Russell Sage, Julius Rosenwald, E. S. Harkness, and

29Friend of Virtue, November 15, 1844, quoted in Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," The American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 685.

others, until, by the 'thirties, there were about one hundred fifty of these foundations or charitable trusts in America having a combined capitalization of one billion dollars.\textsuperscript{31}

Just as philanthropy became organized, so by the turn of the twentieth century had the newspapers. Pulitzer and Hearst found that the conduct of newspapers could be turned into an enterprise of big business. They banded newspapers together into great chains and toned editorial opinion down until it was scarcely possible to tell where a newspaper stood on the leading political, economic, and social questions of the day. More and more the American newspaper of the modern era came to regard itself as an agency for informing and amusing its readers rather than as a public tribune. They also became important to merchants as a means of advertising and selling goods, for it was only by revenues from advertising that the modern newspaper could be supported. But with the coming of the New Deal, newspapers again became partisan, and by 1936 many of the large papers were violent in their opposition to President Roosevelt's policies. Here again a new trend seemed to loom on the horizon, for the election returns seemed to show that newspapers were no longer molding public opinion. In many cities where the majority of the leading newspapers were in opposition to the New Deal policies, the Roosevelt vote was overwhelming.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., p. 655. \textsuperscript{32}Ibid., pp. 657-658.
Another innovation in the newspaper world was the picture tabloid of the 1920's. It was in 1919 that the publishers of the Chicago Tribune started in New York City their Daily News. This new paper was made up of a maximum of photographs and a minimum of reading matter. This type of newspaper flourished and by the 1930's many of the earlier ones had become first-class papers. Another new feature of the newspaper world was the press photographer. Every large newspaper has its staff of photographers whose job is to be on the scene of every news-making event with cameras grinding out pictures for the next edition of their papers. The "press agents," the "public relations counsels," or the "publicity men" all have their place in the news world of this modern age. It is the job of this new group of "agents" to see that whatever organization or individual they represent is constantly before the public in the columns of the daily papers. It is their job to make friends and disarm criticism for their employers.

The motion picture was an entirely new industry and social force in the twentieth century. With the beginning of the 'twenties, it was evident that this new industry would reach gigantic proportions. "Movie" stars became famous almost overnight as the American public thronged to the movie houses to see their favorite actors perform. When sound pictures were introduced in the late 'twenties, the movie-going public almost tripled itself. In 1922, the average weekly
movie attendance in the country was 40,000,000 persons; by 1930, it was close to 100,000,000. There were 20,000 film "palaces" in the United States; and the industry represented an investment of two billions of dollars.33

The motion picture industry has made use of almost every known theme in the world of history and literature. Nor have the motion pictures neglected the great social problems that have confronted the people of the nation. The problems of the share-croppers and the migratory workers have been presented to millions of people in the United States. Never before have so many people had their tastes elevated through the good music presented to them in the form of operas and musical shows on the moving picture screen. And now in the 1940's the screen depicts in many excellent films the advantages of democracy and a plea for a more just social order.

The radio's entry into the common life of America was even more spectacular. In less than a decade it had become an indispensable adjunct to fully half of America's homes. Broadcasting has become an industry approaching the status of big business. The radio has made it possible for the best music to become an ordinary part of the American's everyday life. Great hosts of people sit in their homes and listen to the best symphony orchestras or a noted violinist. People

33 Ibid., pp. 660-661.
who had never dreamed of seeing an opera now have an opportunity to hear the music. The best dramatic plays with the leading actors and actresses are brought within the reach of the common people. Many of the social problems of the day furnish the themes for some of these plays.

Nor have the schools and the churches overlooked the possibilities of this modern invention. "The School of the Air" program has become a regular part of the curriculum of many of the leading schools and many other classrooms are equipped with radios to bring into the schoolroom such educational programs as may be desired. Churches, too, are using the radio to place religious programs before the public. Sermons from the leading ministers of the country have become a regular part of the Sunday radio programs, reaching thousands of people who heretofore have had no opportunity to hear such men. Good music, good plays, and educational programs in general have tended to break down the barriers of localism so that the United States has become more nearly a cultural as well as a geographical entity.

The literature of America has become truly American in the second third of the new century. American scenes, business problems, social problems, the manners and customs of the people, have all been used to fill page after page in both the fiction and the non-fiction class. Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, and James Branch Cabell produced great novels of American life in the
1920's, and the more notable works of the 1930's include those of John Dos Passos, James Farrell, Ernest Hemingway, and Thomas Wolfe. In 1930, Sinclair Lewis was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, the first American to be thus honored.\textsuperscript{34}

Great social problems of the 1930's have been presented to Americans on the screen, in literature, and on the stage. Erskine Caldwell's \textit{Tobacco Road} may be an over-drawn picture of the plight of the Georgia back-country people, but no doubt some truths have been presented to the reading public, to the theater public, and to the patrons of the "movies." John Steinbeck's portrayal of the great migration from the American dust bowl brought home to the Americans the seriousness of the economic problems of the Middle West. And so the story goes -- Americans learn of America from American pens.

American theaters of the 'twenties and the 'thirties have gone through something like a recession, due to the rise of the motion picture industry. Nevertheless, many good plays were written and due to good handling by intelligent producers, the use of good lighting, and improved scenery, large audiences have been attracted to the modern theaters. The Little Theater groups and summer stock companies have done much to influence the type of entertainment offered to

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., pp. 662-664.
the public. American dramatic writings rank among the best of the creative literature of the time, and stand head and shoulders above the similar efforts of the younger English and Continental playwrights.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., p. 668.
CHAPTER III

SPIRITUAL AND HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENTS

[The belief in the perfectibility of man which pervaded
men's thinking in the early part of the nineteenth century
shaded off quite easily into a belief in the perfectibility
of nations. It was not only in America that men began to
consider ways and means of bringing peace to the world, but
also the leaders in Europe were becoming more interested in
peace. The basic teachings of Christianity included peace,
and the Quakers and Mennonites preached peace as a part of
their religious creeds. But it was not until the second
decade of the nineteenth century that an organized movement
for world peace was actually begun.]

The fall of Napoleon in 1815 and the close of the
United States' war with England brought a weariness and tax
burden which caused men in both Europe and America to ponder
on the futility of war. Peace societies and numerous pub-
llications on peace soon appeared on both continents. Five
societies had been formed in the United States by 1817, and
in 1819 there were seventeen societies distributed in eleven
states. ¹

The summer of 1823 saw the emergence of an influence

that was to knit all individual peace efforts into one national organization. That influence was a New Hampshire sea-captain, William Ladd. When he first heard of the existence of peace societies, in 1819, he was forty-six years old; but from 1823 until his death in 1841 he was the greatest link between the peace movements in America and in Europe. He wrote many articles on peace for the Portland (Maine) Christian Mirror and appeared often as a platform speaker on peace. As a member of the Maine Peace Society he was a leader in the move for a national organization for peace. It was Ladd who drafted the constitution for the new organization.2

At a meeting in the home of David L. Lodge in Albany, New York, in 1828, the American Peace Society was duly organized by prominent men representing such different religious denominations as Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians. Though Dodge, William Ellery Channing, and others were active leaders, by far the most outstanding figure was Ladd. He became the full-time secretary of the society and editor of the monthly paper, The Harbinger of Peace. Ladd used much of his own private funds for carrying on the work. In 1831 to 1833 he gave two hundred dollars each to eight or ten educational institutions, the income from which was to be given to students as prizes for writing the

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best essays on the subject of peace. Many tracts were printed and distributed throughout the United States, some being placed on board vessels entering the port of Boston. Noah Webster's magazine, The Friend of Peace, was distributed free where it was thought it would do the most good. 3

The Harbinger of Peace was printed from 1828 to 1831, most of the writing being done by Ladd, who wrote many of the articles while traveling. The society decided in 1831 to increase the size of the magazine, and as Ladd had asked to be relieved as editor, to place it in the hands of an editor who should reside where it was published. This also seemed to be a good time to give the magazine a new name, Calumet, which was explained to mean the pipe of peace smoked by the Indians on the conclusion of a treaty. 4 This paper was printed bi-monthly for the next four years.

Though philanthropic and economic arguments for peace were used, the society felt that fundamentally the question was a religious one and that it could best be extended through the efforts of the church. Therefore, at the annual meeting of the society in May, 1832, it was resolved that: "The Board of the American Peace Society invite the ministers of the Gospel of every denomination to preach one sermon a year on war and peace." 5 From that time on many of the

4 Ibid., p. 29.
5 Ibid., p. 31.
ministers of the various churches made it a practice to preach one or more sermons on the subject of peace and some of them set a time for a prayer meeting to pray for peace and for the advancement of the peace society. During the year 1835, five hundred twenty-five ministers preached sermons on peace.

Soon after the organization of the American Peace Society, William Ladd began to write and speak on the subject of a congress of nations. Part of a letter written by Ladd in 1828 contained the statement:

We hope to increase and promote the practice already begun of submitting national differences to amicable discussion and arbitration and finally of settling all national controversies by an appeal to reason, as becomes rational creatures, and not by physical force, as is worthy only of brute beasts, and this shall be done by a congress of nations, whose decrees shall be enforced by public opinion.  

A cash prize was offered by Ladd and his friends for the best essay on the subject of "A Congress of Nations for the Prevention of War," the contest being announced through columns of the paper of the peace society. After several judges failed to agree on the best essay of about forty submitted, the executive committee of the peace society authorized Ladd to select for printing the five essays showing the most merit, and at the same time voted to pay the writers of the essays selected one hundred dollars each, to be paid half in cash and half in books. Ladd added a sixth essay to

6The Harbinger of Peace, May, 1828, quoted, ibid., p. 50.
the five selected. The volume appeared in the spring of 1840 and had a wide circulation, especially in England and Europe.  

William Ladd worked tirelessly year after year urging that the United States take the lead in calling a congress of nations to settle international disputes by peaceful means. Petitions were sent to state legislatures and to the United States Congress. Ladd won the support of such men as Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams, both of whom spoke in support of the peace plan. In 1838 Ladd went to Washington and interviewed President Van Buren, the members of his Cabinet, and several Congressmen on the subject of a congress of nations. The President was favorable to the scheme but felt that it would be unwise for the United States to call the governments of Europe together until they had been sufficiently enlightened on the subject to receive the proposal with favor.  

In 1837 Ladd drew up the most remarkable plan of world peace proposed by any American before Woodrow Wilson. It was the first plan in the world to suggest both a world congress and a world court. His plan was for the congress of nations to be composed of ambassadors from all the nations choosing to unite in the plan; the congress to fix the points of international law by the consent of all the parties

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8 Ibid., pp. 55-60.
represented; and to organize a court of nations, composed of the most eminent jurists of the countries, to apply those principles to any particular case brought before them. The congress was to provide for the organization of the court; but the court would be a permanent body, while the congress would be a changing body. Any nation represented at the congress might change its delegates as often as it pleased, like other ambassadors, but the members of the court would hold their offices during good behavior. The congress was to have nothing to do with the internal affairs of the nations, or with insurrections, revolutions, or contending factions of people or princes, or with forms of government, "but solely to concern themselves with the intercourse of nations in peace and war."9

The extensive lecture tours made in the interest of peace, the strenuous work of the last few years, all proved too much for Ladd. In 1841 while on a lecture tour he became extremely ill and died in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on April 9, 1841, at the age of sixty-three. With the death of Ladd the peace movement had lost its most tireless worker but he had laid the foundation upon which other Americans built nearly a century later.

The peace movement was only one of the humanitarian movements of the first half of the nineteenth century. Rosy

dreams of social reorganizations gave rise to strange and fantastic cults. Every form of political or social dyspepsia brought forth its philosophy. Some desired a society composed only of farmers; some adjured the use of money; some favored communities where everything was common except common sense; some declared that the safety of society depended upon diet; some, Thoreau, for example, recommended that society take to the woods; and some, as evidence of social excellence, would wear long hair, adopt celibacy, shake the body in religious paroxysm, or refuse to use beasts for any purpose or even their hides for boots and shoes.

It was a day of cults. Many new communities were formed, especially in the Ohio valley, by entire bodies of some religious order moving in and building a new town. Sometimes after a community was established the original settlers would sell out to some new order and move on farther west where a new town would be built. Many towns in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois owe their origin and early growth to one or more of these cults or communistic societies.

The Shakers, the oldest of such societies in the United States, were organized at New Lebanon, a village in Columbia County, New York, in 1787, but they reached their maximum strength of five thousand members after 1815. By 1830 they had expanded not only into the northeastern states but also westward into Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky.
The Shakers were a celibate order, living in what they called "families" composed of men, women, and such children as may have been apprenticed to the society. Some of these "families" often consisted of as many as eighty or ninety people living together and sharing in all the work. Their dress was simple and in their houses they sought only to have that which would be useful. They avoided all ornaments. Their diet consisted of fruits and vegetables, with very little meat; no pork at all. Everything was kept spotlessly clean; indeed, cleanliness seems to have been a characteristic of the communistic societies of that period. They believed that labor was of great benefit to the individual and even the elders, ministers, and deacons all were employed in some manual occupation except for the time needed in their respective callings. They were excellent workmen and excelled at whatever occupation they engaged in, being noted for becoming successful and well-to-do in their communities.\textsuperscript{10}

Frances Trollope noted this after a visit to a Shaker community in Kentucky:

\begin{quote}
These people become rich and powerful wherever they settle themselves. Whatever they manufacture, whatever their farms produce, is always the highest repute, and brings the highest price in the market. They receive all strangers with great courtesy, and if they bring an introduction they are lodged and fed for any length
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{10}Charles Nordhoff, \textit{The Communistic Societies of the United States}, pp. 142-146. See Nordhoff for complete description of religious ceremony of the Shakers, written after a personal visit to them.
of time they choose to stay; they are not asked to
join in their labours, but are permitted to do so
if they wish it.11

This custom of extending hospitality to strangers brought
about impositions from what they called "winter Shakers,"
people who pretended to join their order only to leave in
the spring after having been taken care of through the winter.

In about 1804 the Harmony Society was founded by George
Rapp in Pennsylvania about twenty-five miles from Pittsburgh.
Ten years later the society sold out at a profit and removed
to the east bank of the Wabash in Indian, naming their set-
tlement New Harmony. After another decade of dwindling
prosperity, the Rappists sold New Harmony to Robert Owen in
1824 and moved back to Pennsylvania, where they founded a new
town called Economy on the Ohio River near Pittsburgh. It
was in Economy that they became most successful. They, too,
were a communistic celibate order relying on an economy
based on agricultural pursuits. They believed all should
be engaged in some form of manual labor, preferably in agri-
cultural labor. They loved flowers and music but were op-
posed to dancing. Their dress was plain and their diet simple.
All goods were held in common, food and clothing being dis-
tributed as each family needed them. New Harmony on the
Wabash continued an uncertain existence until about 1898.

The Harmonists, or Rappites, as they were sometimes

11Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans,
p. 116.
called, believed that the millennium was near with the second coming of Christ at hand, and one of the aims of the society was that all members should be in constant readiness for His coming. This belief seems to have been characteristic of more than one of the cults and religious sects of that period who believed that they were the chosen group to prepare the world for the reappearance of Christ. Both Rapp himself and his followers believed that he would live to see Christ and that he would be permitted to present his company of believers to the Savior whom they tried to please with their lives.12

The Separatists settled at Zoar in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, in 1817. They, like the Harmonists, the Inspirationists, and others, were dissenter s from the orthodox churches. Arriving in the United States from Germany with the aid of Pennsylvania Quakers, they bought land and settled at Zoar in Ohio. They were not communists when they came to the United States, but when it seemed that their enterprise would fail they united in a communistic society. Joseph Baumeler, their leader, opposed the move at first but later agreed when it was argued that there was no distinction between them in religion, so there should be none in rank or fortune.13

12 For a complete story of the Harmony Society, its customs, manners, beliefs, and history, see Nordhoff, Communistic Societies in the United States, pp. 63-95.

The Separatists opposed all ceremonies in the church including the marriage ceremony as performed by the priest or preacher, their marriages being contracted by mutual consent and then reported to the political authorities. Celibacy was held to be more commendable until about 1830, when marriages were resumed. It was agreed that the children should be taken from their parents at the age of three and placed in special schools where they were trained under the supervision of overseers. This machine method of rearing children was abandoned in 1845, when some of the leaders refused to send their children to the school.\textsuperscript{14}

Other communistic societies began in the late 'thirties and 'forties. One of these, called the Perfectionists, led by John Humphrey Noyes, formed the Oneida Community in 1848, in Madison County, New York. They engaged in manufacturing and in agriculture and, like the Shakers, made a specialty of raising and selling garden seed. Most of these communistic societies were successful in a financial way and some of them owned property valued at several hundred thousand dollars.

Another venture in community living was begun in the late 1820's, but was based on a different plan and for a different purpose than those mentioned above. This was

Frances Wright's community of Nashoba near Memphis, Tennessee, established to prove that her plan for the gradual emancipation of negro slaves could be successful. She believed that the negroes, if placed in communities, could, in about five years' time, by working on a cooperative basis, pay for their purchase price and keep and thereby win their freedom. Under her plan their children would be freed and education would be provided for them. At the end of this period of indentured labor the freed negroes were to be colonized outside the United States. Haiti, Texas, and California were the places considered.\footnote{Waterman, \textit{Frances Wright}, pp. 97-98.}

In order to try this scheme, Frances Wright purchased two thousand acres of land near Memphis on the Wolf River. She had cabins built and bought a few slaves to start her experiment of Nashoba. Progress at the community was slow and Frances Wright's health became poor. In 1827, therefore, she made over a deed of trust to her property to ten trustees, among whom were Lafayette, Robert Owen, James Richardson, and her sister, Camilla Wright. The slaves were also deeded to the trustees with the stipulation that when they had paid into the institution of Nashoba a sum sufficient to repay all expenses they should be emancipated and colonized.

While Frances Wright was in Europe trying to regain her health the colony was left in the hands of her sister Camilla and others. The poor management and the unfavorable
publicity given to the community, the indiscretion of her sister and of others, all but wrecked the enterprise. By the time she returned from Europe it became apparent that the scheme would have to be abandoned. Frances Trollope, who visited Nashoba in 1828, was dismayed at the "savage aspect of the scene." She noted that there were few comforts or even necessaries of life, but that this seemed to bother Frances Wright very little, for her "whole heart and soul were occupied by the hope of raising the African to the level of the European intellect."\(^{16}\)

The Nashoba experiment was abandoned in 1829, with a financial loss to Frances Wright of about $16,000. A few months later she carried out her promise of emancipating and colonizing her slaves. She personally directed their removal to the island of Haiti, where they were colonized under the protection of President Bayer. Frances Wright was sincere in her desire to do something to solve the problem of American slavery, and though the community was impracticable, it was one of the few real efforts made to do something about the slavery problem.\(^{17}\)

\[^{16}\text{Frances Trollope, } \textit{Domestic Manners of the Americans,} \text{ p. 24.}\]

\[^{17}\text{Waterman, } \textit{Frances Wright,} \text{ pp. 131-133.}\]
The new century was distinctly and increasingly a religious period. It was not merely that the interest in religion itself was stronger than in the preceding generation, but that the union between religion and morality was so strong that they became practically indistinguishable. Every orator had to prove that his position was endorsed by the Constitution and the Bible. It was both respectable and fashionable to attend church. 18

There was a notable change in the religious trend in the early years of the nineteenth century. The more conservative element was finding itself encroached upon by a decided liberal element. There was a tendency to overthrow the established churches before 1800 and by 1825 the disestablishment of all the state churches had been brought about. The Baptists seem to have been the leaders in this liberal movement. This new movement was strongest in the West, where it was characterized by the evangelism of the newer sects, while the stronghold of the conservatives was in the East, where the Unitarians, Episcopalians, Universalists, and Catholics were the strongest.

As the century advanced, change succeeded change; new doctrines, new disciplines, new modes of procedure were everywhere to be discerned. It was a period of breaking up into different sects. If every "reading man had a plan for

a new community," so, it seemed, did every preaching man have a plan for a new church. The individual's right to believe as he pleased seemed to give sanction to the religious enthusiast who, convinced that he had found a new and better creed, strove ardently to set up another religious sect. Many of them had visions or dreams that told them to go forth and establish the "right church."

The new churches were predominant west of the Alleghanies but were by no means confined to that area. The Baptists of the West broke into a hundred segments, the Methodists into four or five, and the Presbyterians into three or more. Besides these better known Protestant organizations there were the Adventists under a half dozen names, the United Society of Believers, or Shakers, as they were generally called, the Rappists, the Dunkers or German Baptist Brethren, the Quakers, the Mormons, many varieties of Mennonites, the Moravians, the Schwenfelders, the Campbellites, and the Millerites.19

All this is more than a little confusing to the twentieth century historical onlooker. It is sometimes difficult to understand what some of the differences really were, and it is even more difficult to understand how men were willing to sacrifice themselves and their families for what seem to have been distinctly doubtful matters or matters

of small moment. But whatever the difficulty of understanding it, there is no question whatsoever of the earnestness of purpose and tenacity of belief of the followers of any one of these hundred or more religious divisions. All of these denominations had members who zealously outlined the differences between the numerous sects and vigorously defended their own.

There is probably no better illustration of this earnestness of purpose and tenacity of belief than in the story of the Mormons. The Mormon Church was started about 1830 by Joseph Smith, the son of a family of poor illiterate people who had moved from Vermont to New York in 1816. The Smiths were regarded by their neighbors as shiftless, untrustworthy, and intemperate. They claimed to have had "visions" and miraculous cures from various sicknesses. Young Joseph Smith was said to be a person "given to uttering the most palpable exaggeration or marvelous absurdity with the utmost apparent gravity." 20

About 1829 or 1830 the Mormon Bible, or Book of Mormon, as it was sometimes called, was published and became the basis for a new church. Joseph Smith claimed to have translated some mysterious golden plates that had been revealed to him by an angel in a vision. These, he said, were the lost books of the Bible and they revealed that the American

20W. A. Linn, The Story of the Mormons, p. 12.
Indians were the descendants of some lost tribes of Israel. Smith claimed to have received a revelation from God ordering him to establish a new church.

The church was first started in New York, but after Smith and Sidney Rigdon were tarred and feathered by a mob, they moved to Kirkland, Ohio. They built the first Mormon temple in Kirkland and lived more or less peaceably with their neighbors until a bank failure, in which Smith was involved, forced him to flee from the state to escape arrest and going to jail. Since Mormon missionaries had been busy in Missouri making many converts to the church, Smith decided to go there and build his city of Zion.

It was while on his way to Missouri that Joseph Smith was said to have first planned the United Order that was to govern his people. This was to be based on communistic principles. He visioned a vast empire where everything should be held in common and where there should be no social distinctions among the people. He visioned great storehouses of the Lord where supplies should be kept for the poor, the sick, and the old; for in Zion no saint was to suffer from want. It would be a community enterprise which would be shared in common by all the people, both in ownership and in management.21

But such a city was not to be built in Missouri, for

21Vardis Fisher, Children of God, pp.120-123.
hostility was already aroused against the Mormons, and after some of the bloodiest raids ever made on them, they fled to Illinois. There they built the city of Nauvoo. At first the people of Illinois were friendly, but soon enmity toward them became apparent. The Mormons began to take part in politics and the people of Illinois were afraid they would get control of the state government. The fact that some of the Mormons were practicing polygamy was becoming known, and this aroused resentment against them. Finally, the trouble came to a head in 1844 and Smith, his brother Hyrum, and several others were murdered by a mob at Carthage, Illinois. Brigham Young assumed the leadership of the Mormons after Smith's death, and in 1845 and 1846 began the greatest migration the United States has ever known -- the moving of the Mormons to Utah.

Millerism was another product of the changing 1830's. Branch calls Millerism an "epileptic chapter in the religious history of the generation,"\textsuperscript{22} and so it seems when one reads of the fervor of these new converts in following the teachings of William Miller, the founder. Miller believed that he could foretell the end of time and, according to his calculations, the world would end in 1843. The Millerites worked to prepare the world for the catastrophe that awaited it. Preparedness was the watchword. Many

\textsuperscript{22}E. D. Branch, \textit{The Sentimental Years, 1836-1860}, p. 337.
believers had special white robes made for the occasion; some gave away their property; a few shops in Philadelphia were closed because they did not want to be found by the Lord "dealing in the articles which the daughters of Zion lust after"; and one worldly minded person who visited a Millerite camp-meeting came away with a handful of rings and other jewelry thrown away by the believers because they would have no need for the stuff after the Ascension.23

The devotees were whipped into a frenzy, and the records show that cases of insanity and suicide increased. A hundred and twenty inmates were listed as "religiously insane" at Worcester Asylum in 1842, and the cases increased in the next year. Branch says the "tension and casualties increased" as the wait for the Ascension was prolonged from time to time to a final date, October 22, 1844.24 The failure of all of Miller's predictions resulted in a split in the ranks of the believers and there emerged two groups: the Seventh-Day Adventists and the Advent Christian Church.

In New England the change, or the new spirit, revealed itself in a more intellectual realm. Unitarianism served as a kind of bridge between the old Puritanism and the new humanism. There was a shift of emphasis from a God of wrath to a God of love. Unitarianism discovered another sort of conscience -- one that welcomed the new social thought of

23 Ibid., p. 342.  
24 Ibid., pp. 337-341.
Europe, and, applying it to the facts of life in America, created the new humanitarian spirit in New England. 25

New England Transcendentalism was a local manifestation of the new liberalism that swept over Europe and America in the early nineteenth century. A group of young men and women suddenly, it seemed, became aware of this new force. The new ideas and ideals found their way to them through a score of channels and affected as many phases of New England life, but it was in religion where the influence of the new spirit was most evident. Transcendentalism was the religious conversion of early nineteenth century New England. 26

Those who began to feel the vital effect upon their own religious convictions of this new spirit in philosophy and literature came together in 1836 and founded an organization to aid in an exchange of thought on the "new views." Among those forming this organization were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Amos Bronson Alcott, George Ripley, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and William Henry Channing. For a number of years following 1836, this group, generally referred to as the Transcendental Club, continued occasionally to come together. 27

Brook Farm was characteristic of Transcendentalism in its belief that the material factors of life should be subservient to the spiritual and the ideal, and in its conviction

27 Ibid., pp. 332-333.
that right thinking would lead toward better social conditions. Brook Farm was founded by George and Sophia Ripley about 1840 near West Roxbury, Massachusetts. Parrington said it was "a sort of May Day adventure in brown holland tunics," and described the experiment as "a social poem fashioned out of Yankee homespun." Agriculture was to be the basis of life at Brook Farm, because that was most directly related to nature; but the labor connected with agricultural work left fewer hours for intellectual thinking than the founders thought it would. This experiment was abandoned in the late 'forties.

The society of the Perfectionists was founded, as has been stated earlier in this chapter, by a young Vermont mystic, John Humphrey Noyes. He was a devout Scripturist and took literally the injunction of Matthew, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect." He believed that after becoming perfect a person never went amiss again; and to the question, "Don't you commit sin?" he made the simple reply, "No." He went to New York, where Branch says he "painted the town red," but he insisted that he committed no sin.

In 1834 Noyes began the publication of a monthly paper called the Perfectionist, "which was very probably as

\footnotesize


29 Branch, The Sentimental Years, p. 351.
revolutionary a sheet as was ever printed in America."

As the constitution of his cult, he declared himself independent of the United States, since the government had broken the constitution, the Bible, its treaties with the Indians, and the petitions of its citizens. Among his converts were William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, noted lecturers of that time, and a son of old Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts. The Oneida Community in New York, which Noyes established, has been called the most successful venture in communism of that day.  

This period of the 1830's was also one of evangelism. Circuit riding ministers rode hundreds of miles, preaching thousands of sermons, and holding many camp meetings. Camp meetings were almost always for revival purposes. A series of revivals made their appearance in the western states of Kentucky, Ohio, and North Carolina. People came from miles around and camped on the grounds. An account of one Kentucky revival says there were about four thousand present, and that "on this occasion, no sex or color, class or description, were exempted from the pervading influence of the Spirit; even from the age of eight months, to sixty years, there were evident subjects of this marvelous operation." Another

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31 Ibid., pp. 343-345.
revival that continued four days and nights was described as "awful beyond description; the falling, crying out, praying, exhorting, singing, shouting, exhibited such new, and striking evidences of a supernatural power, that few, if any, could escape being affected." 33 A revival at Caneridge, Kentucky, was said to have had twenty thousand people there at one time. The people stayed in tents, camping there for a week. One group called the New-Lights were affected by curious exercises. There was the rolling exercise, in which the victims rolled over and over like a wheel; another was the "jerks," when the head moved with violent motion from side to side or backward and forward; and another was the "barks," which frequently accompanied the "jerks." All of these were said to be manifestations of the Great Spirit.

Revivals were not by any means confined to the frontier or to the Southern or Middle states; they were also a regular part of the Congregational and Presbyterian religious system in New England. Lyman Beecher led strenuous revivals in Litchfield, Connecticut, and later in Boston. In the East, revivals brought many converts to the church, but they lacked the picturesqueness and the hysteria of the frontier.

One striking manifestation of the religious spirit was the development of missionary work. Now the churches became seized with a missionary spirit to send devout men and women

33 Ibid., p. 23.
into large cities and into the wildest regions of America, Africa, and Asia. The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society was organized in 1819 and was particularly active among the Indians. In 1833 Jason Lee was sent to the Oregon country south of the Columbia to teach the Indians. The rivalry of the different denominations for attractive fields was keen, and in 1836 Marcus Whitman was sent out by the Presbyterians as a medical missionary. He founded a mission settlement at Walla Walla, now in the state of Washington. Not only did rivalry exist among the Protestant churches, but these also began to compete with the newly revived missionary activity of the Roman Catholics. The Mormons were also engaged in great missionary activities. It was part of their creed that young Mormon men should go into the world two by two and preach the Word. 34

The story of the great religious awakening plainly indicates its close affiliation with the surge of social reforms of a hundred years ago. The peace movement, the temperance movement, to some extent the prison reform movement, and the abolition movement were all more or less closely allied with the religious movement. Probably this has been true in all great reformation periods of world history. A religious awakening usually accompanies any move to improve the conditions of humanity.

A hurried glance at the twentieth century reform movement seems to indicate that religious zeal counts for little in the new deal program of the present, although there does seem to be much earnest inquiry into the nature and functions of religion in modern life. One might say that the nineteenth century idea of "I am my brother's keeper" has changed to one of "the government is my brother's keeper"; for, in the United States today, there seems to be a decided trend toward governmental responsibility for the social welfare of its citizens.

Probably religious organizations of the 1920's and the 1930's have had more vital concern for the peace of the world than they have had for any other movement in this new era. Following the World War the American peace movement was disorganized and the fight over the question of whether America should enter the League of Nations tended to further disrupt and disorganize it. The one contribution of American thought to peace in the early 'twenties was the idea of outlawry for war, placing the institution beyond the pale of international law.35 As the 'twenties advanced the conviction grew in America that from that time forward the United States should avoid all connections with Europe's "peculiar institution." Although to one who is witnessing the 'forties, that seems to have been but a passing fancy, it was a strong

force in the late 'twenties and in the early 'thirties. In that period isolationists were strong in the United States.

The churches came out strong for a united front against war. The international church movement originated in the Church Peace Union of America and was launched in 1923 at Geneva, when one hundred ninety-one representatives of all religions in the world met for a preliminary Peace Congress. Thirty-five religious organizations in the United States struck out in a new direction for peace. They stated that since economic factors were the primary causes of war, the churches should engage in a serious study of such problems as foreign investments, war debts, raw materials, tariffs, armed intervention for protection of property, and the whole question of economic and political control of foreign people. 36

Perhaps enough has been said to show the trend in America for peace following the World War of 1918, and as writing of peace today seems futile, not only to the writer but also to the reader, the question arises: Why do peace societies flourish only during peace? Why do the tremendous forces of the churches of the world break down in their effort to keep world peace when war looms on the horizon? Devere Allen, in The Fight for Peace, has this to say:

The clergy and churchmen after every war have once more devoted themselves to the idea of peace and the brotherhood of Man. After every war -- there is the answer to the paradox. A ministry flocking to the banner of peace in 1820, and calling persistently for peace

36 Ibid., pp. 325-326.
throughout the hundred years since then; yet during times of testing, when wars come on -- once, twice, thrice, four times -- blessing all these wars when it was popular to do so, giving armed violence its full and free support, and finding each time reasons plausible enough to justify its action. Like the clergy in each instance, on the other side. Like the clergy in all nations, on all sides of every conflict. 37

Whether churchmen or laymen, or both, are to blame, the fact remains that peace societies flourish only during peace. It may be that E. Stanley Jones, an outstanding Methodist missionary and a well known writer and lecturer on present-day religious problems, has given the key to the question in an issue of The Christian Century for 1935:

The Christians of the world hold the balance of power in their hands. They are the greatest single body on earth organized around one idea and with a loyalty to one Person. They could do anything if they knew how to come together. The next great step is a living unity in Christendom. 38

Perhaps such a unity for world peace may in time make world peace a reality.

The churches one hundred years ago seemed to be bent on dividing into innumerable branches, but the trend today is toward unity. There is a move away from denominations and denominational doctrines. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., discontinued his annual donation to the unified budget of the Northern Baptist Convention because, he said, the denominations tend to emphasize form instead of the substance of

37 Devere Allen, The Fight for Peace, p. 29.

Christianity, and he proposed to give his support to non-
sectarian activities and agencies which emphasize unity in
Christian service. Rockefeller may or may not be right, but
his decision points toward the lessening of denominational
appeal. The old doctrinal distinctions have long since lost
their reality. The recent uniting of the three great bodies
of Methodism in the United States was another step in that
direction.39

If a present-day church member should be asked if re-
ligious toleration prevails in the United States today, the
answer would most likely be in the affirmative, and on the
whole the answer would be correct. Certainly religious free-
dom exists to a greater extent in the United States, or in
the English-speaking world at least, than it does in any
other nation. But when one reads of the treatment of some of
the members of the sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses, the
question seems to be how much religious toleration exists to-
day? Just where does this religious liberty begin? The
reports show that mobs have attacked the members of this
sect in twenty states, ranging from Wyoming in the West to
Maine in the East, and from Wisconsin in the North to Texas
in the South. The account of some of these mob attacks reads
like the history of the Mormons in Missouri or Illinois.40

39 "Our Waning Denominations" (editorial), The Christian
Century, LII (November 27, 1935), 1511-1513.
40 J. H. Holmes, "The Case of Jehovah's Witnesses," The
Christian Century, LVII (July 17, 1940), 896.
The Witnesses believe, just as the Millerites one hundred years ago, that the end of the world is near and that they must work fast to spread the word. They go out on the highways and byways and proclaim their gospel of a world called suddenly to judgment. They proclaim that the hour is at hand, that Christ may appear on the clouds of heaven tomorrow or even this very night. All of this, to conventional folk, is disquieting, upsetting, and alarming. It comes close to disturbing the public peace. So people try to drive the Witnesses away and in times of excitement and hysteria they organize mobs and beat them up.41

Another remarkable cult of the 1930's that is probably an outgrowth of the economic depression rather than a religious awakening is that of "Father Divine," as he styles himself, of New York. This is a kind of modern communistic cult carried on in a large city. His chief enterprise in the city seems to have been buying rooming houses and hotels where his followers find cheaper and more desirable living quarters. He has also bought farms where his members grow vegetables and fruits that are used to supply the restaurants and hotels owned by the cult. He claims to be sponsoring a peace movement, though peace for whom seems to be a bit vague. It is thought that he is not particularly concerned for the peace of the European world.42

41 Ibid., p. 897.
42 George Streator, "Father Divine," The Commonweal, XXXI (December 15, 1939), 176-178. See also, Ollie Stewart, "Harlem God in His Heaven," Reader's Digest, XXXVI (June, 1940), 22-26.
It becomes apparent to the reader of the religious history of these two periods, one hundred years apart, that there are great differences in the two periods and at the same time some similarities; and that the twentieth century churchman is more conservative and less dogmatic in his beliefs. There is not so much defense of creed, which is regarded as less and less important. One hundred years ago the religious reformer strove ardently to set up new sects with new creeds; today many of the churchmen are urging that churches unite. The new idea seems to be that in unity they will find strength.
CHAPTER IV

THE MILITANTS AND OTHER SOCIAL REFORMERS

The word "reform" played much the same part in the life of the early nineteenth century that "progressive" does today. Carlton calls the period of 1820-1840 a "yeasty" period, when various humanitarian movements of a permanent or an ephemeral nature appeared, ranging from communism to free tax-supported schools, and from religious revivals and temperance movements to the abolition movement and agitation for prison betterment.¹

One of the more spectacular reforms was that of temperance. The success of the temperance movement involved a drastic change in the long-established habits of the people, and also a disturbance of the business interests concerned in the liquor traffic. At the turn of the nineteenth century intoxicating drinks were habitual and excited no moral reaction whatever. There was a most appalling consumption of alcoholic stimulants throughout the country and among all classes of people, clergymen, women, and even children on occasion joining the mass of mankind in this custom. It was

¹F. T. Carlton, The History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 41.
estimated in 1820 that the American people consumed seven
gallons of distilled liquor per capita per year. Both
preacher and layman displayed the liquor decanter conspicu-
ously upon the table or the sideboard.

In 1811 Benjamin Rush, a physician, published a treatise
on the injurious effects of alcohol upon the human system.
For years the pamphlets of Rush were the standard works on
the subject and continued to be printed and circulated long
after his death.\(^2\)

By 1825 a few small temperance societies had been organ-
ized. Lyman Beecher, a graduate of Yale and a distinguished
minister, stepped at once into first prominence in this move-
ment. In 1826 he preached his famous Six Sermons on In-
temperance at Litchfield, Connecticut. These were published
in 1827, and ran through five editions in twelve months. The
Six Sermons succeeded the pamphlets of Benjamin Rush as the
standard temperance publications of the times.\(^3\)

Previous to 1826 the temperance reform was sporadic and
had been urged mainly by individuals. Here and there the
sentiment had crystallized into some form of organization,
but no general, organized, concerted campaign had been at-
tempted. Then in that year the American Temperance Society
was founded in Boston with the intention of putting one paid


\(^3\) Ibid., p. 61.
secretary in the field, but so quickly was money raised that two full-time secretaries were employed. By 1829 there existed more than a thousand temperance societies in the United States. The importation of spirituous liquors dropped from a value of $5,000,000 in 1824 to $1,000,000 in 1830.

The Methodist General Conference in 1828 advised against the use of spirituous liquors, and both Presbyterian ministers generally and Baptist ministers in the South talked freely against intemperance. Temperance also became the topic in numerous camp meetings. Beardsley says:

A series of Baptist revivals was conducted by Elder Knapp in New York state from 1835 to 1839. He was said to have been stern in denunciation of sin and his invectives against certain of the prevailing evils of the day, such as intemperance, gambling, and the like.

On the third of October, 1839, Knapp began a series of meetings in Baltimore, Maryland. The Washingtonian Temperance movement was said to be an indirect result of this revival.4

It was the religious tinge to the reform that admitted women to wholehearted participation in the movement. The older workers were annoyed by the presence of women at first, but the issue had been threshed out in the middle 'twenties, and the reward for the reputation of their sex for abstemiousness was that women could work publicly for temperance without being called immodest. Branch says that it was "in this earnest generation that the lady saloon-smasher romps

her way into history." She was a typical character of the time.

The ladies' reform periodicals of that day did not neglect the opportunity to point out the evils of drink and intemperance. One writer in the *Female Advocate* accused Sir Walter Scott of having "thrown around intemperance a charm that is not at all favorable to temperance societies, for he (Sir Walter Scott) generally represents ardent spirits as sharpening the wits and increasing social happiness." Another of these reform periodicals which was started for the expressed purpose of combating the evil of alcohol was the *Olive Plant and Ladies' Temperance Advocate* of New York. Alcohol was attacked as the most deadly "curse of the domestic sphere, the murderer of countless thousands of wives and mothers." To combat this foe of their life and happiness, the *Olive Plant* urged ladies everywhere to form temperance societies and to send in for publication complete accounts of these organizations and the reforms achieved through their agency.

Branch says that "prohibition was one of the most promising fruits in the generation's orchard of social progress."  

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5E. D. Branch, *The Sentimental Years, 1836-1860*, p. 244.  
6*Female Advocate*, February 9, 1833, as quoted in Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (July, 1932), 682.  
9Branch, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
Certainly it was a reform movement which had risen to considerable proportions, and which in the next decade was to be headed by one of the most remarkable platform lecturers which America had yet produced, John B. Gough.

Through all the social programs of a hundred years ago ran a prominent seam of humanitarianism. The negro slave was viewed as a victim of outrage, the prisoner was pitied for the loathsome dungeon into which he was cast, and the laborer in mine and factory was thought to be abused by merciless exploitation. It was the same struggle of human rights against property as we are witnessing today in the case of the farmer and child labor. Humanitarianism, democracy, and religion were the warp and woof of one great pattern. Those who were advocates of one of these phases of reform were likely to be writers or speakers on the others.

With the awakening interest in social problems the conscience of New England could not remain indifferent to slavery. The blight of slavery could not long escape the notice of a people who were expending so much enthusiasm upon Utopian plans for social improvement. The strain of perfectionism running through the New England conscience could not sanction a system where man was held in bondage by his fellow-man. Therefore, the perfectionist and the abolitionist were moving in the same direction. Parrington
says that if you scratched an ardent Abolitionist you were likely to find a potential perfectionist.10

The New England abolitionists, men and women, were an extraordinarily interesting group. They were good fighters who refused to be browbeaten. There was no place of honor to be had by the early abolitionist, but only self-sacrifice and social ostracism, and yet, some of the outstanding writers and speakers of the day rallied to the cause of uprooting slavery. Among these were William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Edmund Quincy, Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston Chapman, Henry Ward Beecher, John Greenleaf Whittier, and James Russell Lowell. This fighting force in New England was joined by recruits from other states: Arthur and Lewis Tappan and Gerrit Smith from New York, James Birney from Kentucky, Lucretia Mott from Philadelphia, and the Grimke sisters from South Carolina. Visitors from England such as Frances Wright and Harriet Martineau lent their pens and their voices to shame America for permitting the continuation of a degrading system which their country had but recently shaken off.

To assert that there had been no opposition to slavery in the United States before 1830 is, of course, to misstate the truth. But the opposition that existed prior to that time was certainly weak, local, and sporadic. Southerners

had grown quite complacent about the system and were scarcely cognizant of any serious threat to its existence. Nat Turner's insurrection in Virginia, coming the same year that Garrison started his paper, The Liberator, shocked Southern slave-owners with the fear of a general servile uprising which might be carried on with the connivance of white abolitionists. Before recovering from this shock, the Virginia planters in 1832 were confronted with a vigorous effort on the part of western members of the state Legislature to abolish slavery in that state. Pressed by such circumstances, representatives of the slave section of the state hastened to find someone to state the case in favor of slavery, a thing that had never been required in America before. Thomas Dew of William and Mary's College prepared for them the first and a very masterful Pro-Slavery Argument, by means of which they were able to defeat by a majority of not more than two votes the efforts to abolish slavery.

William Lloyd Garrison was early associated with Benjamin Lundy in printing a small paper, The Genius of Universal Emancipation, in the city of Baltimore. Garrison attacked slavery and the slave trade in vigorous terms, advocating immediate emancipation, whereas Lundy urged gradual emancipation. The people of Baltimore were up in arms over the paper. Garrison himself said: "My doctrine of immediate emancipation so alarmed and exicted the people everywhere, that where friend Lundy would get one new subscriber I would
knock a dozen off."

The partnership between Lundy and Garrison soon came to an end, and Garrison went to Boston to set up a journal of his own.

With the establishment of Garrison's paper, The Liberator, in Boston in 1831, the anti-slavery agitation took on a new form, passing from mere advocacy of emancipation to demands for immediate abolition. When urged by some of his more timid friends to select a name for his paper that would be less harsh than The Liberator, Garrison replied: "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice... I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard." And that spirit of determination characterized his entire fight against what he believed to be the blackest crime in the United States. His earnest zeal for the cause approached that of a religious fanatic. His was an uncompromising fight to the death.

The Liberator found readers in every part of the northern states and kept alive the movement when it seemed to be slackening. The New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1832. In December, 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and by October, 1835, there were three hundred anti-slavery societies with one hundred thousand members in a

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11 Oliver Johnson, William Lloyd Garrison and His Times, p. 31.

12 Ibid., p. 55.
more or less active existence. The constitution of the
general society declared that slaveholding was "a heinous
crime in the sight of God" and should be abandoned im-
mediately.\textsuperscript{13}

Among the New England writers who took up the fight
against slavery was John Greenleaf Whittier. Farrington
calls Whittier the gentlest among the militant abolition-
ists,\textsuperscript{14} and though he was not the only man of letters in
America who was hostile to slavery, he was essentially the
poet of the abolition movement in the United States. In all,
he wrote eighty-six anti-slavery poems -- twenty-two of them
being published during the 1830's -- besides four prose
articles on the same subject. In an autobiographical letter
he wrote that as a member of the Society of Friends he had
been educated to regard slavery as a great and dangerous
evil, and his sympathies were strongly enlisted for the slaves
by an intimate acquaintance with Garrison. In 1833 Whittier
was a delegate to the first National Anti-Slavery Convention
at Philadelphia, where he read his poem in tribute "To William
Lloyd Garrison," whom he called

\begin{quote}
Champion of those who groan beneath
Oppression's iron hand.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13}Edward Channing, A History of the United States, V, 148.

\textsuperscript{14}Parrington, The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-
1860, II, 352.

\textsuperscript{15}John Greenleaf Whittier, Complete Poetical Works,
"Toussaint L'Ouverture" was a heroic poem of a different sort, honoring the negro Haytian leader, whom he first pictured as having

The savage hope, to deal, ere long,
A vengeance bitterer than his wrong.16

And later in the same poem this leader shows

Proofs that the Negro's heart retains
Some nobleness amid its chains.17

In the poems, "The Slave- Ships" and "The Farewell" of a Virginia slave mother to her daughters sold into southern bondage, Whittier pictured the terrible evils resulting from slavery. The theme of the second poem is in the refrain:

Gone, gone, -- sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters;
Woe is me, my stolen daughters!18

Whittier treated the subject of abolition from every angle and brought every argument in his power to bear upon his opponents. Some of his poems appealed to the patriotism of the people and to their ideals; in others he based his arguments upon principles of religion and morality; and, in still another group of poems, he seemed to be bent on arousing antagonism between the North and the South. Especially is this last true in "The Yankee Girl," in which the northern girl scornfully answers her southern suitor:

16Ibid., p. 263.  
17Ibid., p. 265.  
18Ibid., p. 278.
Full low at thy bidding thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
Yet know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them, than in freedom with thee.\(^{19}\)

Whittier knew the hearts of the people, and in voicing his own thought and feelings he was the spokesman for a multitude of the men and women of that troubled period.

The New Yorkers were not to be outdone by the Garrisonians of Boston. They, too, established a paper called The Emancipator that competed with The Liberator in the vigor of its verbal appeal. A National Woman's Anti-Slavery Convention was held in New York in 1837. The Grimke sisters in that year spoke throughout Massachusetts in behalf of anti-slavery, and in the next year Angelina Grimke addressed the House of Representatives of that Commonwealth.

\(\text{As the movement became more and more aggressive, with open allusion to the dissolution of the Union, mobs broke up the meetings of anti-slavery agitators over the country. The northern business men in many instances were bitter enemies of the abolitionists, because they did not want to see the normal course of business between the North and the South disrupted by the abolition movement. In 1835 an effigy of Garrison was hung at his own door, and in the same year a meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Society held at Faneuil Hall in Boston was broken up and Garrison seized and dragged through the streets. In May, 1838, the new Pennsylvania Hall}\)

\(^{19}\text{Ibid., p. 270.}\)
in Philadelphia was burned by a mob three days after its dedication in protest to its being opened to anti-slavery meetings. In the West the movement lagged for a time, but by 1837 the people were aroused to such an extent that a mob in Alton, Illinois, made an attack on the printing press of Elijah P. Lovejoy, killing him in the fight.20

The South was thoroughly aroused and assumed an aggressive anti-abolitionist attitude. They declared that slavery came from God, that it was the ideal social condition, and that it was for the benefit of both blacks and whites. The fight was carried into Congress, petitions from anti-slavery societies coming in with every mail, and Southern Congressmen demanding that a law be passed excluding incendiary publications from the mails. There was an occasional lull in the abolition crusade, but for the most part it continued to gather strength in its fight for equality of opportunity for the races.

The humanitarian impulse was also making itself felt with regard to punishments and the criminal code. Gradually imprisonment and fines were substituted for branding, whipping, mutilation, sitting in stocks, and other forms of colonial punishment. John Howard of England had investigated prisons of his own and of other countries and had startled Parliament with gruesome stories of inhumanity. People of America soon found in their own miserable prisons a need for

reform, and they were struck with a correlative suggestion that many of their laws provided for punishments that were unduly cruel. Among the examples used for stimulating interest in reform was that of a Connecticut prison which had been made from an abandoned copper mine. It was almost wholly underground, had a dirt floor and but one small opening near the top of the outside wall, was reached by a ladder from this opening, and was usually dripping wet.

In the prisons of the 1820's all prisoners were confined in large rooms with sometimes ten, twenty, or thirty inmates in each room. There was no attempt made to separate the prisoners; poor debtors, murderers, accused persons awaiting trial -- all were placed together -- men, women, children, black and white, sane and insane. There was no attempt made to warm, ventilate, or keep the prisons clean, and in most instances the inmates slept on the floor.21

In Pennsylvania and in New York experiments were begun in the late 1820's to correct some of the evils of the old prisons. In the one known as the "Pennsylvania System" the prisoner was kept in solitary confinement at hard labor. The cells were lighted, heated, and drained, providing greater bodily comfort but the mental cruelty inflicted by solitary confinement was greater than before. In the New York Auburn System the prisoners were confined in solitude at night but

labored in gangs during the day in absolute silence. In the end, both these plans being found to be inhuman, books and recreation were allowed and the ban of silence was lifted. Though both systems left much to be desired, they were better than the old congregate method of housing and served as a basis for later improvement.  

Another movement started in the 1830's was the elimination of public executions. Beginning in New Jersey and New York in 1835, one state after another put an end to these brutalizing spectacles. Imprisonment for debt was also branded as an inhuman custom, and by the 'thirties the move to abolish this form of imprisonment was well under way. The confining of the insane in prisons with common criminals was beginning to attract the notice of the reformers by the close of the 1830's, and in the 1840's Dorothea Lynde Dix was to begin her campaign to remove the insane from prisons and place them in asylums.

Among the social movements of the 1830's was the organization of labor. The reformer in this period could not overlook the condition of labor in the rapidly growing factories of America. Three fourths or more of the factory operatives were women and children. Men, women, and children alike were required to work from twelve to fourteen hours a day. Few had any protection against the unscrupulous employer.

\[22\text{Faulkner, American Political and Social History, pp. 264-265.}\]

\[23\text{Ibid., pp. 263-266.}\]
Barring a few small trade unions which had been formed earlier, the real labor movement began in 1827 with the founding of the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations in Philadelphia. The next ten years witnessed a considerable awakening of labor consciousness. In 1828 the Mechanics' Free Press began publication in Philadelphia, the first labor paper in the United States. By 1837 sixty-eight such publications had made their appearance. With the era of swiftly rising prices which preceded the panic of 1837, came the rapid growth of trades' unions, some of which were organized as national trades' unions. A general organization of the National Trades' Union held three or four meetings from 1834 to 1837. The membership of the trades' union grew rapidly until the panic of 1837 stopped the movement.

The frontier forced down the bars which had kept the small and non-taxpayer from the ballot box; the workmen under the impulse of their leaders turned to political action. They demanded free schools, no imprisonment for debt, mechanics' lien laws, and a ten-hour day; and they opposed special favors in the granting of charters and monopolies, the lottery system, the militia system as then in vogue, the auction system, and the exemption of church property from taxation. 24

The first workingmen's party appeared in Philadelphia in

24Carlton, The History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 31.
1827 or 1828; but the most important political movement occurred in New York City. The New York party elected three state assemblymen in the spring of 1829, but this only served to arouse the ire of Tammany Hall and they proceeded to destroy the new party. Thus the first American labor movement was disrupted by entering the political arena.

However, the movement was not entirely useless. The chief advantages gained were the passage of a mechanics' lien law by the New York Legislature; the abolition of imprisonment for debt in New York by a law passed in 1831; increased appropriations for education; and their experience in politics taught them to hold aloof from party politics for the time being.25

The National Trades' Union in its meeting in 1834 adopted resolutions favoring "an Equal, Universal, Republican system of Education," demanding that the public lands be left open to actual settlers, deploring the condition of children employed in the cotton and woolen mills, and opposing special privileges for a favored few. At the meeting in 1836 a movement was started to get the government to adopt a ten-hour day for all government employees and in 1840 President Van Buren declared ten hours a legal day's work on government projects; and private employers adopted the same policy in the important business of ship building.26

25 Ibid., pp. 32-33.  
26 Ibid., p. 37.
The laboring man did not have to wage his battle for a new deal alone. Such lecturers as Frances Wright lent their voices to the cause of labor and some of the women's magazines began to peer into the factories to see what could be done to better conditions of women there. The Ladies' Wreath of New York came out with an appeal to the women readers to use their "powerful moral influence" to help better the conditions of the oppressed seamstresses and toward securing more adequate compensation for factory operatives. It also suggested that women think seriously about the fact that for sewing twelve hours a day many workers were receiving only three dollars a week.27

Another important movement in the 1820's and 1830's was the general extension of the suffrage. The laborers profited most by the change. A new door of opportunity was opened to them. There were three factors in this period that determined the course of the labor development for the period. The general moral awakening afforded the nourishing atmosphere; Robert Owen's agitation directed attention to the needs of the workers; and, finally, the ballot appeared as the instrument by which these advantages were to be secured.28

At the beginning of the 1820's nearly all of the states had some property qualifications and tax requirements for voters.

27Stearns, "Reform Periodicals and Female Reformers, 1830-1860," American Historical Review, XXXVII (July, 1932), 689.

The exceptions to this general rule were some of the new states in the Mississippi valley region, examples being Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. States entering the Union during and after the 'twenties rarely had any kind of property qualification for voters, and only a few made any mention of tax requirements for voters. The only general restrictions seem to have been for women, men under twenty-one, aliens in some sections, and negroes all over the South and in some Northern states.\(^{29}\)

The real fight for the extension of suffrage came in the older Atlantic seaboard states, both in the North and in the South. Here the property rights were firmly entrenched, and, as all extension of suffrage must come through those who have it, the struggle to abolish property qualifications extended over a period of twenty or more years. The West, settled by hardy pioneer people, would never tolerate the property qualification for voters, and the proletariat of the industrial towns in the East began to form pressure groups by 1825 to force the discarding of this undemocratic practice. The feeling was growing that the only qualification for suffrage should be virtue and morality.

With Andrew Jackson's administration there came a new and energetic sort of democracy. The spirit of Jackson's time was to look upon government machinery as a vast and

mighty engine belonging to the people, in the running of which they should have a hand. The common man in the workshop and on the farm began to realize that he was part and parcel of a great government. The political turmoil following upon Jackson's inauguration in 1829 led to a general awakening of civic consciousness such as had never been known before. All for which the Jacksonian Democrats stood necessarily involved the very broadest suffrage. White manhood suffrage was the modern ideal, and the typical rough westerner could look down with contemptuous disdain, equal to that of the aristocrat himself, upon any men who were so far lost in the past as to speak of serious restrictions upon this new privilege. By the end of the 1830's property qualifications for voters, and in many instances taxpaying qualifications, too, had gone down to defeat.30

Of the various reforms agitated during the decade of the 1830's, the one that eventually captured most completely the American mind was universal public education. Many decades were to elapse before the ideal was realized, but by 1860 the principle of a free, tax-supported public-school system had been generally accepted. Public elementary education made wonderful strides in the 'thirties, and the opportunities for higher education were notably extended in the field of state-supported colleges and universities. By 1840 there

30 Ibid., pp. 77-90.
were one hundred forty-three colleges in the United States, with an enrollment of sixteen thousand students.]

The organized labor movement, the agitation for the extension of the suffrage, and the move for universal public education were so closely tied together that one can scarcely be considered without the other two. One of the chief demands of labor in the 1830's was for free and equal education. To obtain these demands labor realized they must also gain the right to vote, and in order to vote intelligently they must have some form of education. As early as 1827 DeWitt Clinton of New York expressed the opinion of many others when he said: "The bulwark of republican government is the cultivation of education; for the right of suffrage cannot be exercised in a salutary manner without intelligence."31

At every labor meeting this plea for free public education was uppermost in their demands. At a workingmen's meeting held in New York in 1830, this resolution was adopted: "Resolved, that next to life and liberty we consider education the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind."32 Carlton says that wage earners were touched with the enthusiasms of a Utopian dreamer. They firmly believed that if given free and universal education, men could cause all social ills to

31 Faulkner, American Political and Social History, p. 271.
vanish as mists before the morning sun. A mistaken idea it has proved to be; but it was, nevertheless, potent and compelling in that formative period of our industrial history. 33

The first American high school was established in Boston in 1820, called at first the English Classical School and, after 1824, the English High School. In Massachusetts in 1827 the first American law requiring the establishment of high schools was passed. This is an important landmark in the history of the evolution of the high school. 34

The movement for a tax-supported public-school system made rapid headway, with the lead being taken by the states of the Northeast. Horace Mann was the great leader in the Common-School Revival in New England in the 'thirties and 'forties. The first State Board of Education was created in Massachusetts in 1837, and Mann was elected its first secretary, which office he held until 1848. Mann succeeded in establishing normal schools for the training of teachers and in welding the local units into a state educational system. What Mann did for Massachusetts, Henry Barnard did for Connecticut and Rhode Island. Educational journals to promote their ideas were started by both men, of which the American

33 Carlton, The History and Problems of Organized Labor, pp. 46-47.

Journal of Education, founded by Barnard, was the most famous. These are the best known of the educational leaders who laid the foundations during these years of the American public-school system.35

Simons says that there were many influences during the 1830's making for education, but there seems to have been no other single force making for education that can be compared with the working-class movement, and there is no escape from the conclusion that to this movement, more than to any other single cause, if not more than to all other causes combined, is due the common-school system of the United States.36

The twentieth century has its share of the militants and other reformers; and, though there are no abolitionists to be led by a Garrison, there is decidedly a need for reform. With the old era coming to an end on the Black Thursday in October, 1929, Dumond says, "America turned sadly to the task of studying the three R's: Relief, Recovery, and Reform." All wanted relief, as much and as quickly as they could get; recovery, if it meant getting the old way of life back; and reform only if it reformed the other person, leaving their particular interests alone.37

One of the first problems of the 1930's was that of the liquor traffic and the whole question of prohibition. The


37 D. L. Dumond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, p. 401.
Prohibition Amendment was added to the Constitution as the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919 and was put in effect in 1920 by an act of Congress. It became evident in the late twenties that the act was failing to accomplish what its sponsors had hoped for. It was said that illicit liquor flowed as copiously as legal liquor ever flowed. In 1931, the Wickersham Commission reported that the prohibition enforcement had completely broken down, and in 1932 the Democratic party came out for repeal of the unpopular Amendment. For the first time in American history the people faced the repeal of an amendment already added to the Constitution. The "noble experiment," as some one has called it, had failed. By December, 1933, thirty-six states had ratified the Twenty-first Amendment repealing the Eighteenth, leaving the question of the sale of liquor up to the individual states. The sale of liquor became immediately legal in nineteen states; in the remaining states, constitutional or statutory provisions prevented the dispensing of alcoholic beverages. But within the next two years, such provisions were repealed in all the states except Alabama, Georgia, Kansas, Mississippi, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Tennessee; and Alabama joined the column of "wet" states in 1937. The six remaining states were not bone-dry, for the sale of beer was permitted. The states made all sorts of regulations in order to prevent the recurrence of a dry agitation. The results were that in fifteen states, state
monopoly systems were set up under which the sale of liquor was made a public business managed by liquor-control commissions; in twenty-six states, central licensing bodies were provided for and invested with the responsibility of regulating the private liquor trade; and in all the jurisdictions where liquor could be sold, new means were devised for taking the curse off the business.38

Labor in the early 1930's was mostly concerned with the problem of unemployment. In the first few years following the economic crash in 1929 there were millions of unemployed people in the United States. Moreover, there was reported to be an increase in sweatshops and in the overworking of women and children. Wages had decreased rapidly, and there was an increase in industrial accidents, reflecting a let-up in safety and accident-prevention activities. Immediate relief had to be provided for the laborer. Various relief agencies were set up by the government, beginning with the Emergency Relief Act of 1933. The Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration with huge appropriations of funds by Congress were set up to try to give employment and relief to those who needed it. By 1935 Secretary of Interior Ickes said that Works Progress Administration projects had been started in three thousand forty of the three thousand seventy-three counties of the nation,

that half of the local projects were school constructions, and that a real beginning had been made on the problem of low-cost housing and slum-clearance.39

The National Industrial Recovery Act provided certain codes for labor in industry. Provisions were written into the codes banning the labor of children under sixteen years of age. Minimum wages and maximum hours were also established and the working week was limited to forty hours in nearly all of the codes.40

Later in the decade, after the Supreme Court had ruled the above-mentioned National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, which was frankly class legislation in that it spoke only of industry's duty toward labor: employers were obligated to bargain collectively with their workers and to give up all practices which might prevent employees from properly realizing the objective of free trade unionism. The act defined a number of unfair practices which were to be regarded as illegal. The outstanding were these: Employers might not in any way interfere with, restrain, or coerce, workers in their plans to organize. A National Labor Relations Board was set up to enforce the principles and provisions of the act. In a short time many cases of illegal labor practices

39Faulkner, American Political and Social History, pp. 694-695.

40Dumond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, pp. 478-479.
had gone through the lower courts and in some of the cases the Supreme Court had ruled on the cases, formulating a body of administrative law for labor. In three years the Board had written a labor code for American industrial relations which was the most advanced in the world and had obtained the Supreme Court's approval of every exploratory step it had taken. The result was that many employers dispensed with their industrial spies and recognized the dignity of their employees and their chosen representatives. There has been an unprecedented growth of unions, old and new, and up to July, 1938, a large percentage of the cases and many strikes were settled by agreement.41

Measures were undertaken to provide for the youth of the land and for the aged. In 1933 Congress authorized the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps to give work to young men, largely in the national parks and forests. The depression had caused many thousands of the young men of America to become homeless wanderers. The purpose of this organization was not only to give work to these young men, but also educational facilities were provided. There were thousands of illiterates enrolled among those who entered the organization. Another youth program was the National Youth Administration, established in 1935, the purpose of which was to help young people to attend high schools and

colleges. Work projects and camps were provided for young women. These projects included community development, recreational leadership, public service, and research. Women in camps for unemployed were receiving training in household management.\textsuperscript{42}

The Social Security Program was also a product of the 1930's. Society was no longer in a mood to tolerate an industrial system which reaped huge profits in good times and then cast the burden of supporting its laboring men upon society during depressions. In 1935 the Social Security Program was set up providing for pensions for the aged, the blind, and for dependent children; for insurance annuities to the aged and unemployed; and for services for maternity and child welfare, the physically infirm, and the delinquent.\textsuperscript{43}

Greatest perhaps of all institutions is America's educational system. Public education by the 1920's had reached proportions never dreamed of in the 1820's. In that hundred years, secondary education had become almost universal. There were a half million students attending high schools at the turn of the century, and by the end of the 'twenties there were more than three and one-half million in such institutions. Vocational and technical high schools are today taking their place along the side of the preparatory high schools that look toward college entrance. The junior high school

\textsuperscript{42} Dumond, \textit{Roosevelt to Roosevelt}, pp. 453-455.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., pp. 498-501.
and the junior college are two new trends in the American school system that have developed in the 1920's and 1930's.\footnote{Hacker and Kendrick, \textit{The United States Since 1865}, pp. 655-656.}

Nothing was more interesting to witness than the unanimity with which twentieth-century America accepted a collegiate education as a prime requisite for future success. College enrollment rose from 462,445 in 1920 to 868,793 in 1928 and to over a million in 1939.\footnote{Faulkner, \textit{American Political and Social History}, p. 662.} By the middle of the 'twenties the average American had begun to believe that youth had as much right to a college education as to a high school training. At the beginning of the 'thirties the boy or girl out of high school had almost one thousand colleges from which to choose. In the one-hundred-year period America has truly become educationally minded.

The above-mentioned social reforms of the 1930's must serve as mere suggestions of the multitudinous reforms of similar nature with which Americans of the twentieth century are concerned. It would be too great an extension of this study to attempt a detailed review of even the most of them. Those mentioned do serve to emphasize a close parallel between the reform spirit of the 1830's and that of the 1930's.
CHAPTER V

THE FRUITS OF REFORM

The word "progressive" may be applied to both of the decades considered in this study. It is true that reform rather than progress was the watchword of the 1830's, but it is also true that the fundamental meaning of reform, as used in that period, was progress. A new nation was breaking the last ties with an old conservative age. Idealism was triumphant over realism; and, though idealism and reform fell far short of attaining the goal set up by the leaders of a hundred years ago, Americans of that generation did make progress. They succeeded in laying a foundation upon which the later reformers could build some lasting improvements.

The decade of the 1830's was definitely a progressive age, an epoch in which the new was grappling with the old in a death struggle; it was an age that was prolific of peculiar and fantastic movements, creeds, and parties, many of which soon died out, but most of which usually left some lasting imprint upon the dominant characteristics of the time. These movements sprang up and ran their short course alongside of the great and permanent advance movements of that age. The
time was characterized by the widespread agitation for social betterment. It was an age of experimentation when ideas which had long been formulating were taken into the laboratory and workshop and put into usable form; and though not many of them were put into general use, they were made ready for use.

The majority of the people were better housed and had more domestic conveniences than before; roads of all kinds had remarkably improved; manufacturing equipment had been incomparably advanced and extended; luxuries had been turned into necessities; and public institutions had multiplied. With the exception of some use of water and steam power, this had been accomplished by concentration on work and by labor-saving devices rather than by exploitation of natural resources.¹

One of the purposes of this generation was to break the aristocracy which had been so powerful in its youth and which so contrived to influence its taste. In this it, to a considerable extent, succeeded. At least, aristocracy was driven from power, except in the South, and its alliance with the rising moneyed class had not created a new body able to set standards of conduct. The driving force of the new democracy was the will to destroy the aristocratic principle of government. With the extension of manhood suffrage a

large body of newly enfranchised voters turned against an aristocracy that had long resisted their demands for the vote. With the election of Andrew Jackson the aristocratic power in the government was broken and the principle of political equalitarianism as advanced by the West was substituted.  

Out of the changing 1830's there emerged a literature that was distinctly American in its themes. Such writers as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Fenimore Cooper, and Washington Irving turned to American scenes and legends for their stories and poems. Newspapers and magazines not only remarkably increased in numbers but also in circulation. The fine arts and the sciences as yet little affected the life of the community. They were generally respected in the abstract, but appreciation and support for them came almost entirely from the discredited aristocracy. In music there was some improvement in the popular taste, but this was confined for the most part to such forms as hymns and songs suited to parlor use, in which many could take part.

One could apply to the social aims of the 1830's that term, "new freedoms," which President Franklin D. Roosevelt has emphasized in our own times. Then America really gained the religious freedom toward which it had long been working. The days of established churches were over and new churches

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and new sects had an equal chance to grow and multiply. A nation-wide peace movement laid the foundation for an international interest in peace. The equalitarianism and the humanitarianism of the period brought a concerted movement for the abolition of slavery in the United States, for freedom from intemperance, and for freedom of even the criminal class from cruel punishments and confinement in unsanitary prisons. The purpose of prisons was to be to reclaim individuals as useful members of society, rather than to serve as places for punishment and banishment from society. It would be too much to assert that these humanitarian "freedoms" were wholly attained, but, as has been shown in a previous chapter, some progress was made in each of them during the 1830's.

It was in the 1830's that labor began its long struggle for the rights of the working men -- for freedoms which such men today are supposed to enjoy in full measure under the National Labor Relations Act. An increasing number of Americans were relying upon wages as a means of livelihood, and the community had accepted the idea of a permanent wage-earning class. Although the organization of labor declined during the panic of 1837, some definite gains were made, and the foundation for future powerful organizations of the laboring classes was laid. It was partly through the insistence of labor organizations that universal manhood suffrage became the established rule. The working-class movement contributed
much to the advancement of the public-school system that
had begun to develop in the late 'thirties. Thus the begin-
ing of one of the greatest mass educational systems the
world has ever known was laid in this changing period.

The growing population was better housed, the amount
of furniture was considerably increased, lamps for lighting
purposes were improved, and running water for city homes and
sewage drainage systems were extended and improved. Dress
became less distinguishing as to class, and American city
crowds became the most uniformly and fashionably dressed in
the world.

On the whole, the period of the 1830's made many ad-
vancements. Its problems were not the same as those of to-
day, though there are some similarities. The problems of
that time were those of a new country. If today the radio
and other means of communication seem surfeited with dis-
cussions of the new freedoms, it must be remembered that the
decade of the 1830's, too, has been called a period of un-
bounded loquacity in which a medley of movements were topics
for discussion. It was the golden age of the talk-fest, the
brotherhood of man -- or, as one historian has put it, the
"hot air" period in American history.\footnote{F. T. Carlton, The History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 43.}

Are the problems of the 1930's -- a probable recurrence
of "hot air" and "unbounded loquacity" -- as far from being
solved as those of the 1830's were at the close of that decade? Did the 1930's fall as far short of their goal as did the 1830's? It will be almost impossible for one so close to the 1930's to judge the advancements made by that decade, although a few definite gains may be noted.

If we overlook the years immediately following October, 1929, and take a somewhat broader view, we see an America of unbounded riches. Never in the history of civilization has there been a people who possessed so much of this world's goods. The bountifulness of nature and the ingenuity of man combined, it seemed, to make the United States a great and rich land. Foreign visitors were astonished by the dazzling shops, the comfortable homes, the ever-present automobile, the free spending, and the high standard of living that seemed to be characteristic of the American people. Yet every American realized that just a short distance east or west of every Fifth Avenue there was still to be seen the wretched slum with all its implications.

Beginning with 1933 there has been a concerted program to broaden the scope of the high standard of living and to bring comfortable homes and conveniences heretofore connected only with city life into the small towns and into the rural sections. The Tennessee Valley Authority was one such program set up in 1933 for such purposes as aiding in conserving the natural resources, flood control, reforestation, and supplying power to the large area of the Tennessee Valley region.
Cheap electrical power was for the first time made available to many small villages and to rural homes.

Other power projects scattered over a wide area have either been completed or are in the process of being built, and the Rural Electrification Administration is going ahead with its program of supplying power to isolated rural districts all over the nation that are not yet served with electricity. The electrified farm home is a distinct improvement over the old type where all tasks had to be accomplished by hard work.

Another New Deal program set up in the 1930's has for its purpose the improvement of American homes through several government agencies, whose purpose is to promote better housing. In the cities and in the country, great numbers of families lived in dwellings that did not conform to minimum standards of safety, health, and decency. Home owners in danger of losing their homes were provided for in the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933 and 1934, respectively. The Housing Division of the Public Works Administration made some progress toward providing housing facilities for the people, but in 1937 a new program was set up under the National Housing Act, and the United States Housing Authority was given a fund of $800,000,000 out of which to make loans and grants to local communities in urban and rural centers to build sanitary dwellings for families of low incomes. Some progress has been made under the project toward clearing out slum districts.
and building sanitary homes. This program, if carried out in full, will add much to the standard of living in the United States.  

Science played a large part in the life of modern America in the 1930's. Everyday workers in laboratories strove to perfect devices already in use or to invent new ones for the amusement, edification, and comfort of Americans. Improvements in such inventions as the automobile, the airplane, the radio, and the motion picture were quite noticeable in this period. Of lesser social significance, but in their own ways equally important because they reduced physical labor or made life more secure or comfortable, were the advances made in physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, and the like. America made great strides in scientific progress in the 1920's and 1930's. Our laboratory work was becoming the most significant in the world. 

Perhaps the greatest advancement in the 1930's came in the way of education. School buildings from the elementary level to the college and university were enlarged and improved. Students in high schools and colleges increased in number until at the end of the 1930's there was no other country in the world that could match the mass educational program of the United States. Not only did formal education

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5Ibid., p. 659.
in schools increase, but American literature became outstanding, with its drama outstripping that of Europe. Music in America flourished as never before. The native composer was given every encouragement, and his achievements were seriously studied, as were those of other creative artists. The artist came in for his share of interest and appreciation. The support of American art did not come solely from the very wealthy, but throughout much of the middle class there arose an understanding of what sound artistic values really are. Art projects were among the programs sponsored by the Works Progress Administration during the 1930's. The result of this interest in art was becoming apparent in home decorations, which were helping to produce homes that were more cheerful and more comfortable.

Public parks and vacation grounds were greatly improved during the 1930's, and with improved roads and a rapid increase in the number of automobiles owned by the population, Americans truly took to the road. The average American travels more in a year than his nineteenth-century ancestor did in a lifetime. The entire country has become a playground for the American people.

But what does all this mean? Has American life received any lasting improvements during the 1930's? How many of the social programs started in this period will prove to be only temporary arrangements to relieve a population struggling in the throes of a depression? Certainly we have made some
progress, and even the least permanent of these social programs will leave some impression upon our way of life. But we are too close to the decade to be able to distinguish the great permanent advance movements from those of a more temporary nature. Is the idealism of this generation superior to that of the Americans of the 1830's? How much better will we use the forces at our command to hasten improvement than they used the instrumentalities available in that day? The writer has reached one definite conclusion: Though both of these decades are one hundred years apart, each of them has been characterized by a pronounced trend toward social improvement for the common man and for the total welfare of humanity in this nation. There are many similarities in the social programs of the two periods, although the method of carrying out these programs may have differed greatly. These two periods are outstanding for the demands made for change in the American way of life.
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