Social and Humanitarian Movements
The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme XXII

SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENTS

1965

United States Department of the Interior
Stewart L. Udall, Secretary

National Park Service
George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director


## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**A Summary of the Theme - Part I**

**Introduction** | 1 |

**I Colonial Beginnings of Humanitarian Reform**

1. Georgia: Experiment in Philanthropy, 1732-1751 | 3 |
2. Quaker Humanitarianism in Pennsylvania, 1682-1775  
   Poor Relief | 7 |
   Prison Reform | 8 |
   Pacifism | 10 |
   Indians and Negroes | 11 |

**II Democracy and Social Reform, 1776-1860**

1. Humanitarian Crusades | 13 |
   Penal Reform | 14 |
   The Insane and the Handicapped | 15 |
   Temperance and Prohibition | 18 |
   The Peace Movement | 21 |
2. Women's Rights | 23 |
3. Antislavery and Abolition | 28 |
4. The Labor Movement | 34 |
5. Utopian Communities  
   Ephrata, 1725-1812 | 48 |
   Rappites, 1804-1879 | 49 |
   Zoar and Amana, 1817-1898 | 49 |
   Bishop Hill, 1846-1865 | 50 |
   Shakers, 1774-1913 | 51 |
   Hopedale, 1841-1853 | 52 |
   Fruitlands, Brook Farm, and Fourierism, 1841-1854 | 53 |
   Oneida, 1840-1880 | 54 |
   New Harmony, 1824-1827 | 55 |
   Nashoba, 1825-1828 | 56 |
   Icaria and Modern Times, 1827-1895 | 57 |

**III Industrial American and Social Reform, 1861-1913**

1. The Heritage of Civil War  
   Sanitary Commission and the Red Cross | 64 |
   Emancipated Negroes and Beleagured Indians | 64 |
2. Philanthropy and the Gospel of Wealth | 69 |
3. Urban Humanitarianism .................................................. 71
   Poverty and the Slum .................................................. 71
   Crime, Vice, and Insanity .......................................... 75
   Christian Humanitarianism ......................................... 76
   Temperance and the Saloon ......................................... 78
   Children's Aid .......................................................... 79
4. Women's Rights and Suffrage ........................................ 80
5. The Labor Movement .................................................. 83
6. Social Criticism and Radical Reform ............................... 87

Selected Bibliography .................................................... 91

SURVEY OF SITES AND BUILDINGS - PART II ........................... 94

SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE ........................................... 94
1. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama ........................................ 94
2. National Headquarters, American Red Cross, D.C. ............ 96
3. Administration Building, Carnegie Institution, D.C. ........ 98
5. Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace and First Girl Scout Head- 105
    quarters, Georgia ....................................................
6. Middle Amana, Iowa ................................................... 108
7. Carry Nation Home, Kansas .......................................... 110

Note: Sites located in the Northeast Region will be submitted as a separate supplement to this report.

Sites Already Classified Under Theme XXII ......................... 112
Sites Already Classified Under Other Themes But Also Related to Theme XXII ......................................................... 112
Sites in the National Park System Related to Theme XXII ........ 113
Sites Recommended for Further Study .................................. 113
1. Colored Farmers' Alliance Site, Texas ........................... 113

OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

Alabama

1. St. John's Church (Episcopal), Montgomery ..................... 114
**OTHER SITES CONSIDERED (Cont'd)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Site Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>2. Alcatraz Federal Prison</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Altruria</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Fountain Grove</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Henry George Home Site</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Icaria Speranza Commune</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Little Landers Colony</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. Llano Del Rio</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. Point Loma Theosophian Colony</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. Temple Home Theosophian Colony</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>12. Nathan C. Meeker Home</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>13. Administration Building, Emory Junior College</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14. Harkness Hall, Atlanta University</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>15. Kalawao Peninsula (Kalaupapa,</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hansen's Disease Settlement)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>16. Kellogg</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>17. Boyhood Home of Daniel C. Beard</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18. Shakertown, Pleasant Hill</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>19. Miners' Union Hall, Virginia City</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New Mexico

20. St. Catherine's Indian School ........................................ 146
21. Shalam ............................................................. 147

Oklahoma

22. Fort Gibson .......................................................... 149
23. Fort Sill .............................................................. 150

Oregon

24. Keil House, Aurora ................................................... 151

South Carolina

25. South Carolina Society Hall ......................................... 153

Tennessee

26. Rugby ................................................................. 154

Texas

27. Chamizal Memorial (Proposed) ....................................... 155
28. Farmers' Alliance Site, Lampasas County ....................... 155
29. New Braunfels--Fredericksburg ................................... 156
30. Fort Belknap .......................................................... 156
31. Wiley College ......................................................... 157

Utah

32. Pioneer Monument--Temple Square ................................ 158

Virginia

33. Eastern State Hospital .............................................. 160
34. St. George Tucker House ............................................ 161

SITES ALSO NOTED (28 Sites) ......................................... 162

APPENDIX -- Criteria for Classification ............................. 164
ILLUSTRATIONS

Front Cover: Mormon Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.
N.P.S. Photo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Booker T. Washington Home, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>National Headquarters, American National Red Cross, D.C.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Administration Building, Carnegie Institution, D.C.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Alva Belmont House, National Women's Party, D.C.</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace, Georgia.</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Middle Amana Communal Bakery, Iowa</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Middle Amana Church, Iowa</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Middle Amana Communal Store, Iowa</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Carry Nation Home, Kansas</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Nathan C. Meeker Home, Colorado</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Kalawao Peninsula, Hawaii</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Center Family Home, Shakertown, Kentucky</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Miners' Union Hall, Nevada</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>St. Catherine's Indian School, New Mexico</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Fort Gibson, Oklahoma</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Fort Sill, Oklahoma</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>William Keil House, Oregon</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Fort Belknap, Texas</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Pioneer Monument, Utah</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey begun in 1937, under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II, and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed as part of the National Park Service MISSION 66 Program.

The purpose of the Survey, as outlined in the Historic Sites Act, is to "make a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which posses exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." In carrying out this basic directive, each site and building considered in the Survey is evaluated in terms of the Criteria for Classification, which are listed in the appendix of this report.

When completed the Survey will make recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of "exceptional value." This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological representation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by state and local agencies.

This study is a joint product. The narrative section was written under contract by Dr. Walter Hugins, Professor of History of San Jose State College, California. Historian Charles W. Snell, Western Region, San Francisco, coordinated the theme study. Historians Ray H. Mattison, Midwest Region, Omaha; William Brown, Southwest Region, Santa Fe; Horace J. Sheely, Jr., Southeast Region, Richmond; and S. Sydney Bradford, Northeast Region, Philadelphia, contributed the material on the individual sites in their respective regions that appear in this study.

After completion, the study was presented to the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee consists of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies; Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Dr. Louis B. Wright, Director Folger-Shakespearean Library; Mr. Earl H. Reed, Chairman Emeritus American Institute of Architects; Dr. Richard H. Howland, Head Curator, Civil History, Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Eric Gugler, Member Board of Directors, American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society; Dr. J.O. Drew Peabody Museum of Archeology, Harvard University; Mr. Frederick Johnson, Curator, Robert S. Peabody Foundation for American Archeology, Phillips Academy; Mr. Robert R. Garvey, Jr., Executive Director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and Dr. Ralph H. Gabriel, Sterling Professor of History Emeritus, Yale University, and Professor of American Studies, American University.
The over-all Survey, as well as the theme study which follows, is under the general direction of John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, who works under the general supervision of Robert M. Utley, Chief, Division of History and Archaeology, Studies, of the National Park Service.

George B. Hartzog, Jr.
Director
The American people have from the beginning shown concern for improving society and ameliorating the lot of the unfortunate. In the process of creating a civilization in the wilderness they have shown a willingness to experiment and a refusal to be bound by traditional Old World ways of ordering society. Looking to the future instead of the past, the American, "this new man" as Crevecoeur described him in the late eighteenth century, came to believe in inevitable progress as he rejected the Calvinist concept of the inherent depravity of man. If man by his own efforts could change his environment, could he not mold this environment to produce an improvement in human nature, since individual and social evils were but the result of an imperfect society?

This was a basic assumption of the social and humanitarian reform movements which periodically involved large and influential numbers of the American people. The American as reformer is the theme of this study, which details the efforts of often disparate groups to reshape society in accordance with a preconceived image, or to rectify or relieve the disabilities under which portions of the population were suffering. At various times in our history these latter groups included those experiencing discrimination of various kinds because of their racial or ethnic origin, their sex, their economic position, or their condition as social misfits. This humanitarian impulse was in part a product of the Christian ethic, what one writer has called the idea of "moral stewardship," but it was also an expression of the secular belief in the possibility of creating a new utopia in which individual suffering would be largely eradicated. As American society evolved, many humanitarian reformers came increasingly to realize the complexity of the problems, but in spite of this realism the search for the simple solution to the intricate situation continued, even into the more sophisticated twentieth century.

There have been cycles of this reformist ferment in American history. While an undercurrent of social criticism has been a constant in the intellectual climate, it has burst forth into the national consciousness only at intervals. The first of these came in the mid-eighteenth century, as an outgrowth of the Enlightenment and as an adjunct to the agitation which culminated in the American Revolution. Although this was primarily a political movement, and hence outside the limits of this study, the roots of later social and humanitarian movements were planted in this period. The second quarter of the nineteenth century brought the full flowering of what has been called the "day of universal reform," reform that was

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comprehensive yet essentially non-political in its orientation. This era came to an end in the holocaust of civil war, after which the energies and interests of most Americans were directed to more practical ends than improving either man's nature or his society. At last, disillusionment with the results of egocentric materialism led in the waning decades of the century to a renewal of social criticism and humanitarian concern. The climax of this reformist revival was the Progressive era predominantly political like the Revolutionary period, but characterized by the accomplishment of noteworthy social and individual amelioration.

Here our story ends, on the eve of another war, a world-wide conflict which ended our isolation and turned our attention irrevocably to the problems of the world outside. In this sense 1914 was an historical watershed as significant for the American people as 1776. Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that American social and humanitarian movements developed in an intellectual and ideological vacuum. While they were unique in some respects, growing out of the impact of the physical environment on an increasingly heterogeneous population, these reform movements also reflected and were often strongly influenced by Western Europeans and their ideas. The Atlantic throughout most of our history has been less a barrier than an avenue for the transmission of opinions, theories, and concepts as well as people. Nevertheless, in most cases these ideas have undergone a sea change, so that they have soon taken on distinctive American characteristics. American social and humanitarian movements, then, have usually been in accordance with the national character, reformist rather than revolutionary, liberating rather than radical. Exception can be found, but this as we shall see has been the pattern of American social reform.
CHAPTER I

COLONIAL BEGINNINGS OF HUMANITARIAN REFORM

The English colonies of the seventeenth century were the result of a combination of motives, economic, political and religious, humanitarianism as such being more a by-product than a prime mover. It is true that the majority of settlers who came to the New World did so in the expectation of finding improved opportunities. Moreover, the Puritans who hoped to transform Massachusetts into a Wilderness Zion and the Quakers who viewed Pennsylvania as a "Holy Experiment" were attempting to create new societies which would eliminate some of the more flagrant abuses of the Old World. Yet they were more concerned with escaping religious and political oppression than with removing social evils. It was not until the eighteenth century that a true humanitarian impulse was manifested either in England or America.

Georgia: Experiment in Philanthropy

Georgia differed from her sister colonies, not only in being established later, but in being established primarily as a philanthropic gesture by a group of British noblemen and ecclesiastics. Other more practical considerations played a part, of course, such as the need for a garrison outpost to protect prosperous South Carolina against depredations by Spain and her Indian allies, but the philanthropic motive was preeminent in the minds of its founders. This altruism was characteristic of mid-eighteenth century England, which elevated "common sense" and sobriety to the pedestal formerly occupied by faith and "enthusiasm". As one historian has commented: "The philanthropy of the age was directed toward the removal of poverty, especially those forms of poverty and of vice which were an eyesore to a gentleman walking the streets of London or which added to the cost, danger, and stench of life in the great city."1 Lord Percival, first Earl of Egmont, who along with James Oglethorpe played the most important role in founding the colony, once stated his philosophy in a conversation with Queen Anne: "Ah, Madam, 'tis for persons in high station, who have the means in their hands to do good."2

Though limited in aspiration, this humanitarian impulse was nonetheless sincere and secular, needing no theological justification. The fact that a number of prominent Englishmen were involved in this and associated endeavors is not a contradiction; instead, it reveals much about the attitudes and interests of orthodox Christianity during the Age of Enlightenment, and does much to explain the consequent revival of "enthu-

2 Ibid., 76.


siastic" religion epitomized by the Great Awakening in America and the rise of Methodism in England. The leading figure in the movement for practical benevolence which culminated in the Georgia project was an Anglican clergyman, Dr. Thomas Bray. Organizer and guiding spirit of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he also devoted several years to an abortive scheme for the conversion and Christian education of Negro slaves and Indians in the British West Indies. When Bray became seriously ill, control of his charitable activities and trust funds were deeded to a group known as the Associates of Dr. Bray, one of whom was Lord Percival. Bray was also concerned about the plight of the poor in England, especially imprisoned debtors, and his agitation was influential in the decision in 1729 to appoint a Parliamentary committee "to inquire into the State of the Gaols of the Kingdom." Bray died the following year, but his work was brought to fruition by the chairman of the committee, James Edward Oglethorpe, a young man of good family who had served with distinction in the late war against Spain. The committee investigation disclosed details of the degrading conditions of prison life and the brutal treatment of the inmates, particularly the victims of debt and poverty. The result was the passage of ameliorative legislation, including an act for the relief of insolvent debtors which released thousands of poor prisoners from confinement.¹

An immediate consequence was a noticeable increase in the number of unemployed in London. To Oglethorpe and Percival the obvious remedy appeared to be colonization overseas. Other would-be philanthropists were recruited to forward the scheme, and the Associates of Dr. Bray were soon converted into the Georgia Trustees. In 1732 a Royal Charter was obtained from King George II, authorizing the trustees to colonize the area south of the Carolinas between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers. The official statement of purpose in the preamble declared that the colony was to be established to relieve the plight of those "through misfortune and want of employment, reduced to great necessity," by giving them the opportunity to support themselves in the new land; it also emphasized that settling this region would protect the borderlands from attack and "increase the trade, navigation, and wealth of these our realms." The trustees were empowered to raise money, grant lands, enact laws, and levy taxes subject to supervision by the Crown; they were prohibited from deriving personal profit from the enterprises, and after twenty-one years their control would cease as Georgia would then become a royal province.²


²Boorstin, The Americans, 77-78; see also Curtis P. Nettels, The Roots of American Civilization (New York, 1963), 404-05.
Oglethorpe and his fellow trustees used great care in selecting prospective colonists, searching for "such as were most distressed, virtuous and industrious." They required that the character of all applicants be certified by their parish officials in order to exclude "criminals, idlers and drunkards"; at the same time they were careful not to accept those who were presently employed and hence "could get their bread at home." Probably not more than a dozen settlers had ever been imprisoned debtors, although most had been unemployed for some time. They also recruited Swiss and German Protestants who had been suffering religious persecution in their homeland; these were selected mainly because of their sobriety and industry, for the trustees distrusted "enthusiasts who take it in their head that everything which comes uppermost in the immediate impulse of the spirit of God." 1 Negroes, both free and slave, were excluded from the colony for practical rather than humanitarian reasons, for the trustees feared they might join the enemy in case of war with Spain. Furthermore, they saw slavery as a menace to their conception of an economy of small farms inhabited by soldier-settlers: "the white man," they concluded, "by having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labor himself; ... his whole time must be employed in keeping the negro to work, and in watching against any danger he or his family might apprehend from the slave." The paternalism of the philanthropists extended even to protecting the morals of the settlers. By an act of 1735 they prohibited the importation and sale of "Rum, Brandies, Spirits or Strong Waters" in order to preserve the colonists against luxury and indolence. 2

With General Oglethorpe in command thirty-five families arrived early in 1733 to settle the new colony. The town of Savannah was laid out, land was cleared, and buildings were erected, all under the martial supervision of their leader. Land was granted under strict regulations, friendly relations were established with the Indians, and efforts were made to establish silk culture as a major enterprise. Other colonists arrived, principally contingents of German religious refugees, but dissatisfaction with this planned society soon became apparent. Settlers were migrating to neighboring South Carolina, and the outcry against the prohibition of rum and slavery became deafening; moreover, the trustees, with the aid of Parliamentary subsidies, were pouring money into a colony which showed little likelihood of becoming self-sufficient. In 1742 the Act "for Suppressing the odious and loathsome Sin of Drunkenness" was repealed, and seven years later the importation of Negro slaves was authorized. In spite of these concessions the trustees were forced to admit failure, relinquishing all their rights to the King in 1751, two years before the

1 A. B. Saye, New Viewpoints in Georgia History (Athens, Ga., 1943), 3-42; Boorstin, The Americans, 79.

2 Kettels, Roots of American Civilization, 405; Boorstin, The Americans, 81-82.
1751, two years before the expiration of their charter. Boorstin has brilliantly summarized the Georgia misadventure in words which foreshadow the failure of nineteenth-century communitarian experiments:

... the clue to the failure of the Trusteeship is a clue to the success of other forms of community in America. The Georgia project was not abandoned because its settlers had found America unpromising but, on the contrary, because what its settlers wanted was opportunity--with all its risks--and what they were given was a plan. The opportunities of the New World could not be encompassed by any plan, however selfless or noble, devised by the Old World imagination. The dream to be fulfilled here was more exotic than 18th-century London could believe. American possibilities were not the same as European impossibilities; they had a character all their own. Even to dream fruitfully of the life here, it was necessary to compound the English dream with the American experience.

A postscript to the Georgia story of abortive humanitarianism concerns the activities in that colony of the influential English evangelists, John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. Their impact upon the American consciousness was first felt there, giving rise to a spurt of Christian benevolence which was a concomitant of the mid-century Great Awakening. The Wesleys arrived in Savannah as missionaries in 1736, but did not remain long. Whitefield, a young and eloquent minister, was sent by the trustees two years later. In 1739 he established an orphanage at Bethedea near Savannah, providing both vocational training and elementary education for its inmates. To spread his evangelical message, and to raise funds to support this philanthropic project, he began a five-year crusade which carried him throughout the American colonies. In addition to reviving religious zeal based largely on the fear of damnation, Whitefield dramatized the situation of the poor, emphasizing their need for alms, education, and sympathy. His influence in stimulating humanitarian endeavors was particularly noteworthy in Philadelphia, according to the testimony of Benjamin Franklin, who recognized that the preacher's visit in 1739 had stirred up much charitable enthusiasm which supplemented the quieter benevolent activities of Quaker organizations.

1Nettels, Roots of American Civilization, 406-10; see also E. Merton Coulter, A Short History of Georgia (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933), Chaps. 1-8; James R. McCain, Georgia as a Proprietary Province (Boston, 1917).

2Boorstin, The Americans, 96.

Although the effect of Whitefield's preaching was prodigious, in the long run Quaker humanitarianism was to prove more significant in instigating and supporting American social reform.

Quaker Humanitarianism in Pennsylvania

The Quakers, or Society of Friends, developed in the mid-seventeenth century as a mystical, individualistic, and perfectionist Protestant sect. With no theology and no clergy they refused to conform to any man-made law and joyously sought martyrdom at the hands of their reluctant oppressors both in Old and New England. Their situation changed radically in 1682 with the establishment of the colony of Pennsylvania as a Quaker commonwealth. Now the persecuted minority had become the majority, the anarchists were forced to rule, the mystics of the "inner light" had to deal with the practical problems of this world. This change produced symptoms of schizophrenia on occasion, but it also resulted in an efflorescence of humanitarian concern for their fellow men, regardless of race, color, or condition, which was virtually unique in eighteenth-century America.

Poor Relief: The Quakers, with their belief in the brotherhood of man and the equality of all men before God, had always had a tradition of charity to the unfortunate. In the eighteenth century this was reinforced by the Enlightenment faith in the power of reason and the possibility of progress, so that Philadelphia became in actuality the city of brotherly love. The increasing prosperity of this colonial metropolis made poverty even more conspicuous, and the wealth of successful Quaker merchants gave their consciences an opportunity to act. As Carl Bridenbaugh has remarked, "A people who because of the evidences of progress they saw around them could hardly doubt the truth of the doctrine of perfectibility refused to subscribe to the axiom that because wealth accumulated men had to decay."

During the first half-century of Pennsylvania's history charity was dispensed to the indigent poor mainly through the Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia; in 1729 it erected a private Alms House where poor families were assigned to separate apartments. This soon proved ineffective because of the rapid population growth resulting primarily from the influx of Scotch-Irish and German immigrants. Quaker pressure on the provincial and local governments culminated in 1732 with the establishment of a public Alms House supervised by Overseers of the Poor who were appointed by the Mayor and Common Council; this building contained an infirmary, special apartments for the insane, and working facilities for the healthy poor. Within a decade this structure proved inadequate under the impact of increased immigration, war, and economic depression, especially since the

1Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 225-27; see also Huras M. Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies (London, 1911), and Sidney V. James, A People Among Peoples: "Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America (Cambridge, 1963).
tax rate for poor relief remained low. Private charity attempted to fill the vacuum but was equally insufficient; a significant example was the effort of Anthony Benezet, a Quaker schoolteacher and reformer, to solicit funds in 1755 to care for some four hundred fifty Acadian exiles who arrived in the city. Benevolent Quakers continued to agitate in the parsimonious Assembly, finally in 1766 obtaining passage of a law which authorized the building of a workhouse and the mortgaging of the old Alms House to finance construction of a new one. Furthermore, the legislature incorporated a private association named "The Contributors to the Relief and Employment of the Poor of the City of Philadelphia," consisting principally of Quakers. As Bridenbaugh concludes: "The sympathy and generosity of Philadelphia's citizens, large and small, outran that of their government, and society's unfortunates received needed relief only when the humanitarianism of the Society of Friends compelled the Assembly to empower a group of private individuals to act in the emergency."1

The result of their efforts, supplemented in part by taxation, was the opening of the Bettering House in late 1767. This building had a capacity of five hundred persons, including those transferred from the old Alms House. About half the inmates were self-supporting, being employed in spinning, sewing, or picking oakum; the remainder were children, expectant mothers, blind, and unemployables. This institution was a pioneer in the care of the sick and insane, its distinguished medical staff founding the first lying-in hospital in the American colonies. A schoolmistress was employed to teach the orphans housed there, and by 1774 two schools were being supported. The Quaker Managers of the Bettering House used surplus funds to provide out-relief, principally firewood, to the non-institutionalized poor in times of emergency. Silas Deane, after visiting it in 1774, wrote home to Connecticut that "it vastly exceeds all of the kind in America put together, and, I guess equals in its institutions any thing in Europe."2

prison Reform: The Quakers since their beginnings had demonstrated a strong repugnance against the taking of human life for any reason, in war or in peace, and they were particularly opposed to capital punishment. This view was embodied in William Penn's Great Law of 1682 for his colony, by which only treason and murder were punished by death. Such a departure from English criminal law not only caused the Pennsylvania Quakers to be labeled dangerous anarchists, it made the colony a haven for runaway

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1Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 229-33; see also George S. Brookes, Friend Anthony Benezet (Philadelphia, 1937), and August Jorns, The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work (New York, 1931).

2Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 233-36, 244-49, 292-93.
servants and convicts from neighboring provinces, leading Penn himself to deplore the number of scandalous deeds "openly committed in defiance of law and virtue." Beginning in 1701 the criminal law was made increasingly severe, branding, whipping, and mutilation being legalized. The Quaker attitude towards crime and punishment was complicated by their religious scruples against taking oaths which meant that neither judges, witnesses nor jurors were sworn in criminal cases. This led to controversy, legislative acts substituting affirmations for oaths being continually vetoed by the Governor or repealed by the Crown. When the threat was made to exclude Quakers from all offices by insisting upon the oath, the frightened Assembly heeded the Governor's suggestion that a compromise might be reached if they were willing to recede on the question of capital punishment and adopt the laws of England. This was done by legislative act in 1718, and within the succeeding fifty years the number of crimes punishable by death was increased to sixteen, although the penalty was often changed to banishment on appeal.

The record of the Quakers in prison administration is more creditable. As early as 1722 the Society of Friends was instrumental in the erection of a stone prison in Philadelphia which housed debtors and criminals in separate wings; in no other prison in the colonies or in England was so much attention given to the provision of fresh air and exercise for the inmates. This was adequate and well run until the postwar depression of the 1760's brought a phenomenal increase in the incarceration of insolvent debtors. The resultant agitation in the press and the efforts of charitable societies to solicit contributions for the relief of the prisoners led to a realization by many Philadelphians that imprisonment for debt was a social as well as an economic problem. Because efforts failed to obtain legislative action extending greater leniency to debtors, private charity was further stimulated while Quaker exertions for legal relief continued, finally to bear fruit in the liberal provisions of the 1776 Constitution.

In the meantime, humanitarian concern was growing in regard to the lot of those in the criminal wing. The situation was dramatically illustrated by the death of a prisoner in 1770 from starvation, since public funds did not provide food and clothing for the inmates who were expected to rely on their own resources or on private charity. A legislative investigation followed, and in 1775 the Walnut Street prison was opened with the avowed purpose of providing better conditions for the health and comfort of the prisoners, even though no funds were appropriated for any comforts beyond the barest necessities of life. Spasmodic and unorganized charitable activities were systematized the following year; however, with the establishment of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Prisoners whose members made daily collections throughout the city of food for the inmates. Although fundamental reforms in penology

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had to wait until the nineteenth century, the Quakers of Philadelphia had already demonstrated a concern which was far in advance of their fellow Americans.1

Pacifism: The Quaker doctrine of pacifism was developed by their founder George Fox during the English Civil Wars; he wrote: "We are peaceable, and seek the peace, good and welfare of all . . . The doctrine of Christ, who never sinned, is to 'love one another,' and those who are in this doctrine hurt no man." William Penn in 1693 wrote an "Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe which attempted to make a practical application of Quaker principles by urging the creation of an international tribunal whose decisions should be binding on contentious powers. This made for a consistent theory, and many Quakers went to jail in England defending their views, but difficulties arose in America where strict adherence to this doctrine might and often did cost the lives of non-Quakers. As James Logan wrote Penn in 1703: "When I pleaded that we were a peaceable people, had wholly renounced war, and the spirit of it . . . I really spoke my sentiments; but this will not answer in English government . . . Their answer is, that should we lose our lives only, it would be little to the crown, seeing 'tis our doing, but others are involved with us, and should the enemy make themselves master of the country, it would too sensibly touch England in the rest of her colonies."2

For a time the Quakers were able to evade the issue by seeing that the Deputy-Governor, who held executive power in the colony, was a non-Quaker; he could make decisions and leave Quaker consciences unsullied. Yet by mid-century, as the Anglo-French struggle for the continent reached a climax, it had become apparent that the only alternatives were compromise on the question of pacifism or complete withdrawal from government. After considerable debate the latter choice was taken in 1756, on the eve of the Seven Year's War, when Benjamin Franklin's rhetoric as leader of a compromise party and the pressure from London Quakers led to a pacifist abdication with Quakers surrendering their seats in the Assembly. Principle had been maintained at the sacrifice of political power. The Scotch-Irish and Germans on the frontier breathed more easily as measures were taken for defense against the French and their Indian allies, but the Quakers were never able to regain control of the government. The coming of the American Revolution was the final blow, for to the Friends revolt against constituted authority, except on an individual basis, was as heinous as war. Leading Quakers wrote and worked for peace throughout the conflict, as illustrated by Benezet's pamphlet Thoughts on the Nature of War published in 1776, but these efforts led instead to the accusation of Quakers as Tories and counter-revolutionists. The pacifist tradition was as a result pushed out of the mainstream of American life, only to revive hopefully in the mid-

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1Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 249-53; see also Harry E. Barnes, The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania (New York, 1927).

2Boorstin, The Americans, 43-50; Alice F. Tyler, Freedom's Ferment (Minneapolis, 1944), 396-97.
nineteenth century.¹

**Indians and Negroes:** Most English colonists regarded the Indians as dangerous and ignorant savages who must be placated, annihilated, or duped. Sporadic efforts were made to convert them to Christianity, most notably in the seventeenth century by John Eliot, the Massachusetts "Apostle to the Indians." Later, missionary activities increased, as it was discovered that the aborigines could neither be wiped out nor successfully enslaved. The Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel played a leading role, supplemented by Moravian missions in Pennsylvania and the educational efforts of Congregationalists epitomized by Eleazer Wheelock’s establishment of Dartmouth College as an Indian School in 1769. The Pennsylvania Quakers were the only ones, however, who from the first regarded the Indians as brothers who had a primary right to the land, and studiously endeavored to maintain good relations with them. William Penn had established the precedent of fair dealing in his treaties with the Indians, but his heirs were more opportunistic; fraud and pious protestations became the pattern, and the result was a blood bath on the frontier. Quaker Indian policy, combined with their doctrinaire pacifism, produced a political crisis which undermined their position in the colony and defeated this enlightened attempt to treat the Indians as human beings.²

More immediately successful was the Quaker agitation against slavery. Protests "against the traffic of menbody" had been received by the Annual Quaker Meeting as early as 1688, and in the ensuing years the Meeting began to urge its members to cease importing slaves; in 1712 the London Meeting was petitioned to consult with Friends in all colonies to form a united front against the slave trade. In 1729 Benjamin Franklin published Ralph Sandiford’s *A Brief Examination of the Times*, which caused the gradual withdrawal of Quakers from active participation in the trade, although many of them continued to own slaves. A few years later a repentant West Indian slave trader, Benjamin Lay, arrived in Philadelphia and antagonized conservative Quakers by his invective and his melodramatic rhetoric, as demonstrated by his 1737 pamphlet *All Slave-Keepers, Apostates*, which denounced the "filthy leprosy... so hurtful to religion and destructive to government."

Lay had advocated education of the Negroes; in response Anthony Benezet in 1750 inaugurated an evening school for Negro children in his home, which he conducted and financed for the next two decades. Through his efforts the Friends in 1770 established a free school for Negroes, which became a popular Quaker charity. Franklin, though not a Quaker,
was impressed by Benezet's efforts, and in 1758 obtained financial aid from the Bray Associates in London for the employment of a schoolmistress to teach young Negroes "to Sew, Knit, read and work." Meanwhile, Benezet, joined by the eloquent Quaker John Woolman, had continued the agitation against slavery and the slave trade. Their pamphleteering, especially Woolman's Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes (1754), urged the Society of Friends to take a definite stand against the importation and purchase of Negroes; four years later the Yearly Meeting directed all members to free their slaves and appointed Woolman head of a committee to carry out the work. Benezet continued his literary crusade during the ensuing decade, especially inveighing against the slave trade and stressing the natural and moral rights of the Negroes. He enlisted some prominent converts, such as John Wesley and Dr. Benjamin Rush, and called attention to the insecurity of free Negroes with the organization in 1775 of the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Directly as a result of Benezet's pleadings, the Meeting in 1776 agreed to censure all members who persisted in owning slaves. The activities of this man, who has been called "America's first great humanitarian reformer," were to bear fruit, not only in Pennsylvania's abolition of slavery in 1780, but in the increasing agitation a half-century later by Quakers and non-Quakers alike against the "moral blot" of Negro slavery.1

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1Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 253-60; Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 10, 13-14. See also Brookes, Friend Anthony Benezet; Mary S. Locke, Anti-Slavery in America, 1619-1808 (Boston, 1901); Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven, 1950).
The American Revolution, although primarily political in its objectives, gave an impetus to social and humanitarian reform that was ideologically significant but comparatively minor in actual accomplishments. The colonial laws of entail and primogeniture were abolished which, combined with the confiscation of Loyalist estates and Crown land, led to some democratization of land ownership. The Anglican Church was disestablished, providing a precedent for the developing American tradition of the separation of church and state. The institution of indentured servitude was criticized, but few ameliorative measures were passed. Improvements in the status of the Negro were more fundamental, though limited primarily to the states where the slave population was infinitesimal. By 1785 all states but Georgia and South Carolina had passed legislation to stop the slave trade. Abolition of slavery was more difficult, but by the end of the war New England and Pennsylvania had provided for the emancipation of their Negroes. Abolitionist societies flourished in the northern states; they were also active in Maryland and Virginia, but as one historian has stated: "Economics and idealism met head on and the former won an easy victory."  

The situation of the criminal became increasingly a matter of concern. Jefferson unsuccessfully attempted to revise the criminal code of Virginia, and Pennsylvanians like Dr. Benjamin Rush continued to propagandize for more humane criminal laws, their activities culminating in 1794 with the complete revision of the law code in the direction of Penn's original statutes of a century before. In prison reform humanitarianism stumbled continually against the obstacle of economy and practicality. A notorious example was an abandoned copper mine, established as Newgate prison by thrifty Connecticut legislators, but few other states could boast of significantly better conditions for their prisoners. Pennsylvania continued to take the lead, but the organization in 1737 of the "Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons" indicated that all was not well in the Quaker paradise. New Yorkers showed greater interest in the condition of imprisoned debtors, organizing the "Society for the Relief of Distressed Debtors," but little was accomplished by their agitation.

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Societies of all kinds proliferated in the post-Revolutionary years; more were organized between 1776 and 1789 than in the whole colonial period. Immigrant aid societies grew up to take care of their fellow nationals, library and marine societies flourished in the seaport towns, a temperance society was organized in Connecticut, and "humane societies" were founded in Boston and Philadelphia. Most of these began as small and exclusive clubs, concerned mainly with social affairs, but they increasingly became a focus for humanitarian ideals and intellectual interests. One of the most notable developments of the 1780's was the growth of societies organized for specifically charitable purposes. Examples were the Massachusetts Charitable Society of 1780, the Black Friar's Society of New York, the Philadelphia "Corporation for the relief and employment of the poor," the Richmond, Virginia, "Amicable Society," and the "Fellowship Society" of Charleston, South Carolina. While the foundation was laid in this period, the climax of these multifarious activities was not to be reached until more than a half-century had passed.1

Humanitarian Crusades

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a flowering of reform movements that has never been equalled before or since in our history. The period from 1830-1860 was especially noteworthy. As Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in 1841:

We are to revise the whole of our social structure, the State, the school, religion, marriage, trade, science, and explore their foundations in our own nature; we are to see that the world not only fitted the former men, but fits us, and to clear ourselves of every usage which has not its roots in our own mind. What is a man born for but to be a Reformer, a Remaker of what man has made; a renouncer of lies; a restorer of truth and good, imitating that great nature which embosons us all?2

Commager has pointed out that the roots of this movement were extremely complex, embracing New England Transcendentalism, evangelical Christianity, democratic individualism, and romanticism. While it was wholly American, it drew for support and often for inspiration from Europe. Its humanitarian concerns were universal but they all were pivoted upon the belief that society could be improved and that the individual was capable of redemption.3

2Emerson, "Man the Reformer," reprinted in Commager, Era of Reform, 22.
3Ibid., 7-17.
Penal Reform:

The most internationally renowned advances in the United States during this period were in penology. Alexis de Tocqueville was not the only European who crossed the Atlantic to inspect American prisons, and all remarked that the young republic was far in advance of even the most enlightened European nation. As Harriet Martineau commented, "the Americans are more blessed than others, in the certainty that they have far less superinduced misery than society abroad, and are using wiser methods than others for its alleviation." While Miss Martineau attributed this humanitarianism to "democratic principles," Francis Grund, a refugee from Germany, agreed with Tocqueville that "it is to religion they have recourse whenever they wish to impress the popular feeling with anything relative to their own country, and it is religion which assists them in all their national undertakings."¹

A fundamental reason for the concern over prison conditions in early nineteenth century America was that the liberalization of the criminal code had changed prisons from way-stations to the gallows to places of detention and correction. In the minds of most penal reformers, notably Roberts Vaux of Philadelphia, incarceration should provide an opportunity for reformation and regeneration of the criminal, not serve as a school for crime and a breeding place for disease. Vaux and his fellow members of the Philadelphia Society continually petitioned the legislature to provide separate cells and solitary labor, which he believed "would more successfully tend to redeem the unhappy objects." Some improvements were made from time to time, but the chronically overcrowded conditions in the Walnut Street jail eventually convinced the reformers that new buildings were necessary. Their efforts were successful in 1829, when the Eastern State Penitentiary was built at Cherry Hill outside Philadelphia. It was divided into seven long one-storied corridors radiating from a central tower; each corridor was lined on both sides with large cells, each for a single inmate. Every cell had an adjacent small walled courtyard for exercise, and contained furniture, running water, and toilet facilities. Each prisoner lived and worked on assigned tasks in complete solitude, no communication being permitted with either his fellows or his family; he was expected to read the Bible and meditate upon his sins for the duration of his sentence until, hopefully, he was discharged as a fully reformed and useful member of society. Because of the cost of constructing and administering such an institution, and because of evidence that insanity rather than regeneration resulted on occasion, only New Jersey (in 1833) followed this model. Nevertheless, the penitentiary, though

impractical in some respects, exemplified a high point of Quaker idealism.1

A more popular system of penology was developed in New York, largely by accident. In 1816 the legislature provided funds for the construction of a state prison at Auburn. A group of reformers who had been influenced by the Philadelphia society obtained additional legislation to institute the cell system, but the contractor economized by building windowless cells measuring only seven by three and one-half feet. Solitary confinement in such close quarters led to rapid deterioration in the prisoners' health and even insanity, so Elam Lynds and the other penitentiary supervisors altered the system in 1823. The convicts now performed congregate labor in workshops constructed between the rectangular cell block and the prison walls, retiring to their cells only at night. Discipline was severe, every infraction of the rule of silence being punished by flogging, which did not interrupt the convict's labor for long. The prisoners were relatively easy to control, and their health showed a remarkable improvement. Moreover, the labor was performed under contract, representatives of the contractor supervising the work, so that the Auburn Plan not only taught the convicts a skill which they could utilize later in the outside world, but it made the prison self-supporting and occasionally returned a profit to the state.2

The success of this experiment led to its adoption a few years later in the new Sing Sing Penitentiary, constructed under the supervision of Elam Lynds. It was this prison that was visited in 1831 by Tocqueville and Beaumont, and by a host of other foreign and domestic visitors, all of whom were impressed. Yet, in comparing the two systems, the two young French aristocrats could see merits in each, concluding:

The Philadelphia system being . . . that which produces the deepest impression on the soul of the convict, must effect more reformation than that of Auburn. The latter, however, is perhaps the more conformable to the habits of man in society, and on this account effects a greater number of re formations, which might be called "legal," inasmuch as

1Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 270-72, 277-78; Barnes, Evolution of Penology, 30-33. See also Richard Vaux, Brief Sketch of the Original and History of the State Penitentiary for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1872).

2Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 274-77. The system became a political issue in the 1830's, when "honest mechanics" protested the unfair competition from convict labor; see Walter Hugins, Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class (Stanford, 1960), 155-61.
they produce the external fulfillment of social obligations. If it be so, the Philadelphia system produces more honest men, and that of New York more obedient citizens.\(^1\)

Louis Dwight, head of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, crusaded throughout New England for the adoption of the Auburn system, realizing that it appealed to legislatures because of its economy and to religious organizations because of its reformatory possibilities. Through his efforts, a cell block on this model was erected in the Charleston prison, although solitary confinement or a bread-and-water diet was ordinarily substituted for the whip. Dwight was also largely responsible for Connecticut's abandonment of the Newgate copper mine and the substitution of a model prison at Wethersfield under the efficient but mild administration of Moses Pillsbury. By 1840 ten more prisons of the Auburn type had been built in other states, north and south, and in succeeding decades they were adopted in the West.\(^2\)

Probably the most far-seeing expression of the philosophy of penal reform was embodied in the Louisiana law code written between 1824 and 1833 by Edward Livingston, a member of the prominent New York clan who had settled in New Orleans in 1804. Though not adopted, his Codes of Crime and Punishment and of Reform and Prison Discipline were immeasurably influential both in America and Europe. Even before the promulgation of this criminal code, many Americans had come to realize the fallacy of failing to distinguish between misdemeanors and felonies, especially where juvenile crime was concerned. Too often, a youth incarcerated for a minor crime was housed with hardened criminals and was discharged only to appear again on more serious charges. The orphanages and orphan schools of the eighteenth century multiplied, but nothing had been done for the offspring of the destitute poor. From this realization came two new institutions, correctional rather than penal, the reform school or house of refuge and the house of correction.

Although a few reform schools had been maintained by private charities, New York City was the pioneer in establishing a public institution. This was the result of the activities of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, founded in 1816, which under the leadership of John Griscom built the New York House of Refug in 1825 and then managed to obtain complete financial support from the city and state governments. Within a few years Boston and Philadelphia followed their example, and by 1850 the principle had been well established that the delinquent child is a ward of the state. The regimen followed at most reformatories included morning and evening prayer, school, and work at a mechanical trade. The

\(^1\) Gustave de Beaumont and Alexis de Tocqueville, On the Penitentiary System in the United States and Its Application in France (Francis Lieber trans. 1833), 59; see also George W. Pierson, Tocqueville in America (Garden City, N. Y., 1959), 60-88.

\(^2\) Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 278-83; Blake McKelvey, American Prisons: A Study in American Social History (Chicago, 1936), chaps. 1-2.
administration and discipline imposed "by the Reverend E. M. P. Wells in Boston and Nathaniel C. Hart in New York seemed to Tocqueville and Beaumont to make these "of all the prisons the only ones whose advantages are not balanced by some disadvantages." The separation of adult misdemeanants from hardened criminals was less quickly accomplished, although several cities made efforts to establish workhouses for the vagrant, the inebriated, and the shiftless. Boston was the pioneer in this area, establishing a House of Correction in 1832, which provided both labor and discipline for the inmates.¹

Renewed attacks were made during this period on the system of imprisonment for debt. Relief societies in the seaboard cities publicized the plight of those incarcerated for non-payment of trivial sums; their first success was the New York law of 1817 abolishing imprisonment for debtors owing less than twenty-five dollars. Other states followed suit, and in 1821 Kentucky, under the leadership of Richard M. Johnson, became the first to abolish all imprisonment for debt. The following year Johnson began a campaign in the United States Senate to abolish imprisonment for complaints of debt in federal courts; he succeeded in 1832 but, more importantly, his agitation had great propaganda value for the movement on the state level. Workingmen's Parties in eastern cities made this reform one of their demands, and in the 1830's this pressure began to bring results; within a decade the debtor's prison had virtually disappeared. Louis Hartz, studying the story in Pennsylvania, concluded that "the ideology of business came to the support of the ideology of democracy to condemn debtor imprisonment" because "the colonial attitude toward the debtor-creditor relationship could not survive the increasingly complex, uncertain, and depersonalized financial life of the nineteenth century."²

The Insane and the Handicapped:

Advances in the care and treatment of the insane were slow in coming in the nineteenth century, despite the increased knowledge of their condition. In the late years of the previous century two Europeans, Phillipe Pinel in France and William Tuke in England, carried out experiments in the humane treatment of lunatics which effected some real cures; as Pinel concluded: "The insane are, after all, human. . . . The insane man is not an inexplicable monster. . . . Underneath his wildest paroxysms there is a germ, at least, of rationality and of personal accountability. To believe in this, to seek for it, stimulate it, build it up--here lies the only way of delivering him out of the fatal bondage in which he is held." Their findings were published in the United States, and among

¹Commager, Era of Reform, 149-53; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 286-91.

others influenced Dr. Benjamin Rush, the father of American psychiatry. Working in the Philadelphia Hospital, he applied many of the new theories and added methods of his own, rejecting punishment and most forms of restraint in his treatment of the insane; in 1812 he published the first treatise in the United States on the subject of mental diseases. In the ensuing years a number of state and private hospitals were built specifically for the treatment of the insane. The first hospital for the insane was opened in Virginia in 1773, after the American Revolution this became a state institution. Subsequently, state hospitals for the mentally ill were opened in Kentucky in 1824, South Carolina in 1828, Massachusetts in 1833, New York in 1843, and California in 1853. Most of the private institutions were modeled on William Tuke’s Retreat near York, England. The most noteworthy of these were the Quaker Retreat near Philadelphia (1817), the Bloomingdale Hospital in New York (1821), the McLean Asylum in Massachusetts (1818), and the Retreat in Hartford, Connecticut (1824). By 1840 a number of similar institutions had been founded in the South and West.1

Even with these improvements the majority of the insane as late as 1840 were still confined under private care or were lodged in locked rooms or cages in jails and poorhouses. One of the greatest influences for change was the propagandizing activity of one militant woman, Dorothea Dix. Beginning in 1841, after serving as a Sunday School teacher at the House of Correction in East Cambridge, Massachusetts, this tubercular onetime teacher and member of Dr. William Ellery Channing’s Unitarian circle devoted the rest of her life to improving the lot of the insane. Enlisting Samuel Gridley Howe and Charles Sumner in her crusade, Miss Dix investigated all jails and almshouses in the state and in 1843 presented a memorial to the legislature summarizing conditions and demanding action. Succeeding in her campaign for increased appropriations, she then embarked upon a nationwide tour of investigation with the object of obtaining state-supported asylums. She met success in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and then traveled west and south, everywhere following the same tactics. After making a careful investigation and accumulating data, she then won the support of a picked group of leaders from all parties, never being so immodest by mid-nineteenth century standards as to appear before the legislature herself. Between 1844 and 1854 this frail woman traveled more than thirty thousand miles in behalf of her cause. She finally endeavored to gain aid from the federal government; her bill granting ten million acres of public land for care of the indigent insane passed both houses of Congress in 1854, but was vetoed by President Pierce. Discouraged by this defeat, she traveled abroad where her influence was felt in a number of countries,

but returned to take charge of recruiting women for nursing duty for the Union army during the Civil War and then renewed her original campaign until her death in 1887. Although real advances in therapy for the mentally ill had to wait for the next century, Dorothea Dix was justly characterized by one of her associates as "the most useful and distinguished woman America has yet produced."

A beginning was made during this same period in the education of deaf-mutes, the blind, and idiots, principally because of the efforts of two unselfish humanitarians, Thomas H. Gallaudet and Samuel Gridley Howe. Gallaudet, a native of Hartford, Connecticut, became interested in the plight of the deaf through the daughter of a family friend, Alice Cogswell, who had been mute since an early illness. His success in teaching her to connect a few written words with the objects they represented encouraged her father to send him abroad to study European methods of educating the deaf. In his absence a voluntary committee of philanthropic citizens secured subscriptions and a state appropriation of five thousand dollars towards the establishment of an "asylum for the education of deaf and dumb persons," later named the American Asylum. Gallaudet returned, and in 1817 the experimental school opened its doors. Its success in teaching mutes to read and write, to read lips, and to talk by manual signs attracted nationwide attention. Gallaudet made tours with his most accomplished pupils, and soon other states were following the example set by Connecticut, thirteen states, including California, establishing similar schools by 1851, the year of his death.

Howe, after graduating from Harvard Medical School and spending several years fighting for Greek independence, became interested in the education of the blind. He traveled throughout Europe gathering information, and then established a school for six blind pupils in his own home in Boston. His success convinced a fellow-Bostonian, Colonel Perkins, to offer his more spacious home provided the city would contribute fifty thousand dollars for support of the school. Most of the money was raised by private subscription, and in 1832 the Perkins Institute was established. As head of this institution, Howe's main objective was to find ways to make books for the blind more numerous, cheaper, and more easily handled; his greatest emphasis was devoted to making the Bible available to the blind. He also contributed much to the education of deaf-mutes, his most dramatic triumph being the education of Laura Bridgman, who was deaf, dumb, and blind. In 1845 he won a battle with Gallaudet to teach mutes to speak, rather than to cling to the manual language. When the Massachusetts legislature was induced to consider the plight of the idiot, Howe was put upon

the investigating commission; his 1846 report appealed for the amelioration of their condition and offered to attempt to educate them at Perkins Institute. With state aid he began this work two years later, and his methods were later adopted by other states. Howe was truly a universal reformer, his interests and activities extending to the insane, the plight of seamen, prisons, and antislavery; his career was climaxed by his service, beginning in 1863, on the Massachusetts' Board of State Charities, the first to be established in the United States. 1

Temperance and Prohibition.

Most of the reformers who were engaged in prison reform and alleviating some of the miseries of poverty came to believe that the causes of these conditions were to be found in the environment, and many of them agreed that excessive drinking was an important explanation of antisocial conduct. With characteristic optimism they sought to attack intemperance as well as to ease the conditions resulting from it, such as poverty, crime, and insanity. Intemperance, therefore, was viewed not only as a sin of the individual but also as a crime against society, the toleration of which made every citizen a party to it. The nineteenth-century crusade for temperance was an outgrowth, then, of both the spread of revivalism in religion and the advance of humanitarian reform in general. Many of the leading figures in the movement were clergymen concerned with the welfare of the souls of their fellow men, and others were participants in a host of other reform movements of the period.

The Quaker reformer Anthony Benezet was one of the first to agitate with some success on this question, his exhortations inducing the Friends to oppose the use of intoxicants. In 1780 the Methodist Church resolved officially against both the making and the drinking of distilled spirits, and the pledge of total abstinence was adopted by many adherents of this and other evangelical faiths. Probably the most influential of the early advocates of temperance was Dr. Benjamin Rush, whose Inquiry into the Effect of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Mind and Body was first published in 1784, becoming a major weapon in the arsenal of the temperance movement throughout the nineteenth century. Yet Rush and his associates were urging temperance rather than abstinence, self-control rather than self-denial, often recommending the use of fermented liquors as substitutes for "ardent" spirits. They were neither fanatical in their propagandizing nor did they endeavor to establish an organization to enlist support. At the same time, Rush eventually came to realize that "the business must be effected finally by religion alone. Human reason has been employed in vain . . . . we have nothing to hope from the influence of law in making

Beginning as an educational effort, the movement after 1800 increasingly came to be fostered by the clergy, and was thus irrevocably tied to a revivalistic concern for the souls of the drunkards. This was exemplified by the attitude of the evangelist Lyman Beecher, whose interest in temperance had first been aroused by reading Dr. Rush's pamphlet. Calling for a crusade to eliminate the evil of intemperance, he refused to admit that the problem was insoluble: "Immense evils," he argued, "afflict communities, not because they are incurable, but because they are tolerated, and great good remains often unaccomplished merely because it is not attempted." The New England clergy followed his lead and not only gave up the use of liquor themselves but began preaching temperance sermons; the reactions of their congregations varied from the organization of temperance groups to denunciations of their ministers for radicalism. The most significant result was a call in 1813 by the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of Massachusetts for a state convention, which created the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance. Yet this society, and the others established at about the same time, did not insist upon total abstinence, for wine was imbibed freely at the meetings and a brewery was built in Boston to aid in the battle against rum. It was not until 1825 that temperance began seriously to change to prohibition with the publication of several tracts which attempted to prove that "abstinence from ardent spirits is the only certain preventive of intemperance." A series of sermons by Lyman Beecher, published the following year, was decisive, leading to the organization in Boston in 1826 of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, later known as the American Temperance Society.

Indicating its clerical orientation, the society was an outgrowth of the American Tract Society and the American Board for Foreign Missions, and half of its incorporators were clergymen. It was a militant organization, relying upon revivalistic methods of propaganda and emotional appeal, a centralized organization, and the widespread use of periodicals, pamphlets, and prize essay contests. All the propaganda was directed towards the signing of a pledge promising total abstinence from spirituous liquors. Pledges were signed by women, children, ministers, and Sunday School teachers; it was the number of pledges signed rather than the number of inveterate drunkards redeemed that was emphasized in their literature. The effectiveness of their campaign was shown by the rapid increase and integrated organization of temperance societies, local units being grouped into state units which sent delegates to the annual meetings of the parent society; by 1835, after ten years of operation, it was announced that five

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1 Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 308-19; see also Ernest H. Cherrington, Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America (Westerville, Ohio, 1920).
2 John A. Krout, The Origins of Prohibition (New York, 1925), 107-43; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 319-24; Lyman Beecher, Autobiography and Correspondence (Boston, 1865), 1, 245-49.
thousand societies had been established with a total membership of a million members. The movement was centered in the Northeast and the Old Northwest, but small societies existed in all the Southern states as well.

The executive committee of the American Temperance Society issued a call in 1833 for a national convention in Philadelphia, which was attended by more than four hundred delegates from twenty-one states. Instead of the expected unanimity, discord was the result, for the meeting revealed fundamental differences of opinion on the objectives and tactics of the movement. A conservative minority opposed pledges and wished to permit a "temperate" use of intoxicants, while a radical minority wished to extend the pledge to include malt and fermented liquors as well as distilled spirits. The leaders of the radical wing, Gerrit Smith, Edward C. Delavan, and Arthur Tappan, were all from New York, Smith and Tappan also being active in the abolitionist movement which tended to create hostility in many quarters to their ultraism on the liquor issue. The extremists were defeated in their attempt to broaden the pledge, but they won a victory when the convention adopted Smith's resolution, which declared: "the traffic in ardent spirits, as a drink, is morally wrong; and . . . the inhabitants of cities, towns, and other local communities, should be permitted by law to prohibit the said traffic within their respective jurisdictions." This stand had the effect of changing the emphasis in the temperance movement from persuasion of the consumer to condemnation of the producer and retailer; henceforth, according to the ultras, the battle for men's souls should be fought in the political arena. Another accomplishment of the convention was the formal creation of a national federation, the American Temperance Union, which held its first convention in 1836. At that time the ultras, led by Delavan and Lyman Beecher, gained control of the meeting and obtained acceptance of the radical pledge; this was a hollow victory, however, for it caused schisms on the local level and led directly to the decline of the movement in the late 1830's, when the temperance crusade seemed doomed to failure.1

Until 1840 the temperance societies, however they might diverge in tactics, had been mainly concerned with converting moderate drinkers and enlightening non-drinkers about the evils of "Demon Rum." They, therefore, implicitly accepted the theory that there was no hope for the confirmed drunkard, referring to him only as a horrible example. In that year the crusade was reborn with a new focus and new leadership as a result of the efforts of six reformed drunkards who formed the Washington Temperance Society in Baltimore, Maryland. Levying a mere pittance for initiation fees and monthly dues, the new society was successful in recruiting its members largely from frequenter of grogshops and other lost souls; each program consisted of a member's personal testimony of his degradation and subsequent regeneration, a pattern that had been found successful in the revivalistic sects. As Mrs. Tyler has concluded:

1Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 324-38.
Although there was no trace of religion either in the organization or in its appeal, it is impossible to write of it without using the words employed in describing camp meetings and revivals. By 1843 the Washingtonians claimed that half a million intemperate drinkers and one hundred thousand drunkards had signed their pledge, and that societies had been formed in every city and town. These figures, of course, must be viewed with caution, for few permanent records were kept and the number of back-sliders cannot be estimated.¹

Two of the most influential lectures in this movement were John Hawkins and John B. Gough. The former, a hatter by trade who had early "taken to drink" until converted by the Washingtonians in 1840, traveled more than one hundred thousand miles in ten years delivering more than twenty-five hundred temperance lectures. Gough's labors lasted more than forty years, and his impact upon his audience was even more dramatic. Testifying to his seven years of vagrancy and alcoholism before signing the pledge, he asked:

What fills the almshouses and jails? What brings yon trembling wretch upon the gallows? It is drink.
And we might call upon those in the tomb to break forth . . . . Crawl from the slimy ooze, ye drowned drunkards, and with suffocations's blue and livid lips speak out against the drink!

The propaganda of the Washingtonians included temperance parades, and conspicuous among them were throngs of children wearing white satin badges and carrying banners. These were members of the Cold Water Army, first organized by the Reverend Thomas Hunt in 1839 but soon enthusiastic adherents of the Washingtonian crusade. The popular and democratic nature of the movement was demonstrated by the songs, poetry, and fiction published under the auspices of the society. The most famous of these was Ten Nights in a Bar Room, written by Timothy Shay Arthur, a moralistic popular writer who had seized upon the temperance question as a commercially lucrative theme. In spite of their appeal, the Washingtonians were little concerned about organization, nor did they urge legislative action. This brought about a growing criticism by old-line temperance groups, whose proselytizing efforts were markedly successful. At the same time, Washingtonians began to form new societies which were much more coordinated in their efforts; the most noteworthy of these new groups was the Order of the Sons of Temperance, organized in 1842 as a semi-secret centralized benefit society.²

¹Ibid., 338-41; see also Krout, Origins of Prohibition, 156-205.
In the meantime, the temperance movement became international, a World's Temperance Convention being held in London in 1846, attended by Lyman Beecher, William Lloyd Garrison, and Frederick Douglass among others. Seven years later a second international conference was held in New York under the presidency of Neal Dow, the famous Maine prohibitionist. The United States was also visited by several British reformers, among whom was Father Mathew, an Irish temperance leader who was cordially received in 1849; his visit stimulated a temperance movement among Roman Catholics and led to the establishment of a number of Father Mathew Societies in eastern seaboard cities.

Although Father Mathew and other reformers opposed prohibitory laws, the most influential American reformers now emphasized the coercive approach. In the decade of the 1840's several states experimented with measures providing drastic regulation of the liquor traffic and with local option provisions. A Massachusetts law of 1838 prohibited the retailing of spirituous liquors in any quantity less than fifteen gallons, but this was attacked as class legislation and was repealed two years later. The first permanent success of the temperance forces was Maine's enactment of statewide prohibition in 1846, under the leadership of Neal Dow. In the 1850's about a dozen other states followed suit, although because of waning public support most laws had been repealed by the beginning of the Civil War. The temperance movement had been smothered by the excitement of the antislavery issue, and the war years did much to damage prohibition legislation. As Mrs. Tyler concludes:

In the progress of the temperance crusade were apparent all the possibilities of voluntary associations and all the practices and methods pertinent to democratic institutions. There were evidenced, as well, all the humanitarian and charitable influences of the early nineteenth century... But back of it all lay the danger, ever present in a democracy, of the infringement by a majority of the rights of a minority and the further dangers inherent in the use of force to settle a moral issue.¹

The Peace Movement: The generation that believed in perfectibility to the extent of leading crusades against drunkenness and slavery could not be indifferent to the horrors of war. Building on the pacifist agitations of Quakers like Anthony Benezet and non-Quakers like Benjamin Rush, a number of early nineteenth-century reformers worked avidly and hopefully in the cause of perpetual peace. Yet there was a fundamental inconsistency between the cause of peace and the tactics of the combative reformers who urged violence, sought martyrdom, and flagrantly disregarded the law in their struggles to bring perfection to American society.

¹Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 346-50; Reminiscences of Neal Dow, Recollections of Eighty Years (Portland, Me., 1893); John F. Magruder, Father Mathew: A Biography (New York, 1898); Frank L. Byrne, "Neal Dow and the Prohibition Movement," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1937.
Besides, foreign affairs seemed of slight significance to America in the years after 1815, and the possibility of war seemed far away. The two traumatic experiences of this generation were the Mexican War and the American Civil War; the first was opposed on moral principles, and the second was hailed as the only solution to a moral question. In the process, pacifism was forgotten or rationalized away, and one principle was subordinated to another. Nevertheless, the pacifist movement of the early nineteenth century, even though it engaged only a small minority of the American people, was important in stating the arguments in favor of peace and in devising systems to provide for the peaceful settlement of international disputes upon which twentieth-century pacifists were able to build.

In the early years of the nineteenth century increasing American involvement in the Napoleonic Wars encouraged the growth of peace sentiment. Some of this was part of the Quaker heritage, but it received support from the rationalist tradition of the Unitarians and was further reinforced by New England's antipathy to "Mr. Madison's War." The peace movement as such can be said to have been initiated by David Low Dodge, a wealthy New York merchant, who began publishing a series of anti-war pamphlets in 1829. Six years later a group of thirty pacifists met with Dodge to form the first peace society in the world. At about the same time Noah Worcester, a Congregational clergyman, wrote The Solemn Review of the Custom of War, which urged a reformation of human nature to control bellicosity and recommended a confederacy of nations and a high court of justice to settle international disputes. As a result, the same year as the meeting with Dodge in New York saw the organization of another peace society in Boston, headed by Worcester and the Unitarian divine William Ellery Channing; Worcester became the editor of the society's organ, the Friend of Peace, which circulated widely and was instrumental in the organization of fifteen more societies in the ensuing four or five years.1

In spite of this promising beginning the peace movement made little headway, mainly because the issue of international peace was not of primary interest to Americans of this generation. The crusade was becoming moribund when William Ladd, a retired merchant and ship captain living in Maine, reinvigorated it with his articles and speeches. Completely free from malice or fanaticism, Ladd won many converts by his benevolence and good humor. "I felt it a duty which I owe to God and my fellow-creatures," he stated, "to do something to hasten the glorious era when men shall learn war no more." He concluded that a national organization was needed and traveled throughout the country urging adoption of a constitution he had drafted; his efforts were finally successful in 1829 with the establishment of the American Peace Society and the publication of the Harbinger of Peace as a successor to Worcester's journal. Ladd's platform was broad, advocating all possible methods for arousing public opinion in favor of peace; the

1Merle Curti, The American Peace Crusade (Durham, N. C., 1929), 5-21; Brookes, Friend Anthony Benezet, 125-26; William E. Channing, Memoirs (Boston, 1854), 1, 328-35; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 396-403.
sentiments of the Sermon on the Mount were combined with appeals to science, economics, and humanitarianism in an optimistic melange which envisioned the imminent abolition of war.

Just as in the temperance and abolition movements, controversy arose over tactics and objectives, particularly on the question of whether a peace movement should condemn all war or merely offensive wars. Ladd's view was completely practical, for he believed that the Society should accept the support of all friends of peace regardless of political or religious persuasion. This liberal view was generally accepted until 1837, when the forces of complete non-resistance, led by Thomas Grimke of South Carolina and William Lloyd Garrison, won the day by revising the Society's constitution to state that all war was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel and inconsistent with Christianity. This action split the Society, but the moderates gained the ascendancy the following year by a compromise which condemned all wars while reserving the right of self-defense; this failed to placate the non-resisters, and the intramural struggle that continued for the next two decades was extremely edifying to the cynical who laughed loudly at the spectacle of combat in the ranks of the advocates of international peace. The non-resisters seceded and organized a new society, the New England Non-Resistance Society, based upon the principle that no man and no government had the right to take the life of a man on any pretext whatever. One of the most important propagandists of this movement was Adin Ballou, who in 1846 published Christian Non-Resistance, an unequivocal statement of a philosophy which has been characterized as a combination of religious perfectionism and democratic individualism.

The question of the annexation of Texas and the controversy over the Mexican War enabled the dissident elements to unite, for abolitionists and anti-slavery extensionists could join with the peace advocates in their denunciations of imperialism and aggression, although it is impossible to prove that the pacifists had any effect upon the course of events. The most effective recruit to the peace movement at this juncture was Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, whose Fourth of July oration in 1845 denouncing war aroused great enthusiasm. The American pacifists also were encouraged by the calling of an international peace congress in London in 1843. More influential, however, were the activities in the 1840's of Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith." This man, who had taught himself seven languages while plying his trade, became the rightful successor to William Ladd in the peace crusade. In 1846 he became editor of the Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood and, with the aid of Joseph Sturge, the English pacifist, he established the League of Universal Brotherhood, an international organization which worked for the abolition of war and the development of friendly relations among nations. Spending some time in England, Burritt was instrumental in the calling of four international

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peace conferences between 1848 and 1852, although his efforts were frustrated by the Crimean War and the imminence of Civil War in the United States, a consummation he worked tirelessly but fruitlessly to prevent. Increasingly, American pacifists were coming to agree with Theodore Parker, who wrote: "I think we should agree about war. I hate it, but yet see its necessity. All the great charters of humanity have been writ in blood, and must continue to be for some centuries." As a result, the pacifist movement died in the holocaust, only to revive again in the twentieth-century controversy over entrance into the first World War.1

Women's Rights

The prevalent attitude towards women in antebellum America was characteristic of what has come to be called Victorian, although foreign visitors remarked on the unusual amount of freedom and the lack of chaperonage for young unmarried females. Opportunities to succeed in the business of acquiring a husband were made available with comparatively few restrictions, for a girl unmarried by her mid-twenties was regarded as a permanent spinster. Yet there were checks on youthful ardor in this sentimental age, not only because the cult of romantic love tended to confine the premarital relationship to deep conversations and long letters, but also because woman's crowning and innate virtue was believed to be her modesty. True, prostitution flourished, especially in the larger cities, but it was implicitly condoned as a necessary evil that provided an outlet for male (hopefully bachelor) passions so that pure womanhood would not be contaminated. At the same time, prostitutes were often exonerated with the argument that "no woman ever voluntarily surrendered the blessings of a fair name"; obviously, she had originally been seduced or raped through misfortune or youthful innocence. The evil of prostitution attracted some reformers who attempted to solve the problem by moral exhortation. The usual method of attack was the establishment of an all-male Magdalen Society, whose members preached to the fallen women and occasionally established homes for those desiring regeneration; the assumption was that innate female purity would respond to a religious appeal if moral degeneration were not too far advanced. The best known of these societies was the one established in New York by the philanthropist and reformer, Arthur Tappan, and directed by a young Presbyterian minister, John R. McDowall. Although the immediate effects of his reports were small, he did help to force public recognition of the magnitude of the evil.

1Commager, Era of Reform, 177-83; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 415-23; Merle Curti, The Learned Blacksmith (New York, 1937); Henry S. Commager, Theodore Parker (Boston, 1936), 192-93.

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Most adult women were respectably married, however, and it was their status that brought about the most far-reaching agitation. The wife was expected to put aside the frivolity of her youth and to epitomize the virtues of common sense, self-control, industry, piety, and affection. She was merged with her husband, both by law and by custom; he acquired her property, had exclusive use of her person, and could inflict "moderate correction" by whipping or locking her up. As Blackstone had summarized the English common law, which had become the basis of the American legal code, "the husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband." She had no right to make a deed, a contract, or a will, nor to sue in the courts without his consent. Divorce was rarely recognized as a solution to an unsatisfactory marriage, for the custody of the children was usually given to the father and the divorced wife must face the odium of the community. Woman's place in society was justified by her physical disabilities. She was smaller and weaker than man, subject to special ills, and hence was doubtless mentally inferior to her male counterpart: "the intellect of woman," stated a popular treatise of the 1830's, "bears the same relation to that of man as her physical organization; it is inferior in power, and different in kind." Therefore, coeducation beyond the elementary level was morally dangerous and a classical education was regarded as injurious to the delicate female nature. Furthermore, womanly modesty and delicacy forbade her participation in the hurly-burly of the marketplace or the political arena, and she must never appear on a public platform except before an audience of her own sex.

As the nineteenth century progressed, more and more women came to rebel against their status, refusing to accept sex as a badge of inferiority. All except the most conservative Quaker meetings had long accepted the equality of the sexes before God and had permitted women to testify in full equality with men. A few women during the Revolutionary era had dared to express their feeling that sexual discrimination should be ended, even to the extent of granting them the vote; Abigail Adams, reminding her husband that "all men would be tyrants if they could," warned him that American women "will not hold ourselves bound to obey the laws in which we have no voice or representation." But the demand for equality in the professions, rather than suffrage, was the first attack upon the male citadel. Women had long been considered the natural teachers of children, yet they were denied the opportunity to educate themselves properly for this career. Several advocates of women's rights were originally school teachers whose struggle for recognition as competent and intelligent individuals led them into the broader movement. The out-

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1Robert E. Riegel, Young America, 1830-1840 (Norman, Okla., 1949), 202-30; see also James Fenimore Cooper, America and the Americans: Notions Picked Up by a Travelling Bachelor (London, 1836), I, 139-43, 256-61.
standing example was Susan B. Anthony, of Quaker parentage, who threw a teacher's convention into an uproar by explaining why teachers were less respected than members of other professions. "Do you not see," she asked, "that so long as society says a woman is incompetent to be a lawyer, minister, or doctor, but has ample ability to be a teacher, that every man . . . who chooses that profession tacitly acknowledges that he has no more brains than a woman?"

While neither the status nor the salary of the teacher was greatly improved, advances were made during this period in higher education for women. In 1821 Mrs. Emma Willard secured sufficient financial support to open the Troy Female Seminary in New York. Three years later Catherine Beecher, a daughter of Lyman Beecher, established the Hartford Female Seminary in Connecticut, which became a model of its kind. Probably the most famous of these schools was Mount Holyoke Seminary, founded in Massachusetts by Mary Lyon in 1837. In the same year Oberlin College in Ohio, a hotbed of abolitionism and reformist sentiment, broke the coeducational barrier by admitting four women as regular students. As a result, this extremely respectable theological seminary acquired the reputation of a free-love colony, but several other institutions in the Old Northwest took the same step in the 1850's and 1860's. Even Oberlin practiced a form of academic segregation of the sexes, refusing to admit women to enter the theological course until Antoinette Brown adamantly demanded acceptance and was graduated with the theology class of 1850. In spite of her victory she was refused ordination for three years, but finally accepted the call of a small-town Congregational church and eventually became a Unitarian.¹

In medicine the opposition was equally violent, yet a few women succeeded in breaking through the barriers of prejudice. One of the earliest women physicians was Harriot K. Hunt, who began practicing in 1835 despite very sketchy training. Much more adequately prepared and hence of greater significance in the medical world were the Blackwell sisters, Elizabeth and Emily, members of a large and remarkable Ohio family; their two sisters were a musician and an artist and their two brothers married the prominent feminists Antoinette Brown and Lucy Stone. Elizabeth was the pioneer, reluctantly being graduated in 1849 at the head of the class at Geneva Medical College in western New York. Later, after Emily had received her degree, the sisters went abroad to study in Paris. In 1857 they opened the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, inaugurating successful medical careers that saw Emily become dean of the Women's Medical College of New York and Elizabeth serve as professor of gynecology in London. Partly as a consequence of their efforts, a number of medical colleges for women were founded and a few institutions admitted both sexes, but the leading schools continued to close their doors.²

¹ Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 425-26, 429-31, 433; Commager, Era of Reform, 73-76; E. C. Stanton et al., The History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N. Y., 1881-1922), I, 32, 514.
² Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 431-33.
The majority of the leading crusaders for women's rights came to the movement because of their participation in other reform activities, such as antislavery and temperance. Finding their contributions limited to action behind the scene, these women began to concentrate on attacking what they regarded as absurd social conventions. An example was Lucy Stone, after growing up on a New England farm, began teaching school at the age of sixteen. Determined to attend college, she saved her money until she was able to enter Oberlin at the age of twenty-five. She became a student leader, being prominent in the peace and antislavery societies, and upon graduation was chosen to write a commencement oration. College regulations prescribed that this must be read for her by a man, so she refused to accept the honor. She then announced that her chosen profession was to be a lecturer in the cause of reform; in 1848 she was employed by the American Anti-Slavery Society as agent and lecturer, in which capacity she toured New England and spoke before hostile, sometimes violent, crowds. After being criticized by officers of the Society for over-emphasizing the question of women's rights at the expense of slavery, Miss Stone gave up other reforms to concentrate on improving the status of women. In 1855 she married Henry Blackwell, brother of Elizabeth and Emily, and they pledged to base their marriage on complete equality, as expressed in the famous Protest Against Existing Marriage Rules and Customs, signed by both of them. She kept her maiden name, being known as Mrs. Lucy Stone, and for the next thirty years she and her husband continued their crusade for women's rights.

Contrary to the popular view, feminists were not all unsexed and frustrated spinsters, though Frances (or Fanny) Wright was often pointed to as a flagrant example of the iconoclastic female reformer. This young Scotswoman, educated at the feet of Jeremy Bentham, had been associated with the utopian experimentalism of Robert Owen; she then became notorious as the "Red Harlot of Infidelity" as a result of her lectures decrying revealed religion, advocating abolition of the institution of marriage, and calling for fully equality between the sexes. Within a few years, however, Fanny had become Mrs. D'Arusmont, marrying a French reformer, while continuing to inveigh against the social injustice that faced women, Negroes, and poor workingmen. Another brilliant feminist who gained fame through the pen rather than the lecture platform was Margaret Fuller, a Transcendentalist associate of Emerson and Channing and the first editor of their journal, the Dial. The remarkable child prodigy who had been educated in the classics by her father, Miss Fuller in 1844 published Women in the Nineteenth Century, which has been called "the first considered statement of feminism in this country." That same year she began writing critical articles for the New York Tribune, edited by Horace Greeley who, though not a reformer, was an influential patron of reform. On a visit to Europe a few years later she three herself into Mazzini's revolutionary movement in Italy and married one of his followers, Marquis Ossoli; she, her husband, and infant son were drowned in 1850 when their ship was wrecked off Fire
island, New York. ¹

Most American women were not attracted "by Fanny Wright's radicalism and notoriety, nor did they share Margaret Fuller's intellectual pretensions. They were much more likely to identify themselves with Susan B. Anthony or Elizabeth Cady Stanton, both of whom were not only as uncompromising and logically rigorous as the Misses Wright and Fuller, but were considerably more influential in the cause of women's rights. Miss Anthony, of Quaker parentage, began her career as a teacher and then became active in temperance and antislavery agitations. Mrs. Stanton, the daughter of a lawyer and a cousin of Gerrit Smith, the New York abolitionist, had attended Emma Willard's Female Seminary and then began a happy and fruitful marriage with an antislavery associate of Theodore Weld. The two women formed a remarkable and successful partnership in which neither was subordinate to the other; Mrs. Stanton wrote the speeches which Miss Anthony delivered— as the former said, she "forged the thunderbolts and Susan hurled them." The relationship was unusually happy, even though Miss Anthony occasionally complained against her partner's too frequent confinements; Mrs. Stanton had seven children, and once wrote threateningly, "As soon as you all begin to ask too much of me, I shall have a baby! Now, be careful, do not provoke me to that step."²

Other women entered the movement earlier, in most cases coming to champion women's rights because of their experiences in temperance and antislavery reform. Among the earliest were the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, of South Carolina, who came North to fight slavery; they became Quakers and Angelina married Theodore Weld, who had made Lane Seminary in Cincinnati a center of the antislavery movement. Yet they were criticized and disliked by many abolitionists who feared that the cause could be irreparably damaged by the general hostility to public female participation. Another was Mrs. Lucretia Mott, a Philadelphia Quaker, who with her husband had long been active in the antislavery movement. She was an American delegate to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, when the effort to give women an equal status in the anti-slavery movement was defeated, in spite of the active support of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. The prejudices of the British and some American delegates forced the women to sit silently in the galleries, where they were joined by some of the more forthright American male leaders. The same kind of schism over "the woman question" developed in the temperance movement. This was answered in 1852 by the first convention of the Women's State Temperance Association in Rochester, New York, headed by Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony. The following year a


²Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 431, 447, 458-59. See also Alma Lutz, Created Equal: A Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (New York, 1940); Alma Lutz, Susan B. Anthony (Boston, 1959).
World's Temperance Convention was held in New York City at which the women delegates were humiliated by being refused the floor. This move had a disastrous effect on the temperance movement, and many liberal male leaders dropped out of the principal organization in protest against the policy of discrimination.1

In the meantime, women began to organize for a campaign in their own behalf. In 1848 James and Lucretia Mott, in western New York to attend a yearly meeting of the Friends, visited Mrs. Stanton at her home in Seneca Falls. The result was a call for the first Women's Rights Convention, held at the Wesleyan Chapel in that city on July 19-20. Mr. Mott presided and Mrs. Stanton read the Declaration of Sentiments, modeled on the Declaration of Independence; a series of resolutions was presented, all of which were adopted unanimously with the exception of one passing by a small majority, which stated that "it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise." Within a month a second convention was held in Rochester, inaugurating the successful organization of women in their own cause. It was a difficult battle, not only because of the chronic lack of funds, but because of the constant heckling of hoodlums and the disappointing apathy of most American women. Nevertheless, a number of valiant fighters for the cause were enlisted: These included Ernestine Rose, a Polish Jew who became an extremely effective lecturer, Clarina Howard Nichols, who was particularly active in the upper Mississippi Valley, and Sojourner Truth, a gaunt and elderly Negro born a slave who at Akron, Ohio, in 1851 gave one of the most effective speeches in behalf of human rights (female and Negro) in the annals of the movement.2

One abortive reform advanced by the feminists concerned health and dress. Convinced that heavy skirts, petticoats, and corsets were symbolic of feminine servitude and were unhealthful besides, Elizabeth Smith, daughter of Gerrit Smith and cousin of Mrs. Stanton, designed the so-called Bloomer costume, consisting of a loose-fitting dress or coat and Turkish trousers. This innovation received its name from Mrs. Amelia Bloomer's efforts to publicize its advantages in her temperance magazine, the Lily, and it was quickly adopted in the early 1850's (along with short hair) by most of the leading feminists. Unfortunately, this costume was popularly regarded as a badge of radicalism and "free-love notions," so that it was soon abandoned because it seemed to distract attention from the reform

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1Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 130-31, 137-38; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 443-50. See also Catherine H. Birney, The Grimke Sisters (Boston, 1885).

2Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 452-58; Commager, Era of Reform, 76-80. See also Anna D. Hallowell, James and Lucretia Mott, Life and Letters (Boston, 1884); Arthur H. Fauset, Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim (Philadelphia, 1938).
message the women were attempting to put across. The feminists were more successful in their efforts to obtain legislative improvements of their status. The suggestion that they should be given the vote was howled down in derision, but they gained legal recognition of the right of wives to control their own property; the first notable victory came with the passage of a law in New York in 1848 which gave women certain limited rights in this area. By 1860 not only did New York give women virtually unlimited control of their property, but half a dozen other states had done the same. The first battle had been won, but the campaign continued in the postwar years.¹

Antislavery and Abolition

Of the two significant ethnic minorities in nineteenth-century America, the American Indian received the least attention from reformers and humanitarians. Andrew Jackson’s successful campaign to remove the Five Civilized Tribes of Southern Indians beyond the Mississippi brought only mild and sporadic protests from a few New England Transcendentalists, and the Black Hawk War in the Northwest was virtually ignored in Eastern journals. While misgivings were occasionally expressed about the methods used to quarantine the savages beyond the advancing frontier, only a few clergymen or missionaries disagreed with the necessity of removing this primitive remnant to an area deemed unsuitable for white civilization.² The case was different with the Negro, for his bondage seemed increasingly to Americans to be a moral anachronism in a democratic society. There were complicating factors in the antislavery movement, of course. Among these was a growing Negrophobia, a combination of hostility and prejudice, in the free states which largely underlay the various colonization schemes of the period; these attempted to apply the same remedy to the Negro problem that seemingly had resolved the Indian question. Nevertheless, the motive force in the abolition movement, especially after 1830, was a serious concern about the lot of a subjugated minority, similar to the reformist impulse that characterized the other humanitarian crusades of this era.

The libertarian ideas associated with the American Revolution stimulated the antislavery movement in some quarters, particularly in Pennsylvania where the Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery was revived with Benjamin Franklin as president and Benjamin Rush as its most active leader. By 1792 there were antislavery societies in all states from Massachusetts to Virginia, and two years later a national convention of delegates from these societies met in Philadelphia. A number of the Northern states by this time had outlawed slavery, but in many cases the language

¹Tyler, Freedom’s Ferment, 440-42, 460-62; D. C. Bloomer, Life and Writings of Amelia Bloomer (Boston, 1895); Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Women’s Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, 1959).

²Riegel, Young America, 63-64; see also Ralph W. Emerson’s letter to Martin Van Buren in Louis Filler and Allen Guttmann, Removal of the Cherokee Nation (Amherst Series, Boston, 1962), 94-97.
of the legislation was ambiguous or enforcement was difficult; the con-
vention was called primarily to complete the action already begun and
to stimulate popular sentiment against the institution. The declaration
of principles adopted at this time attacked slavery on several grounds:
it was inconsistent with the rights of man, it violated Christianity, it
discouraged the fight for democracy abroad, it produced the threat of in-
surrection and domestic violence, and slave-owning unfitted men for citizen-
ship in a free republic. This loose confederation of local societies re-
mained in existence for thirty-five years, but its agitation was limited
to manifestoes and its effects upon the institution were negligible. This
was demonstrated by its failure to obtain significant national legislation
to ameliorate slavery. Even through the Confederation Congress in 1787
had prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory, the Philadelphia con-
vention which drafted the Constitution tacitly recognized the institution
by providing for the return of fugitive slaves, by prohibiting Congressional
action against the slave trade for twenty years, and by the famous three-
fifths compromise which gave the slaveholding states greater representation.
The only great national victory of the early antislavery movement was the
Congressional act prohibiting the importation of slaves after 1808.¹

During the quarter-century following the official ending of the slave
trade, antislavery activities in the United States noticeably slackened.
Many reformers believed that with this victory slavery would gradually
disappear, but they failed to realize that the slave population was con-
tinuing to grow; this was a result of both natural increase and smuggling,
the latter indicating the extent of the economic changes in the South,
for the boom in cotton growing was creating an augmented demand for slave
labor. Ceasing their apologies for the institution, southerners were now
asserting that slavery was essential to the national prosperity and benef-
cial to whites and blacks alike. Voluntary manumissions, prevalent in
the late eighteenth century, were now diminishing under the pressure of
public opinion, and in some states were prohibited by law. Another reason
for the decline of abolitionist sentiment during this period was the in-
creasing antipathy towards the free Negro, who was universally despised and
viewed as degraded and a "nuisance." This attitude was most graphically
illustrated by the organization in 1817 of the American Colonization
Society, led by such prominent slaveowners in the upper South as Judge
Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay, and John Randolph of Roanoke. Nominally
humanitarian in its objectives, the Society stated that its objectives
were the compensated emancipation of slaves and the transfer of such freed-
men and other free Negroes to a colony in Africa. While the colonization-
ists made some efforts to stimulate manumission, it soon became obvious
that their activities were largely devoted to convincing free Negroes to
exchange their life of squalor in the United States for a potential haven
of opportunity in a new environment. Thus an unwelcome and possibly
dangerous element of the population would be removed, and success of the
experiment would encourage voluntary emancipation by slaveowners.

¹Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 10-15; Hartz, Economic Policy, 182-84.
The free Negroes were antagonistic and uncooperative, for they believed that their destiny was to be realized here, not in Africa. They created a movement of their own, calling conventions and raising money to establish schools and enroll speakers who would plead their cause. Nevertheless, branches of the Colonization Society were organized in all states but South Carolina, while funds poured in from private citizens and the federal government, most of which were used for transporting free Negroes to the colony of Liberia. In 1820 the first shipload of eighty-eight Negroes departed, and in the ensuing decade about fourteen hundred more were transported, only two hundred of whom were manumitted slaves. By 1840 the dream of a Negro utopia, which would solve the Negro problem in the United States and in addition would block the slave trade at its source and spread Christianity among African heathens, had obviously failed. It was defeated, not only by the reluctance of American Negroes to leave the land of their tribulation, but by the astronomical cost of the compensated emancipation of some three million slaves; Henry Clay in 1827 estimated that at the expense of a million dollars annually fifty-two thousand former slaves could be sent to Liberia, slightly more than the natural increase of the Negro population, although at its height the society's income was less than fifty thousand dollars a year. Yet a devoted band of colonizationists continued up to the brink of the Civil War to believe that this was the only possible solution, rejecting the arguments of the radical abolitionists while emphasizing that colonization would alleviate crime and poverty at home and at the same time remove the danger of amalgamation and slave insurrections.1

Abolitionist sentiment was not completely absorbed into the colonization movement during the twenties, and for a time it appeared that Southern abolitionists would be successful in their efforts. But the combination of what increasingly appeared to be economic necessity and the growing defensive psychology of Southerners (shown most dramatically in the debates in 1820-1821 over the Missouri question) rendered their activities ineffective. Several of them, such as George Courne of Virginia, John Rankin of Kentucky, and Zephaniah Kingsley of Florida, found it expedient to transfer their operations to free territory. As a result the center of antislavery agitation moved to the North, especially to New England and the Old Northwest. The most persistent agitator was Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker who had settled in Ohio. In 1815 he organized the Union Humane Society in St. Clairsville, Ohio, and six years later began publication of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, which he published irregularly until his death in 1839. Lundy traveled widely, investigating and agitating, and in 1824 moved to Baltimore, Maryland, which he made the headquarters of the antislavery movement. He advocated gradually emancipation combined

1Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 15-17, 20-22; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 47-61. See also Alice D. Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-31 (Boston, 1908); Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago, 1961); P. J. Staudenraus, The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865 (New York, 1961).
with colonization projects which would make the Negro self-supporting; he succeeded in establishing a small colony of freedmen in Haiti, and made efforts to obtain Mexican agreement for Negro settlements in Texas. His greatest influence lay, however, in enlisting the support of men who were to become stalwarts in the abolition movement, such as Lewis and Arthur Tappan, the wealthy New York merchants and reformers, and - William Lloyd Garrison, who became an associate editor of Lundy's publication. Lundy did not have a dogmatic solution to the problem, expressing indifference as to whether emancipation was to be immediate or gradual, or whether colonization or assimilation was the answer. His program was both practical and comprehensive, including Congressional abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories, no admission of new slave states, eradication of the domestic slave trade, and and repeal of the three-fifths compromise in the Constitution.

This rational and "practical" approach was soon rejected in favor of radical immediatism by a new generation of abolitionists epitomized by the young New Ender, William Lloyd Garrison. While still associated with Lundy in Baltimore, he had advocated immediate and uncompensated emancipation; his vigorous denunciation of the slave trade had led to a libel suit and a jail term, after which he returned to Boston where the first issue of the Liberator appeared on January 1, 1831. Two years before this an even more violent publication had appeared in the New England metropolis, written by a free Negro named David Walker. Walker's Appeal was intentionally incendiary, arguing that the solution to the Negro problem was insurrection and warfare. Copies of this pamphlet were circulated in the South among free Negroes, resulting in feverish efforts by Southern whites to insulate their slaves against this dangerous propaganda. Many states made it illegal to teach a slave to read, and laws were passed to limit the movements of free Negroes. This irrational fear of Northern antislavery opinion became hysteria upon the appearance of Garrison's paper, which received considerably more attention in the South than in the North. The hysteria was heightened when in August, 1831, the outbreak of a slave insurrection in southern Virginia was attributed, without foundation, to the malevolent activities of Northern abolitionists. Led by Nat Turner, a fanatically religious slave with a mission to free his fellows, some seventy Negroes slaughtered more than fifty white men, women, and children before they themselves were massacred. This event not only crystallized Southern opinion behind the concept that slavery was a positive good for Negro and white alike, but it terminated the last debate on slavery in the antebellum South, frustrating the efforts of humanitarians in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1831-1832 to legislate gradual emancipation and deportation of all slaves in the Old Dominion. Henceforth, no criticism of the "peculiar

Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 17-19, 25-27; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 481-84.
institution," however mild, was to be tolerated in the slave states.¹

The Liberator did not circulate widely, being read and supported largely by Northern free Negroes with only a small list of white subscribers. Most of the latter joined with Garrison in December, 1831, to form the New England Anti-Slavery Society; one quarter of the original seventy-two members were Negroes. This soon became the most radical and vociferous abolitionist organization in the country, its preeminence in the movement being illustrated by several events which occurred in 1833. In that year the efforts of British abolitionists were finally successful with the passage of a law emancipating the Negroes in the British West Indies. Garrison visited England that summer, ostensibly to solicit money for a Negro school, and was hailed there as the leader of the American movement. Upon his return he urged the formation of a national society, supporting the efforts of a group of New York reformers headed by Arthur Tappan, and a national convention was called in Philadelphia in December, 1833, which organized the American Anti-Slavery Society with Tappan as president.

The society grew slowly, but within a few years had won some energetic and notable recruits. Its activities in the Middle West seemed particularly promising, for this area had been for a decade the center of a great religious revival spearheaded by Charles Grandison Finney. One of his converts was Theodore Dwight Weld, who became the most effective lecturer and propagandist for the society in the Old Northwest. He began his agitation at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, converting some of the faculty and most of the student body to the cause; forced to withdraw in 1835 because of the fears of the trustees, the abolitionists transferred their activities to Oberlin College in northern Ohio which agreed to admit Negro students. This institution, with neighboring Western Reserve College, thus became the headquarters of the midwestern antislavery movement. Meanwhile, Garrison continued his efforts to inflame New England opinion, burning copies of the Constitution which he called "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" because it recognized slavery. In 1835 a well-dressed mob dragged him at the end of a rope through the streets of Boston, a scene which was instrumental in converting the aristocratic and eloquent Wendell Phillips to the antislavery cause. Others soon joined the crusade. James G. Birney, an Alabama slaveowner who sold his slaves and moved first to Kentucky and then to Ohio to establish an abolitionist newspaper, was converted from colonization to abolition by Weld. The New England poet, John G. Whittier, was won to the cause by Garrison's pleas. In New York Gerrit Smith and William Jay, son of the Revolutionary patriot, joined with the Tappan brothers in enlarging their reform interests to include slavery.

Women were also enlisted in the movement, such as Lydia Maria Child whose 1833 tract, *An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans*, denounced both slavery and racial prejudice. Theodore Weld's *Slavery As It Is*, published in 1839, was probably the most significant contribution to abolition literature prior to the 1852 appearance of Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic, but innumerable tracts and pamphlets were produced by lesser known figures in the movement.¹

The year 1836 marked the height of the revivalistic abolition movement. The onset of hard times that followed the panic of 1837 not only reduced the financial support of the crusade, but also brought a more violent reaction by opponents of the movement, whether of the moderately well-to-do or poorer classes, many of whom had an irrational fear that emancipation was a plot of the aristocracy to obtain cheap labor. Mob action against abolitionist meetings increased; speakers were stoned or bombarded with rotten eggs and ripe fruit, presses were destroyed, and the home of Lewis Tappan was broken into and sacked. To some, like the indefatigable English visitor, Harriet Martineau, it appeared that the abolitionists were courting martyrdom to advance their cause. The most flagrant incident was the murder of Elijah Lovejoy in 1837 by a mob in Alton, Illinois. A graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, he had conducted an antislavery newspaper in St. Louis since 1833, his anti-Catholic bigotry as well as his abolitionist sentiments making him increasingly unpopular. He then moved across the Mississippi River to Alton, where he found an equally unsympathetic audience, dying in the attempt to defend his right to print and speak his opinions. This tragedy, John Quincy Adams wrote, sent "a shock as of an earthquake throughout this continent." Editor Horace Greeley in New York concluded: "Mr. Lovejoy's errors, or those of abolitionists generally, have nothing to do in any shape with the turpitude of this outrage... To talk of

resisting what is called opinion as a crime, is to make Socrates an anarchist and Jesus Christ a felon." Memorial meetings were held throughout the North, the assemblage in Faneuil Hall in Boston on December 8, 1837, being the most noteworthy; on that occasion the benign Unitarian, William Ellery Channing, gave the opening address, and the meeting was electrified by the indignant eloquence of Wendell Phillips in his first public antislavery speech.

Abolitionism gained widespread publicity and enthusiastic adherents from these events, particularly the martyrdom of Lovejoy, although many of them were more concerned about the invasion of the freedoms of speech and press than the question of abolition. In the meantime this had also become an issue in the halls of Congress. In 1835 the protests of Southerners against the circulation of antislavery literature through the mails led Postmaster General Amos Kendall to uphold the confiscation of such tracts by Southern postmasters, a policy which was endorsed by President Jackson. The following year the House of Representatives passed the "gag rule," prohibiting the reading or printing of petitions urging abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This rule was adopted nominally to expedite the business of the House, which since 1828 had been seriously interrupted by the reading of petitions on this subject, but it also represented a Southern reply to agitation on the whole question of slavery. The issue convulsed the Congress for the ensuing eight years, as champions of the constitutional right of petition endeavored regularly to bring about a modification or repeal of this policy. Former President John Quincy Adams, now known as "Old Man Eloquent," was the main spokesman of these forces; though not an abolitionist at first, he and other champions of constitutional guarantees were soon converted to the cause. Finally, with the aid of the antislavery lobby in Washington and their cohorts who continued to pour petitions into the House, Adams and his fellows succeeded in 1845 in obtaining repeal of the hated "gag rule." The principal significance of this contest was a further strengthening of the antislavery movement by the addition of many people who were not convinced abolitionists but who were determined to preserve democratic institutions.

Yet opposition was growing within the movement to Garrison and his perfectionist disciples. The New Englander was judged irrational and his program fantastic, but the anti-Garrisonians failed to understand the reasons for his success. As Louis Filler summarizes his accomplishments:

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1 Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 64, 72-81; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 497-504. See also Hazel C. Wolf, On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement (Madison, Wis., 1952); John Gill, Tide Without Turning: Elijah P. Lovejoy and the Freedom of the Press (Boston, 1959).

Garrison's intellectual assault on slavery gave him both strength and weakness—strength in that he could build a cohesive body of workers, armed with the moral arguments of antislavery, who could exercise moral influence throughout the North with minimum organization and expense; weakness in that his program took him farther and farther from the day-to-day building of antislavery forces among ordinary people.

The crisis came in 1840, after a year or two of maneuvering within the American Anti-Slavery Society. Birney and Weld, who manned the New York office of the Society, were primarily concerned with gaining recruits for the antislavery cause, and welcomed the lukewarm support of such famous figures as William Ellery Channing. Garrison, on the other hand, was more concerned with protecting the purity of the abolitionist creed, remarking superciliously that "the great little Dr. Channing has condescended to enlighten the world with a little book on slavery." Garrison was an eccentric individualist; he made no effort to force his opinions on others and he loved controversy. While dogmatic in asserting that he alone knew the truth, he had no sympathy with organizations which would enforce adherence to any particular doctrine. His principal interest was the abolition of slavery, but he was at heart a universal reformer, and his support of other humanitarian movements, like women's rights and John Humphrey Noyes' utopianism, undermined his leadership of the antislavery crusade. Virtually all abolitionists had welcomed assistance from the distaff side, but the issue of the prominence of the female role in the movement succeeded in splitting it asunder. Garrison, in championing the right of women like the Grimke sisters and Lydia Maria Child to speak, organize, and agitate, was fighting not only many of his fellow crusaders but the organized forces of American Protestantism; though supporting the efforts to ameliorate the lot of the slave, many Northern clergymen had joined in denouncing the unseemly behavior of women who had abandoned their "appropriate duties" for the lecture platform.

As a result of these attacks, Garrison marshaled his forces to defend women's rights in the abolitionist movement; meanwhile, the New Yorkers, led by the Tappans, were endeavoring to proselytize sufficient delegates to capture control of the society. The struggle was resolved at the 1840 convention in New York. The Garrisonians hired a boat, which carried Negro delegates from Boston, and succeeded in packing the conclave. The decision came with the nomination of Abby Kelley, a Massachusetts Quaker and antislavery lecturer, to the business committee; by a vote of 560 to 450 the Garrisonians won the day, and the dissidents withdrew from the society, organizing the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, thus fragmenting the movement. As discussed earlier, the same issue brought dissention to the international movement when the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London later that year refused to recognize Garrison's female delegates. The result was that henceforth the strength of the antislavery movement was largely confined to local bodies. Garrison remained active, but his influence was lessened in the ensuing two
Concomitant with the decline of Garrisonianism was the rise of political abolitionism; in fact, this issue was as significant as women's rights in splitting the movement. The idea of entering politics as a political party was anathema to most abolitionists at first, not only because they saw little hope of immediate success but also because they had focused their energies on the moral question, hoping for a mass conversion of American opinion. Garrison himself had long maintained that political action would imperil "the integrity and success of the anti-slavery enterprise." Nevertheless, an increasing number of antislavery advocates had come to believe that political action was the only solution, their activities culminating in the organization of the Liberty Party. After the calling of an abortive convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1839, a national convention of antislavery delegates met in Albany, New York, on April 1, 1840. This resulted in the formation of a party and the nomination of James G. Birney for President. As Filler comments, "Their hope was that they would gain adherents without losing moral purpose." The stormy 1840 campaign was a disaster for the abolitionists, with Garrison sneering in the wings, for the new party obtained only 7,000 votes. It was more successful four years later, the 15,000 votes for Birney in New York giving the Democrat James K. Polk the state and the election. Despite their moderate success, the abolitionists by this time appeared to be a congeries of dissident sects, and their reformist agitation had ostensibly run its course. They could, of course, confuse and confound their opposition, but it seemed extremely unlikely that they would succeed in their objective of removing the moral blot of slavery from the land.

The dying antislavery movement received a shot of adrenalin in the mid-forties and fifties as a result of controversies not of its own making. The first of these was the Mexican War, generating free-soil sentiment in the North which was at first unrelated to abolitionism; the sole question at issue was whether the new West was to be opened to slave labor or whether it was to be reserved for free white settlers with Negroes quarantined in the South. Political abolitionists quickly saw their opportunity and joined with the Free Soilers in the 1848 election, while the non-political reformers furnished the necessary moral arguments. The events that followed further strengthened antislavery sentiment: the Compromise of 1850 with its Fugitive Slave Act, the Kansas controversy, and the Dred Scott decision. New adherents were won to the cause, the most notable being Theodore Parker, the Unitarian minister, and famous fellow-travelers like Daniel Webster began to emphasize the moral evil of the slave system in order to justify their opposition to its expansion. Legal emancipation

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1Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 121-37.

2Ibid., 141-59, 176-78; see also Betty Fladeland, James Gillespie Birney (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955).
had to wait upon political, as well as military, events, but in the meantime abolitionists felt no scruples against helping as many Negroes as possible to escape from slavery. There had always been sporadic efforts to assist escaping slaves, primarily in border states such as Maryland and Kentucky, but these activities were not organized into an "underground railroad" until after the Mexican War, and especially in response to the stricter Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Quakers had been particularly active in this endeavor, Isaac Hopper of Pennsylvania and Thomas Garrett of Delaware being especially noteworthy, the latter lamenting in 1861 that during his lifetime he had been able to assist in the escape of only twenty-seven hundred slaves. The originator of a prearranged route for escaping Negroes was the Reverend Charles T. Torrey of Massachusetts, an eccentric abolitionist who had fought the Garrisonians and antagonized Weld, but who was imprisoned first in Maryland in 1842 for his abolitionist activities and later in Virginia where he died in 1846, after helping some four hundred slaves to freedom. ¹

The most dramatic of these efforts to free the slaves was the foray of John Brown of Kansas into Missouri in the winter of 1858-59, fore­shadowing his expedition six months later into Virginia which ended at Harpers Ferry; Brown and a handful of men liberated twelve Negroes and escorted them in the dead of winter twenty-five hundred miles into Canada. Yet the most effective conductor on the underground railroad was a Negro, Harriet Tubman, called Moses by her own people and known as General Tubman to Northern abolitionists. Born in slavery in Maryland, she escaped in 1849 and devoted the next decade to aiding and encouraging slaves to follow her example. After establishing underground stations from Maryland to Canada, she made nineteen journeys into the South with remarkable success. The Northern reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law, epitomized by the activities of Theodore Parker in Massachusetts, ranged from the passage of "personal liberty" laws designed to protect free Negroes and escaped slaves to mob action to prevent the rendition of fugitives. All this tended to bring the law into contempt, and the increasingly prominent role of the Negroes like Harriet Tubman in the movement began to undermine the white stereotype of Negro inferiority. The career of Frederick Douglass is a case in point. He, too, had been born in slavery and had escaped in 1838. He attempted to settle down unobtrusively in New Bedford, Massachusetts, but finally entered actively into the abolitionist movement in 1841. At first an awkward speaker, he quickly acquired eloquence and assurance, developing into a living refutation of the American premise, assumed by Northerners and Southerners

¹Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 163-66, 182-202; Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 527-33. See also Henry S. Commager, Theodore Parker (Boston, 1936), and Henrietta Buckmaster, Let My People Go (Boston, 1941); cf. Larry Gara, The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad (Lexington, Ky., 1961).
alike, that the Negro was naturally deficient in intellectual capacity.\footnote{Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 533-42; Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 160-162, 203-07. See also Oswald G. Villard, John Brown, (London, 1910); and the recently reprinted accounts, Sarah H. Bradford, Harriet Tubman, The Moses of Her People (New York, 1962), and Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (Garden City, 1963).}

All these efforts culminated in the organization of the Republican Party, formed only to resist the expansion of slavery but acquiring the undeserved reputation of advocating the most radical abolitionism. When the Civil War began, the objectives of the Republican administration were moderate, being limited to the maintenance of the Union, but as the conflict progressed the abolitionists gained a greater influence, both in Congress and throughout the country. The result was the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which signaled the victory of those who had agitated against slavery for the preceding half century. Following the war, the abolitionists were transformed into Radical Republicans, who endeavored, with only brief success, to place the Negro in a position of equality, or even superiority, to his former white master. Unfortunately, the Negro problem was not so easily solved, and it has continued to plague the democratic and egalitarian pretensions of Americans down to our own day.

The Labor Movement

Not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century did the United States have a labor movement deserving the name. Although a "laboring class" had existed since Colonial days, the organization of industry before this time had offered little necessity for wageworkers to organize against their employers. The indentured servants who, with the slaves, had provided the principal labor force before the Revolution were primarily agricultural workers, and the dissatisfied found it easier to escape to the frontier than to agitate. Artisans in the towns produced for only a local market, so the price of goods could be easily fixed to guarantee both a reasonable profit for the master and a fair wage for the journeyman. Throughout the Colonial period and until after the War of 1812, therefore, masters and journeymen had many interests in common: to maintain prices, a standard quality of work, and rigid requirements for apprenticeship. To achieve such ends and provide sickness and death benefits, various "societies of mechanics and tradesmen" or "mutual benefit societies" were organized in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most of which succeeded in recruiting both masters and journeymen. In spite of this situation some trades, especially the printers and shoemakers, did organize militant journeymen's associations in New York and Philadelphia, and between 1785 and 1815 sporadic strikes or "turn outs" were called to maintain wage scales or reduce hours.
Most of these strikes failed and most of these organizations either disappeared during economic recessions or were converted into benevolent societies, although militancy revived in some areas with the return of prosperity after the Panic of 1819.

The social and economic environment had changed, however, producing a somewhat different reaction among those skilled laborers who had been in the forefront of the working-class movement. Improvements in transportation had brought widening markets, and greater availability of credit had induced a new type of entrepreneur to enter industrial pursuits; moreover, technological improvements were being introduced into some of the mechanical trades, and the factory system, borrowed from England, had been established in some areas of the Northeast. All these factors were in the process of changing or threatening to change the status of the journeyman mechanic; skilled craftsmen feared not only that they might never become masters in their own right, but also that their craft was in danger of being degraded to an unskilled occupation under the impact of the Industrial Revolution. This elite of the American laboring class had little sympathy for the plight of the factory or sweatshop worker, refusing to wax as enthusiastic as European visitors at the paternalistic atmosphere surrounding the Lowell girls in the New England textile mills, nor did they do more than deplore the working conditions of seamstresses and female shoebinders in Manhattan lofts. Instead, the skilled craftsmen of the eastern cities, beginning in 1827 and for a decade thereafter, undertook to strengthen or reorganize the existing journeymen's societies, formed citywide unions of trades for unified action, and endeavored to use their newly won power at the polls to obtain their objectives politically.

One of the primary demands of these workers was the ten-hour day, which became a factor in the formation in 1827 of the first city federation of journeymen's societies, the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations in Philadelphia, and the organization during the ensuing two years of Workingmen's Parties in that city and in New York. While the Union was short-lived and the parties soon split into dissident factions infiltrated by professional politicians, their influence was widespread during the thirties and many of their objectives were realized. This labor movement was concerned with more than wage and hour issues, agitating for free public education, abolition of imprisonment for debt, mechanics' lien laws, the abolition of licensed monopolies, a modification of the militia system, and legal and electoral reform. These demands indicate that this was not a self-conscious movement of wage earners concerned primarily with what later was to be called "bread and butter unionism." Journeymen of this

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period did not regard themselves as members of a permanent proletariat, being mainly concerned with removing restrictions that might prevent them from improving their status, thus enabling them to share equally in the economic opportunities rapidly developing in the expanding nation.

By 1860 New York City had forged ahead of her rivals and had become the leading commercial and financial metropolis in the country. For this reason the development of its labor movement was of the greatest significance. The Workingman's Party which emerged there in 1829 was dominated at first by a group of social reformers who were concerned less with ameliorating the condition of labor as such than with agitating their particular panaceas. Thomas Skidmore advocated the equal distribution of all property as the solution to social evils, while Fanny Wright, Robert Dale Owen (the son of Robert Owen, the English reformer), and George Henry Evans urged a system of "state guardianship" and equal education, similar to Plato's Republic, and agitated against the influence of organized religion. The party, after electing one of its candidates and obtaining passage of a mechanics' lien law, soon disintegrated as a consequence of internal dissension, its members gravitating to the two major parties where they continued to work for other objectives of the movement.

In 1835 the so-called Locofocos, including many former Workingmen, seceded from the Democratic Party to work further for these objectives, their campaign against chartered and licensed monopolies being supported by additional adherents to the labor movement, especially after the new party denounced the State Supreme Court decision (People vs. Fisher) which denied labor the right to organize or strike as a combination in restraint of trade. In the meantime, journeymen's associations had multiplied in response to inflationary pressures; in 1833 the New York Trades' Union was organized and the first convention of the National Trades' Union met the following year in New York, both under the leadership of Ely Hoore, a former printer turned politician who was elected to Congress in 1834. Strikes were frequent during this period, at least 170 being called in the eastern cities between 1833 and 1837. But the devastating financial panic which began early in the latter year brought an end to both the political and economic organizations of the Eastern working class, and the labor movement disappeared until this severe business depression had run its course.1

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Prosperity did not return until the mid-forties, and meanwhile the workers were subjected to the preaching of middleclass reformers with numerous panaceas for the ills of industrialism. Both consumers' and producers' cooperatives were attempted, the most noteworthy of the latter being those of Lynn, Massachusetts, shoemakers, New York seamstresses, Cincinnati iron molders, and Boston tailors. Horace Greeley opened the columns of the New York Tribune to proponents of various schemes, his deep sympathy for the plight of the unemployed and the urban proletariat, and his unquenchable optimism about the possibility of reforming society, leading him to champion cooperation, utopian socialism, and finally land reform. Here he was seconding the demand which was first agitated by George Henry Evans and a group of former workingmen who in 1844 organized the National Reform Association with the slogan "vote yourself a farm." The first free homestead bill was introduced in Congress by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee in 1846, but it was defeated as was Greeley's measure two years later. Eastern workingmen continued to agitate this issue, winning allies among Western farmers, but their efforts did not bear fruit until after the Republican victory in 1860.

Bona fide labor organizations did not fully revive until the fifties, and then only in a few trades. In 1852 the National Typographical Union was organized, to be followed by national organizations of the iron molders; hatters, and machinists; while most of these continued in operation throughout the Civil War, labor organization in general proved extremely fragile under the onslaught of increased immigration and recurring financial crises. Yet some victories were won. In 1842 Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw of the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in the case of Commonwealth vs. Hunt that labor unions were legal combinations and that a strike to enforce the closed shop was legitimate if conducted peaceably; although this opinion was not binding on the courts of other states, the first part of his decision was gradually accepted. Workers continued their efforts to shorten the working day, ten hours becoming the norm in mechanical trades in the Northeast. The unorganized factory workers, whose working conditions were much worse, received the assistance of humanitarian reformers who agitated for the passage of state laws limiting the hours of labor; Seth Luther and the New England Working Men's Association took the lead in this movement, which was moderately successful in New Hampshire and Rhode Island but failed in Massachusetts because of corporation pressure. In the final analysis, the only effective factory acts passed by the states before the Civil War concerned the hours of child labor, and they were mainly inspired by the desire to give all children an opportunity for education. The labor movement that had begun so auspiciously in the 1830's had seemingly accomplished little else after three decades of organization and agitation. The reason is to be sought, not so much in the egocentric profit-seeking of employers, as in the fact that America was still largely an agrarian society with neither sympathy nor understanding for the problems of those who had become enmeshed
in a new and somehow alien industrial order.¹

**Utopian Communities**²

During the first half of the nineteenth century zeal for reform was widespread in the United States, as has been indicated in the preceding account, but reformers generally failed to agree on questions of means and ends to attain a better society. The Transcendentalists, like their more evangelical brethren, emphasized that reform could come only through the self-improvement or conversion of individuals. Agitators for temperance, peace, women's rights, abolition, and a host of other programs believed in organizing and propagandizing to achieve their ends. At the opposite pole of the ideological spectrum from the individualists were the utopians, who were convinced that real and permanent reform depended upon reorganizing society on a cooperative, rather than a competitive, basis. Some religious groups practiced a communism as an expression of primitive Christianity, while other idealists undertook similar social experiments in an attempt to build a new social order based entirely upon rational principles. These utopian and communitarian experiments, although less successful on the whole, were probably more indicative than the other movements of the period of the tenor of perfectionism that characterized early nineteenth-century humanitarian reform movements in the United States.

Although these utopian communities flourished especially in the reformist climate of the 1830's and 1840's, religious communism had first come to America in the eighteenth century. The roots of this movement were to be found in European pietism which in its struggle against contamination by established sects sought in the New World both refuge from persecution and freedom to follow their own pathway to salvation. The leaders of these new sects emphasized their uniqueness and the necessity for isolation from civilization with its discontent and distraction. In most cases communism was not part of their basic creed, but lack of capital and the necessity of pooling their resources and their labor made communal cooperation the only practical form of enterprise. Communism, though adopted through necessity, often became an end in itself, for which religious sanctions were found in Biblical accounts of primitive Christianity. In addition, the leaders of the sect soon saw advantages in this form of social and economic organization, for it increased their ability to control their followers and tended


²The Mormons could perhaps also be considered as a form of Utopian Community. They have already been considered in Theme XV, Westward Movement, Subtheme Overland Migrations and are therefore not treated in this study.
to guarantee the separateness they thought essential for the success of their experiment. Moreover, when these communities were well managed and properly supervised, they became productive and self-sufficient, thus further convincing the members of their righteousness and the perfection of their society.¹

Ephrata: This settlement near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is generally conceded to be the first successful religious community in America. Founded about 1725 by Conrad Beissel, a refugee from religious persecution in the Palatinate, this simple society was made up of Dunkers and Mennonites whose inclinations and beliefs were too ascetic and dogmatic for acceptance by their original associates. The Ephrata community had no ritual and no ministry, accepting only the sacraments of baptism and communion. As perfectionists, they denied the doctrines of original sin and eternal punishment, opposed violence and war, and considered celibacy the most desirable basis for a Christian society. While this latter vow was not enforced upon the whole membership, the celibate groups lived apart in seclusion in a Brother House and a Sister House for Spiritual Virgins. Life in this community resembled that in a medieval Benedictine monastery, being devoted to labor, prayer, and contemplation. The "outdoor" membership, consisting of married members and their families, lived in houses adjacent to the cloisters, sending their children to be educated by the brothers and sisters. At first, all property was held in common, although this was never enforced for the outdoor members. The chief occupation of the community was farming, but at the height of its prosperity in the late eighteenth century paper and flour mills, a tannery, and a pottery were in operation. These simple people had a great faith in education, establishing a Sunday School and the famous Ephrata Academy which attracted pupils from outside the community. Beissel died in 1786, after which the community declined; in 1812 the society was incorporated and its management was put in the hands of three elected trustees. Many of the original buildings still survive, although the last members of the society disappeared with the advent of the twentieth century.²

Rappites: Similar in origin was the community of Harmonists founded by George Rapp, a farmer and vine grower in Wurttenburg who led a separatist movement in the Lutheran church and established a religious colony in America in 1804. After purchasing five thousand acres of land in western Pennsylvania about twenty-five miles north of Pittsburgh, Rapp sent for his followers, about six hundred of whom soon joined him. A "Community of Equality" was formally established under which all cash, chattels, and land


were owned in common and administered by superintendents appointed by "Father" Rapp. In 1807 the Rappites decided that celibacy was to be the rule, so all married couples separated (although continuing for the most part to live under the same roof), and no further marriages were permitted. From that time on recruitment was almost entirely by immigration of other German pietists. Although the colony flourished, many were dissatisfied because the land was not adaptable to vine and fruit culture, so in 1815 the property was sold and the entire community of eight hundred souls moved to a new site at the mouth of the Wabash River in Indiana Territory. Naming their village Harmony, the industrious Germans soon had three thousand acres under cultivation, their energy and discipline being viewed with a mixture of envy and admiration by their pioneer neighbors. Ten years in this location led Rapp, who continued to be the benevolent dictator of the community, to decide to move again, probably because life was too easy and he feared that backsliding would result from inordinate prosperity. The site was sold to the English philanthropist Robert Owen, and the Rappites moved to a new home on the Ohio River near Pittsburgh, which they called Economy. In the 1830's some members seceded and joined William Keil, who rejected celibacy but otherwise adopted Rapp's communal ideas. A settlement called Bethel was established in eastern Missouri, but some twenty years later Keil and some of his followers were infected with the Oregon fever and moved west to establish a new community which they called Aurora. Both societies continued to flourish until Keil's death in 1879; in the meantime the settlement at Economy continued to exist, even though it declined rapidly after 1847, when Father Rapp died.1

Zoar and Amana: Two other German communities, similar to the Rappites, were established in America during the early nineteenth century. The Separatists, a German pietistic sect whose views were similar to the Quakers, migrated in 1817 with their leader, Joseph Bauiler or Bimeler, to northeastern Ohio where they established the community of Zoar. With the help of English and American Quakers, they contracted to purchase some five thousand acres of land under a deferred installment plan, and it was expected that each member of the community would eventually pay for his own share. But in 1819 it was agreed that in order to keep the group of about two hundred settlers together a communistic society must be organized, and all possessions were put into a common stake under the direction of trustees. The settlers also agreed to adopt celibacy in order to limit the population until their indebtedness was paid off; like communism, this was embraced for economic rather than religious reasons, but it was in force for only a decade. The colony began to prosper, and in 1832 the society was incorporated by the state legislature. At about this time the Separatists were awarded a contract to aid in the construction of the Ohio Canal, enabling them to pay all their debts and build new industries. From this time until Bimeler's death in 1853 the colony reached its most prosperous point, although it remained a small, inbred, and parochially ignorant community until 1898, when the society was finally dissolved.

1Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 121-28; Nordoff, Communistic Societies 63-95.
Another pietistic sect which grew up in Alsatian Germany called itself the Community of True Inspiration. Led by Michael Krausent, a tailor, Christian Metz, a carpenter, and Barbara Heinemann, a servant girl, about eight hundred emigrants left Germany between 1843 and 1846 to establish a religious community called Ebenezer near Buffalo, New York. The circumstances of life in the New World forced them to adopt communism; all property, except clothing and household goods, was held in common and land titles were vested in a group of sixteen trustees. Once this system had been adopted, it obtained divine sanction as the leaders continued to receive revelations on the merit of this form of enterprise. After about ten years in Ebenezer, the trustees decided that more land was needed, farther from the worldly distractions of civilization, and more than twenty-five thousand acres were procured in Iowa, the Amana Society being incorporated there in 1859. The community was divided into seven villages, and the settlers prospered in their agricultural and industrial pursuits; although the settlement began to decline in numbers after the Civil War, the society was not dissolved until the early twentieth century.

Bishop Hill: Another similar, but shorter lived, community was the settlement of Swedish pietists at Bishop Hill, Illinois. The religious and secular leader was Eric Janson, who also regarded himself as a Messiah; he was fearless, intolerant, over-confident, and ignorant, responsible alike for the initial success and the quick demise of this enterprise. His energy in attacking the established Lutheran church and burning religious books produced the inevitable police persecution, and it was decided to emigrate to America. One of Janson's lieutenants, Olaf Olson, went ahead of the main body and in 1846 selected a site in Henry County, Illinois; the adherents of the sect took passage from Sweden in small groups, Janson fleeing on skis across the Norwegian frontier disguised as a woman. One ship was lost, several were wrecked in storms, and many lives were lost to a cholera epidemic, but by the end of the year four hundred Swedes had arrived in Illinois, where they spent the first winter in tents and underground sod houses. Janson continually exhorted his followers to remain faithful, posting guards to prevent desertion, and in the spring cultivation and the construction of permanent buildings was undertaken. Within three years the group had purchased ten thousand acres, and new immigrants were induced to come from Sweden, although a large minority withdrew from the community and settled nearby on land they purchased. In all, about fifteen hundred came during the first eight years of the colony, one group bringing an epidemic of Asiatic cholera with them which decimated the settlement. Communism was adopted, though not systematically administered, and for a time Janson attempted with little cooperation to enforce celibacy; this was abandoned dramatically in 1848 with a series of mass marriages. The following year Janson was shot and killed during the trial of a dissident member; the community continued in existence for another decade, but debts and mismanagement led to its demise during the Civil War.

2 Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 132-33; Nordhoff, Communistic Societies, 343-49.
Shakers: The most successful and influential form of religious communitarianism was imported from Europe, like German and Swedish pietism, but developed its unique form of social and religious organization in the New World environment. The origins of this sect are to be found in late seventeenth-century France, where a group of peasants claimed the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and preached the necessity of a return to primitive Christianity; physical manifestations were taken to be the outward sign of religious fervor, so tremblings, faintings, and visions were regarded as vehicles to attain salvation. These religious ideas were carried to England, where converts became millenialists, preaching the doctrine of Christ's imminent second coming, and the violence of the former physical manifestations was sublimated into a ritualistic dance. Adherents were won primarily from the working class, among whom was Ann Lee Stanley, the daughter of a Manchester blacksmith who had experienced an unhappy marriage and the early death of her four children. After undergoing a probationary period and receiving revelations in periodic trances, she began preaching and teaching, suffering persecution and imprisonment; she was finally led to seek asylum in America, arriving in New York in 1774 with eight other Shakers.

Mother Ann Lee, as she came to be called, went with her flock to a village called Niskeyuna, later Watervliet, northwest of Albany. In 1779 a religious revival conducted by the New Light Baptists indirectly won adherents to her cause, interest in the Shaker version of pietism spread, and Mother Ann traveled through New England winning converts. Before her death in 1784 the foundations were laid for Shaker colonies in most of the New England states, and elders were appointed to continue the work. Unlike most other sects, the Shakers did not disappear with the death of their leader, for the sect had strong men and women who were willing and able to assume the burden of leadership. Since they refused to discriminate on the basis of sex, assigning equal duties to elders and eldresses, the Shakers for the ensuing half century benefited from the dedication of Mother Ann's converts of both sexes, most notably Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright. The principal Shaker community was established at Mount Lebanon, New York, but during the early decades of the nineteenth century more than fifty communities were established, benefiting from the tempest of revivalism which had swept into the West, and by the 1830's their combined membership was estimated at six thousand. In addition to Meacham and Miss Wright, both American born and of New England stock, the most effective evangelists of the new sect were Issachar Bates and Frederick W. Evans, the latter a brother of the English agnostic and labor leader George Henry Evans who was converted to Shakerism in 1830 and served as an elder until his death more than sixty years later.

The doctrine of the Shakers, as developed by Mother Ann and elaborated by her successors, was millenialist and perfectionist, yet pietistic in its reliance on Quaker ideas and on the Bible as the sole source of religious faith. The second coming of Christ was imminent, but in order to prepare for the day of judgment life must be lived in accordance with the virtues of honesty, continence, simplicity, and charity; they were universalists in believing in the final salvation of all men. Though the
individual Shaker was enjoined to be humble and celibate, belief in the mission of the Shaker way of life as the sole agency for salvation induced an exclusive and arrogant attitude. The convert was willing, therefore, to submit to a dictatorial government which subordinated the desires of the individual to the good of the community, as outlined by the elders. The final authority was thus vested in the ministry of the church at Mount Lebanon, which was self-perpetuating through the appointment of elders and eldresses. Each community was divided into "families" of thirty to one hundred members; trustees appointed by the ministry held all property and made all business contacts with the outside world. Membership in the church was completely voluntary, but celibacy was enforced; once a novitiate member had made his decision, he gave up his family and his property to the community. While most converts came from the poor and uneducated classes, many adherents were former clergymen, lawyers, doctors, and soldiers; there were representatives of all Protestant denominations, and an occasional Jew, but no record of a recusant Roman Catholic. The Shakers were hard working and well disciplined, since the dissatisfied were given the opportunity of leaving the society rather than disrupting the community. Their principal activity was agricultural, but simple industrial pursuits were also available for those with the aptitude or inclination. Children were well cared for but not educated because utility and uniformity were regarded as the best safeguards of both religious and social orthodoxy. Celibacy and communism were the basic principles of Shaker life, but the unifying center of the community was its religion. Dancing became a ritual expression of religious fervor, though visitors gave contradictory impressions of their religious services. The peak of Shaker success, both in winning converts and in general economic prosperity, came in the period 1830-60, after which they declined, partly because of their emphasis on celibacy and partly because their way of life had become an anachronism during the materialistic half-century which followed the Civil War. Nevertheless, some of their communities remained active into the twentieth century, an idealistic remnant of an earlier age which recognized and accepted the desirability of diversity in social ideas and institutions.

Hopedale: Alongside the imported religious utopias developed a group of native American communities with a religious orientation. These represented in part a protest against and a retreat from the evils of industrialism and materialism, and at the same time expressed the characteristic American optimism about the perfectibility of human institutions. Probably the earliest of these experiments was the Hopedale Community near Milford, Massachusetts, founded by the Reverend Adin Ballou, a Universalist minister. Long associated with Garrison, Theodore Parker, and other humanitarian reformers, Ballou became convinced that it was the duty of all Christians to help establish the kingdom of heaven on earth, and in

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1840 he began publication of a periodical called the Practical Christian. Early in 1841 some thirty men and women responded to Ballou's invitation to join in a settlement where religion and socialism would be combined; a constitution for "Fraternal Communism" was drawn up, providing for "personal equality irrespective of sex, color, occupation, wealth, rank, or any other natural or adventitious peculiarity." Each member was required to make a "simple declaration of faith in the religion of Jesus Christ," but otherwise had complete freedom in respect to doctrine and ritual. Pure communism was rejected in favor of joint-stock proprietorship, by which each member purchased negotiable and convertible stock in the enterprise. While all members of the society lived, worked, and shared together, family life was maintained and celibacy was never advocated. Farm land was purchased and old farm buildings were used as dwellings at first; within a decade the community owned five hundred acres and had built more than thirty new buildings, including mechanical shops using water power, a chapel, and barns.

Although Hopedale seemed to give promise of success, with thirty-six families and a total population of nearly two hundred, it soon began to founder in the effort to reconcile individualism with communal interests. One group agitated for dividends commensurate with their investment, while another wanted to substitute complete communism for joint-stock socialism. Some members seceded, and the refunding of their capital caused financial embarrassment, yet the enterprise was a financial success, forty thousand dollars having been invested by 1856. The end came as a result of the desire of two brothers, Ebenezer and George Draper, to liquidate their interests; the former had succeeded Ballou as president of the community in 1853 and, with his brother, had purchased all stock offered for sale until they owned three-quarters of the enterprise. George Draper was unsympathetic to the scheme, regarding it as impractical, so convinced his brother to pay all debts and invest their capital in other business ventures. Thus the Hopedale Community was terminated, much to Ballou's distress, after operating for nearly twenty years.¹

Fruitlands, Brook Farm, and Fourierism: These were both Transcendentalist communitarian experiments, the first of which failed after a few months while the latter became one of the most famous utopian communities in America. Fruitlands was the brainchild of Bronson Alcott, already notorious as the 'Transcendental Talker,' and Charles Lane, an English mystic and reformer whom Alcott had befriended on a trip to Europe. Alcott had the vague belief that America was the logical place for the planting of a "second Eden," and Lane was an oftentimes inconsistent yet coldly dogmatic advocate of a host of reforms, especially concerning marriage and the care and education of children. Though attracted to Shakerism, Lane became enthusiastic about the possibility of establishing his own social laboratory in cooperation with Alcott, and he advanced the money to purchase ninety acres of land and a house near the village of

¹Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 166-71; Noyes, American Socialisms, 119-32.
Harvard, Massachusetts. In the spring of 1843 a small group, seldom exceeding a dozen people, moved into their new home, which was named Fruitlands. Lane insisted on an ascetic existence, particularly for the children who spent their time in manual labor, study, and contemplation. He also opposed the use of farm animals and advocated a strict vegetarian diet and cold water bathing. The best account of this experiment in communal living is found in Louisa May Alcott's story, Transcendental Wild Oats, which depicts the childrens' animosity towards Lane. The relations between the two leaders quickly deteriorated, and in January, 1844, Lane and his son deserted Fruitlands for a nearby Shaker village. This marked the end of the community, and the Alcotts soon departed for a new home.

The story of Brook Farm is a happier account, although it too was the result of a Transcendentalist dream. George Ripley, a Boston Unitarian minister and member of Emerson's Transcendental Club, was the founder of Brook Farm, established in 1841 on a farm nine miles from Boston. Ripley's objectives were:

... to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor that now exists; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible in the same individual; ... and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions.

The community was organized, like Hopedale, on a joint-stock basis; each shareholder had one vote, was paid one dollar per day for his labor, and was entitled to the tuition of one child in the community school. This, then, was modified socialism, emphasizing cooperation in performing menial tasks and providing the necessities of life for all who contributed their labor. Because of the favorable publicity it received in the Dial and other New England periodicals, the community never lacked applicants for membership, and the school was so successful that it attracted day students from outside. A few members, like Nathaniel Hawthorne, grumbled at the amount of manure that had to be shoveled, but there was no compulsion that forced the dissatisfied to remain. Although famed for its intellectual activities, Brook Farm was not a financial success, attributable to a combination of unproductive land, insufficient and inadequate tools, and the lack of skilled workmen. However, the general atmosphere of informality and spontaneity made it a mecca for the New England intelligentsia, like Emerson, Parker, Alcott, Channing, George William Curtis, Margaret Fuller, and Elizabeth Peabody; Orestes Brownson, the journalist and reformer, characterized the community as "half a charming adventure, half a solemn experiment."
After Brook Farm had been in operation as a fraternal cooperative for about three years, Ripley became interested in the doctrines of the French socialist, Charles Fourier, and invited two of his American disciples, Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley, to give lectures and hold discussions. As a result, the Brook Farm trustees were converted in 1844, and the community was transformed into a Fourierist Phalanx. The society was incorporated the following year, borrowing money in order to establish the complex industries and labor groups required by the guild socialism of the new theory. Brook Farm thus became the nerve center of American Fourierism, as demonstrated by the publication in 1845 of the Harbinger, for four years the most important socialist paper in America. Yet the successful school was neglected, and the financial instability of the new enterprise began to worry some of the members. Construction of a new and ambitious phalanstery was undertaken to house proposed workshops and potential new members, but it was destroyed by fire early in 1846 as it neared completion. This was not only an emotional blow, but a financial one as well, for bankruptcy seemed inevitable and membership was decreasing. After a year's debate the stockholders decided to liquidate all assets, pay all debts, and terminate this promising utopian experiment.1

As the result of the publication of Albert Brisbane's The Social Destiny of Man in 1840 and a series of articles he wrote later in Greeley's Tribune, American converts to Fourierism founded between forty and fifty other phalanxes, most of them short lived and none of them as well known as Brook Farm. These communities were established principally in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, although they were located in seven other states as well, mainly in the Old Northwest. Fourier had developed a detailed and complex scheme, based on "scientific" rather than religious principles, for the reorganization of society into communal groups each one of which would be based upon a complicated division of labor and hence would be virtually self-sufficient. Each phalanx would be organized on the joint-stock principle, but members could choose the type of work they would perform and they could work as much or as little as they wished; wages for work done would be credited, and profits would be divided annually. In this way, he believed, competition would be eliminated, cooperation and association coming to pervade all society.

This plan appealed to Greeley as a solution to the ills of the working classes during the depression which followed the Panic of 1837, and he took the lead in establishing the first Fourierist community in 1842. This was the Sylvania Phalanx, located on about twenty-three hundred acres

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1Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 172-34; Noyes, American Socialisms, 102-18, 512-63. See also Odell Shepard's biography of Alcott, Pedlar's Progress (Boston, 1937); Lindsay Swift, Brook Farm (New York, 1900); and Nathaniel Hawthorne's satirical novel based on his experiences at Brook Farm, The Blithedale Romance (Boston, 1852).
of land in Pike County, Pennsylvania, and inhabited by more than one hundred workingmen from New York and Albany. Unfortunately, most of the land was unsuited to profitable agriculture, so after a year the community was abandoned. The most successful experiment was the North American Phalanx, established in 1843 near Red Bank, New Jersey, and operating for twelve years. The principal activity of the nearly ninety residents of this community was the growing of grain and vegetables for the New York market; it appeared to be a model experiment in socialism, but dissension grew in the 1850's and after the community gristmill burned in 1854 it was decided to dissolve the phalanx and rejoin the competitive world outside.

Oneida: One of the most interesting and long-lived religiously oriented utopias was the Perfectionist community established by John Humphrey Noyes. Not only was it in many ways the most radical of the utopian societies, but it was also the only one which for four decades adhered consistently to principles which were a product of the American, not the European, experience. This was largely attributable to Noyes, who throughout this period remained the idealistic as well as the practical leader of the community. He had grown up in Vermont, the son of a successful businessman and politician. After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1830, young Noyes returned home to Putney, Vermont, to study law, but he was induced to change his objective to the ministry as a result of being exposed to the revivalistic preaching of Charles G. Finney. Having completed the theological curriculum at Yale, he was licensed to preach, but the expression of his perfectionist views led to orthodox opposition, so that this career was closed to him. Although perfectionism was implicit in Protestant revivalism, Noyes's bald assertion that conversion brought a complete release from sin made him a religious outcast. Refused ordination, he devoted the rest of his life to elaborating his beliefs into a creed. His economic independence fortunately enabled him to spend more than a decade traveling, preaching, and discussing his ideas with fellow iconoclasts, seeking solutions to what he called "the Sin system, the Marriage system, the Work system, and the Death system."

Noyes studied Owenite and Fourierist socialism and became convinced that socialism without religion was impossible, for he maintained that the family was the basic unit of society, even though as currently constituted it bred injustice, competition, and dissension. He married during this period, settled down in Putney, and began to gather a few like-minded persons about him, including his brother, his two sisters and their husbands, and Dr. Thomas Cragin and his wife Mary from New York City. In the early 1840's this informal society adopted communism of property, and five years later an elaborate constitution was adopted based on perfectionist principles. While the women of the group did all the housework and cooking, they were freed from menial occupations by the elimination of all formal meals except breakfast. Arduous labor was discouraged, and diet was strictly regulated. Yet there was no popular agitation against

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1Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 217-20; Noyes, American Socialisms, 193-250, 449-511.
the community until Noyes and Mrs. Cragin instituted "complex marriage" in 1846. This meant that each woman in the group was the wife of every man, although no sexual relations were permitted without mutual consent; male continence was the rule, and propagation was discouraged unless ratified by group discussion. Noyes and his associates resented the charge that "free love" was practiced in their community, for they maintained that sexual relations there were more closely regulated than in society generally.

The outcry resulted in Noyes' arrest, and it was decided that the community should leave Putney in order to avoid mob action. The exodus from Vermont to Oneida, New York, began in 1848, where a single large communal building was erected. The women of the community, for convenience, adopted the Bloomer costume and cut their hair, adding to the disreputability of the experiment. But within three years the community numbered more than two hundred members, and more buildings were constructed to house and employ the new adherents. At first, farming and logging were the main industries, but Noyes in 1854 decided that they should concentrate on an industrial enterprise. An inventor of a new variety of steel traps joined the community, and this became the first successful activity of the Oneida community. With this success, Noyes became convinced that the success of the experiment depended upon industry rather than agriculture, and a search was undertaken for other crafts which would diversify the economic endeavors of the perfectionists. The manufacture of sewing and embroidery silk was undertaken, surplus canned fruit was sold, and finally the manufacture of table silver became the principal activity of the society.

While these industrial enterprises were closely supervised, the leaders of the Oneida community were not extremely ascetic, generally working for the happiness and well-being of the whole society. The discipline of children was somewhat more arduous than at Brook Farm, but at the same time they were given sufficient time for play and did not find their regimen onerous. Every effort was made to remove the competitive spirit, and the individual was expected to subordinate his interests to those of the group. Yet it must be realized that the success of this experiment did not lie with Noyes' economic or social theories, but was rooted in the religious views accepted by the society. To Noyes, Socialism and Perfectionism were inseparable; as he wrote:

Revivals, because they are divine, require for their complement, a divine organization of society, which all who love Revivals and the good of mankind should fearlessly seek to discover and inaugurate . . . . It is notable that all the socialisms that have sprung from revivals have prospered . . . . they all recognize the right of religious inspiration to shape society and dictate the form of family life.
Thus the theories first expounded at Putney in the 1840's were virtually unchanged until 1879, when Noyes gave up the practice of complex marriage. As a result, his communistic theories were also questioned, and during the following year a majority of the members decided to incorporate the Oneida Community as a joint-stock company, which still exists today. The community was prosperous, and the decision was reached in amity, but this marked the end of one of the most successful and dramatic utopian societies of the early nineteenth century.

New Harmony: This socialistic community was established and supported by Robert Owen, probably the most notable philanthropist and reformer produced in nineteenth-century England. Unlike Fourier, who died before his theories could be put into practice by his disciples, Owen planned his utopia and then superintended its operation; it failed partly because his return to England led to his involvement in other reform movements there which prevented his devoting full attention to the community. Owen originated his utopian scheme as a result of his lifelong concern with the social impact of industrial capitalism. A successful industrialist himself, he had built a model factory town at New Lanark, Scotland, but he came to believe that only the creation of a new social order would prove his theories, and that a utopian community in America could become a model for all mankind. His opportunity arose when he was informed that George Rapp wished to sell his site at Harmony, Indiana, so in 1824 Owen and his son William came to the United States to complete the transaction. Announcing the basic philosophy of the community, Owen stated:

... make a man happy and you make him virtuous---this is the whole of my system; to make him happy, I enlighten his mind and occupy his hands, and I have so managed the art of instruction that individuals seek it as an amusement.

As a result of his propagandizing efforts, nine hundred colonists arrived at New Harmony in the spring and summer of 1825; his son Robert Dale Owen later characterized them as "a heterogeneous collection of radicals, enthusiastic devotees to principle, honest latitudinarians, and lazy theorists, with a sprinkling of unprincipled sharpers thrown in."

The first constitution drawn up created a cooperative, rather than a communistic society, for the village and its buildings were owned by Owen, who took all the risk, the settlers being obligated to provide only their own house furnishings, equipment, and labor. Owen as proprietor appointed an administrative committee which assigned each able-bodied member to a trade or occupation, this labor earning credit at the community store. A number of radical intellectuals, mostly of European

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1Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 184-95; Nordhoff, Communistic Societies, 259-301. See also Noyes' account in American Socialisms, 614-45.
birth and training, joined the society; they included William Maclure, a geologist, Thomas Say, a zoologist, Charles Alexander Lesueur, a painter-naturalist, and Constantine Pâinesque, an ichthyologist. All these men were seriously interested in Pestalozzian theories of education (as was Owen, who had educated his sons at the famous Fellenburg school in Switzerland); other educational reformers, such as Madame Fretageot, Philipeau d'Arusmont, and Frances Wright, were enthusiastic visitors who contributed to Owen's plan for educating the young by freeing them from all the restrictions and inhibitions of contemporary society. These intellectual reformers also shared a devotion to free thinking in religion; one commentator called New Harmony a "focus of enlightened atheism."

After a visit to England Owen returned to his utopia early in 1826, and for the next six months demonstrated what energy and administrative ability could do. The success of the experiment induced Owen to draw up a new constitution, creating complete communism with an executive council and an assembly of all adult residents. Dissension soon appeared, however, as the community fluctuated between a desire for town-meeting democracy and an acceptance of occupational socialism. On July 4, 1826, Owen publicized his Declaration of Mental Independence, condemning the institutions of private property, organized religion, and marriage. This further estranged some of the residents, seceders establishing similar communities like the one at Yellow Springs, Ohio, none of which lasted as long as New Harmony. After another trip to England, Owen returned again in 1827, ready to admit failure. Those settlers who wished to remain were provided the opportunity to buy land on a long-term lease, as Owen withdrew permanently from the enterprise, after losing about four-fifths of his personal fortune. His four sons became American citizens, continuing to own property in the area; one of them, Robert Dale Owen, later ascribed the failure of New Harmony to the fact that in America wages were too high and land too cheap to make any kind of cooperative activity appealing.²

Hashoba: Frances Wright, the young Scotswoman who had come to America in Lafayette's train in 1824, was associated for a time with Owen at New Harmony. Although interested in his educational experiments, she was at this time more concerned about slavery, having come to believe that Negro education was necessary before emancipation could become a practical solution. Owen was uninterested, but in 1825 she discussed her ideas with George Flower, the leader of a colony of British immigrants at English Prairie, Illinois. Flower, in association with Morris Birkbeck, another English reformer, had rented lands to free Negroes and had purchased the freedom of other slaves whom he had settled in Haiti. Miss Wright, her sister Camilla, and Flower drew up on paper the outline of a model community where former slaves could work and acquire skills that would aid them to make a livelihood in a white society. She then bought a Tennessee

plantation near Memphis, called Nashoba, established nine adult slaves
and a few children on the property, and endeavored unsuccessfully to
obtain financial support from both Northern abolitionists and the
Federal Government. She hired an overseer, Richesson Whitbey, and then
left for the more congenial atmosphere of New Harmony.

Although her dreams of the future of the colony were grandiose, her
visit to Nashoba in 1827, accompanied by Robert Dale Owen, revealed that
reality was less encouraging; Owen reported that "even sanguine I had to
admit that the outlook was unpromising." Leaving her ill sister under
the care of Whitbey, whom she later married, Fanny Wright joined young
Owen in a trip abroad in search of "congenial associates," not returning
for nearly a year. On this occasion she was accompanied by Frances Trollope,
the acid-penned English-woman who was on her way to settle in Cincinnati;
Mrs. Trollope commented:

... one glance sufficed to convince me, that every
idea I had formed of the place was as far as possible
from the truth. Desolation was the only feeling—
the only word that presented itself; but it was not
spoken.

But what really sounded the death knell of Nashoba was the publication
in a Memphis newspaper of Miss Wright's tract "Respecting the Nature and
Object of the Institution at Nashoba." Not only did she commend Owen's
cooperative principles, she approved miscegenation and advocated the ab-
olition of the institution of marriage. This statement, with her attacks
on organized Christianity, produced a host of critics who dubbed her the
'Red Harlot of Infidelity' or the 'Priestess of Beelzebub.' Nashoba was
bankrupt, Whitbey was given authority to settle its financial affairs,
and the Negro residents were sent to Haiti, while Miss Wright embarked
for New York and a new career as a controversial speaker and leader in
the organization of the workingmen.¹

Icaria and Modern Times: Icaria was one of the last of the utopian
communities to be established in this period; like the Cwenite and Fourier-
ist settlements, it was European in origin, but unlike them its personnel
was entirely European as well. The founder of Icaria was Etienne Cabet, a
French socialist leader whose book Le Voyage en Icarie, published in 1840,
described an ideal communistic society. His supporters were recruited
primarily from among French urban artisans, who by 1847 were said to
number four million. Cabet then suggested that a socialistic community
be established in Texas, and following negotiations with agents of American
land companies he selected for settlement a million-acre tract in the Red
River Valley. Early in 1848, before word had been received from agents

¹Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, 206-11; Noyes, American Socialisms, 66-72;
see also A.J.G. Perkins and Theresa Wolfson, Frances Wright, Free Enquirer
(New York, 1939).
sent to inspect the land, Cabet induced an advance guard of three hundred disciples to embark for the new Icaria, after they had agreed to give their leader dictatorial power for a period of ten years.

Disappointment greeted the hopeful settlers upon their arrival in New Orleans, for they discovered that their tract of land lay two hundred fifty miles away and could be reached only by an overland march. On this expedition many suffered from illness, hunger, and other hardships, and upon reaching their destination they were further disillusioned to find that the expected million acres had become a number of non-contiguous half-section tracts. They finally obtained about ten thousand acres scattered over two townships, but these urban workers knew nothing of farming and so found further frustration. Cabet, unjustly blaming his followers for imprudence and carelessness, arrived in New Orleans to salvage his community, and in 1849 decided to abandon the first effort and transfer his operations to Nauvoo, Illinois, recently evacuated by the Mormons.

For five years the Icarians were happy and prosperous, making use of the houses and workshops built by the former occupants. The quiet and industrious French were much more popular with their neighbors than the turbulent Mormons had been, and made a success of their combined agricultural and industrial enterprises. The collapse of the Second French Republic brought more French radicals to join their comrades in America, and an Icarian colony was established in Iowa. A democratic constitution was drawn up in 1850, but Cabet, who was nearing seventy and was becoming more arbitrary, refused to relinquish power. In 1856 an anti-Cabet faction gained control, but this brought increasing dissension, which was manifested even in the dining room and the kindergarten. Cabet and one hundred eighty faithful disciples withdrew to St. Louis; their leader died within a few months, but his followers established a colony which lasted until 1864. Meanwhile, the Nauvoo group, suffering under the impact of the Panic of 1857, left for Iowa, remaining there until 1895, when they finally voted to dissolve the community. Nordhoff, who visited the Iowa colony in the 1870's concluded that "it is the least prosperous of all the communities I have visited," adding: "They have proved their faith in the communistic idea by labors and sufferings which seem to me pitiful. In fact, communism is their religion."¹

One further community deserves attention, primarily because it differed from all other experiments, going to the opposite extreme by enshrining "individual sovereignty" as a guiding principle. This was the village of Modern Times on Long Island, founded by Josiah Warren, who has been called "the first American anarchist." Warren had for a time been a member of Owen's New Harmony community, and he attributed its failure to the suppression of individuality and the consequent lack of individual initiative and responsibility. In 1827 he established a Time Store in Cincinnati at which goods were exchanged for "labor notes," thus attempting to base prices on the cost of production rather than scarcity. This

scheme, which anticipated the French anarchist Proudhon's "mutualism" by more than a decade, was later during the forties tried by Warren at other locations, such as Mount Vernon and New Harmony, Indiana. He then became associated with Stephen Pearl Andrews, who assisted him in developing the tenets of "individual sovereignty and equitable commerce," which culminated in 1851 with the establishment of the "Equity Village" at Modern Times, which remained in operation at least until 1865. As Warren stated his anarchistic creed:

In a progressive state there is no demand for conformity. . . . With regard to mere difference of opinion in taste, convenience, economy, equality, or even right and wrong, good and bad, sanity and insanity— all must be left to the supreme decision of each Individual . . . . Peace, harmony, ease, security, happiness, will be found only in Individuality.  

While this repudiation of communism was in accordance with the traditional American belief in individual liberty, it ran counter to the equally traditional belief in equality. This, as Tocqueville had remarked, was producing in nineteenth-century America a "tyranny of the majority," an almost irresistible pressure for conformity which increased as the century advanced. As a consequence of this growing intolerance, combined with the disappearance of the frontier, utopian experimentation tended to disappear from the American scene during the postwar era of industrialization.

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1 Noyes, American Socialisms, 93-101; Filler, Crusade Against Slavery, 86. See also William Beallie, Josiah Warren (Boston, 1906); and Joseph Dorfman, Economic Mind in American Civilization (New York, 1946), II, 671-78.
CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL AMERICA AND SOCIAL REFORM, 1861-1913

The Civil War was a watershed in American history as significant as the American Revolution. Not only did it settle, for all practical purposes, the controversy over Federal versus state power, it also marked the ascendancy of industrialization in the United States. The latter half of the nineteenth century is usually regarded as the era of the "robber barons," a materialistic trough between two idealistic summits of humanitarian reform. Yet this is an oversimplified interpretation, for it was a period in which the basis was laid for Progressive humanitarianism. Americans living during this period regarded it as an era of great achievement in all fields of philanthropy. One historian has concluded: "Later generations, accustomed to smile or wince at the social crudities of the Gilded Age, have been slow to recognize that generosity and altruism were as characteristic of the period as acquisitiveness and self-seeking."¹ Many social issues were ignored or evaded, of course, remaining to be wrestled with in the twentieth century. Yet it must be realized that problems arising from the growing urbanism and industrialism of the times demanded new solutions, most of the panaceas of the antebellum age having become irrelevant, so that even the first halting efforts to cope with these questions must be recognized and commended. Without the activities of the Gilded Age philanthropists and reformers, the accomplishments of the Progressive era which followed would have been virtually impossible.

The Heritage of Civil War

The Sanitary Commission and the Red Cross: The Confederate attack on Fort Sumter not only induced President Lincoln to call out the militia to preserve the Union, but it also led to an "uprising of the women of the land" to aid the soldiers and their families. Nearly fifteen thousand soldiers' aid societies were organized during the war by energetic women who canvassed the North for funds and supplies. Others, led by Dorothea Dix, volunteered for nursing duty, even though the Army Medical Department was often hostile to their activities and "interference." Harriet Tubman, of Underground Railroad fame, went into the South with the Union Army, combining nursing with spying behind enemy lines. Miss Dix, appointed Superintendent of Female Nurses, recruited and trained her women as nurses; her organization had to compete with the free-lance activities of independent nurses like Clara Barton. The enterprise of nurses and female charitable organizations was supplemented by the work of religious charities, such as the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the Christian Commission, and the Young Men's Christian Association, the latter organization having been imported from England during the decade preceding the Civil War.

The real usefulness of philanthropy in wartime was best demonstrated by the United States Sanitary Commission, whose work was broader in scope and more "scientific" in intent than the other societies. Organized in 1861 by a group of humanitarian reformers led by the Reverend Henry W. Bellows, a New York Unitarian clergyman, the Commission was privately financed and directed, although its activities received reluctant acceptance by President Lincoln. The founders endeavored to build upon the experience of the British Sanitary Commission of the Crimean War, and their primary aim was to unite the host of local relief societies into a national organization which would strive to alleviate needless suffering and loss of life through disease. Several veteran of pre-war crusades, like Samuel Gridley Howe, worked with the Commission, and Frederick Law Olmsted, famous as a landscape architect and also for his books on the antebellum South, became its first secretary general. The Commission's enterprises were multifarious, and it influenced later development in hospital administration, nursing, and medical and surgical practice. Funds to support its work were raised by mammoth Sanitary Fairs, providing a precedent for later charitable fund-raising activities. But its greatest long-term influence was to prepare the way for the organization of the American Red Cross.

At the end of the war Bellows and some of his associates were reluctant to halt their charitable activities, hoping to find a permanent means of alleviating the misery of the wounded in wartime. In 1866 this group established the American Association for the Relief of Misery on the Battlefield, and for five years fought unsuccessfully to attain American ratification of the Geneva Convention of 1864, providing for neutralization of the wounded in wartime. The battle was then taken up by Clara Barton. Traveling in Switzerland in 1870, she was introduced to the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross, organized seven years before. During the ensuing decade she worked with this organization in the Franco-Prussian and Russo-Turkish Wars; her experience impelled her to establish an American Society, which she accomplished in 1881, and the following year saw the successful culmination of her efforts to gain American ratification of the Geneva Convention. Probably the most significant accomplishment of Clara Barton, however, was the realization of her conception of the American Red Cross as an agency for providing assistance in peacetime. Popular American suspicion of international entanglements was allayed by the disaster relief provided by this organization in hurricanes, floods, and epidemics. Except for her singleminded devotion to the cause of alleviating misfortune, Miss Barton was not a crusader or a reformer, and emphasized only the necessity of meeting and dealing with emergencies as they arose.

In spite of her accomplishments, Clara Barton was subject to increasing criticism within the organization after the turn of the century. Temperamentally disinterested in problems of organization and administration, she submitted her resignation as titular head of the American Red Cross and during the ensuing decade until her death in 1912 watched from the sidelines as her society was reorganized and more closely integrated. From 1905 to 1915 her mantle was inherited by Miss Mabel Boardman, who has been described as "a woman of inherited wealth, established social position, high ideals, and fixed opinions." Remaking the Red Cross in her own image, Miss Boardman turned it into a truly national
organization although at the outbreak of the World War it had fewer than one hundred fifty chapters and twenty thousand members. Its most notable accomplishment during this period was its cooperation with the National Tuberculosis Association in 1910 in the sponsorship of the first Christmas seal campaign. This provided the necessary experience in fund-raising and recruitment of volunteer forces which made the wartime contribution of the Red Cross so noteworthy.¹

Emancipated Negroes and Beleagured Indians: The problem of the freedman was the most pressing question to be settled after the war, but many abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison, welcomed the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment as a signal to abandon the Negro and become involved in other reforms. Other anti-slavery crusaders, however, had devoted their energies even before the coming of peace to ameliorating the lot of the freed slave. Freedmen's relief associations appeared in 1862 in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and the following year a Freedmen's Inquiry Commission undertook an investigation of the status of the Negro in "contraband" camps administered by the government. As a result of their agitation, Congress early in 1865 authorized the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau under the War Department, and President Johnson appointed General Oliver O. Howard as commissioner in charge. The agency was given wide but vaguely defined powers, and throughout its career it faced criticism from both extremes, being charged continually with either doing too little or too much. The Bureau leased land to Negroes, gave relief to the most destitute, helped them find work, heard legal cases involving Negroes, and established hospitals, orphanages, and schools. While attempting to coordinate the philanthropic activities of competing private agencies operating in the South, the Bureau emphasized that education was the most urgent need of the emancipated Negro, and between 1865 and 1870 provided about half the money spent in the South and Negro education. It was particularly instrumental in assisting in the establishment of Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard Universities, lasting monuments to Northern efforts to provide higher education for Negroes.²

Even more noteworthy in this regard was the benefaction of George Peabody, an American merchant-banker who had been living in England for thirty years but whose benign philanthropy was primarily directed towards his native land. After endowing the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, which included an art gallery and conservatory of music, in 1867 he established the Peabody Fund, amounting to three and one-half million dollars, to promote education in the South. This was the first modern foundation, to be emulated by other wealthy donors during


²Bremner, Philanthropy, 84-88; George R. Bentley, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau (Philadelphia, 1955).
the following half century. The most original educational establishment for Negroes was the Hampton Institute in Virginia, founded in 1868 by General Samuel C. Armstrong of the Freedmen's Bureau, with the assistance of the American Missionary Association. The objective of this industrial school was, as Bremner states, to "elevate manual and domestic training into character-building disciplines."

Young Booker T. Washington, who entered the Institute in 1872, became fired with the ambition to devote his life to "providing the same kind of opportunity for self-reliance and self-awakening that I had found provided for me at Hampton." In 1881 he carried out his objective, with state aid and the assistance of Northern philanthropy, enrolling thirty students in his Normal and Industrial Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama. This proved a notable success, and by 1898 it had nearly one hundred instructors and one thousand students. Washington believed that Negroes must begin at the bottom by perfecting the mechanical skills that many of them had learned in slavery; this, he maintained was the only sure route to legal equality and social acceptance. In spite of his efforts, and the efforts of white philanthropists, and American Negro by the end of the century had not yet succeeded in emancipating himself in the eye of his white fellow-citizens from the stigma of racial inferiority; he had, in fact, as a result of increasing legal and extra-legal discrimination, slipped downward in the social scale from the promising position he had briefly occupy during Reconstruction.¹

As the new century dawned, the Negroes themselves grew restive as the Washington policy of accommodation showed such scanty results. Although the Southern Negro seemed to be slowly advancing educationally and economically, anti-Negro feeling was mounting proportionally. Not only were the freedmen denied the ballot by legislative enactments in most Southern states, but Jim Crow was being carried to extravagant lengths, and lynching was increasingly used to "keep the nigger in his place." Racial friction was especially evident in urban areas, North and South, as the Negro began the migration from the soil that was to characterize the twentieth century. The principal critics of Washington were a group of young Negro intellectuals, led by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, a native of Massachusetts who had received his doctorate at Harvard in 1895. While teaching history and sociology at Atlanta University, a ramshackle college for Negroes, Du Bois wrote The Souls of Black Folk as an attack upon what he regarded as a policy encouraging Negro subservience. "Unconscious or not," he wrote, Washington and his Tuskegee program was producing "a voteless herd to run the machines and wash the dishes for the new aristocracy. Negroes

would be educated enough to be useful but not enough, or not in the right way, to be able to assert self-respect." As a result of this agitation a small group of young Negroes joined Du Bois at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, to celebrate the anniversary of John Brown's raid, to demonstrate in behalf of racial equality and to pass a series of resolutions calling for free suffrage and an end to discrimination. In 1905 a conference was held at Niagara Falls which produced an organization which agitated briefly and ineffectually for Negro rights. Finally, revulsion against race riots and lynching led in 1910 to the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, led primarily by white intellectuals but strongly influenced by Du Bois, who became its director of publicity and research, foreshadowing its later militancy for Negro rights.

While the ex-slave found his position worsening, the situation of the aboriginal American was slightly improving. By 1880 Indian wars were almost a thing of the past, the vast majority of the quarter of a million Indians in the United States living peaceably on reservations. Yet many of the natives were victimized by the inefficiency of government agents and the corruption of license traders. Details of this mistreatment were recounted in 1879 in lectures by two Ponca Indians, Standing Bear and Bright Eyes, which prompted Helen Hunt Jackson to write her influential and well-documented account of American relations with the Indians, A Century of Dishonor, published in 1881. This in turn led Eastern humanitarians to found the Indian Rights Association and to call the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians, which first met in 1883. Petitions were sent to Congress urging the justice of training the Indians for citizenship and assisting them to become useful members of American society. President Cleveland became actively interested in the problem, and the reformers were aided indirectly by the Western demand that the reservations be broken up and made available for white settlement. The result of this pressure was the adoption in 1887 of an Indian allotment act, introduced by Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, a leader of the Mohonk Conference. This law authorized the President to terminate tribal government and divide reservation lands among individual Indians, who would gain citizenship, but without the right to sell or mortgage their property for twenty-five years. This reform seemed to have the desired effect, as younger Indians tended to abandon the primitive ways of their ancestors and adopt the white man's values; yet application of the law often produced new problems, some of which were alleviated only by twentieth-century amendments.  

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2 Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 369-75; Faulkner, Quest for Justice, 13-14. See also Loring B. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1864-1887 (New Brunswick, N. J., 1942), and Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton, 1940).
Philanthropy and the Gospel of Wealth

Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published in 1859, but its impact was not felt in the United States until after the Civil War. While it caused the expected tempest in orthodox religious circles, gradually leading to successful efforts to "reconcile science and the Scriptures" except in the most evangelical sects, its main contribution was providing a rationale for the growing ascendancy of business and industry. This was certainly not the intention of the English biologist, being largely the work of Herbert Spencer, an English sociologist. Seven years before Darwin's work appeared, Spencer had argued that in the inevitable struggle for existence in human society the "fittest" survived, thus bringing about constant improvement in the human species. Bolstered by Darwin's empirical evidence, he then attempted to develop a "synthetic philosophy" based on this premise; "progress" to Spencer, was an inevitable product of natural evolution and could neither be hurried nor balked by human action. It followed, then, that not only were existing social institutions and successful capitalists examples of the "survival of the fittest," but all efforts by reformers to coddle the poor or otherwise attempt to improve society were doomed to failure. Spencer and his American disciples espoused an extreme version of laissez faire, finding a scientific justification for the most flagrant abuses of the new industrial capitalism.¹

¹Without questioning the assumptions of this Social Darwinism, some successful industrialists became concerned about what to do with the wealth which was an outward sign of their fitness. Andrew Carnegie, risen from bobbin boy to steel magnate, developed a philosophy which he called the Gospel of Wealth, first expressed in an article he wrote for the *North American Review* in 1889. Considering it a disgrace to die rich, he proposed that millionaires should administer their wealth as a public trust during their lifetimes. "The duty of the man of Wealth," he declared, is

to set an example of modest, unostentatious living . . . ; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues . . . simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer. . . .
---the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

As Bremner concludes, this conception regarded philanthropy as "less the handmaid of social reform than a substitute for it." In this way, wealth could be used to prevent social disorder. Carnegie was an avid devotee of the Spencerian philosophy, so he advocated giving alms only to the able and industrious, not to the destitute and helpless. To him, philanthropy was not social welfare, and his gifts were largely directed to establishing libraries and encouraging industrial education, which he described as "ladders upon which the aspiring can rise."1

Other late nineteenth-century millionaires disposed of their wealth as diligently as Carnegie, some doubtless influenced by his example but many justifying charity by the religious doctrine of stewardship. Carnegie, a free thinker who had rejected his Calvinist background, did not find this necessary, but John D. Rockefeller, a devout Baptist who sincerely believed that "God gave me my money," harked back to the dogma earlier articulated by John Winthrop and William Penn. The oil magnate had, in fact, begun his benefactions some years before Carnegie's article appeared, his most notable philanthropic enterprise having been the founding of the University of Chicago; his lifetime donations of $530 million far outdistanced the $350 million disposed of by Carnegie. In 1891, because of the pressure of requests for financial assistance, all of which he felt must be conscientiously investigated before donating "the good Lord's money," Rockefeller made an innovation in philanthropy. He hired Frederick T. Gates, a young Baptist clergyman and former fund-raiser, to handle the details of his benefactions. Through Gates' efforts, as he later recalled, Rockefeller found himself "laying aside retail giving almost wholly, and entering safely and pleasurably into the field of wholesale philanthropy."

Yet when both Rockefeller and Carnegie retired from business at the turn of the century, it had become apparent that philanthropy needed more effective organization. Rockefeller, who had found the trust a successful device in the operation of the oil business, suggested to some of his associates: "Let us erect a foundation, a trust, and engage directors who will make it a life work to manage ... this business of benevolence properly and effectively." The years between 1900 and 1913, as a result, were marked by the establishment of a number of foundations, most of which are still active today; these included the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (1901), the General Education Board (1902), the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1905), the Milbank Memorial Fund (1905), the Russell Sage Foundation (1907), the Carnegie Corporation of New York (1911), and the Rockefeller Foundation (1913). The most significant characteristic of these new enterprises, aside from their form, was that they were all broadly conceived rather than narrowly limited in their objective, being directed towards the advancement of knowledge and human welfare through encouraging research. By administering philanthropy on a businesslike basis, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and their fellows made a noteworthy contribution to the amelioration of social evils by entrusting the distribution of private

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1Bremner, Philanthropy, 105-09; for Carnegie's essay on "Wealth" see his The Gospel of Wealth (New York, 1901).
wealth to directors with great specialized knowledge in the field of social welfare than the donors themselves could possibly possess.1

Urban Humanitarianism

One of the most noticeable phenomena of post-Civil War America was the rise of the city. Foreshadowed in the antebellum period, this proliferation was a product of increasing industrialization. Like industrialism, urbanism brought with it a host of human problems, many of which became the concern of humanitarian reformers. One of them, Frederic C. Howe, warned shortly after the turn of the century:

The city has replaced simplicity, industrial freedom, and equality of fortune with complexity, dependence, poverty and misery close beside a barbaric luxury like unto that of ancient Rome. Vice, crime, and disease have come in. . . The city exacts an awful price for the gain it has given us, a price that is being paid in human life, suffering, and the decay of virtue and the family.

Problems of urban growth were compounded by the tremendous increase in immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the half-century following the Civil War more than 200,000 immigrants entered the country each year, and by 1910 more than one-third of the urban population of the United States was foreign born. While some Americans expressed concern about the plight of immigrants in a strange and often hostile society, the usual reaction took the form of deploring the inundation of native culture by waves of foreigners; the solution generally advanced combined drastic restriction of further immigration with stepped-up efforts towards rapid assimilation and "Americanization" of foreign stocks already present. Nevertheless, the efforts of reformers to ameliorate such evils as slums and child labor indirectly benefited the immigrant population which tended to suffer most from the ills of urban society.2

Poverty and the slum: The postwar decades saw an efflorescence of charitable societies, all convinced that they had discovered the secret of "scientific" philanthropy. The success of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions during the war added prestige to voluntary efforts and influenced the activities of charitable organizations. As a result, these activities were focused upon public health problems, the urban poor being likened to "an immense army in camp . . . crowded into old filthy dwell-


2Frederic C. Howe, The City: The Hope of Democracy (New York, 1905), 32. See also Carl Wittke, We Who Built America (New York, 1940); Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston, 1951); and John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick, 1955).
ings, and without the slightest police regulations for cleanliness."
Poverty as a consequence of industrial society, with its cycle of booms
and busts, was not discovered really until the twentieth century. The
usual approach to the problem was demonstrated by the organization of
Boards of State Charities, with Massachusetts taking the lead in 1863;
the duties of these boards were to inspect, report upon, and make rec­
ommendations for improving public welfare institutions as well as those
private societies receiving state assistance. In 1866 the legislature
created the New York municipal health board, which began a war against
tenements and slums as sources of disease. Within a few years the New
York State Charities Aid Association was established, which not only
built upon the experience of the Massachusetts society but went further
in trying to improve the environment that produced urban problems. Late
in the century the National Conference of Charities and Correction became
a powerful propaganda agency in spreading the doctrines of "scientific"
philanthropy.

In the 1870's, because of the impact of the Panic of 1873, little
attention was paid for a time to means, tests and investigations, although
some would-be philanthropists were deeply concerned about the activities
of "kindly but mistaken charities" and the "profuse and chaotic" distri­
butation of charity to the "clamorous and impudent." To bring order to
poor relief, societies were established, modeled on the 1869 London Charity
Organization Society, which endeavored to discover "a method by which id­
leness and begging, now so encouraged, may be suppressed and worthy self­
respecting poverty be discovered and relieved at the smallest cost to the
benevolent." C.O.S. became a familiar sign in American cities, usually
accompanied by a placard announcing "No Relief Given Here," for basic
idea of this movement was not to dispense charity but to promote coopera­
tion and efficiency among other relief-dispensing agencies. Acting as
clearinghouses and bureaus of information, these societies investigated
the "cases" of applicants for relief and undertook "friendly visiting"
of the poor in their homes in order to improve and uplift the poverty­striken. Particularly needy cases were referred to other agencies for
financial assistance or employment, and they were encouraged to partic­
ipate in such benevolent activities as penny savings banks, provident
wood yards, coal-saving funds, or day nurseries for working mothers.
As Bremner has said, "the charity reformers were so preoccupied with
pauperism that they gave little serious thought to poverty,"1 and they
generally accepted the view that poverty was "caused by weaknesses of
character, body, or intellect, and curable by reform of the individual."

The epitome of the nineteenth-century social worker was Josephine
Shaw Lowell, founder of the New York C.O.S., who believed that her
function was building character rather than relieving need. A member
of the leisure class with a Christian mission to do good to her fellow
men, Mrs. Lowell saw society divided between workers and idlers, and be­

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1A "pauper" is here used to mean a person destitute of means except
those derived from charity, as distinct from a poor working person who
is poverty-stricken.
lied sincerely that the mass of men and women must be forced by necessity to exercise their God-given faculties; therefore, it was dangerous and unwise to do too much to help the unfortunate who might lose the desire for productive work. Chronic paupers should be institutionalized, she believed, so that they would not reproduce their kind, while the workers of society must be encouraged and assisted to return to productive labor. Yet in spite of this individualistic view of poverty, case workers increasingly became conscious of environmental factors. Mrs. Lowell resigned in 1889 from the New York Board of Charity with the statement that "it is better to save them before they go under than to spend your life fishing them out when they're half drowned and taking care of them afterwards." Robert Treat Paine, long-time president of the Associated Charities of Boston, concluded in 1893 that the social order was at fault, declaring: "Pauperism cannot be wisely considered alone, but the problem of how to uplift the general level of life must be studied as one whole problem." Scientific philanthropy was on its way to join forces with social reform.  

At about this time a radically new approach was undertaken to the problem of urban poverty and slums. This was the settlement house movement, modeled in part upon the experiment at Toynbee Hall in East London but also a product of the evolution of social work as a profession in the United States. The first social settlement in America was the Neighborhood Guild of New York, established by Dr. Stanton Coit in 1886, but the most famous was Hull House in Chicago, founded by Jane Addams three years later. In contrast to the leaders of the charity movement Miss Addams avoided passing moral judgments upon the people she was endeavoring to help, for she was primarily concerned with the uprighteousness of social conditions which produced despair, vice, and crime. As Bremner concludes:

... she hoped to establish ties of sympathy between rich and poor... she confessed that the settlement movement was based on emotion as much as conviction, that it represented an outlet for sentiments of universal brotherhood, and that it appealed to persons who had "a bent to express in social service and in terms of action the spirit of Christ."

Settlement houses were established in the other principal Northern cities during the ensuing decade, demonstrating the idealism of young college graduates and the fervor of revived religious humanitarianism. More than fifty were in existence in 1895, perhaps the most notable being the Henry Street settlement in New York, founded in 1893 by twenty-six year old Lillian Wald.

The most significant characteristic of this movement was the refusal of the settlement worker to view benevolence as an end in itself. Uncommitted to any program except flexibility, experimentation, and sympathy, these social workers

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were, in Miss Addams' words, "bound to see the needs of their neighborhoods as a whole, to furnish data for legislation, and to use their influence to secure it." As a result their aggressive altruism led them to support movements for improved working conditions, better treatment of the immigrant, abolition of child labor, sanitary housing, public-health reform, penal reform, and campaigns against municipal corruption. Most of these settlement workers were women, and they demonstrated, according to Bremner, the female "ability to reduce abstract issues to human terms and to translate high ideals into prosaic practice"; they realized, moreover, that social justice was to be realized, not so much by "prevention" as by positive action. The settlement house of the 1890's, therefore, represented in embryo certain aspects of the Progressive movement of the succeeding decade. Furthermore this viewpoint began to permeate welfare and charity organizations early in the twentieth century, as "social work" began to supersedes "scientific philanthropy." Paid professional workers replaced volunteers, schools of social work were established in metropolitan centers, and the charity organization movement was now led by trained sociologists like Mary Richmond and Edward T. Devine. Although these social workers retained the old distrust of relief and charity, they criticized the social conditions that seemed to make charity necessary and regarded poverty rather than pauperism as the enemy which must be conquered.1

Much as they contributed to the slum dweller, settlement houses could not provide a substitute for his housing. By far the most congested and least sanitary living conditions in urban America were found in New York City, although no city was free from slums. At the end of the Civil War about one hundred thousand New Yorkers lived crowded in tenements erected by speculative builders; nearly twenty thousand of these, known as troglodytes, lived in cellars, many below tidewater. All these buildings were unheated and few were connected to a sewer, so epidemics of typhoid, typhus, and smallpox ravaged this largely immigrant population. In an effort to deal with this problem New York established a municipal health board in 1866 which within four years succeeded in prohibiting lodging in cellars and attempted to force tenement owners to make improvements. Other cities followed this example, but the continuing pressure of population made real reform impossible. Conditions in New York slums actually became worse after 1879 with the advent of the "dumb-bell" tenement, virtually the only kind erected there for the next two decades. These were five or six stories high, honeycombed with rooms most of which opened only on foul-smelling air shafts; the greatest hazards were fire and tuberculosis, along with vice and crime.

By 1900 more than one and one-half million inhabitants lived in such dwellings. Some philanthropists, like Alfred T. White in Brooklyn, built model tenements with ample ventilation and playgrounds in an attempt to demonstrate that decent lodgings could be provided at reasonable rents and still guarantee a fair income for the landlord. But this "philanthropy plus five percent" was

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1Bremner, Philanthropy, 113-16; Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 351-53. See also Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House (New York, 1910), and Lillian Wald, The House on Henry Street (New York, 1915).
not popular with most landlords, who continued to adhere to the time-
honored practice of charging maximum rents and holding expenses for im-
provements and maintenance to a minimum. Private charitable organizations
continued to agitate for stricter housing laws, receiving publicity and
assistance from a young police reporter on the New York Sun, Jacob A. Riis.
In the eighties he wrote a number of newspaper and magazine articles, and
in 1890 his first book, How the Other Half Lives, made a significant im-
pression, influencing among others such potential reformers as Theodore
Roosevelt, then New York Police Commissioner, and Lincoln Steffens, a
fellow reporter and future muckraker. Tenement reform legislation had been
enacted every decade since the Civil War, but each act contained loopholes
and enforcement was sporadic. In 1900 the New York tenement-house com-
mission concluded that conditions on the whole were worse than they had been
fifty years before. Yet within a year they succeeded in drafting a model
law which was enacted by the legislature, providing that all rooms and
hallways be adequately lighted and ventilated, with running water, fire
escapes, and sanitary facilities. Speculators and small landlords bitterly
attacked the law, and its constitutionality was upheld ushering in a new
era in housing legislation. Other states followed suit, modeling their
legislation on the 1901 New York law, and by 1910 the problem of slum
housing was well on the way to being forthrightly attacked and solved.1

Crime, vice, and insanity: In some areas the ferment of the ante-
bellum period had not produced lasting results; reform of the criminal
and treatment of the insane was perhaps the most noticeable humanitarian
area characterized by backsliding. Despite the agitation of Dorothea Dix,
thousands of insane persons were still being incarcerated in poorhouses
and jails, although New York in the seventies finally completed construc-
tion of the Willard Asylum, authorized by the legislature of 1864. Real im-
provement in the care and treatment of the mentally ill had to wait, however,
until the twentieth century when the impact of the Freudian revolution was
fully felt in the United States. Similarly, the return of peace brought
an increase in crime, largely through somewhat unfairly attributed to the
returning veteran. The prewar effort to study the criminal continued, re-
sulting in notable studies of juvenile delinquency by Charles Loring Brace
and a pioneering study in the influence of heredity by R. L. Dugdale,
The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Heredity, and Disease, published
in 1877.

At the same time it was discovered that American penal institutions,
one so admired, had fallen behind European systems; the most significant
study was made by E. C. Wines and Theodore W. Dwight in their 1867 report
to the New York legislature. Partly as a result of their recommendations
and the influence of the recently instituted Irish prison system, New York
opened Elmira in 1877, and seven years earlier the National Prison Asso-
ciation was organized under the leadership of Dr. Wines. Reformation,rather
than retribution, was stressed as the prime objective of imprisonment,
and efforts were made to carry out this program with youths committed
to Elmira under the superintendancy of Zebulon R. Brockway; the

1Nevis, Emergence of Modern America, 319-23; Schlesinger, Rise of the
City, 106-11; Faulkner, Quest for Justice, 157-59. See also Jacob Riis, How
the Other Half Lives (New York, 1890), and The Battle with the Slum (New
York, 1902).
Indeterminate sentence was adopted as the first step towards rehabilitation of the juvenile offender. By 1898 this scheme had been adopted by nearly a dozen other states. Reformatories for young female offenders developed less rapidly, but again New York was the pioneer with the establishment in 1893 of the Western House of Refuge at Albion. For adult criminals probatic and parole were introduced during this period; Massachusetts experimented with this plan in the 1870's, and by 1900 it was in effect in twenty-five states. Capital punishment was abolished in five states—Maine, Michigan, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, and Colorado; Maine was the first to act in 1876, and Colorado joined the parade in 1897, only to restore the death penalty in 1901. Other states, following New York's example in 1888, substituted electrocution for hanging, while at the same time the number of capital crimes was reduced, revision of the Federal code in 1892 paving the way by limiting the death penalty to murder, rape, and treason.

The greatest change in criminology after the turn of the century, however, was the handling of the delinquency and defective child. Juvenile courts in the United States originated with the Illinois law of 1899; within a decade every large city in the country was adopted this system. The best known and most influential of the juvenile court judges was Ben Lindsey of Colorado, chiefly responsible for passage of the 1901 state law and an advocate for more than a quarter-century of all types of child conservation. Lindsey's enthusiasm for social justice led him to embrace all varieties of reform, but his attack against political bossism and his espousal of "companionsate marriage" tended to weaken his influence in Progressive politics.

Prostitution had long been recognized as a major urban social problem, but in spite of the puritanical efforts of Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst in New York during the 1890's little was done to eliminate or regulate vice until 1900. In that year a Committee of Fifteen in New York studied conditions and presented recommendations for the eradication of commercialized vice. Within ten years thousands of small hotels and disorderly houses had been reduced in number for forced to conduct their business clandestinely. In 1907 George Kibbe Turner in the muckraking McClure's magazine publicized the connection between gambling, crime, political corruption, and prostitution. This article was widely influential, leading to the appointment of vice commissions in several major cities and stepped-up efforts to control the traffic in women. Laws were passed against the white-slave traffic, President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed American adherence to the international treaty against this vice; in addition, the immigration law of 1903 was strengthened to punish those engaged in this traffic, and two years later the Mann Act was passed to deal with the problem through Federal power over interstate commerce.1

Christian humanitarianism: Although many reformers and philanthropists of the Gilded Age were impelled by a sense of Christian charity, American churches for the most part adjusted slowly to the changes resulting

1Nevins, Emergence of Modern America, 325-32; Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 360-64; Faulkner, Quest for Justice, 159-62, 182-83.
from urban and industrial growth. In fact, clergymen during this period usually either ignored or condoned what others regarded as social injustice, and it was not until the 1890's that the "social gospel" began to be preached by such men as Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch. Before that time organized Christian humanitarianism was largely carried on outside the ecclesiastical structure. The Young Men's Christian Association, established in England in 1844 to provide a haven for young men alone in the city, was imported into the United States in 1851 and by 1913 had two thousand local associations. Similarly, the Young Women's Christian Association appeared here in 1866, demonstrating a parallel though smaller growth. Another religious import was the Salvation Army, founded in London by William Booth in 1878 to adapt revivalism to the needs of the city. The movement was extended to America the following year, preaching the gospel of repentance and reform to the urban "rumdom, slumdom and bumdom." After 1889 the rapidly growing Army began to supplement its evangelism with employment bureaus, cheap lodgings for vagrants, rescue homes for fallen women, and "slum brigades" to work with tenement families. A schism within the organization in 1896 led to the establishment of the Volunteers of America, less military in its structure but otherwise similar in methods and objectives.

In the eighties some churches began to develop a social conscience, in part because of declining membership in urban congregations. The so-called institutional church appeared, providing a program of week-day activities designed to attract more working-class members. This change was exemplified by the experiment of the Reverend D. W. S. Rainsford of St. George's Episcopal Church in a slum area in New York; beginning in 1882 he organized vocational classes, established a cooperative grocery, and provided recreational activities for every age group. Russell Conwell began a night school for workers at his Philadelphia Baptist Temple from which Temple University evolved, and the Morgan Memorial Methodist Church in Boston organized the Goodwill Industries, enabling unemployables to make a living repairing castoff clothing and furniture which were then sold at low prices to the poor. The growing concern of American Protestants with social conditions was strongly influenced by English currents of Christian Socialism; as Rauschenbusch declared, "God had to raise up socialism because the organized Church was too blind, or too slow, to realize God's ends." While most churchmen did not go so far as this in championing socialism, a change became apparent in the church's attitude towards the labor movement. The Roman Catholic Church in America had always been concerned about the plight of its immigrant parishioners, but condemnation of social evils became official doctrine with the issuance in 1891 of the encyclical Rerum Novarum by Pope Leo XIII. The most determined Catholic champion of social reform was Father John Ryan, whose writing and teaching urged the necessity of state action to protect workers from exploitation. Bishop F. D. Huntington of the Protestant Episcopal Church joined the Knights of Labor and took the lead in organizing the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor in 1887; five years later the Christian Social Union was formed with the Bishop as president and economist Richard T. Ely as secretary. This example was followed by other
denominations during the first decade of the twentieth century, and in 1908 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ was established with a social creed which aimed to ameliorate the condition of labor.¹

Temperance and the saloon: Agitation against the liquor traffic continued by religious-minded reformers, especially since the prewar movement for state prohibitory laws had suffered reverses during the war, Maine and Massachusetts being the only remaining dry states. To temperance advocates the liquor evil appeared to be growing more formidable. The Federal government's reliance on liquor excise taxes made drinking respectable and the continuing influx of immigrants into the cities produced a mushroom growth of saloons which became known as "poor men's clubs." Furthermore, the alliance between the liquor industry and corrupt politicians became notorious in the era of the Whiskey Ring. The old-fashioned methods of temperance lecture and temperance society were obviously inadequate to cope with the situation. Beginning in 1869 the movement entered politics, organizing the Prohibition Party by a convention in Chicago, but their presidential candidates continually received fewer than nine thousand votes. The crusade became more militant with the formation of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1874 at Cleveland, Ohio. This movement had been born the year before when a group of women at Hillsboro and Washington Court House, Ohio, had succeeded in closing the saloons by a campaign of prayer and hymn singing at the bar. Under the leadership of Frances E. Willard, the Union induced thousands of children to take the pledge and, more significantly, persuaded state after state to provide "scientific temperance" instruction in the public schools; by 1898 all but two states had made this program mandatory.

Further impetus to the prohibition movement came from organized religion. By the end of the century each of the leading denominations, including the Roman Catholics, had a temperance committee or abstinence society. The most active was the Methodist Episcopal Church, even though it did not officially establish a Committee on Temperance until 1892; in the ensuing decade a lobbying bureau began agitating in Washington with such success that a spokesman for the liquor interests charged that the Methodist Church was "obsessed with the ambition to gain control of the government." Yet the most effective political pressure group was the Anti-Saloon League, organized in 1895 and led by Wayne B. Wheeler and William H. Anderson. Sharing the religious orientation of the Methodists and the W.C.T.U., the League endeavored to coordinate and direct the legislative battle. Like its contemporary, the American Federation of Labor, it shunned third-party

¹Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 320-48; Faulkner, Quest for Justice, 204-22. See also Charles H. Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven, 1940); Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York, 1949); and two books by Aaron I. Abell, The Urban Impact Upon American Protestantism (Cambridge, 1943), and American Catholicism and Social Action (Garden City, New York, 1960).
activity, preferring to bore from within both major parties by rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies. The League's objectives were clearly stated and both eventually succeeded; it set out to convince a majority of the American people that drinking was morally wrong, and it endeavored to marshal the forces of rural Protestantism to ban the liquor trade by political means. With a budget of nearly half a million dollars a year and a staff of five hundred employees, the League first succeeded in drying up rural America through local option, then began a campaign for statewide prohibition which by 1913 was on the way to success in nineteen or twenty states. But because the last stronghold of the liquor interests was in the cities, the League finally exerted increasing pressure upon Washington. Since proposals for a national prohibition amendment had been periodically but vainly introduced in Congress, and this now became the primary aim of this militant organization. The first important Federal victory of the League came on March 1, 1913, when the Webb-Kenyon bill was passed over President Taft's veto; this act prohibited the shipment of intoxicating liquors into any state or territory where they would be used in violation of local law. By the end of the year the campaign for a constitutional amendment was renewed in Congress, and although failing to obtain the required two-thirds vote the growing support for the proposal presaged the victory that was to come six years later.¹

Children's aid: Urbanism and industrialism had a marked impact upon family life, and children were oftentimes the worst sufferers from the growing incidence of poverty, vice, and crime. The first organized effort to improve the lot of the urban child arose paradoxically from a concern for the humane treatment of animals. Henry Bergh, the son of a wealthy New York shipbuilder, returned in 1864 from a sojourn in Europe determined to mitigate the brutality towards dumb animals which was so common in the nineteenth century. Drawing on the experience of a British organization established forty years earlier, Bergh in 1866 obtained a New York charter establishing the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and induced the legislature to pass a law for the protection of dumb beasts. Eight years later the Society brought a complaint against a foster mother for mistreatment of a child, who was legally regarded as an animal for the law permitted no interference between parent and child. The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was born in that courtroom, as Bergh joined with Elbridge T. Gerry and other humanitarians in an effort to use the law to protect children from the breakdown of family homogeneity.

¹Nevins, Emergence of Modern America, 335-38; Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 353-59; Faulkner, Quest for Justice, 223-28. See also E. H. Cherrington, Evolution of Prohibition in the United States (Westerville, Ohio, 1920), and Peter H. Odegard, Pressure Politics (New York, 1928).
A more serious problem was the institutionalized cruelty to children which was a consequence of the prevalence of child labor in factories and sweatshops. According to the United States Census, the number of children between the ages of ten and fifteen who were gainfully employed increased from one million in 1880 to a million and three-quarters twenty years later, and this was a conservative estimate. Most of them worked as agricultural laborers, but an increasing number were found in Southern textile mills or in sweatshops in Northern cities. Some of the older industrial states had earlier passed legislation limiting child labor in the interest of education, but these laws were neither sufficiently far-reaching to cope with the problem nor adequately enforced. During the Progressive era the writing and agitation of reformers like John Spargo led to a concerted effort for further legislation; in 1904 the National Child Labor Committee was organized to encourage and coordinate this work. In the following three years two-thirds of the states either passed protective legislation or strengthened the existing laws, and in 1907 Congress appropriated funds for a thorough investigation of the evil, leading to the creation of a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1912. In that same year the National Child Labor Committee drafted a model law, urging its adoption by the recalcitrant states, and lobbied for the passage of Federal legislation to exclude goods produced by child labor from inter­state commerce. This bill was finally approved by Congress and signed by President Wilson in 1916, but was speedily declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The result of this crusade had brought improvement, but child labor remained a serious problem for another quarter-century.1

Women's Rights and Suffrage

Urban America provided new opportunities for women, economic changes producing broader occupational horizons. Not only were women increasingly employed in industry, but also as typists, telephone operators, librarians, journalists, and social workers. Between 1860 and 1910 the number of gainfully employed women over sixteen grew from two and one-half to eight million. One of the first opportunities was found in nursing, for doctors' attitudes to this profession had changed as a result of the work accomplished during the Civil War. By 1873, under the leadership of Elizabeth C. Hobson, the systematic training of nurses had been inaugurated at the New England Hospital for Women in Boston and the Bellvue Hospital in New York. More women were entering the fields of medicine and law, although militant feminists continued to decry sexual discrimination. Higher education and the ministry were also being invaded, as demonstrated most notably by Frances E. Willard, who in 1873 was named Dean of the Women's College of Northwestern University, and Anna Howard Shaw, who became a Methodist pastor in 1878; both women were later to play noteworthy roles in the women's suffrage movement. Meanwhile, women in the urban

middle class found that greater leisure gave them the opportunity to engage in cultural and service activities, many of them finding peacetime idleness anticlimactic after the excitement of wartime charity drives. In 1868 Julia Ward Howe took the lead in organizing the New England Women's Club, and later the same year Mrs. J. C. Croly of New York, indignant at being excluded for a dinner honoring Charles Dickens, organized Sorosis. At first these clubs, and those established in their image, emphasized study and cultural pursuits, but they gradually became involved in civic and philanthropic work. By 1889, they were so numerous and influential that they concerted their efforts by the establishment of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.¹

Women had made many advances since the war. By 1900 every state recognized their right to make a will, most states permitted them to dispose of their own income, and seven states had granted them the equal right to guardianship of children. Yet tradition and masculine prejudice still for the most part confined females to "the proper activities of the sex," which usually included little more than education and charity work. In spite of this attitude reform-minded women played an increasing role in the moral crusades for the protection of minors and against liquor and organized vice. As George Mowry concludes:

The American upper-middle-class women had been indoctrinated with the loftiest Victorian personal ethics. She had been well educated and at the same time denied the opportunity for the exercise of her new-found abilities, except for those open in the fields of charity and social service. These took her down to the slums, to a world of vice, immorality, and political corruption which all too often was connected with the males of her own upper-class circles. Her awakening to the disparities between man and woman, between the stated rules of the age and the actualities of the streets, called forth her demands for equality and reform which left an indelible mark upon . . . the new century.

Some feminists, like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, displayed an evident dislike of the American male and the double-standard world he had made, concluding that woman was "the highest human type." Most of them urged, however, not an equality of morals, but a true equality of opportunity and expression, believing that this was the surest road to the ethical uplift of American society.²

¹Nevins, Emergence of Modern America, 340-43; Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 141-44; Harvey Wish, Society and Thought in Modern America (New York, 1952), 123-32.

Throughout these years the question of the suffrage became a major concern of a growing number of partially liberated women. Feminist leaders, like Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, maintained that women's war services entitled them to the ballot, particularly after suffrage was granted to the emancipated Negro. They petitioned Congress to omit the word "male" from the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, but the Radical Republicans, though many theoretically favored women's suffrage, feared that this would endanger ratification and refused to support their demand. The feminists were undeterred, continuing to press their campaign on the state level. In 1867 Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony attempted to secure the admission of women to the New York constitutional convention and the enactment of an equal-suffrage clause in the Kansas constitution. While these efforts failed, two years later the indefatigable agitators established the National Association for Woman Suffrage; at about the same time a more conservative organization, the Woman Suffrage Association, was founded under the leadership of Henry Ward Beecher and Lucy Stone. Victories were won in the western territories, by 1870 both Wyoming and Utah granting an equal franchise to both sexes.

With these exceptions, few American males were inclined to take the movement seriously, and during the seventies it became notorious as a result of the unsolicited support of Victoria Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin. These colorful women journalists edited a sensational weekly which urged not only women's suffrage but birth control, eugenics, and a single moral standard. Their publicizing of the adulterous relationship between Beecher and his parishioner Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, a pillar of the suffragist movement, did not endear them to the feminists, and Mrs. Woodhull's 1876 campaign for President on an "equal rights" platform made her anathema. Yet the movement survived this tempest, and in the succeeding decade gained new strength with the recruitment of such stalwarts as Frances Willard, Anna Howard Shaw, and Carrie Chapman Catt. Males joined the crusade as well, one of the most influential adherents being Wendell Phillips, who declared: "Either woman is like man--and if she is, then a ballot based on brains belongs to her as well as to him; or she is different, and then man does not know how to vote for her as well as she herself does." In 1878 Senator A. A. Sargent of California introduced an equal-suffrage amendment, drafted by Susan B. Anthony, and in the ensuing two decades Congressional committees several times reported favorably on the proposal, but no further action was taken. Nearly twenty states and territories had by 1900 granted women the right to vote in school elections and other Western states had followed the lead of Wyoming and Utah in providing unrestricted suffrage, but this example was increasingly resisted by the more cosmopolitan East and the conservative South.

Following the death of Mrs. Stanton in 1902 and Miss Anthony four years later, the campaign was stepped up under new leadership, including Alice Paul who as chairman of the Association's Congressional Committee began to apply the more militant tactics of the English movement. In 1910 a petition containing more than four hundred thousand signatures was presented to Congress,
and in the 1912 campaign Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party endorsed women's suffrage. Feminist activities came to a head with a suffrage parade in Washington the day before the inauguration of President Wilson, and though producing a mob scene it succeeded in dramatizing the issue. These tactics brought criticisms within the organization as well, the Association under the leadership of Dr. Shaw ousting Miss Paul from her position, but she organized a Congressional Union which continued an agressive policy of picketing and vocal agitation, eventually impelling the Wilson administration to support women's suffrage. Final victory, however, did not come until 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, marking the culmination of a century-long struggle for full equality of the sexes in American society.

The Labor Movement

Organized labor in the Gilded Age faced a schizophrenic situation. Industrialism was reducing the skilled artisan, the most militant member of the antebellum labor movement, to a role of diminishing importance. At the same time the nation's labor force increasingly consisted of unskilled immigrants from farms and foreign lands who had no tradition of pride in craft and who had come to realize that in this new industrial world labor was regarded as a commodity and the advantages of bargaining were all with the employer. The result was that labor was torn between striving to protect itself against the competitive threat of the mechanized unskilled and attempting to unite with the unorganized in an effort to ameliorate the condition of all toilers. In the latter half of the nineteenth century wage earners turned to one program of action after another, their problems being compounded by the economic depressions which worsened their situation every two decades or so. Sometimes they sought to obtain better working conditions through legislation, or they tried to escape from the wage system by organizing cooperatives; sometimes they formed exclusive organizations, and then again they organized proletarian movements actuated by the imported ideologies of Marxian socialism or anarchism.

1Nevins, Emergence of Modern America, 336-40; Schlesinger, Rise of the City, 144-48; Faulkner, Quest for Justice, 171-76; Robert E. Riegel, American Feminists (Lawrence, Kansas, 1963), 144-50 and passim.
At the beginning of the Civil War American labor was largely unorganized, for the unions in existence in the early fifties had generally disappeared as a result of the Panic of 1857 and the disruption of business that was a concomitant of war. A few trades remained active, among which was the Iron Molders' Union, founded under the leadership of William H. Sylvis in 1859. Militant agitation during the war brought significant gains, but it also produced countermeasures by employers who organized to frustrate the union. Sylvis retaliated by repudiating traditional tactics, urging his fellow workers to "adopt a system which will divide the profits of labor among those who produce them," and beginning in 1866 nearly a dozen cooperative stove foundries were established by the union. Meanwhile, Ira Steward, self-educated Massachusetts machinist, found the magic formula for labor in the eight-hour day, organizing eight-hour leagues to employ political pressure; while several states reacted by enacting legislation, it was generally ineffective in improving the condition of labor. In 1866 a National Labor Congress was held in Baltimore, attracting delegates from unions, leagues, and middle-class reform associations, and the result was the establishment of the National Labor Union under the presidency of Sylvis. The program of this organization was diffuse, embracing a demand for eight-hour laws, cooperatives, collective bargaining, and political action. The movement died after 1872 partly because of the premature death of Sylvis, but also because its efforts to launch a third party and its concentration on the greenback panacea were disastrous.  

The decade of the seventies, under the impact of the Panic of 1873, saw labor reach a high point of militancy but a low point of success. National unions succumbed one by one and total union membership declined drastically as strikes against wage cuts met defeat. The use of Pinkerton labor spies to unmask the violent activities of the Molly Maguires in Pennsylvania resulted in a serious setback for labor, as unions protesting against working conditions were accused of criminal conspiracy. The great railroad strike of 1877 appeared to be an even more fatal blow, for Federal intervention was deemed necessary to restore order; organized labor henceforth found it difficult to escape the onus of urging riot and destruction of property to settle its grievances. The American middle class regarded this event not as a strike but as a revolution, and employers demanded more efficient police and militia protection, using the blacklist, the ironclad oath, and labor spies to undermine union organization. Workers reacted in various ways to this offensive. Some joined local workingmen's parties or the National Greenback-Labor Party, while others found European socialism a panacea, in late 1877 organizing the doctrinaire Socialist Labor Party which was affiliated with Karl Marx's International Workingmen's Association.

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See also Gerald N. Grob, Workers and Utopia: A Study of Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement, 1865-1900 (Evanston, Ill., 1961).
This solution failed to attract mass support, for most American laborers, other than immigrants and women, still placed their faith in organization, and this need was apparently satisfied during the eighties by the Knights of Labor. First organized in 1869 by Uriah Stephens as a secret assembly of garment workers, the Knights held their first national assembly in 1873 in Reading, Pennsylvania. During the ensuing decade Stephens was succeeded by Terence V. Powderly as Grand Master Workman, the order abandoned much of its secret ritual in the effort to recruit Catholic workers, and a broad program was adopted calling for cooperatives, arbitration of strikes, prohibition of child labor, and the eight-hour day. Powderly's leadership showed both virtues and defects. He was honest, sincere, and an inspiring speaker, but he was opposed to strikes as a labor weapon while being forced to condone and encourage successful strikes begun by local assemblies. The principal contribution of the Knights was their emphasis on the solidarity of labor—their motto was "an injury to one is the concern of all"; this went to such extremes, however, that the movement accepted the membership of women, Negroes, and middle-class reformers, the only specifically excluded occupations being liquor dealers, gamblers, lawyers, and bankers. This policy, as well as the ambivalent program, led to increasing disdissence, skilled workers particularly becoming disenchanted with the failure of the order to resolve practical wage-and-hour issues. Led by Samuel Gompers of the Cigar-makers' Union, the trade-union element established the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions in 1881, a weak body of skilled crafts which reorganized five years later as the American Federation of Labor, just in time to capitalize upon the rapid deterioration of the Knights of Labor the following year.

The immediate cause of this debacle was the 1886 Haymarket affair in Chicago, a result of the convergence of the eight-hour campaign with an increasingly vocal agitation by "anarchists" who had lost faith in the efficacy of both the ballot box and trade unionism to solve the social problem. During the preceding years, despite Powderly's reluctant leadership, the Knights had become increasingly involved in strikes and boycotts. Their successes both contributed to the growing middleclass fear of the labor movement and stimulated a sevenfold increase in the order's membership from 1885 to 1886. At the same time a mass movement to achieve the eight-hour day began to mushroom and the Knights found themselves unwillingly in the forefront of the campaign, which was scheduled to reach a climax on May Day of 1886. On May 4 an anarchist meeting in Haymarket Square, unrelated to the eight-hour movement, was broken up by police during which a bomb was hurled into the crowd, killing ten persons and injuring scores of others. The reaction of the American public was hysterical, the Knights bearing the brunt of popular hostility and fear. As a result employers became adamant against the order and its membership dropped alarmingly. The Knights of Labor continued in existence for another decade, but it suffered from internal squabbles and competition by Gompers' federation, and after 1893 the organization devoted itself
exclusively to politics and the promotion of cooperatives.¹

The fledgling American Federation of Labor inherited the mantle of the Knights, although it could not record any significant success until the twentieth century. Gompers believed that the reaction to Haymarket had set the labor movement back at least a decade, and he felt vindicated in his contention that labor must avoid any tinge of radicalism and must return to "pure and simple" trade unionism divorced from political and social panaceas. Yet this program could appeal only to the elitist craft unions, and the nineties were marked by two more bitter and violent strikes, exacerbated by the worst depression in the American experience. In 1892 the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was reputed to be the strongest union in the country, but its strike against the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania, revealed that the power of the modern corporation was even stronger. Henry C. Frick, managing the enterprise in Carnegie's absence, employed strikebreakers and hired an army of Pinkerton guards to protect them; the consequence was a day-long battle which ended in the proclamation of martial law and the eventual defeat of the union. Two years later an even more bitter strike occurred at the model community of Pullman, Illinois. Wage cuts and irregular employment, combined with the paternalistic attitude of the Pullman Company, induced most of the workers to join the American Railway Union, founded in 1893 by Eugene Debs. The result was a walkout, forcing the company to suspend operations; the strike spread as Debs' followers refused to handle Pullman equipment on any railroad. This defiance was met by the retaliation of a railroad General Managers Association, who not only discharged striking workmen but induced the Federal Courts to issue an injunction against Debs and his union and prevailed upon President Cleveland to order Federal troops to intervene in order to safeguard the mails. The strike was broken, most of the union members were blacklisted, and Debs was sent to prison for a six-month term.²

With the return of prosperity in 1897, the American Federation of Labor entered upon its most successful era, reaching a membership of two million by 1913. Shunning independent political action and visionary panaceas, Gompers and his followers devoted most of their energies to negotiating with employers for shorter hours, higher wages, and job

¹Joseph G. Payback, A History of American Labor (New York, 1959), 142-84; Norman Ware, Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895 (New York, 1929); cf. Terence V. Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor (Columbus, Ohio, 1890). See also R. V. Bruce, 1877: Year of Violence (Indianapolis, 1959); Samuel Yellen, American Labor Struggles (New York, 1936); and Henry David, History of the Haymarket Affair (New York, 1936).

²Payback, American Labor, 194-207; L. L. Lorwin and J. A. Flexner, The American Federation of Labor (Washington, 1933); Samuel Gompers, Seventy Years of Life and Labor (New York, 1925); Almont Lindsay, The Pullman Strike (Chicago, 1942).
security. The Federation's strike policy was conservative, though inflationary pressures during the Progressive period resulted in increasing militancy in some fields. Gompers hoped to work with enlightened employers to promote industrial peace, most notably through the Civic Federation which was established on a national basis in 1900, but the Federation continually found its efforts frustrated by Federal injunctions based on the "restraint of trade" clause of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Meanwhile, a radical labor movement had arisen to challenge the leadership of the Federation. This was the Industrial Workers of the World, organized at Chicago in 1905 by a coalition of representatives of Debs' Socialist Party, Daniel DeLeon's Socialist Labor Party, and the militant Western Federation of Miners led by William D. Haywood. The constitution of this "One Big Union" proclaimed both its hostility to Gompers' "bread and butter unionism" and its revolutionary objective to establish "industrial socialism," declaring that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common." The attempt of the "Wobblies," as they were called, to unite skilled and unskilled in a syndicalist movement was unsuccessful in the long run, partly because ideological differences led to the defection first of Debs and then of DeLeon, but its militancy both in the textile mills of the East and among the lumberjacks and migratory farm workers of the West demonstrated that the exclusive membership and limited objectives of the American Federation of Labor were failing to meet the needs of the mass of twentieth-century laborers. The I.W.W. declined rapidly during World War I, but its objectives were revived, minus its revolutionary ideology, in the labor agitation of the New Deal period.1

Social Criticism and Radical Reform

The laissez-faire tradition which characterized business thinking in late nineteenth-century America came under increasing attack by intellectuals and popular movements who had become convinced that social justice could be achieved only through positive government action. Yet it was not until the Progressive era that the concept of the active state was popularly accepted and implemented. Although the writings and influence of such nonconformist intellectuals as Henry George and Edward Bellamy was not fully manifest in their lifetimes, both their criticisms and their panaceas had a significant impact on the thinking of their contemporaries, paving the way for the intellectual revolt against formalism and orthodoxy that characterized the new century.

Henry George, after a varied career as sailor, storekeeper, and journalist, settled in San Francisco where he began to ponder the problem of poverty in the industrial society of the 1870's. The result was his

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book *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1879, which begins by stating a paradox: "Where the conditions to which material progress everywhere tends are most fully realized . . . we find the deepest poverty, the sharpest struggle for existence, and the most of enforced idleness." Dissenting from the pessimism of classical economics, he blamed the plight of the laborer and the farmer, not on the action of irrevocable economic laws, but on the monopolization of land and the "unearned increment" accruing to the landlord from population pressure. His solution was a confiscatory "single tax" on land which would eliminate the unjust burden of rent and at the same time provide the government with all the revenue necessary to carry out its functions.

George was not a socialist; he was not even critical of the basic assumptions of Social Darwinism, except for its use to justify the status quo. Yet his analysis and indictment of the existing social order was tremendously effective, his book becoming one of the all-time non-fiction bestsellers in American publishing history. His readers learned that poverty was not a necessary consequence of economic laws, but a result of faulty social institutions. Single-tax clubs were formed throughout the land, and George became an international figure following his speaking tour through Great Britain. In 1886 a third party composed of labor leaders and middle-class reformers nominated him for mayor of New York; although defeated, his popularity frightened the major parties. He died in 1897 in the midst of another energetic campaign for the New York mayorality.1

Nearly a decade after the appearance of George's book another influential indictment of the American capitalist economy was published, and it too had a considerable impact upon popular thinking. This was Edward Bellamy's best-selling utopian novel *Looking Backward, 2000-1887*. Bellamy, a native of Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, practice law briefly and then embarked on a career as a writer, his most successful effort appeared in 1886. Through the device of miraculously transporting a Boston aristocrat of 1887 to the twenty-first century, Bellamy not only painted a graphic picture of the social blemishes of the 1880's but depicted an ideal future society which had eliminated poverty and misery by the simple expedient of repudiating competition in favor of what he called "nationalism." This was a benevolently authoritarian state organized on the principle of cooperation which assigned all necessary tasks to an industrial army consisting of all able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five; before this time each child received a Platonic education, and after his labors were completed he was permitted to enjoy his leisure in scholarly and artistic pursuits. This, of course, was idealized socialism, an opprobrious term in this era which Bellamy avoided, yet it appealed...

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to Americans because of its avoidance of the Marxian emphasis on class struggle and violent revolution. Within a few years hundreds of Nationalist clubs were established to promulgate Bellamy's ideas, which were further elaborated in a sequel, *Equality*, published in 1897, a year before Bellamy's death.¹

Marxian socialism had been agitated in the United States with slight success ever since the Civil War. Its foremost proponent was the doctrinaire Daniel DeLeon, whose Socialist Labor Party had found little support except among immigrant German members of the working class. At the turn of the century the movement was invigorated by an American strain when Eugene Debs, converted to socialism during his tenure in prison after the Pullman strike, organized the rival Socialist Party. This group adopted the moderate and flexible Lassallean approach, urging political action rather than revolutionary activity. The founders of the new party, organized in 1901, were eighty percent native-born and included a large contingent from the middle class. During the ensuing decade, under the amiable leadership of Debs, socialism gained more adherents, growing in a climate that was conducive to criticism and reform. The high point was reached in 1912, when Debs received nearly a million votes in his campaign for President, but under the impact of world war the movement declined, never again to challenge American capitalism in such a forthright and convincing manner.²

Marxian socialism failed to put down roots in American soil for the same reasons as the Owenite lack of success in an earlier era. The American labor movement, and American people as a whole, have clung to a political and economic conservatism, even in times of acute social crisis. Americans have adamantly refused to be class conscious, and with this refusal have doomed class-conscious workingmen's movements from their inception. European commentators from Crevecoeur to Lord Bryce have remarked on a fluidity of the American social structure; the Horatio Alger myth is a myth, but it was based to some extent on the reality of the American experience. A twentieth-century American socialist, in accounting for the failure of the movement in the United States, concluded that Americanism is a doctrine which has "served as a substitute for socialism," because it contains a body of ideas "to all of which the American adheres rationalistically much as a socialist adheres to his socialism--because it does him good, because it gives him work, because, so he thinks, it guarantees him happiness." For this reason the Progressive reforms of the early twentieth century, culminating in the energy displayed by Woodrow Wilson's first


Congress in 1913, presented an unsurmountable obstacle to the hopes of radical reformers, for the healing of the most obvious sores on the body politic blunted the demand for more fundamental social reforms. As historian Carl Degler has concluded:

On the surface it might appear that Progressivism and socialism would have much in common. Both were direct responses to the challenge of industrialization and urbanization. But their conceptions of the good society were as far apart as the continents which spawned them. Where socialism sought to exacerbate class division, Progressivism tried to heal it; where socialism denied the validity of private property, Progressivism attempted to strengthen it; where socialism looked forward to the cooperative society, Progressivism sang the praises of the individual.

The political reforms of the Progressive period, therefore, tended to relieve the popular pressure for drastic social change which had been building up since the beginning of the industrial era. This was to be the pattern a quarter-century later, when ebullient confidence and patchwork reform mollified the incipient radicalism of Americans suffering from the effects of the Great Depression.¹

This, in sum, has been the pattern of significant American social reform from its colonial beginnings to the present day: conservative in the traditional sense yet violent upon occasion, refusing to accept class consciousness or stratification while at the same time seeing the need for continuous social amelioration. This attitude does not always solve fundamental social problems, but it recognizes the necessity of providing a social environment in which the individual can fully realize his capabilities without the intervention of any man-made obstacles. American history before the first World War provided a climate free from distractions from abroad in which Americans could endeavor to solve their own problems. The twentieth century has not only involved Americans in the problems of the world, it has provided them an opportunity to apply the same optimistic enthusiasm to other areas which has succeeded in eradicating at least some of the evils which has plagued mankind since the beginning of history.


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SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Location. Tuskegee

Ownership and Administration. Tuskegee Institute,
Dr. Luther H. Foster, President.

Significance. Booker Taliaferro Washington, born and raised a
slave, became a leader of the Negro in America. After he had received
the rudiments of an education through great sacrifice and effort,
Washington entered Hampton Institute, a vocational school for Negroes,
in 1872, at the age of seventeen. Following graduation from Hampton,
Washington worked and taught in several places. In 1879 he returned to
Hampton to serve as secretary to the principal, General Samuel C. Armstrong.
He also took charge of the Indian dormitory and night school. In May, 1881,
General Armstrong received a letter from George W. Campbell, banker, mer­
chant, and former slaveholder and Lewis Adams, mechanic and ex-slave, both
of Tuskegee, Alabama, asking for someone to start a normal school, which
the state legislature had chartered for Negroes. Booker T. Washington
was chosen to fill this position and became the driving force responsible
for the establishment and prosperity of Tuskegee Institute.

At Tuskegee, Washington put into practice a program of industrial and
vocational education for the Negro, designed to demonstrate to his
students the dignity of work and to teach them "to live on the farm off
the farm." Tuskegee became the core and symbol of Washington's efforts
to ameliorate the economic conditions of the Negro and to improve his
way of life. This hope was expressed succinctly in Washington's speech
at the Cotton States and International Exposition held in Atlanta in
1895. Washington advised the Negroes of the South "to cast down your
bucket where you are." This was his way of advising the Negro to remain
in the South, to remain on the farm, and to work for a better life where
he was with the materials and opportunities that were available.

His epochal speech at the Exposition brought Washington rational
recognition as the leader of the Negro people, succeeding Frederick Douglass,
who had just died. The Atlanta speech expressed the desire to cement the
friendship of the races in one of his most famous phrases: "In all things
that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as
the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Such a policy
was well-suited to the Southern temperament at that time. He did not
advocate any form of integration, but instead proposed a policy of mutual
progress and cooperation; by both white and colored, Washington came to
be considered the leader of the Negro race. While others, especially
W. E. B. DuBois, were striving for goals which could not be soon realized,

1Anson Phelps Stokes, Dictionary of American Biography, XIX, 507.
Washington pursued more practical goals which he held constantly before the Negro people. Washington appealed to the masses; he was interested in all Negroes and felt himself an integral part of the race. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century he was considered the leader of the Negro race.

Present Condition of the Site

Tuskegee Institute is closely identified with Booker T. Washington and his work. The school prospered under his administration and became a symbol of his policies. At the time of Washington's death in 1915, the school consisted of more than one hundred substantial buildings and owned more than 2,000 acres of local land as well as an additional 25,000 acres of land in northern Alabama given to the school by Congress. Tuskegee had an annual budget of $290,000 and boasted an endowment of $2,000,000. The student body consisted of 1,537 students and the all-Negro faculty was composed of 197 members who taught thirty-eight trades and professions.

Tuskegee has continued its dynamic growth since Washington's death. The student body has grown to more than 2,000; the endowment has increased from $2,000,000 in 1915 to nearly $14,000,000; and the school recently entered upon a 30-year development program.

Most of the existing buildings were constructed after 1900. The Institute Chapel, built in 1896 and formerly a showplace of the campus, was destroyed by fire in 1957. Points of special historic interest include The Oak, Washington's home, which contains administrative offices and the founder's restored study; the Booker T. Washington Monument, a symbolic statue by Charles Keck; the graves of Washington and Carver; and the Carver Museum, with exhibits pertaining to the history of the school and the scientific experiments of Dr. Carver.

Booker T. Washington Home, The Oaks, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

N.P.S. Photo, 1960
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

National Headquarters, American National Red Cross,
District of Columbia

Location. Seventeenth and D Streets, NW.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Ownership-Administration. Hon. E. Roland Harriman, Chairman,
American National Red Cross.

Significance. This impressive structure houses the administration of the nation's official relief organization. The National Headquarters building has seen the Red Cross grow from 120 local chapters before the American entry into World War I to about 3,600 chapters now serving every state and possession of the United States. Built with both Federal and private funds, this building shows the cooperation of government and private efforts in carrying out the important duties of the organization.

Although the international Red Cross movement originated in the Geneva Convention of 1864, nearly twenty years passed before the isolationist United States formally accepted its principles. Even then, Federal recognition was due largely to the private efforts of one person, Clara Barton. This tireless woman, "The Angel of the Battlefield" of the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, organized her group of followers as the National Society of the Red Cross in July 1881. When President Arthur secured Senate confirmation of the Geneva Treaty of the Red Cross in March 1882, local societies began to grow. Clara Barton became the first president of the American Red Cross, serving from 1881 until 1904.

In 1905, the present charter of the American National Red Cross went into effect. Theodore Roosevelt, as President, became the chief officer of the organization, appointing a volunteer chairman. The charter, still in effect, reaffirmed Red Cross responsibilities for disaster relief and for assistance to the armed forces, required annual reports to the Congress, and placed the actual direction of the Red Cross in the hands of a Central Committee. An amendment in 1947 broadened chapter representation on the governing body, renaming it the Board of Governors.

The American Red Cross reflects our form and philosophy of Government. Although the duties and responsibilities of the organization are imposed by the Congressional charter, the Red Cross is supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of the American people. Government support comes in other ways. In times of public distress, the President makes government transportation and communication available to the Red Cross to facilitate its work. During wartime, the Red Cross furnishes nurses and some equipment. Domestic sufferers during the Depression received Red Cross aid. The international relief activities of the American organization are carried out through the League of Red Cross Societies.
The activities of the American Red Cross today have gone far beyond those dreamed of by Clara Barton or performed by the pre-World War I organization. Services to the armed forces and to veterans, nursing services, volunteer programs, the important blood donor program, first aid and water safety training have all been added to the basic functions of relieving the plights of victims of both natural and man-made disasters.

Present Condition

Woodrow Wilson signed legislation on October 22, 1913, which created the Commission on the Memorial to the Women of the Civil War. This group was charged by the Congress to procure a site and a design for a memorial building which would be the permanent headquarters for the American Red Cross. Congress agreed to appropriate $4,000,000 for the building if not less than $300,000 was raised by private contributions. Four private sources contributed $400,000, and plans went ahead. The design for the building came from Breck Trowbridge and Goodhue Livingston, New York architects. The Boyle-Robertson Construction Company of Washington built the impressive structure. The cornerstone was laid on March 27, 1915. The final cost of the site and the building was $854,197.51. The first occupants moved into the building on February 3, 1917, and the completed building was dedicated May 12, 1917. The move out of its inadequate offices in the State, War and Navy Building coincided with the great expansion in the activities of the Red Cross after the entry of the United States into World War I in the spring of 1917.

A semicircular driveway crosses the broad green lawn in front of the National Headquarters Building. Vermont marble was used in building the neo-classic structure. In the center is a two-story pedimented portico with Corinthian columns. Engaged Corinthian columns are used on the flanking wings of this three-story building. Inside the bronze grille doors is a square central hall of white marble. The broad stairway leads to the second floor, where an assembly room occupies the entire north end of the building. Here, large stained glass gift windows help to light this room. A conference room also occupies this floor. The third floor now houses the library.

Art which enlivens the interior of the National Headquarters includes sculpture by Hiram Powers, windows by Louis C. Tiffany, and paintings by Gentile Bellini and Gertrude V. Whitney.

The building is in excellent condition, still serving its original purpose. The expansion of the organization has not affected this building, since additional offices in the vicinity were built to accommodate the enlarged staff.

National Headquarters, American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, Washington, D. C.

Photo, courtesy American Red Cross
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

Administration Building, Carnegie Institution of Washington, District of Columbia.

Location. 1530 P Street, NW Washington, D. C.

Ownership. Dr. Caryl P. Haskins, President Carnegie Institution of Washington

Significance. This building has housed the administration of a unique organization since the early years of its existence. Founded with the realization that basic scientific research is essential to human well-being, the Carnegie Institution of Washington is an early example of farsighted American philanthropy.

Andrew Carnegie was not only one of the shrewdest industrialists of post-Civil War America, but he was the most generous of them with the proceeds of his genius. His philosophy of life, probably unique among his peers, was responsible for the multitude of various projects which he founded and supported, all directed towards the betterment of mankind.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington is an admirable example of Carnegie's farsighted generosity. Endowed with a $10 million gift on January 28, 1902, the Institution shows its benefactor's understanding of the necessity of basic scientific investigation to the enrichment of human existence. Heretofore, few philanthropists had been interested in endeavors promising no practical results which would reflect to their founder's credit.

Andrew Carnegie embodied the popular ideas of the boy of humble origin rising to great success through thrift and the development of his native abilities. He believed strongly in the necessity of the profit incentive in private property to promote industrial progress. Yet this firm believer in the social "survival of the fittest" was an affectionate man who thoroughly enjoyed helping people. This orientation brought him to hold beliefs which approached heresy to his class.

As early as December 1868, Carnegie wrote that there was "no idol more debasing than the worship of money." Twenty years later, these ideas reached the public in an article entitled "Wealth," which appeared in the North American Review for May 1889. People began to change their minds about the industrialist who proclaimed it a disgrace to die rich. While admitting the usefulness of the free enterprise system, Carnegie stated that many leaders were overpaid, himself included. He wished for higher inheritance taxes to discourage leaving large estates to one's heirs. Rather, he felt that fortunes were best spent by the few for effective public purposes. The final statement of his beliefs came in The Gospel of Wealth, published in 1900.
On his retirement in 1901, Andrew Carnegie settled down to the enjoyment of apportioning his wealth. He sought the advice of eminent men in reaching his decision, but he took care to screen out their more selfish suggestions. The establishment and endowment of the Carnegie Institution of Washington bespoke its benefactor's philosophy of life. The Institution was chartered "to encourage in the broadest and most liberal manner investigation, research and discovery and the application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind." Carnegie chose Daniel Coit Gilman, the recently retired president of Johns Hopkins University, to administer the Institution. As the original $10 million endowment was increased to $30 million by the early 1930's, Gilman was succeeded first by Robert S. Woodward, and later by Dr. John C. Merriam.

The early decision to operate its own research organizations led to the creation of eleven research departments. In addition to the work of these branches, the results of which have been published frequently, the Institution also has subsidized the work of its research associates in other institutions. During World War I, the Institution helped to endow the National Academy of Sciences.

The contributions of the Carnegie Institutions of Washington have been varied. Carnegie himself took the most pride in the Mount Wilson Observatory. Other natural science departments worked in the fields of geophysics, plant biology, embryology, and genetics. The Department of Historical Research, under the direction of J. Franklin Jameson, the editor of the American Historical Review, enabled American historians to readily locate essential archival materials. Today, the Institution has limited its activities to basic research in the physical and biological sciences, trying to avoid duplicating the work of any other institutions.

**Present Condition of the Site**

Since its completion in 1910, this Indiana limestone structure has housed the administration of the far-flung activities of the Institution. The architectural firm of Carrere and Hastings designed the building in a classical style derived from the architecture of the French Renaissance. A broad flight of steps leads up from Sixteenth Street to a large pair of bronze doors under the Ionic portico. Within is a two-story rotunda, a reception room, and a large room for the annual meetings of the Board of Trustees. Executive offices occupy all three floors of the building. In 1937, William Adams Delano, an architect, directed a partial remodelling and the construction of an extension which now houses an auditorium, Elihu Root Hall. During World War I, the building served as the headquarters of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, under Dr. Vannevar Bush. Since then, the Institution has provided free office space to several scientific societies to help them to get established. Still serving its original function, the building is in good condition.
Administration Building, Carnegie Institution of Washington, District of Columbia

Photo, courtesy Carnegie Institution
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

Alva Belmont House, National Woman's Party, District of Columbia.

Location. 144 Constitution Avenue, NE.
Washington, D. C., 20002

Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Chairman

Significance. The Alva Belmont House is the permanent national headquarters of the organization which led the campaign for the enfranchisement of women to national success. The passage and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was due in large part to the activities of the National Woman's Party. This non-partisan organization restricted its activities exclusively to the Constitutional rights of women.

The women's suffrage movement in the United States drew its principles from the Seneca Falls (New York) Convention of July 18-19, 1848. Here, American women first demanded equal rights with men. One of the resolutions passed there claimed "that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise." Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who drew up this program, were soon joined by Susan B. Anthony.

In 1869, the National Woman Suffrage Association was organized to obtain a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution enfranchising women. Mrs. Stanton served as its first president. The following year, a splinter group organized itself as the American Woman Suffrage Association, with Henry Ward Beecher as its president. In 1890, the two groups merged under the leadership of Mrs. Stanton as the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Susan B. Anthony succeeded to the presidency in 1892. The precedent for the later militant tactics of the suffragists came in 1872 when Miss Anthony was arrested when she tried to vote in Rochester, New York, to test the Fourteenth Amendment. Throughout her career, Miss Anthony encountered bitter opposition in many of her progressive activities, and she set an example for her followers.

By the time of Susan B. Anthony's death in 1906, the suffragists had virtually ceased pressure for a Constitutional Amendment. Instead, they turned their attention to the individual states. The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held only one formal hearing for each house of each Congress. Both major political parties ignored women's suffrage as a national concern. Only nine states, all of them west of the Mississippi, had given women the vote by 1912.
In December, with the support of Jane Addams, Miss Alice Paul came to Washington as the Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the Suffrage Association. Under the vigorous leadership of this well-educated young woman, an organization grew which effectively fought for national suffrage. She applied the tactic of holding the party in power responsible for the status of the women's suffrage amendment.

The formal opening of headquarters on January 2, 1913, at 1420 F Street, NW., marked the beginning of the temporary organization which later became the National Woman's Party. Early in 1914, this group, which called itself the Congressional Union, resigned from the National American Woman Suffrage Association rather than pay 5% of its budget to the parent organization.

Soon the two groups found themselves at odds, the Congressional Union favoring the sweeping and concise "Susan B. Anthony Amendment." This text is identical to that finally ratified as the Nineteenth Amendment.

The Congressional Union began lobbying by sending a large delegation to call on the members of the House Rules Committee. In the meantime, the organization formed an Advisory Council, which met first on August 29, 1914, at Marble House in Newport, Rhode Island, as the guests of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont. The first national appeal to women voters followed this meeting.

In 1915, the Congressional Union moved its headquarters to the historic Cameron House at 21 Madison Place, facing Lafayette Park. Here, within sight of the White House, the first National Convention of the Congressional Union was held in December. The following spring saw another meeting here of state and national officers, and of members of the Advisory Council from the unenfranchised states. With strong organizations in every suffrage state, the women decided to form an independent party which could swing a solid block of women voters.

During the first week in June 1916, the Woman's Party held its first national convention in Chicago, with members from the eleven states and from Illinois, where women could vote for President. The platform adopted by the new party proclaimed their determination to gain the vote for women. When both the Republican and Democratic Party platforms stated that the suffrage decision should rest with the states, the Woman's Party urged the Presidential candidates to take a stand favorable to a Federal suffrage amendment. By August, Charles Evans Hughes gave his support to a Federal amendment, but Wilson refused to depart from the Democratic platform.

Consequently, the Woman's Party resolved to work against the election of Wilson or of any Democrat running in the suffrage states. They waged a vigorous campaign, saying of Wilson, "He kept us out of Suffrage."
Hughes lost the election by a small margin, due in part to tactical errors in his campaign.

With Wilson's re-election, the suffragists realized the need for another kind of action. Peaceful picketing began January 10, 1917, when a dozen women left the Cameron House on Lafayette Square. They carried their gold, purple, and white banners and their lettered banners every day but Sunday, regardless of the weather.

In order to avoid any duplication of suffrage efforts, the Congressional Union and its western political organization, the Woman's Party, joined forces as the National Woman's Party on March 2, 1917. Alice Paul served as Chairman, while Lucy Burns and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont were elected to the executive board.

Public indignation mounted when the entry of the United States into the war in Europe did not halt the picketing of the White House by members of the National Woman's Party. On June 22, 1917, the police began to arrest pickets, but made little effort to protect them from angry crowds. When Wilson returned from Europe in February 1919, the suffragists were still on hand to remind him of their demands. Now they worked from a headquarters on the opposite side of Lafayette Park, in a house formerly occupied by William Randolph Hearst.

By May, when the Republican-controlled 66th Congress convened in special session, prospects for the suffrage amendment looked bright. The National Woman's Party contacted President Wilson in France to persuade Senator Harris, a Georgia Democrat, to support suffrage. This accomplished, Wilson cabled his own support of the suffrage amendment to Congress on May 20. The House of Representatives passed the bill by a wide margin the next day. Even before the Senate had confirmed the act, Alice Paul left to work for the prompt ratification of the amendment by the state legislatures.

The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, declared on August 26, 1920, brought the partial fulfillment of the goals of the National Woman's Party. With the General Leasing and Water Power Acts of 1920, and the prohibition amendment, the achievement of women's suffrage rounded out the progressive program and demonstrated that the reform spirit remained alive in postwar America.

With the franchise won, the National Woman's Party reorganized itself in 1921 as a permanent association to raise the status of women throughout the country. In 1926, its former headquarters on Jackson Place being demolished to make way for the Brookings Institution, the Party shifted its headquarters to the Old Brick Capitol Building on Capitol Hill. In 1929, when this building was taken to make way for the new Supreme Court Building, the women bought their present headquarters. From this location, the National Woman's Party continues to work for a Constitutional Amendment to guarantee equal rights for women, and to support the enactment of specific national and state laws conducive to the equality of women.
Present Condition of the Site

The Alva Belmont House has a rich history of its own. Parts of this large brick building have served continuously as a residence since perhaps the late seventeenth century. Over the years, the house was extended to accommodate its successive occupants. From 1801 to 1813, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin rented the building as an office and residence, and he was doubtless visited here on occasion by President Jefferson. From this building, Gallatin directed the financing of the Louisiana Purchase.

During their attack on Washington, in August 1814, the British set fire to the house. It was rebuilt and enlarged soon after the War of 1812 by its owner, Robert Sewall. The building remained in the hands of descendants of Robert Sewall until its purchase in 1922, by Senator Porter H. Dale of Vermont. The Dales restored the house and grounds. In 1929, the National Woman's Party, with the help of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, bought the building to insure itself of a permanent national headquarters suited to the functions of the party.

The three-and-a-half story portion of the house which faces Constitution Avenue is the most recent part of the structure. Behind it are the elements which pre-date the War of 1812. In the rear, in an unpretentious brick wing to the main block, are additional rooms. At the end of this wing, in the former carriage house, is the Florence Bayard Hilles Library. The entire house is in generally good condition. Many of the furnishings are historic, although not connected with the history of the structure itself.

Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace and First Girl Scout Headquarters, Savannah, Georgia.

Location. 10 Oglethorpe Ave., East, and 330 Drayton Street, Savannah, Georgia

Ownership and Administration. Girl Scouts of the United States of America. Miss Robertine K. McClendon, Director

Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace, 142 Bull Street, Savannah, Georgia.

Significance. After her marriage to William Low of Warwickshire, England, Juliette Gordon Low divided her time among England, Scotland, and America, maintaining homes in all three countries. Through her friendship with Sir Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scouts, and his sister, founder of the Girl Guides in England, she became interested in the Scout movement. She organized her first group of Girl Guides in the valley of Glenlyon in Scotland in the summer of 1911 and that fall in London sponsored two additional groups.

Juliette sailed for a visit to Savannah that winter on the same ship with Baden-Powell, who was going to America on a lecture tour. Subsequent correspondence and events indicate that they made plans while on shipboard for Daisy, as her friends knew her, to start the Girl Guides in America. Daisy contacted members of her family and friends to alert them to her plans.

On March 12, 1912, sixteen Savannah area girls were formally enrolled in two patrols, Daisy having already enlisted her mother and ten friends to serve as the first board of counselors. The old carriage house and servant quarters at the rear of the Low house provided a meeting place for the girls. An imposing sign placed over the door announced that it was Girl Guide headquarters.

In a very short time the two patrols had grown to six, with membership varying from six to sixty. Inquiries were beginning to come in from all over the United States. Daisy Low promptly began to think of setting up Girl Guides on a nationwide basis. She drafted Miss Edith Johnson to serve as National secretary. As the movement grew, Mrs. Low paid the modest staff salaries and all other expenses out of her own pocket.

During the summer and early fall of 1912, Juliette tackled the problem of organizing the Guides on a national basis. She visited the northeast and midwest to get troops (as they were now called) organized. The task of setting up a national headquarters in Washington and issuing a hand-

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book were energetically begun. The Girl Guides were a thriving organ-
ization in an amazingly short time. Of all Mrs. Low's talents, it was
her talent for friendship that had the most to do with the success of
her efforts.

In 1915 the organization was incorporated as the Girl Scouts under the
code of laws of the District of Columbia. The first annual convention
was held, a national council was formed, and Juliette Low was named the
first president. After four years of personal financing by Juliette,
the Girl Scout organization was placed on a sound financial basis.

During the years of World War I the Girl Scouts experienced tremendous
growth and rendered great service. In 1919 the Girl Scouts in America
numbered 40,000. Daisy Low represented them when the International
Council met for the first time in London in February of 1919. At the
National Convention in January, 1920, Juliette resigned as President,
being known thereafter as "The Founder." Freed of responsibility for
the American organization, Mrs. Low devoted herself to developing the
movement on a world scale. The chief difference made by her stepping
out of office was that she spent more time among "her girls." The girls
had always been the focal point of the work for her.

The organization Juliette Low founded continued to grow vigorously. At
the time of her death in 1927, there were 167,925 members.

The Girl Scouts wanted a tangible memorial to Juliette Low, and in 1953
the Gordon House in which she was born and grew up was acquired for this
purpose. On October 19, 1956 the home was dedicated as a memorial to
the founder of Girl Scouting in the United States and as a National
Program Center. The house had been in continuous use by five generations
of the Gordon Family prior to its purchase by the Girl Scouts.

Present Condition of the Site

The Gordon Home is a three-story stuccoed brick dwelling and is an ex-
cellent example of Classical Revival architecture. The house is believed
to have been designed by the English architect William Jay. It was built
1818-21 for James Moore Wayne, then Mayor of Savannah. In 1831 William
Washington Gordon bought the property. The third story and side porch
were added subsequent to the initial construction, but they have not
marred the proportions of the facade. There are many original furnish-
ings throughout the house and also mementoes of Juliette Low.

The building at 330 Drayton Street was originally the carriage house and
servant quarters for the Low House at 329 Abercorn Street. During Juliette
Low's lifetime the carriage house was used as a meeting place for Savannah
Girl Scouts, to whom it was bequeathed. Today it continues to serve as
headquarters for the Girl Scout Council of Savannah.

Shultz and Lawrence, Lady from Savannah, 354-355.
Both the birthplace house and the headquarters building are well maintained; both are open to the public.

Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace
Savannah, Georgia

X.P.S. Photo, 1964
Sites of Exceptional Value

Middle Amana, Iowa

Location. Iowa County, Amana

Ownership and Administration. Mr. Harry A. Geiger, President, Board of Directors, Amana Society, Amana, Iowa.

Significance. Middle Amana is the best preserved of the seven Amana Communities, and described as "the most successful experiment in communism in America" by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh in Dictionary of American Biography. Incorporated under the laws of Iowa in 1859, Amana Society functioned with few changes until reorganization in 1932 when the church and state were separated, ending spiritual authority in temporal affairs.

The original leader of this community was Christian Metz (1794-1867). Born in Neuwied, Prussia, he, with three older brothers, made a voyage to America in 1842 and purchased the Seneca Indian Reservation, a tract of 5,000 acres, near Buffalo, New York. This site, which he named Ebenezer, remained the home of his people until 1854, when he moved his brothers to eastern Iowa, where he purchased some 18,000 acres of land. In this frontier country which gave his people cheaper and more abundant lands as well as seclusion, Metz established his communistic community. A man of commanding presence and an author of voluminous writings, Metz was for thirteen years the leader of Amana. Under his leadership, he organized and molded the community along the lines of his long-cherished dreams.

Following the establishment of the original colony of Amana in 1855, five other villages known as West Amana, South Amana, High Amana, East Amana, and Middle Amana were laid out. In 1861, the community needed a railroad outlet so it purchased the entire village of Homestead. With the acquisition of this village, the Community territory in Iowa consisted of 26,000 acres.

Under the original organization, each of the villages was a complete unit and maintained a sphere of independence in local administration. Each of these communities was self-sufficient in character. In each were kitchen houses where the meals for the families in the immediate neighborhood were prepared and served in a communal dining hall. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the old community. In addition, the community had communal bakeries, gardens, textile mills, grist mills, furniture factories, carpenter, wheelwright, and blacksmith shops, butchering and meat packing plants, communal store, etc.
However, since reorganization, every family owns its own house, provides its own food and clothing, prepares its own meals, takes care of its own food and clothing, prepares its own meals, takes care of its own garden, and pays its own bills. The joint-stock company, organized for pecuniary profits in which each member shares, has been substituted for the communal corporation. However, the new organization has been quite successful as the products of the Amana farms and factories are well known, particularly in the Midwest and throughout the nation.

**Present Condition of the Site**

While many of the original structures built in the 1850's, 1860's, and 1870's still survive in all the Amana villages, those in Middle Amana are the best preserved. Among the significant surviving structures of the late 1860's are: (1) the communal bakery, with equipment; (2) the communal kitchen and dining room; (3) the communal store; (4) Middle Amana Church; and (5) Middle Amana cemetery. Seven of the buildings of the entire Amana community are listed in HABS.

Communal Bakery, erected during the 1860's, Middle Amana, Iowa

N.P.S. Photo, 1959
Church, built in the late 1860's, at Middle Amana, Iowa

N.P.S. Photo, 1939
Communal Store, built in the late 1860's, at Middle Amana, Iowa

N.P.S. Photo, 1959
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

Carry Nation Home, Kansas

Location. Medicine Lodge, Kansas


Significance. Home of Carry Nation, militant prohibitionist known principally for her "barroom-smashing" activities, Carry Nation dramatized the temperance movement which resulted in the adoption of the 18th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. In Dictionary of American Biography, XIII, 395, Kenneth M. Gould summarizes her contributions as follows:

... In a very real sense... she was the spearhead as well as the goal of an aroused public opinion against the saloon. When in 1920, the long drive for constitutional prohibition reached its goal, Carry Nation had been largely forgotten, but a just appraisal of the social and psychological forces contributed to that end must certainly give her a large, if unpremeditated place in the furthering of the program for forcible prohibition.

Born in Garrard County, Kentucky, in November, 1846, of a well-to-do slave-owning planter family, Carry Amelia Moore (Nation) was early influenced by the superstitious lore and religious excitement of the Negroes. At ten, she underwent conversion in a "protracted meeting." Her mother developed a psychosis and, in common with Carry's sister and brother, went insane. Carry's schooling was brief and sporadic, but she did attend several schools and earned a teaching certificate. After losing his fortune as the result of the Civil War, Carry's father and family, in 1865, moved to Belton, Missouri. There in 1867, Carry married Dr. Charles Gloyd, a young physician and Union veteran who was addicted to liquor. After a number of unhappy months, she abandoned Gloyd who died of alcoholism six months later. For the next four years, she supported herself and her daughter, by Gloyd, by teaching.

In 1877, Carry married David Nation, a lawyer, minister, and editor, 19 years older than herself. Having little in common, the two continually bickered. While Nation assisted her in some of her public appearances, he did not approve of her extremism in religion and reform. The family spent ten years in small towns in Texas where she supported the family by running hotels. While there, she had a number of mystic experiences. In 1890, they moved to Medicine Lodge, Kansas, where Nation became pastor of the Christian Church, but shortly resigned to practice law. He divorced Carry in 1901 for desertion.
While in Medicine Lodge, she became very active in the prohibition movement. Although a constitutional amendment prohibiting the sale of liquor was adopted by Kansas in 1880, a number of "joints" operated openly. Carry soon became involved in the struggle to close the saloons when she organized a local group of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Maintaining that since the saloon was illegal in Kansas, and claiming she was supported by "visions," she began her career of saloon-wrecking in June, 1900, in Kiowa where she wielded her hatchet so effectively. In Wichita, she wrecked the Hotel Carey and other saloons, smashing mirrors, bars, windows, pornographic paintings, panelling and liquor stocks valued at thousands of dollars. The hatchet became her distinctive weapon. Later, she invaded other towns in Kansas and finally spread her saloon-wrecking activities to New York, Washington, Pittsburgh, Rochester, San Francisco, and other places. She was arrested over 30 times and paid her fines by the sale of miniature hatchets, lecture tours, and stage appearances. She earned an international reputation and visited several universities, such as Harvard and Yale. Later, she made a tour of Great Britain. Her increasing feebleness forced her to retire in 1908 to the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas where she died in 1911.

A woman of commanding appearance, Carry Nation was nearly six feet tall and weighed 175 pounds. She dressed in a sort of black and white deaconess uniform. One writer described her as "... An ignorant, unbalanced, and contentious woman of vast energies, afflicted with an hereditary paranoia, she was subjected to early hardships and mystic seizures which fused all her powers into a flaming enmity to intoxicating liquor and its corrupt purveyors."

Present Condition of the Site

This one-story gray brick structure was the home of Carry Nation from 1889 until 1902 after which she directed her activities elsewhere. It was from here that she launched her saloon-smashing activities for which she was to receive national and international attention. Now owned by the Carry Nation Women's Christian Temperance Union of Medicine Lodge, her home serves as a museum.

Carry A. Nation Home from 1889 to 1902. Medicine Lodge, Kansas

N.P.S. Photo. 1961
1. Clara Barton House, Maryland
Home of the founder of the American Red Cross.

SITES ALREADY CLASSIFIED UNDER OTHER THEMES BUT ALSO RELATED TO THEME XXII

1. Ashland, Kentucky. Classified under Theme XII, Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1830. Home of the distinguished American political leader, Henry Clay, who was also a founder of the American Colonization Society. The objectives of this Society, established in 1817, included the compensated emancipation of slaves and the transfer of such freedmen and other free Negroes to a colony in Africa.

2. Fort Gibson, Oklahoma. Classified under Theme XV, subtheme Military and Indian Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West, see page 149 for the history of site.

3. Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Classified under Theme XV, subtheme Military and Indian Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West, see page 150 for the history of site.

4. Fort Belknap, Texas. Classified under Theme XV, subtheme Military and Indian Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West, see page 156 for the history of the site.

5. Pioneer Monument-Temple Square, Utah. Classified under Theme XV, subtheme Overland Migrations, and Theme XXI, Political and Military Affairs After 1865, see page 154 for the histories of these two sites.

SITES IN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM
RELATED TO THIS THEME

1. Fort Frederica National Monument, Georgia
   Georgia was founded in 1733 under the leadership of James
   Oglethorpe and the sponsorship of the Georgia Trustees for the
   purpose, in part, of relieving the plight of those Englishmen
   "through misfortune and want of employment, reduced to great
   necessity."

   Fort Frederica, constructed in 1736, served as the chief defensive
   work of the Georgia Colony.

2. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia.
   Scene of the John Brown raid of October, 1859, where the abolition-
   ist Brown and 21 men used force in an unsuccessful attempt to free
   the slaves.

SITES RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Colored Farmers' Alliance Site, Texas.
   Founded in Texas in 1886 after the Southern Farmers' Alliance
   excluded Negroes, this organization once claimed one million
   members and was doubtless the largest Negro organization of
   that time. Well-disciplined and militant, like other groups of
   the "Agrarian Revolt" period it sought broad social, educational,
   and humanitarian reforms.

   No site has been located yet, but further study is warranted.
St. John's Church (Episcopal)

Location. Montgomery

Edgar Gardner Murphy has been recognized as the foremost champion of child labor legislation in the South. His influence in this effort has been felt in a much wider area.

In 1898 he returned from parishes in the north to serve as the rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in Montgomery, Alabama. With his return to the South, Murphy was greatly impressed by what seemed to him to be grave maladjustments in Southern society. He began work in the child labor reform movement in 1900. Murphy, other clergymen, and Miss Irene Ashby formed the nucleus of a child labor committee which was organized in Montgomery. In 1901, a child labor bill was defeated in the Alabama legislature, and this defeat encouraged the formation of the Alabama Child Labor Committee.

In 1901, Murphy wrote a series of articles for the Boston Evening Transcript designed to awaken northern public opinion against northern industrialists with Southern factories who were employing child labor in these factories, although this practice was illegal in the north. These articles in the Transcript and the controversy they created led to the publication of numerous pamphlets by Murphy. This constituted the first considerable body of printed material in the South in favor of child labor legislation.

In 1903, Murphy and members of the New York Child Labor Committee issued a call for a national conference to discuss the feasibility of organizing a national committee. On April 15, 1904, the National Child Labor Relations Committee was formally organized at New York City. It was generally recognized that the origin of this national committee was largely due to Murphy. Because of his opposition to the committee's stand on Federal legislation governing child labor practices, Murphy resigned from it in 1907.

Edgar Gardner Murphy awakened much of the country to the child labor problem and urged upon the South corrective legislation. Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and other Southern states passed minimum age laws governing child labor, although many of these laws were poorly enforced.

Murphy resigned his appointment at St. John's in 1901. Thus, his association with this church was relatively brief and some of his most important work was done after he had left it. St. John's was built in 1836 and is still an active Episcopal Church in Montgomery.
OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

CALIFORNIA

Alcatraz Federal Prison

Location. San Francisco County, in San Francisco Bay, one mile off shore.

Built in 1853-58, Alcatraz served from 1858 to 1868 as a fortress, from 1868 to 1933 as a military prison and disciplinary barracks, and from 1934 to 1963 as a maximum security Federal Prison. During this latter period, Alcatraz was utilized exclusively for the holding of the most dangerous and difficult Federal prisoners.

In 1851 plans were prepared for fortifying San Francisco Bay. This project called for the construction of two forts, one at Fort Point in the Presidio of San Francisco by the Golden Gate, and the second on Alcatraz Island. Work was started on the two forts in 1853, when Congress appropriated $500,000 for these two projects. Fort Alcatraz, completed first, was finished in 1860 and its total cost was $600,000. Built of brick, with 8 to 12-foot thick walls, Fort Alcatraz had three batteries of heavy guns, a shot-proof house, three bomb-proof magazines, each holding 10,000 pounds of powder, a furnace for heating shot and cannon balls, a drawbridge and gate. There was also a massive citadel, located 135 feet above the water, a barracks and a 50,000-Gallon cistern for fresh water, which had to be transported to the island from the nearby mainland. In 1861 Fort Alcatraz was garrisoned by 120 men and 85 cannons. From 1858 until Fort Point was completed in 1861, Alcatraz was the principal fortress guarding San Francisco harbor. Fort Alcatraz continued to serve as the most important post of the secondary harbor defenses during the Civil War, but had no opportunity to fire a shot in anger.

In 1866 additional fortifications were built to increase the fire power by 30 cannon and also to furnish additional quarters for the garrison and storage space. This structure still stands and serves as the foundation for the three-story brick disciplinary barracks superimposed on it in 1909.

Alcatraz Island was set aside as a military reservation by President Millard Fillmore by executive order on November 6, 1850. Prior to that, in 1846, the island had been granted to Julian Workman by the Mexican Governor of California. Workman's petition described the island as "a small island called Alcatraces, or Bird Island, which has never been inhabited by any person, or used for any purpose." The island had been discovered by the Spanish in 1769 and named "Isla de Alcatraces" in 1775.
Also situated on Alcatraz Island was the first Federal lighthouse to be put into operation on the Pacific Coast. This light began operations in 1854 and included a Fresnel lantern, visible for 12 miles, and an automatic fog bell which struck every 15 seconds in foul weather.

In 1863, the War Department designated Fort Alcatraz as a place of confinement for military prisoners with long sentences. In the 1870's the government also sent troublesome Indians from the territories of Arizona and Alaska to Alcatraz for confinement. Prisoners from the Philippines were held here in 1900, during the Spanish-American War, and the island also served as a convalescence center for soldiers returning from the Philippines campaigns with tropical diseases.

During and after World War I, Alcatraz housed various military offenders as well as enemy aliens, espionage agents, and conscientious objectors.

On June 19, 1934, the island was turned over to the Department of Justice and Alcatraz became a Federal Penitentiary for the confinement of particularly dangerous types of organized criminals. In 1934, when operations began, Alcatraz Penitentiary was comprised of the disciplinary barracks which had been erected by the army in 1909. In 1934 its old soft steel cell fronts were replaced with tool steel proof cell fronts and galleries for armed guards were constructed across the east and west ends of the cell building. Towers for guards were also erected above the dock, on the hill, about the buildings, and the work area. The work area itself was enclosed by a cyclone wire fence topped with barbed wire. The prison was declared ready for the receipt of prisoners on August 18, 1934, and the first men, 53 prisoners from Atlanta, arrived at Alcatraz on August 22, 1934; 103 prisoners from Leavenworth were received on September 4, and these were soon followed by 14 from McNeil and by 8 from the District of Columbia, making a total of 178 prisoners in all.

In July, 1936 the Federal Prisons Industries program, created by Congress in June, 1934, was officially inaugurated at Alcatraz. Under this program prisoners worked in various plants, which included a laundry, dry cleaning establishment, a clothing factory, a woodworking plant, and rubber mat factory. Old army buildings were used for these purposes until 1940-41, when a new two-story factory building was erected.

In 1940 a new cell block, known as "D" Block was also erected to supplement the 1909 disciplinary barracks. In March, 1963, Alcatraz was closed as a Federal Penitentiary, due to the high cost of operation and poor condition of the buildings, and its prisoners were transferred elsewhere.

In 1964 the 12 1/2-acre island was valued at $178,000, its buildings at $1,600,000, and other facilities at $400,000. The existing buildings include much of the 1853-1858 fortress, considerably altered; the 1909
army disciplinary barracks, also altered; and the Federal Prison buildings erected in the 1934-63 period. All of these massive buildings are in poor condition and it has been estimated that about $3,000,000 would be necessary to demolish them. The 1854 Alcatraz lighthouse is also still standing.

Altruria.

Location. Sonoma County, six miles north of Santa Rosa, on Mark West Creek.

Altruria, so-named from William Dean Howell's novel, A Traveler from Altruria, was a brief-lived Christian Socialist utopian colony of the 1890's.

Edward Biron Payne, a Unitarian minister of Berkeley, California, was one of the leading figures in the Christian Socialist movement of the San Francisco region in the 1890's. This form of socialism advocated the transforming of this world into the Kingdom of God on earth. It wished to encourage good will and brotherhood among all classes and opposed rebellion and revolt, stressing gradual change, interdependence and mutual obligation among men, and placed little emphasis on the economic reform of existing society.

Early in 1894, Payne and a small group of followers drafted a constitution for a cooperative colony, based on democratic suffrage. There was to be complete equality of community goods, but individual ownership was permitted within the community of possessions purchased with colony-issued labor checks, and members could also retain ownership of private property outside of the utopia.

Altrurian clubs in Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oakland, Pasadena, San Francisco, and San Jose, California, contributed gifts and support to the proposed colony.

In the spring of 1894 Payne and the Altrurians purchased 185 acres of wooded land along Mark West Creek. When they occupied the property in October, 1894, there were standing 3 houses, a grist mill, and 25 acres of cleared, cultivated level land, the remaining land being on hillsides.

By April 1895, seven new cottages had been completed for housing individual families. In February they also began the construction of a hotel or community building. As originally planned, this was to be two stories and was to contain seven family apartments, a dining hall, kitchen, office, library, and guest room. It was soon decided, however, to add a third story. By May the kitchen and dining room were finished as planned, but the third story was never completed and like the great hall at Brook Farm, the hotel was to symbolize dreams never attained.
About 20 members made up the population of Altruria and these engaged in weaving, woodworking, and smithy as well as farming. In June, 1895, however, after only seven months of happy existence, the colony found itself in serious financial difficulty. The group then disbanded, thus ending this brief experiment.

Fountain Grove

Location. Sonoma County, 2 miles north of Santa Rosa.

Fountain Grove was a Swedenborgian religious community colony founded by Thomas Lake Harris in 1875.

Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906), was a religious mystic, spiritualist, and poet, strongly influenced by the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. In the 1860's he organized four colonies in New York state for the 75 members that comprised his "Brotherhood of New Life." Their purpose was social reform, mysticism, and spiritualism.

In 1875 Harris transferred the center of his brotherhood from Brockton, New York, to Fountain Grove, California. Here, he erected an impressive Adams-Georgian home with numerous other buildings, and planted 700 acres after the style of English parks.

At first Fountain Grove was chiefly a dairy farm, but grape vines were planted in 1880. By 1884, 1,700 acres were utilized as vineyards and 70,000 gallons of wine were produced in 1886. Crafts were also encouraged. Fountain Grove's 30 members engaged in cooperative family life and much of the needed money was supplied by wealthy members of the utopia. In 1900 Harris sold his remaining claims to the colony and Fountain Grove progressively became less of a communitarian experiment and more of a commercial venture.

The Fountain Grove colony was located a quarter of a mile from the state highway and consisted of six buildings set at the base of the foothills. Included in the central group were the imposing Harris home, called "Aestivossa", which was a spacious two-story frame house, with high-ceilinged rooms, and stained-glass windows, and many rooms. Across from this stood a large two-story familistere, built of redwood, where the other members of the community resided. The third building of the central group was a small house erected in 1875 to serve as a temporary residence while "Aestivossa" was being erected. A quarter of a mile beyond this central unit stood the brandy house, the winery, and a round barn with a conical roof. All of these buildings, except the familistere, still stand.
Henry George Home Site

Location. San Francisco County, 417 First Street,
City of San Francisco.

Here, on September 18, 1877, in the library of his home at 417 First
Street, San Francisco, Henry George began the writing of his influential
book, Progress and Poverty, which has caused George to be called the
"America's most original economist."

Henry George came to California in 1858; he first worked in San Francisco
printing shops, and then as a newspaper reporter. In this new land en-
dowed with abundant natural resources that should have made it a land of
Eden for all, he saw the greatest contrast between wealth and poverty.
He watched the land-grabbing activities of the "Big Four" of the Central
Pacific Railroad: their amassing of tremendous grants of public land for
building the first transcontinental railroad; the great fortunes made and
lost by speculating in the stock of the Comstock Lode of Nevada; and the
vast fortunes created by speculation in real estate in San Francisco.
The creation of these fortunes, he concluded, was due largely to land
monopoly, which yielded great returns of unearned increment to men who
contributed little or nothing to society but merely held on to the land.

George began work on his book expressing these conclusions and also
suggesting solutions in September, 1877 and completed the work in early
March, 1879. In this writing George tested his theories with a small
coterie of friends, which included William Hinton, a printer and publisher,
John Swett, founder of San Francisco's public school system, A. S. Hallidie,
inventor of the cable car, and Dr. Edward R. Taylor, dean of the Hastings
College of law.

On March 22, 1879 the completed manuscript was offered to D. Appleton & Co.
of New York for publication, but was rejected. Harper's and Scribner's
also turned down similar offers.

George finally decided to print the book himself and the work began at
Hinton's plant on Clay Street, San Francisco in May and was completed in
September, 1879. About 500 copies were then issued. Appleton & Co. now
offered to publish the book if given the original plates. George accepted
and the first trade edition of Progress and Poverty appeared in 1880.
After a slow start the book became a runaway best seller, selling at least
2,000,000 copies by 1900 and is still in print.

The Henry George Home is no longer standing.
Icaria Speranza Commune

Location. Sonoma County, 3 miles south of Cloverdale, on the west bank of the Russian River.

Icaria Speranza Commune, 1831-1887, represented an unsuccessful attempt to found an Icarian secular communist colony on the Pacific Coast.

Icaria communes were European, both in origin and personnel. Their founder was Etienne Cabet, a French socialist leader whose book Le Voyage en Icarie, published in 1840, described an ideal communist society. His supporters were recruited chiefly among French urban artisans, who by 1847 were said to number four million. Cabet suggested that a socialist community be established in Texas and in 1848 300 followers established such a settlement on 10,000 acres in the Red River Valley.

In 1849, Cabet, who had come to the United States, transferred his operations from Texas to Nauvoo, Illinois, which had recently been evacuated by the Mormons. Here, the French made a success of their combined agricultural and industrial enterprises until 1857, when they moved to Iowa. An additional Icarian colony was founded by a dissenting minority group, led by Cabet himself, near St. Louis in 1856.

In 1881 Armand Dehay and Jules Leroux, members of the Juene Icarie colony in Iowa, organized their own utopian colony on the Bluxome Ranch near Cloverdale, California. First called Speranza, their settlement had 885 acres of land which they purchased for $15,000. They also received some support from the socialist and labor groups in San Francisco. By October, 1881, Dehay and Leroux had begun the construction of a sawmill to help clear the trees and prepare for the planting of grape vines. In 1882 the remaining members of the Juene Icaria colony in Iowa, which was then heavily in debt and also diminishing in membership, merged with the California colony and its members soon came west. The California colony was then renamed Icaria Speranza Commune and at its peak had a total of 55 members.

The utopian colony had a community fund which consisted of all money or possessions owned by the colony or by individuals before joining. At the end of each year an inventory determined the new surplus. This profit figure was then divided into two parts: the first remaining with community as a whole and the second was divided equally among the members. The latter fund, however, was only payable to individuals at the time of their withdrawal from the colony.

Following the traditional industries of its homeland, this French colony set out 45 acres of vineyards and pressed wine; they also planted 100 acres of wheat and set out five acres of fruit trees. Icaria Speranza, however, never achieved self-sufficiency and was also heavily burdened by the debts of the Juene Icaria property in Iowa. This latter colony was dissolved by court order in August, 1886, and its property sold off to settle debts. In March, 1887, Icaria Speranza was also dissolved and its
property was divided among its members, thus ending this communistic experiment.

The Icaria Speranza community was comprised of a number of small frame family dwellings set around a two-story, white clapboard house with wide porches. The main house served as the dining hall for all members and was also utilized as the social center. This latter structure is still standing.

Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth

Location. Tulare County, at Kaweah, 2.8 miles north of Three Rivers (State Route 193), west of Sequoia National Park.

The Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth, a secular Socialist utopian community organized in 1886, was established "for the purpose of demonstrating the advantages of cooperation in social and industrial life." The colony drew on Laurence Gronlund's Co-operative Commonwealth (1884), which attempted to adopt European Marxism to an American form, and Edward Bellamy's, Looking Backward (1888), as the sources for its social philosophy.

On November 9, 1884, Burnette G. Haskell and James J. Martin, labor leaders of San Francisco, called a meeting of 68 of their unionists and socialists. Inspired by Gronlund's newly published Co-operative Commonwealth, this group organized the Cooperative Land Purchase and Colonization Association of California for the purpose of founding a socialist colony based on Gronlund's principles.

Although the colony accepted Karl Marx's theory that the value of any item was in direct relation to the labor which was put into its production, the new community was to be a socialistic rather than a communistic colony. Members were permitted to own property outside of the colony as well as personal possessions, but the means of production were to be owned by the community as a whole. The members of the colony were all extremely literate, well-read, and generally highly cultured. Edward Bellamy's book, Looking Backward, was soon to direct a large additional flow of members from the many Nationalist Clubs organized throughout the United States.

Membership in the proposed colony cost $500. One hundred dollars was required in cash and the balance could be paid in labor time-checks, or goods. The community built its economy upon a time-check issued for labor performed. The check was issued in denominations of from 10 to 20,000 minutes. All work claimed equal value and was paid at the rate of 30 cents an hour. These time-checks served as the official medium of exchange in all intra-colony transactions. From 1888 to 1892 some $53,545 in cash was collected from memberships and gifts and this supplied the working capital of the colony.
After devoting considerable time to selecting an economic foundation for their colony, it was finally decided to base it on lumbering, when reports of large timber stands in the Giant Forest area of the eastern Tulare County had been verified and official notice was published that this country had been opened for public entry.

In October, 1885, 53 men of the Co-operative Land Purchase and Colonization Association filed individual claims for 160 acres of land each at the Visalia Land Office under the Timberland Act of 1878, and also the Homestead Act of 1862. These claims, totaling 8,480 acres, were for land that included the Giant Forest in what is now Sequoia National Park. Because several of the filers could not claim American citizenship, and 7 more of the applicants gave the same address (a boarding house in San Francisco), their claims aroused a suspicion of illegality. On December 25, 1885, the Federal Land Office therefore withdrew this area from entry in order to make an investigation of possible timber fraud.

The colonists, however, went ahead with their project and named their community Kaweah for the river on which it was situated. The rich stand of timber of the Giant Forest area had been declared commercially inaccessible, but the colonists considered themselves unbound by the rules of private enterprise. They planned to build a railroad to the foot of the Sierra Nevada and a road from that point up into the mountains to reach the timber stands.

In 1886 the socialists established their community of Kaweah 2.8 miles north of Three Rivers. As the membership of the colony increased, so did Kaweah, until the town included about 100 dwellings, a Post Office, a planing mill and box factory, a company store, a newspaper plant, and blacksmith shop. Orchards were also planted, crops sown, pastures fenced, and barns erected.

Six miles above Kaweah was Camp Advance, a tent town, where lived the families of the workers building the road to the Giant Forest. Construction on the mountain road began in October, 1886. This road, the major project of the colony, was incorporated as the Giant Forest Wagon and Toll Road in March, 1887. For four years the primary efforts of the colonists were devoted to completing this stupendous work, which attained an altitude of 8,000 feet on a steady grade of eight feet to the hundred for a distance of 18 miles. In June, 1890, the road was finally completed to Colony Mill at the edge of Giant Forest at a cost of about $45,000.

At its height about 300 members lived in the utopia, where daily life was hard but enjoyable. A rich and varied community and intellectual life was achieved, but the colony's extremely democratic political organization led to incessant fractional strife among members and trustees of the group from 1887 to 1891.
By 1890 external troubles also began to seriously effect the Commonwealth. Many newspapers, governmental officials, and the lumber industry of California were actively opposed to the Colony. On September 25, 1890, Congress established the Giant Forest as a part of Sequoia National Park, and on October 1, 1890, also set aside the General Grant National Park. These two actions by the Federal Government denied the legality of the colony's claims to this land, and also effectively removed these areas, the major source of timber, from the community's control.

The end of the colony was not very far off. In November, 1891, half of the resident colonists abolished the time-check system and repudiated the debts of former workers who had left the colony. They also seized the assets of the colony and at a forced Sheriff's sale, sold what they could to pay off the mortages on the few sections of land to which the colony did have full title. Officially, the Cooperative Commonwealth Company of California, Ltd., A Joint Stock Company, was dissolved in May, 1892. The few remaining residents then formed a new company, The Industrial Cooperative Union of Kaweah, which carried on at a reduced scale for a few years but also came to an end shortly after the turn of the century.

Today the chief tangible remains of this utopian community is the tiny 10 by 12-foot frame Post Office Building at Kaweah, which is marked as California Registered State Historical Landmark No. 389. Traces of the road to Old Colony Mill and the Mill Site, near the Giant Forest in Sequoia National Park are still visible.

**Little Landers Colony**

**Location.** San Diego County, in the Tiajuana Valley at San Ysidro, 14 miles south of San Diego via U. S. Highway 101.

Little Landers colony, founded in 1909, represented an attempt to demonstrate the practicability of William E. Smythe's theory that any man could support himself and his family on a single acre of irrigated land and that "a little land and a living, surely, is better than desperate struggle and wealth, possibly."

Born in New England, Smythe came to California after having lived in Nebraska and Idaho, and worked as an irrigation engineer. Arriving in arid Southern California in the early 20th century, he found immense areas in the hands of a few owners. In such areas, when subdivided, the agricultural settlers paid an extremely high price for irrigated land to promoters who had bought large tracts at low cost and then merely installed a few utilities as improvements.
Smythe believed this situation could be overcome by having the farmers establish their own colonies and then act as their own subdividers. In 1909 he established the first Little Landers colony which was called San Ysidro, on 120 acres of land. Large tracts were to be purchased cooperatively, irrigated and then divided into small plots, the "little lands".

For an initial payment of $300 a settler received a small town lot, an acre farm, and an interest in all public utilities. The colonist was to make a living from his acre and at the same time, because of the nearness of other settlers, enjoy social and cultural advantages unknown in the average isolated rural area. The colony also organized cooperative marketing so that the profits of the middle-men remained with the colony. The community's social life centered about a redwood clubhouse.

About 12 families joined the colony in 1909 and by 1913, 116 families, or 300 people, belonged to the community. Each family usually worked intensively one heavily fertilized acre, planted with diversified crops. To sell their products, a Little Landers Cooperative Market was established on Sixth and B Streets in San Diego.

By 1916 four other Little Landers colonies had been organized in California. These included Runnymede near Palo Alto; Hayward Heath in Alameda county, a colony in the San Fernando Valley, and at Cupertino near San Jose. The movement, however, disintegrated slowly as the colonists found their holdings too small to be economically profitable and by 1918 the movement was largely dead.

_Llano Del Rio._

**Location.** Los Angeles County, at Llano, 20 miles southeast of Palmdale via State Route 138.

Llano del Rio, 1914-1918, was the most extensive and probably the most successful secular utopian colony founded in California.

Job Harriman (1861-1925), was born in Indiana and came to California in 1886. About 1890 he became interested in socialism and joined the Nationalist Club in San Francisco. In 1892 or 1893 he helped charter the Socialist Labor Party of California and worked his work upward to become the leader of this party by 1898. He also associated himself with the Altrurian experiment for colonization and consumers' cooperation. In 1899 Harriman was the running mate of Eugene V. Debs for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency as the candidates on the Socialist Party ticket. In the 1900's Harriman was successful in uniting the interests of the Socialist Party and labor movement in California into one movement and in 1910 narrowly missed being elected as the Socialist Mayor of Los Angeles. After this defeat Harriman then turned to economic reform. Socialism, he believed, needed a concrete example of successful cooperative life to win recruits.
"It became apparent to me," he stated, "that a people would never abandon their means of livelihood, good or bad, capitalistic or otherwise, until other methods were developed which would promise advantages at least as good as those by which they were living."

Harriman selected as the site for his colony a large tract of land located in the Antelope Valley on the western end of the Mojave Desert, which was owned by the Mescal Water and Land Company. Assisted by 5 families Harriman was able to make a small down payment on this tract and in May, 1914, the first members of the new colony settled on the land. By the end of the year nearly 100 families had arrived, and by 1917 the colony had 900 members. The Llano Del Rio Company was incorporated late in 1914 to provide the capitalization needed for the development of the proposed colony. Its members were largely socialists or labor union members. Tents and temporary structures furnished adequate shelter during most of the colony's existence. Because of the warm days and mild nights of the desert climate, only a few houses of sun-dried adobe brick were eventually erected. The first community building, the hotel, combined cobblestone foundations with native boulders and frame walls. This building contained a large community dining room-assembly hall, as well as many guest rooms.

All stockholders held the same amount of stock, received an equal wage, and lived at and produced for the colony. New members were required to purchase 2,000 shares of stock and also to live at the colony. Five hundred dollars in cash was the minimum down payment and the remaining $1,500 could be paid off over a six-year period from the earnings of the colonists. Daily wages paid by the colony amounted to $4.00 a day.

Llano achieved remarkable agricultural results due to the use of irrigation. The colonists cleared many desert areas of brush and stones and then constructed ditches to carry the water of Llano del Rio creek into the fields. By 1917 nearly 2,000 acres were cultivated, including 400 acres of alfalfa, 200 acres of corn, 200 acres in truck gardens, 100 acres in orchards, and the remaining in grain. By 1916 the colony was producing 90% of the food it consumed.

Isolation from large markets, however, was a handicap to the sale of agricultural products, but some small handicraft items were exported. A cooperative store supplied almost all the members' food and clothing and by 1917 the colony had organized 60 departments under division-managers to conduct economic activities such as agriculture, barbering, bee-keeping, canning, cleaning and pressing, fencing, and printing.

By 1917 125 children attended the Llano school, which included the public, Montessori and Industrial Schools. An active social life was also carried on by the colonists.
The major problem confronting the community, however, was the limited supply of water available in the desert and the great efforts made to increase this quantity proved to be unsuccessful.

In October, 1917, Harriman led a committee to Leesville, in west-central Louisiana, near where the colonists purchased 20,000 acres of land for $120,000. Here they established a second colony called Newllano. It had been planned to retain Llano Del Rio in California on a reduced scale, while most of the members moved to Louisiana. But, by 1918, Llano Del Rio was so badly shaken by the move and also because one of the trustees had badly mismanaged its affairs, that involuntary bankruptcy proceedings were instituted in the U. S. District Court of Los Angeles. A decision of this court closed the California colony in 1918 and weighted the new Louisiana colony with from $12,000 to $17,000 in debts. Newllano, however, survived and grew as a colony until 1935, when it also passed into receivership.

Point Loma Theosophian Colony

Location. San Diego County, on Point Loma, west of Catalina Blvd., City of San Diego.

The Point Loma Theosophian Colony, founded in 1897, was a cooperative utopian effort in cultural and educational life.

The Theosophical Society was founded in the United States in 1875 by Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott, primarily as a group for the study of the occult. By 1907 this Society had 600 branches in 42 countries, with 100 chapters located in the United States. Its three-basic objectives included (1) The formation of the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or color; (2) The promotion of the study of Aryan and other Eastern literature, religions, and sciences, and (3) The investigation of the hidden mysteries of Nature and the psychic powers latent in man.

By the 1890's, however, the brotherhood aim had begun to overshadow the original purpose, namely; the study of the occult, and brotherhood became the foundation for all other objectives. Theosophists considered that any action which wronged one man injured at the same time the whole of humanity. Theosophy, therefore, became inter-related with social and humanitarian social reform. Theosophists were thus particularly stimulated by Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward (1886) and by 1889 they had played a leading role in founding the many Nationalist Clubs that appeared across the nation.

In 1896 Mrs. Katherine Tingley (1850-1929) became the leader of the Theosophical movement and strongly endorsed humanitarian reform in education and improving the position of women throughout the world. In February, 1897, Mrs. Tingley laid the cornerstone for a cultural utopian
colony at Point Loma. In 1898, to reflect her emphasis on brotherhood objectives, she changed the society's name to the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society and assumed autocratic powers over the Point Loma Colony, which also included the right to choose her own successor. Point Loma, Mrs. Tingley stated, was to be "a practical illustration of the possibility of developing a higher type of humanity." Here on 330 acres of land, rose a colony of 500 people.

Most of its members represented middle or upper-middle-class background and were generally well-educated. The majority came from lodges in the United States, with the remainder coming from England, Sweden and other European countries.

Members lived either in the large communal homestead or in small individual bungalows scattered over the grounds. Married people could live either in a bungalow or the Homestead. Communal meals were served in a large refectory which had 2 dining rooms for adults and a separate one for the children. The family units did not include children. Parents placed their children a few months after birth in a communal nursery, seeing them regularly thereafter only on Sundays. By the age of four the children were moved from the nursery into a dormitory. Here, they learned to take care of themselves and to accept communal responsibility. On reaching school age the boys or girls were placed in with groups of older children who lived in units of ten in circular-shaped bungalows. A teacher lived with each group twenty-four hours a day, and the 10 or 12 rooms in these dormitories radiated like spokes of a wheel from a central sitting room.

The students spent only 2 1/2 hours day in actual class work. English and foreign languages, arithmetic, and history were taught, and in spite of the short hours, a surprising degree of proficiency resulted. The school averaged 300 children with 65 instructors. Only a small percentage of the pupils were children of colony residents. Most were paying students sent by Theosophists from all over the United States. Others were from Cuba and Sweden.

The children at Point Loma enjoyed unusual opportunities in the fine arts. At an early age they began training in voice and piano. Orchestras flourished and many public concerts of classical music were given.

Drama also flourished. The colony's 2,500 seat amphitheater was the first Greek theater in California. Classical Greek tragedy and the works of Shakespeare were performed. From the standpoint of community life, these performances were gigantic cooperative efforts in which the entire population of the colony took part.

Any person who endorsed Theosophy could be accepted into the colony on probation after he had signed an agreement to abide by the rules and had paid an admission fee of $500 for himself and his family. Wealthy people usually gave more, while the poor, less or nothing. The tuition in the school ranged from no fee to $2,000 annually.
Members received no wages for their labor and worked at tasks assigned them by Mrs. Tingley. Jobs rotated and the tasks were varied as often as possible. The women of the community manufactured practically all of the clothing, which consisted of uniforms for the men and single garments for the women.

The agricultural branch of the colony achieved remarkable records of fruit production and pioneered in the experimentation with avocados and tropical fruits. By 1910 the colony raised one-half of its food supply.

The capitalist concept of private property remained undisturbed. Members were never forced to abandon their own property. The lands and properties of the community were held in the name of various corporations, the control of which rested in each case with Mrs. Tingley. Resident members had little need for money as the community took care of most costs and needs.

A substantial portion of the income of the Point Loma Colony, however, was based on contributions from wealthy members. By 1926 the excess of outlay over income had reached serious proportions. With financial crisis of 1929 and Mrs. Tingley's death in the same year, the economic situation of the colony became very desperate. All expenditures were greatly reduced, thus allowing the colony to survive on a reduced scale for another 12 years, but the glory of the community had faded.

By 1941, through the sale of all its lands on Point Loma, except a few acres immediately surrounding the central buildings, the colony succeeded in liquidating all its debts and then moved to a new site at Covina.

The units of the central buildings, consisting of the Temple of Peace and the Academy, both large buildings built in the Moorish Classical style and surmounted by aquamarine and amethyst-glass domes, the Greek Theater, the Lomaland School for Girls, a school and circular bungalows for boys, and a number of small offices, shops and residences, still stand at Point Loma.

Temple Home Theosophian Colony

**Location.** San Luis Obispo County, at Haleyon, near Pismo Beach

Temple Home was a socialist and health utopian colony founded in 1903.

In 1898, under the impact of Mrs. Katherine Tingley's accession to leadership, the Theosophical Society in America splintered. Dr. William H. Dover and Mrs. Francia A. LaDue of Syracuse, New York, established a separate Theosophian group known as the Temple of the People. In 1903 they came west with their followers and established a colony named Haleyon near Pismo Beach, California. The purpose of this cooperative colony was to
inculcate love and harmony and to conquer all abnormality and disease.
The group also endorsed the cause of socialism as represented by Eugene
Debs and Upton Sinclair. The social aim of the association was to create
a community "wherein all the land will be owned all of the time by all of
the people; where all the means of production and distribution, tools,
machinery, and natural resources, will be owned by the people--the commu-
ity--and where Capital and Labor may meet on equal terms with no special
privileges to either."

A portion of the Temple was organized into a cooperative colony; this was
incorporated as a separate venture in 1905 as the Temple Home Association.
A membership fee of $100 in this association entitled the individual to
one vote. The government of Temple Home, however, was not as democratic
as was the case in most strictly socialist colonies. A board of three
directors was elected by the voting members of the association, and
Dr. Dower and Mr. LaDue were unanimously chosen year after year to fill
2 of the 3 places.

In May, 1905, a sanatorium, a three-story frame building, was completed
to conduct the struggle against disease. On the economic front, the
workers in the colony received their living expenses plus $10 a month.
Each member was given one-half an acre to work for his own account. The
colony produced vegetables and grains, and soon developed profitable crops
of sugar beets and flower seeds. By 1908 the resident members numbered
50 people. Family units were undisturbed and their children attended
the public schools of nearby Arroyo Grande.

Beginning in 1908 signs of internal dissent began to appear among the
members of the colony. In 1913 the active cooperative work of the colony
ceased and the economic aspects of this venture as a socialist utopia were
ended, although the colony still exists as a religious community.

Small cottages still stand at Haleyon, encircling the six or seven central
community buildings. The three-story sanatorium also still stands, but
has been abandoned.
Nathan C. Meeker Home

Location. 9th Avenue at 13th Street, Greeley

The Meeker Home is the home of the founder of Greeley who, in 1879, while serving as agent of the White River Indian Agency, was murdered by the Utes.

Nathan Cook Meeker was born July 12, 1817, in Euclid, near Cleveland, Ohio. After attending school in Oberlin and in Hudson, he became a wanderer and changed both his homes and vocations rapidly. He engaged in newspaper work, literary work in New York, teaching in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and at Orange, New Jersey, and ran a small business store in Euclid. While in Euclid, he became interested in the teachings of Marie Charles Fourier, and later joined a phalanx where Fourierism was being practiced. In the early fifties, Meeker started a store in Hiram where the Campbellites were starting a college. After the Panic of 1857 had brought this venture to a close, he opened a store in southern Illinois, and became a newspaper correspondent. Finally, in 1865, he joined the staff of Horace Greeley’s New York Tribune and eventually became its agricultural editor. In this capacity, he was very successful and became very popular as a rural columnist. In 1866, his second book, Life In The West, was published. It sold well and as author he received high praise in the newspaper world.

Like Greeley, Meeker had a continued interest in the growth of the West. In 1869, Greeley sent Meeker West to prepare a series of articles on the Rocky Mountains. While on this trip, he evolved his plan to organize an agricultural colony in the region.

Late in that year, with Greeley’s support, Meeker launched his Union Colony of Colorado. After holding a meeting of the Colony in Cooper Union, he set out early in the following year with two others to find a suitable site on which to locate. The place chosen was a treeless plain on the Cache la Poudre River, about 50 miles east of Longs Peak. In answer to his call for colonists, 200 came to the site and 50 returned to the East. Meeker purchased 12,000 acres of land from the Denver Pacific.

The colony which Meeker established around Greeley, the town which he founded, was cooperative rather than communistic in character. It recognized private ownership of property and individual control of activity. A school was organized, a library founded and a lyceum established. Saloons and billiard halls were forbidden. Many of the people of Colorado looked upon the colonists and their tacitless but idealistic leader as cranks. In November, 1870, Meeker established the newspaper, The Greeley Tribune. Despite his wandering tendencies, he remained in Greeley for eight years.
In 1878, Meeker accepted the appointment as Indian agent for the White River Reservation. There his tactlessness in trying to force the Utes to give up their old way of living and instead plow the soils, raise crops and live in log houses, created much misunderstanding. In 1879, the Utes, who resisted his plans, rose in revolt and killed Meeker and the remainder of the white men at the Agency.

Following the Indian agent's murder, his family continued to reside in the Meeker home in Greeley.

THE MEEKER HOME: The two-story Meeker home, built of adobe and completed in 1871, is still largely in its original condition, except that the kitchen on the east has been added. In 1927, the city acquired title to this property and two years later it was opened as a museum. In 1959, the house was restored largely to its original condition and was equipped with furnishings, some of which belonged to the Meeker family of the 1870 period.
Nathan C. Meeker Home, erected in 1871, Greeley, Colorado

N. P. S. Photo. 1962
GEORGIA

Administration Building, Emory Junior College


In the post-Civil War years Atticus G. Haygood became one of the leaders in promoting good race relations in the South and in establishing educational opportunities for the Negro. Haygood was named president of Emory College in 1875 and inaugurated a highly effective administration. During this period he also accepted the editorship of the Wesleyan Christian Advocate, a weekly paper which was the organ of Methodism in Georgia and Florida. In the Advocate Haygood presented advanced views regarding the position of the Negro, and it became the leader of the journalistic forces championing this cause. Editorials appearing in the Advocate led Haygood to write Our Brother in Black, His Freedom and His Future (1881). Views on the Negro contained in this book made him the recognized leader in the South of the movement for the improvement of the Negro. Haygood's prominence as a Southern religious and educational leader helped to give his book a nationwide circulation and unusual influence. It has been said that this book did more than any other work of the post-bellum years to bring both sections a saner view of the Negro problem.

In 1883 Haygood became an agent of the John F. Slater Fund for aiding the education of the Negro. He gave up the presidency of Emory College in order to devote his full time to the work of the Fund.

In 1890, Haygood was ordained as a bishop of the Methodist church. The Christian Register of Boston regarded his ordination a very significant indication of the progress that had been made in the South in relation to the Negro question.

The present Emory Junior College was originally the campus of Emory College, which was chartered in 1836. In 1914 Emory College became the College of Arts and Sciences of Emory University, and in 1919 the college moved to the new campus. The buildings at Oxford, Georgia, housed Emory academy until 1928. Then the present junior college was established as a unit of the Emory University system.

Harkness Hall, Atlanta University

Location. Atlanta.

At the close of the 19th century two different schools of thought began to develop among Negroes as they contemplated their position in American society. At the Atlanta Exposition of 1895 Booker T. Washington set forth the thesis that the Negro should work largely through vocational education to develop a solid economic base for his advancement. Washington believed that the political and social barriers of caste would melt when the Negroes through thrift and industry proved themselves.
William E. Burghardt DuBois gradually asserted and led the opposition to Washington's "Atlanta Compromise." DuBois urged higher education to foster talented Negro leadership and opposed Washington's championship of industrial education. He sought for social and political rights equal to those of the whites. He charged that the "Atlanta Compromise" surrendered the Negro's humanity and equality as an American citizen for material gains of questionable value.

DuBois came to Atlanta University in 1896 to start a school for the scientific study of the Negro in the South. Here he published, in a series of reports, the first adequate social studies of the Negro in his changed condition. In these reports, he was probably the first sociologist in the South and certainly the first in the field of Negro studies to make empirical evidence the basis of his work.

During his tenure at Atlanta University, DuBois actively supported the Negro's cause by publications directed to a larger non-scholarly audience. He contributed articles to such magazines as Dial, Colliers, Nation, World Today, Outlook, Atlantic Monthly, and Independent. Also, in 1903, he published a book, Souls of Black Folk, which has been considered his best statement of the Negro's case to White America.

Although the ultimate objectives of Washington and DuBois were not at variance and there was some similarity as to method, their break was open by 1903. In 1905, DuBois issued a call from Atlanta to those of like mind, demanding aggressive action. The "Niagara Movement" which resulted demanded for the Negro every right that belonged to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social. Two years later he organized the magazine Horizon as the organ of the Niagara movement. This movement was the first organized Negro protest to the conditions of an unequal freedom. Its chief accomplishment was in making vocal Negro discontent.

In 1910 DuBois and Oswald Garrison Villard, with a group of notables including Jane Addams, William Dean Howells, and John Dewey, organized the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. DuBois left Atlanta to become the editor of the new organization's magazine, The Crisis.

Washington's authority as spokesman for the Negro remained paramount until his death in 1915. Not until then did the leadership of DuBois and the militant spirit of the NAACP attain ascendancy.

DuBois clashed with other leaders of the NAACP at several points, however. Finally, in 1934 he resigned his editorship of The Crisis and returned to Atlanta University. At Atlanta he wrote, lectured widely, and received many honors and general recognition. Despite his many activities, DuBois was losing touch with the current of Negro planning which was turning more and more toward integration. In 1944, his contract with Atlanta University was terminated because of differences which embarrassed the administration. For four brief years DuBois returned to the NAACP, but he was then discharged with a pension. His long and varied career ended with his death at the age of 95 in 1963.
Much of DuBois' work was accomplished during his years with Atlanta University. The site on the present Atlanta campus is not, however, closely and directly associated with the years of his most effective leadership. Harkness Hall, where he occupied an office on his return in 1934, was built in 1932 as the administration building on the new campus. The old campus of Atlanta University has since 1932 been occupied by Morris Brown University.
KrJgwao Peninsula (Kalaupapa, Hansen's Disease Settlement).

Location, Island of Molokai

A small, flat peninsula jutting into the ocean from approximately the center of Molokai's northern coast and separated from the rest of the island by spectacular 2,000-foot cliffs; the peninsula and the adjoining region set apart as a leper settlement have an area of about 10 square miles; still employed as a leprosarium and contains two well-preserved early churches; owned by the State of Hawaii and administered by the Department of Health, Communicable Disease Division, Hansen's Disease Branch, Honolulu; access by permit only.

What appears to have been leprosy was reported by missionaries in Hawaii as early as 1823; but in 1863 Dr. W. Hillebrand, of Queen's Hospital, described it as a new disease in the islands, called attention to its rapid spread, and recommended that some "humane measure" be taken to isolate those affected. Kamehameha V interested himself in the problem, and as a result the "Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy" was approved on January 3, 1865. It authorized the establishment of an isolation settlement; and upon the advice of the Rev. Dwight Baldwin, a missionary-physician and member of the Board of Health, the peninsula at Kalawao, on Molokai, was selected for the purpose. The central government acquired title to all privately owned lands in the new reservation, and the area's inhabitants were removed to other properties received in exchange. The first patients arrived on January 6, 1866. By 1872 about 600 lepers had been sent to Kalawao. Often severe heartbreak occurred when the infected natives, who usually did not realize the dangerous nature of their ailment, were separated from their homes and families. During the early years conditions at the settlement, which later was known as Kalaupapa after the town which became its center, were severe.

The leper colony was the scene of heroic sacrifices made by a number of superintendents, missionaries, doctors, priests, and other religious and lay workers of several denominations. The best known of these heroes was the Roman Catholic priest, Father Damien de Veuster, the "Martyr of Molokai," who in 1873 began his work of administering to the spiritual and physical needs of the colonists and who continued his service until his own death from the disease in 1889. In recent years Hansen's disease has been almost wiped out of Hawaii, and there is now but a small group of patients living at Kalaupapa. The historic churches, Siloama, a Protestant chapel built in 1871; and St. Philomena, the Catholic church started as a frame chapel in 1872 and enlarged as a masonry structure during Father Damien's time, are well-preserved and serve as a reminder of the heroism once displayed at the settlement.
Kalawao Peninsula (Kalaupapa, Hansen’s Disease settlement), Island of Molokai, Hawaii

N.P.S. Photo, 1962
In the 1890's the lead and silver mines of the Coeur d'Alene region became notorious for the violence of struggle waged between capital and labor.

The first miners' union in the Coeur d'Alene mining district was organized at Wardner on November 17, 1877 for the purpose of maintaining miners' wages at $3.50 for a 10-hour day. A strike was conducted by the union for this purpose against the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines at Wardner during the winter of 1887-1888, and was partially successful. The union soon collapsed, however, because of the mine owners' policy of discharging union members whenever they could be identified.

As corporation mining spread in the Coeur d'Alene area, conditions favorable for unionism also began to appear. The only stores in this region were company stores and these charged the miners monopoly prices, as did the company bunkhouses and boarding houses. There were also a series of serious accidents in the mines that revealed the inadequacy of company hospitals. In the fall of 1890 four local miners' unions were organized in the mining camps of Gem, Burke, Mullan, and Wardner; these succeeded in enlisting almost all of the underground workers. On January 1, 1891 these locals met at Wallace and united by establishing a central organization known as the Miners' Union of the Coeur d'Alene.

The first activity of this organization was to strike during the winter of 1890-91 to maintain the previous standard wage of $3.50 a day for all men working underground. By the middle of 1891 all the mines in the district except those at Wardner had agreed to this union scale of wages.

In April, 1891, the union began construction of a spacious three-story brick hospital with mansard roof. This structure, built at a cost of $40,000, was located at Wallace. In July, 1891, actual operation of the hospital was entrusted to the Sisters of Providence, a Roman Catholic sisterhood, which still operates this institution, now known as the Providence Hospital.

The union also provided sick benefits and burial rites for its members. These included a sickness or accident benefit of $10.00 per week for a maximum of 10 weeks in any one year and $30 for a burial.

Union funds came from a $5.00 initiation fee and regular dues of $1.00 per month. Additional hospital dues of $1.00 per month were also collected from all miners and employees, including non-union men, for the support of the hospital.
In 1891 and 1892 Miners' Union Halls were erected in each of the four mining camps. These halls were large two or three-story structures, each with at least one large assembly room capable of holding 200 people. These buildings served not only as a meeting for the unions, but also for all public assemblies; thus serving as the centers of community life.

By July, 1891, the only important non-union mine in the Coeur d'Alene district was the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mine at Wardner and Kellogg. This great bonanza lead and silver mine was controlled by California and eastern capitalists that included: John Hays Hammond, Darius Ogden Mills, James H. Houghteling, Edward L. Ryerson, Cyrus H. McCormick, William H. Crocker, George Crocker, G. N. Harris, and V. M. Clement. While adopting a paternalistic attitude toward their workers, these capitalists deeply resented what they regarded as outside interference by miners unions. In August, 1891, however, after an effective two-week strike, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company capitulated and agreed to pay $3.50 per day to all men working underground, also to pay hospital fees to the union hospital at Wallace, and finally, to rehire all strikers without discrimination.

By August, 1891, however, the mine owners of the district organized the Mine Owners' Protective Association of the Coeur d'Alenes to counter all union activity. In September this group employed a Pinkerton detective to spy upon the Miners' Union. In January, 1892, most of the mines in the district were shut down due to a depression resulting from low prices received for metals, a large increase in railroad freight rates, and, as the mine owners asserted, because of the high union wages. Nearly 2,500 miners were unemployed and many of these were forced to seek work elsewhere in order to survive.

In March, 1892, the Mine Owners' Association was able to force the Northern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads to reduce their rates to the former levels. The owners also proposed that union wage scale be reduced. To increase the force of their demand, the remaining mines in the region were shut down in April, thus locking out the men. The Mine Owners' Protective Association further threatened to keep the mines closed until June unless their demands were granted by the union.

In this situation the Coeur d'Alene Miners' Union, reduced in membership from about 2,000 to 300 because of the depression, applied to the Montana miners' organization for assistance during the strike that was called. These unions granted about $30,000 in monthly relief. Resolved to never rehire union men, the Mine Owners Protective Association began to import non-union labor and armed guards in May, and they also secured court injunctions which prohibited the union from interfering with the operations of the reopened mines. By July 1, 1892, there were about 800 non-union men working in the association mines.
Violence flared in July at the mining camp of Gem, when the union used
dynamite and gunfire in retaliation for the importation of strike breakers
and the use of Pinkerton spies. Five men were killed and many wounded in
these battles. Governor Norman B. Willey of Idaho declared martial law
in effect in Shoshone County, and Federal and state troops, numbering
about 1,500 men, were sent in to restore order. About 600 miners were
arrested for strike activities and martial law remained in effect for
four months. A number of the miners were tried; a few were found guilty,
but higher courts reversed these decisions, and by March, 1893, indictments
against all the remaining men had been dropped.

Neither side had won this battle and the main outcome was the appearance
of an even more powerful union. The Coeur d'Alene struggle had demon-
strated the need for a wider union organization if unions were to succeed.
As a result, miners' delegates from Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, and
South Dakota met at Butte, Montana, in May, 1893. Here they organized
the Western Federation of Miners, thus forming an association of 14 local
miners unions with a membership of about 10,000 miners. Local chapters
of this federation were at once organized in the Coeur d'Alene District.
By 1903 the Western Federation of Miners included 200 unions with about
50,000 members.

The struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the Mine Owners'
Protective Association of the Coeur d'Alenes finally reached its climax
during the spring and summer of 1899, when the union again attempted to
unionize the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine. The mining company raised
its wages to union scale but refused to recognize the union or to dis-
charge non-union men. The corporation again raised a small private army
and imported strike breakers to keep its mines operating. On April 29,
1899, a Northern Pacific train was commandeered at Burke to carry some
1,200 armed union miners from Burke and Wallace to Kellogg and Wardner.
Here at Wardner, the $250,000 smelter of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine
was blown up with 3,500 pounds of dynamite. Governor Frank Steunenberg of
Idaho immediately appealed to President McKinley and 500 Federal soldiers
arrived at Kellogg on May 2. More than 700 miners were arrested and im-
prisoned for weeks in the "bull pen", which was a stockade enclosing a two-
story hay barn and warehouse without any sanitary facilities. Troops were
not withdrawn until six months later and martial law was finally ended on
April 11, 1901. State officials inaugurated a system of permits for em-
ployment in the Idaho mines which required the applicant to renounce all
allegiance to the Western Federation of Miners. This device completely
destroyed the Western Federation of Miners in Idaho and there was no re-
vival of unions in Idaho until the 1930's.

The general wild mountain setting of the Bunker Hill Mine at Kellogg and
Wardner is little changed since 1890; thousands of dead trees, killed by
the liquid discharge from the lead smelters, still line the valley floor.
The towns of Kellogg and Wardner, however, have been largely rebuilt since 1900 and bear little resemblance to their appearance in 1899. The site of the 1899 "bull pen", which was located on Main Street in Kellogg, is now occupied by a YMCA that was built in 1910. The smelters and plant of the Bunker Hill Mine have also been rebuilt since 1917.

The Miners' Union hospital, now called the Providence Hospital and erected in 1891, is still standing at Wallace, but has been considerably remodeled on the exterior.
A variety of forces, factors, and leaders contributed to the development of the Boy Scout movement at the turn of the 20th century. A number of leaders in both America and England recognized the need for an organization giving guidance and leadership to boys in a society to which growing urbanization and industrialization was bringing rapid change. In America, Ernest Thompson Seton organized the Woodcraft Indians, and Daniel Carter Beard created a national group which he called Sons of Daniel Boone. In England, the Boys' Brigade interested Sir Robert Baden-Powell, who had just returned from the Boer War. A visit from Ernest T. Seton and other experiences seem to have combined to lead Baden-Powell to decide in 1906 to launch the Boy Scout movement. The support of many of England's leading citizens and the widespread interest among boys made the movement instantly popular.

The trans-Atlantic exchange of ideas and impetus continued. The Chicago publisher, William D. Boyce, was greatly impressed by assistance from a Boy Scout which he received while visiting England in 1909. The following afternoon Boyce had an interview with Sir Robert Baden-Powell. With missionary zeal, Baden-Powell told the story of his organization of boys and of the need it filled in the new 20th century age of industrialization and over-crowded cities and slums and twisted values. When he returned to America early in 1910, Boyce joined with a group of associates to obtain in Washington a charter of incorporation for the Boy Scouts of America.

At about this same time, Edgar M. Robinson, secretary of the Boys' Work Committee of the Y.M.C.A., recognized the growing interest of boys in a Scouting program and determined independently to have the Y. M. C. A. support this interest. Ernest T. Seton was a close friend and supporter of this effort.

Robinson then learned of the new organization incorporated by Boyce; met with him and found him willing to combine efforts and even support the new movement financially. A few weeks later, in a small room in the Y. M. C. A. headquarters on East 28th Street, in New York City, the first offices of the Boy Scouts of America opened. Preparations were begun for a meeting in June of leaders of several boys' groups and major social agencies. At that meeting in June, Seton and Beard indicated that they would bring their groups into an amalgamation of all major boys' organizations. A committee on organization was appointed and given executive powers. The Boy Scouts of America, Inc. were officially active.
From the outset, Dan Beard played an important role in shaping and activating the Boy Scouts. Ernest Seton was named Chief Scout, James E. West became executive secretary, and Dan Beard became one of three national Scout commissioners with the new Board of Managers. West, Seton, and Beard each left a deep imprint on the Scouting movement. West was the intellect, Seton the poet, while Dan Beard was the physical embodiment of Scouting and became the personification of its spirit.

After 1912 Beard became the sole commissioner, a volunteer position which made him in effect chief of the volunteer forces of Scouting throughout the country. He continued to hold this position until his death in 1941. Through these years of dedicated interest and service, Dan Beard became a symbol; he was the spirit of Scouting, the last of the pioneers.

The boyhood home of Dan Beard is in the older downtown section of Covington, on the banks of the Licking River close to its junction with the Ohio. It now houses the School for Practical Nurse Education associated with the William Booth Memorial Hospital of the Salvation Army. No essential changes in the house appear to have been made. It is a large, two-story brick house painted grey with a white trim. Both house and grounds are well-kept and contrast with the declining residential property of the neighborhood.

A bronze marker on the side of the house identifies it: "The early boyhood of Daniel Carter Beard, National Scout Commissioner, Boy Scouts of America, was spent in this house. Erected by the Boy Scouts of Region 4, 1934."

Shakertown, Pleasant Hill

Location. Pleasant Hill.

The Shaker sect, a religious group which at its height numbered no more than 6,000 adherents in some eighteen communities, was a product of the country's religious liberty, individualism, and idealism. The Pleasant Hill Society was a direct product of the phenomenal Great Revival in the trans-Allegheny west, of the 1800's. News of the Great Revival in the west with its consequent fracturing of old denominations reached the Shaker leaders in upstate New York, and they determined that Shakerism could attain territorial expansion. Accordingly, on January 1, 1805, three Shaker missionaries were sent to the people of Kentucky and adjacent states. Within a year conversions were made that led directly to the founding of three Shaker villages: Union Village, Ohio, and South Union and Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.

A number of buildings of the Pleasant Hill community remain and are almost completely free from modern intrusions. Shakertown at Pleasant Hill is in the heart of the rich lands of the Kentucky Bluegrass. It is located 24 miles from Lexington and eight from Harrodsburg, Kentucky.
The communal living aspect of the Shaker faith links it with other such experiments based on religious, economic, or social principles. The Shakers were probably the most successful and certainly the longest lived of such societies.

The communal life of Pleasant Hill was based on both agriculture and handicraft industries. After the theocracy had been fully established, all probably was held in common, and only personal effects could be taken away by a departing member. The community was divided into three large "families" with residences for from 60 - 100 persons each. In addition, smaller West Lot and North Lot houses were built for the "gathering" and novitiate orders, and there was a residence for children and a trustees' house. Each of the families had its allotted fields and gardens. There was central purchasing and a division according to need and on a per capita basis. The Shakers came to be regarded as excellent agriculturists.

Forests along the Kentucky River supplied wood for such sales items as cooperage ware, fine cherry, walnut, and tulip poplar furniture made chiefly for home use.

By 1820 the artisans and mechanics at Pleasant Hill had built a sawmill, grist mill, fulling or clothing mill, linseed oil mill, a blacksmith and wagon shop, and shops for the joiners, hatters, and shoemakers. The mills and shops supplied not only the domestic needs of the community, but also of the surrounding neighborhood. They also turned out a variety of small handicrafts. The sisters created many things such as woolen goods, silk scarfs, etc. for domestic use.

In scientific farming and animal husbandry, the community set high standards of excellence, and it was in this field that the Shakers made their greatest contribution to the contemporary life. The Shakers looked upon farming as more than an occupation. In an evil world they believed that farming alone offered men a life of purity and simplicity apart from the corruption of trade and commerce.

With the Civil War began the slow decline of Pleasant Hill. The war depleted the society by twenty-two percent of its membership; worldliness and insubordination were also an outgrowth of the times. The loss of Southern markets was a serious economic blow to which they were unable to adjust. Financial affairs fell into inept and incompetent hands. The post-war years of declining farm prices and industrial growth made the Shakers vulnerable to losses, and their mediocre leadership and declining labor force worsened their predicament. In 1910 only a handful of members remained, and the society was dissolved. Shakertown's remaining 1,800 acres were deeded to a private citizen, in trust, with the condition that he would care for the remaining residents as long as they lived.

Although Pleasant Hill was one of the largest of the Shaker colonies, it was far from the most important. The sect's headquarters at Mt. Lebanon, New York, was the primary center, with Union Village, Ohio, next. Shakertown
is, however, an interesting example of the agrarian, self-sufficient, Utopian community of the 19th century.

Today, a group known as Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Inc., is undertaking the restoration of the historic village. The stone Center Family House was the first to be restored. It houses exhibits which tell the Shaker story; several of the rooms are furnished in the original style, and others are used to illustrate various arts and crafts of the Shakers.

Eventually all of the remaining buildings are to be restored. A number of frame, brick and stone structures remain with their condition varying from poor to very good. Pleasant Hill is a good example of Shaker craftsmanship. Its "Georgian-Shaker" style is plain, but with a purity of form that makes the buildings both comfortable and handsome.
Center Family House, Shakertown, Pleasant Hill, Kentucky

X.P.S. Photo, 1964
NEVADA

Miners' Union Hall, Virginia City.¹

Location. Storey County, on B Street, in Virginia City.

Virginia City, on the Comstock Lode, was the first mining area in the West where the methods of large-scale industrial and corporate enterprise were intensely applied and developed. As a consequence, here also appeared and evolved the first miners' unions of the West. Virginia City unions thus became the prototype of subsequent miners' unions that were to be organized in California, eastern Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, and Montana.

Silver was discovered on the Comstock Lode in 1859 and by August, 1860, Virginia City and the nearby town of Gold Hill, had a combined population of 3,083. From 1860 to 1862, however, Virginia City mine owners were forced to struggle with the new problems that confronted them in mining silver. These included the necessity of driving deep shafts to follow the veins and also of devising machinery that could profitably work the ore. The Comstock mines began yielding their bullion in quantities in 1861 and by 1862 most of the technical problems had been solved. In 1863 Virginia City had grown to have a population of 15,000.

The first union, the Miners' Protective Association, with a membership of from 300 to 400 miners, was organized in Virginia City on June 6, 1863. Their purpose was to maintain the existing wage of $1.00 a day in coin for all work done underground.

In July, 1864, when mill superintendents attempted to reduce the rate to $3.50 a day, the members of the Union paraded through the streets of Virginia City and Gold Hill shouting "Four dollars a day". Rather than face a work stoppage, the superintendents yielded for the time being. This success led, on August 6, 1864, to the formation of the more general Miners' League of Storey County, for purpose of enforcing the $4.00 a day demand throughout the county. Members of this society soon organized similar unions at Grass Valley and Sutter Creek in California.

Mine superintendents, however, began quietly employing non-union labor and, aided by a depression in mines during the winter of 1864-65, were able to break up the Miners' League and to establish $3.50 a day as the standard wage in the spring of 1865.

As the depression ended and employment revived, a new Miners' Union was again formed at Virginia City on July 4, 1867.

This time the Union was completely successful, forcing a re-establishment of the standard daily wage of $4.00 for all underground work in 1867 and they were also able to maintain this rate for some 20 years in spite of numerous depressions. In 1872 the Union also established an eight-hour working day for all underground work.
The Miners' Union successfully encouraged other skilled workers of the mining companies to form comparable unions, until presently all branches of skilled labor, both above and before ground, were setting their standard wages. The Virginia City Miners' Union also helped to form similar miners' unions in other Nevada mining towns and in California, although in none of these places were the unions as strong as they were on the Comstock Lode.

Most of the Comstock Lodes' 3,000 miners were members of the Virginia City Union and that union prospered financially. Its membership dues were $2.00 a month. Union benefits included the provision of up to $80 a year towards the care of a sick member, and also $80 for funeral expenses. Its union hall also served as a center of community life.

The present Miners' Union Hall in Virginia City was erected in 1876 to replace the original hall destroyed in the great fire of 1875. The existing building, a large two-story brick structure, was built at a cost of $15,000. The Union Hall contained a chess room, library, dance hall, and, in the basement, a large meeting hall. The library, containing 2,200 volumes purchased at a cost of $6,000, was the only public library in Virginia City in 1880.

The building still stands intact and in fair condition, but is unused.

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1 The Miners' Union Hall is located within the historic district of Virginia City; this district was declared eligible for landmark status on July 4, 1961. Virginia City was classified under Theme XV, Subtheme, The Mining Frontier.
Miners' Union Hall, erected in 1876. Virginia City, Nevada
NEW MEXICO

St. Catherine's Indian School:

Location. Griffin Street, Santa Fe

Beginning in the early 1880's, Miss Katharine Drexel, Philadelphia heiress of the fortune of banker Francis M. Drexel, began her travels in the Southwest for the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. She conceived a great love for the Indians, whose wretched poverty excited her pity and a determination to aid them. She decided to furnish her church with an effective arm for specialized service among the Indians. After a novitiate under the Mercy Sisters of Pittsburgh, Mother Katharine founded her own community in 1891, the Order of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. After intensive training at the order's Central House in Philadelphia, Mother Katharine and nine of her Sisters came to Santa Fe in 1894 to take over St. Catherine's Indian School. During her earlier tour of duty in the Southwest, Miss Drexel had built this industrial school with her own funds. Retired Archbishop Lamy dedicated the institution in 1887 and it was operated under government subsidy until Miss Drexel, now Mother Katharine, returned to Santa Fe.

St. Catherine's Indian School was only the first of a system of Indian mission schools projected by Mother Katharine. In the early years St. Catherine's was one of the most important educational institutions for the Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley. Sisters from the school went out to the Pueblos and persuaded Indian parents to enroll their children.

So successful was Mother Katharine in this field—at a time when the Indians resisted off-reservation boarding schools—that the U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs enlisted her aid in persuading Indians to attend government boarding schools. Her contributions as a student-recruiter among the Navajos were particularly notable. Her interest in the Navajos led her in 1895 to buy a site just west of Window Rock, Arizona, for establishment of St. Michael's Franciscan Indian Mission, the first Catholic Navajo mission school in the modern period. Mother Katharine financed rehabilitation of the old ranch buildings at the site so they could be used for the mission school. She also paid the friars' salaries for a number of years. Because of the Catholic mission bureau's overstrained finances, its director, Monsignor J. A. Stephan, called upon Mother Katharine to aid many other missionary enterprises in the Southwest, including the repair of Acoma's famous fortress church in 1904. Meanwhile, St. Catherine's Indian School, headquarters for Mother Katharine's far-flung activities, continued to expand its plant and student body, which soon included Navajo and Pima and Papago children.

An interesting description of student life during this historic period is contained in Alice Marriott's Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso. María, leader of the Indian art revival in the Rio Grande Valley, is perhaps St. Catherine's most distinguished alumnus.
St. Catherine's Indian School, Santa Fe, New Mexico
St. Catherine's, still operated by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, today has an enrollment of about 200 Indian students. The original school plant, dating from 1887, is still in use and includes the 3-1/2-story main classroom building and two other structures. The campus is located on Griffin Street in northwest Santa Fe. While the school itself is significant as an early center for Pueblo Indian education, it also commemorates the life and works of one of the Southwest's most influential philanthropists, Mother Katharine Drexel. Her founding and endowment of an order devoted to service among the Indians, as well as her many direct donations to missionary endeavors throughout the Southwest, have provided an enduring contribution to the movement for betterment of Indian conditions.

Shalam.

Location. Dona Ana County, 7 miles north of Las Cruces, on the east bank of the Rio Grande.

The most important Utopian community in the Southwest was Dr. John Ballou Newbrough's Land of Shalam "for cast-a-way infants, orphans, and unprotected children." Born in Ohio in 1828, Dr. Newbrough practiced medicine and dentistry in New York City's slums. After a fling at the California Gold Rush he traveled extensively in the Orient. His work in the slums and his travels in Asia set him to brooding over the plight of the world's bereft children. He became a Faithist, and under inspiration wrote the Oahspe, a new bible for mankind. He conceived of a colony where he would gather in lost infants, who, under his tutelage, would form the cadre from which a new and better race would evolve. In 1884, with the aid of his followers, among them the wealthy Andrew M. Howland, he bought a site on the Rio Grande near the Spanish village of Dona Ana. The believers gathered and formed the communistic, vegetarian, ascetic community of Shalam. Children's receiving stations in Eastern cities advertised, "We want children--no questions asked." Eventually 100 adults were caring for the children thus recruited. In 1885 the colony's first permanent building was completed. Of Spanish mission design, it was called Fraturnum and became the headquarters of the community. In quick order followed the Children's Home, the Temple, the Studio, and the various utility buildings of the growing settlement. Religion was reflected in every phase of activity. The Faithists practiced fasting and complex dietary combinations to achieve food harmonies. Adults divided into groups to care for the children and support the community--agriculturalists, dieticians, nurses, teachers, etc. Just as the colony began to prosper, Dr. Newbrough died in 1891. But his financial angel and prime assistant, Howland, carried on. Under his guidance Shalam became a garden--farms and a model dairy, wells and irrigation systems, tractors and barns. Laborers from Dona Ana, 150 of them, ran the growing farm enterprise. About this time Howland established the adjoining adult colony of Lavitica. Opportunistic riff-raff attracted there undermined Shalam's Utopian integrity. Droughts and floods added natural disasters.
to the causes that led to the downfall of Shalam. Beginning in 1901, Howland began relocating the children, and by 1907 Shalam was deserted.

The site of Shalam is on the east bank of the Pio Grande, 7 miles north of Las Cruces in Dona Ana County. Now private farm land occupied by cotton fields and cattle-feeding lots, the site has lost integrity. The principal buildings, including the Fraturnum, the Studio, and the Children's Home, are used as bunkhouses for farm laborers, barns, and warehouses.
Removal of the five great tribes of Southern Indians between 1825 and 1840 to present Oklahoma is, as their historian Grant Foreman states, "a chapter unsurpassed in pathos and absorbing interest." While hardly a humanitarian movement, it was most certainly a social one of great consequence—a forced emigration of some 60,000 souls in a context of tragedy and hardship. The motives for Indian removal included greed for Indian lands and a gloss of moral justification expressed in the idea that Indians should be insulated from corrupting contact with whites. In this story, therefore, is epitomized the ambivalent attitude of the dominant society toward the Indian—a seed-bed for conflicting policies that has produced both dark and illuminated pages in our history. Out of the tragedy of Indian removal was born the humanitarian impulse in the East that checked the frontier impulse for Indian extermination. A great deal of the reform energy of this Nation found its channel in the dreary trail trod by the westward migrating Indians. Fort Gibson, established in 1824 on the "Permanent Indian Frontier," became the great receiving depot for the five tribes. Here, after a thousand miles of death, disease, and neglect, the Indians found the rudiments of organization for their care that had been missing on the trail. The magnitude of the migration overwhelmed the available supplies, medical care, and shelter at Fort Gibson, but the Army officers usually showed sympathy for the Indians and did their best to set them up for relocation in the Indian Territory. Thus, for all its inadequacies, Fort Gibson became the symbol of the end of acute suffering and the spring-board for the Indians' new life. Units from the fort also kept peace among the newly arrived Indians and protected them from the wild Plains Tribes, who in turn were pushed farther west.

Fort Gibson, located in Muskogee County near the town of Fort Gibson, is a State Park. The original stockaded log fort is gone, but was authentically reconstructed in 1936. Partial remains of the later stone fort are on a nearby ridge. The 55-acre site is an excellent re-creation of the historical setting.

*Fort Gibson.*

Location, Muskogee County, near the town of Fort Gibson;

*Classified as an "exceptional value" site in the subtheme "Military and Indian Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West."
Restored Fort Gibson, Oklahoma
Fort Sill.¹

Location. Comanche County, just north of Lawton.

Established in 1869 by Gen. P. H. Sheridan, Fort Sill was the focal point for control of the wild Southern Plains Tribes defeated by the Winter Campaign of 1868-69. Largely as a result of the Battle of the Washita—climax of that campaign and a much misunderstood event in which the Army was accused of butchering helpless Indians—Eastern humanitarians led by the Quakers descended upon President Grant and demanded Indian policy reforms. They insisted that the violence employed by the Army and the cupidity of corrupt Indian agents were at the root of the "Indian Problem." They proposed that men of God be appointed to manage the Indians, substituting moral suasion for force and honesty for greed. Grant bought the proposal and the Quaker Peace Policy was born. Fort Sill, headquarters for the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache reservation became the major testing place of the peace policy. On July 1, 1869, Lawrie Tatum, Quaker Indian Agent, took over the Fort Sill agency. Despite his kindness and uprightness, control of the Indians proved impossible without periodic application of force. The Indians' hatred of Texans and their nomadic and predatory habits were too strongly ingrained for immediate transformation. Raids into Texas continued and by 1871, even Tatum advocated military subjugation as the prerequisite for "the good work of religion and education." By 1874, the peace policy was completely discredited and the Southern Plains again resounded to full-scale war. Failure of the peace policy was pre-ordained by the powerful forces clashing on the frontier. But it remains a significant interlude in the history of Indian-white relations. The Quakers inspired enduring reforms in the administration of Indian affairs. And powerful humanitarian forces were injected into the Indian problem. Such organizations as the Indian Rights Association were foreshadowed or founded during this period and have continued to exert strong influence in the formulation of Indian policy. Above all, a Nation sickened by the tragedy of cultural conflict on the western borders had attempted a humane solution. Though unsuccessful and uninformed, it was yet a noble effort, one that helps brighten a history otherwise laden with gloom.

Virtually all of the original Fort Sill, built in the early 1870's, is still standing. Some 25 limestone structures, including quarters, barracks, commissary, etc., are still in use. The Army has manifested a continuing awareness of the historical importance of Fort Sill, and has made commendable efforts to preserve the historic sites and structures of the old post and interpret them to the public. Now the Army's Artillery and Guided Missile Center, Fort Sill is in Comanche County just north of Lawton.

¹ Classified as an "exceptional value" site in the subtheme, "Military and Indian Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West."
Old Quartermaster Storehouse, Fort Sill, Oklahoma

U. S. Army Photo
Keil House (Aurora)

Location. Marion County, at Aurora, U. S. Highway 99E.

Aurora was a Rappite utopian religious colony founded by William Keil in 1857.

George Rapp, a farmer and vine grower of Wurttenburg, Germany, had led a separatist movement in the Lutheran church and established a religious colony in western Pennsylvania in 1804. From 1815 to 1824, the community lived in Harmony in Indiana, and then in 1825, the Rappites removed again to Economy, near Pittsburgh.

In 1836 William Keil, (1812-1877), a tailor, emigrated to the United States from Prussia, Germany, and opened a shop in New York City. He soon moved to Economy, where he established a drug store and acquired the title of "Doctor". In 1844 some of the Rappite members seceded and joined Keil in founding a Christian community colony on 6,000 acres at Bethel, Missouri. Keil rejected celibacy, but otherwise adopted Rapp's communal ideas. "Every man and woman must be a brother or sister to every other man and woman in our family under the fatherhood of God," stated Dr. Keil. "No man owns anything individually but every man owns everything as a full partner and with an equal voice in its use, and its increase and the profits accruing from it. But in no other way do we differ from our neighbors. Finally, Keil wrote: "As a community we are one family, 'From every man according to his capacity, to every man according to his needs' is the rule that runs through our law of love . . ."

In 1855 Keil and some of his followers were infected with the Oregon fever and moved west by wagon train to Pacific County, Washington Territory. Finding conditions there unsatisfactory, Keil and his 500 German-Dutch followers moved south to Mill Creek, near the mouth of the Pudding River, in Oregon. Here, on March 20, 1857, they founded a new colony which they called Aurora Mills in honor of Keil's daughter. The first houses were of logs, but these were soon replaced by large two and three-story board and batten buildings, with brick chimneys and huge fireplaces at each end. Under Dr. Keil's forceful, dynamic, and sometimes autocratic leadership, Aurora prospered from the first. Farming was a vital factor in the economy and some 16,000 acres were brought under careful cultivation. Governed by strict religious beliefs, the industry of the colonists was unflagging and they also practiced strict economy.

During the winter when there was little farm activity, the people worked in the mills and shops of Aurora and its artisans produced fine furniture, basketry, chests, and tools. The women also made excellent gloves and embroidery and many of these well-made goods were sold outside of the community.
This strict life was relieved somewhat by band and orchestra concerts, and by feasting and festivals, dancing in the evening, and at the great community picnics.

Towards the closing years of Dr. Keil's life, and with the coming of the Oregon and California Railroad, outside contacts began to disrupt the Aurora way of life, as the younger members became dissatisfied with the existing order. About 1879, following Keil's death on December 30, 1877, the colony ceased to exist as a communal unit, and the property was divided among the members.

The original village of Aurora was situated largely on the west bank of Mill Creek a short distance about its junction with the Pudding River, and across the creek from the present town of Aurora. Here the first log cabins were built by the old stage road and also the first farms and garden plots were cleared. The first permanent house to be erected was the home of Dr. Keil. This is a large board and batten, two-story building with a two-story porch across its front, and huge brick chimneys at either end. There is also a large cellar and attic, and a barn stands nearby.

The Keil House and barn were still standing in 1960 in completely unaltered condition. The house was then vacant and in very poor condition, but the new owner was planning to carefully restore and preserve the house as a private summer residence.
William Keil House, built in 1857, Aurora, Oregon
SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina Society Hall

Location. 72 Meeting Street, Charleston

The South Carolina Hall dates from 1804. It served as a charity school and meeting place for the Society, one of the oldest benevolent groups in the United States. The Society was founded in 1737 by French Huguenots and was known as the "Two-Bit Club," because of the sum contributed at each meeting by each member.

The building was designed by Gabriel Manigault, Charleston's first native architect. A two-story portico was added in 1825 after a design by Frederick Wesner.
TENNESSEE

Rugby

Location. Morgan County, on State Route 52

A 19th century colonization venture undertaken by Thomas Hughes, the English philanthropist who is best-known for his authorship of Tom Brown's School Days, led to the founding of the village of Rugby. Hughes had a three-fold purpose in launching the colony: (1) to provide a new start for the unfortunate younger sons of the English gentry, (2) to promote Anglo-American solidarity, and (3) to carry out a full-scale experiment in Christian socialism.

The Rugby venture got underway in 1862 when Parliament incorporated the "Board of Aid to Land Ownership, Limited" to facilitate emigration to unoccupied areas. The Board, under the presidency of Hughes, began to seek a suitable spot for such a colony as he had in mind. In the late 1870's the English group merged with a somewhat similar organization which had been formed in Boston and acquired a large track of land in Tennessee.

Clearing of the land and construction of the first buildings began in 1879. By the time of the formal establishment of the town on October 5, 1880, Rugby had a population of 120 persons. The first months were busy ones: the town tract was subdivided, streets were laid out; an experimental garden and orchard were planted, and a number of public buildings and private dwellings were built.

Almost as soon as the Rugby colony was launched, the expectations of its founders began to seem less and less likely of attainment. On January 21, 1882, the editor of Rugby's weekly newspaper stated bluntly that he must announce that as far as the Board of Aid of Land ownership was concerned, the Rugby colony was a complete failure.

Failure of the project was due to a number of causes, some inherent in the original plan and others fortuitous. They included the type of colonists sent out, the attempt to manage the colony from London, the lack of sufficient capital, the erroneous belief that such a colony could be built from the top, the confusion of land titles, the failure of the Cincinnati Southern to build a proposed spur line to Rugby, and, finally, a long drought during the first year of the colony's existence.

The decline of Rugby was gradual. For a number of years there was a more or less continual turnover of population. It has been estimated that over a thousand young Englishmen settled there at one time or another. By 1900, however, many of its houses stood empty, though some of the original settlers still maintained summer homes there.
Chamizal Memorial (proposed):

Location. El Paso.

Large-scale Mexican immigration to the United States began in the late 1800's and has been on the increase ever since. It is the largest immigration movement to affect the Southwest. And with increasing mechanam of agriculture in the Southwest, resulting in restricted opportunities for Mexican farm laborers, the movement spread to urban centers in the Rocky Mountain states and the Middle West. The Mexican—because of his poverty, his color, his religion, and his native folk culture—has had a rough time assimilating in the United States. In large numbers, Mexicans "wet-backed" across the border illegally and were thus fair bait for exploitation. But with the development of Mexican immigrant aid societies and closer cooperation between the two governments, the situation has improved. Increasing numbers of Mexican-born citizens have entered the mainstream of American culture. Like other ethnic groups, they contribute to the diversity of that culture; and as the travail of first-generation displacement fades into second-and third-generation assimilation the prospect becomes brighter for the millions of Mexican-born or descended people who reside "North of the Border."

Almost any port of entry from San Diego to Brownsville could be selected to commemorate Mexican immigration. But the proposed Chamizal Memorial at El Paso, for centuries gateway to the north, would seem ideally suited for this purpose.

Farmers' Alliance Site, Lampasas County.

Location. 8 miles west of the town of Lampasas on Donaldson Creek.

The Farmers' Alliance, first organized in 1874 in Lampasas County, Texas, was one of the more virile elements in the agrarian revolt of the 1880's and 1890's. By 1887 the Farmers' Alliance had become national and counted from one to three million members. During the nineties the political program of the Alliance was carried to the Nation by the Populist Party. Though the third party movement was a failure, the reform measures growing out of the agrarian revolt were later adopted in part or in whole by the major parties, and many of them were ultimately enacted.

The building where the Alliance was first organized was 8 miles west of the town of Lampasas on Donaldson Creek. After being torn down and shipped to the Columbian Exposition, where it was put on exhibition, the building was made into souvenirs.
New Braunfels-Fredericksburg.

Location. New Braunfels, in Comal County, northeast of San Antonio; Fredericksburg, in Gillespie County, northwest of San Antonio.

During the 1840's Texas attracted numerous immigrant groups from Europe, many of them political refugees. Disturbances in Germany were especially acute, and the Germans made up the largest Texas immigrant group during this formative period. To aid the German colonists, a group of noblemen organized the Adelsverein in 1842 at Biebrich on the Rhine. Later known as the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas, the Adelsverein was one of the most important aid societies in the history of American immigration. Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels, a founding member of the society, was appointed commissioner-general of the Texas colony, founded in 1845 by a pioneer group of 200 settlers. Within a few months 5,000 Germans had landed at Indianola, whence they trekked to New Braunfels. Epidemics and other hardships threatened the colony in the early years, but in time the Germans adapted to the new environment and New Braunfels became a prosperous supply and manufacturing center. Other nearby colonies, including Fredericksburg, made this section of south-central Texas almost wholly a German enclave.

Up until World War II the New Braunfels-Fredericksburg area retained a distinctly Old World flavor, with German language and customs prevailing. Even today the traditional religious and festive occasions are celebrated in the German manner, and the old sections of both cities retain the architectural integrity of the early period. Many historic houses and public buildings are preserved and maintained as public museums. New Braunfels is in Comal County northeast of San Antonio; Fredericksburg is in Gillespie County northwest of San Antonio.

*Fort Belknap.

Location. Young County, just south of Newcastle.

This site commemorates the humanitarian work of Texas Indian Agent Robert Simpson Neighbors. From 1844 to 1859 Neighbors stood almost alone as protector of the Texas Indians from frontiersmen whose bitter hatred allowed only one category of good Indians—dead ones. He instituted the field system of Indian control, whereby the agent went to the Indians in their home territory rather than waiting for them to call at the agency. Through this method he exercised more influence over the Texas Indians than any other man of his time. Neighbors successfully negotiated numerous treaties between the Indians and the white settlers. He sponsored a law in the Texas Legislature that led to establishment of

*Classified as an "exceptional value" site in the subtheme "Military and Indian Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West."
Restored Fort Belknap, Texas

X.P.S. Photo
reservations for the Southern Comanches and smaller tribes of docile Indians who had been systematically robbed of their lands by advancing whites. Under his tutelage, the Indians on reservations near Fort Belknap largely abandoned their nomadic ways and became settled agricultural people. All of this was accomplished in a context of great tension in which Neighbors' Indians were blamed for the depredations of their wild cousins. Neighbors himself suffered constant abuse because of his courageous efforts on behalf of his charges. Finally, after Neighbors aided by troops from Fort Belknap, had repulsed an angry mob of whites intent upon murdering the defenseless reservation Indians, he oversaw their safe removal to a new reservation in Oklahoma Territory. Returning to Fort Belknap he was assassinated on September 14, 1854, by a disgruntled settler and buried in the civilan cemetery.

As a class, the Indian Agent has been much maligned—in many cases justifiably so. Neighbors epitomizes the cadre of dedicated agents who, in an environment of implacable hostility, protected dispossessed Indians who otherwise would have gone under in the turbulent backwash of the advancing frontier.

Fort Belknap County Park, scene of Neighbors' martyrdom and for some years previously focal point of his activities, contains the restored frontier fort, preserved and administered by the Fort Belknap Society. Original and reconstructed buildings include two barracks, the commissary, and the arsenal. The site is in Young County just south of Newcastle.

Wiley College.


The most significant aspect of humanitarian reform and philanthropic activity for Southern Negroes followed the Civil War was in the field of education. The short-lived system of Negro schools established in Texas by the Freedmen's Bureau (1865-68) was staffed by volunteer teachers of the American Missionary Society. Their reports on the prevalence of illiteracy led to a great outpouring of aid from the North for Negro education. With the end of Reconstruction, Texas reverted to a segregated school system that deprived Negroes of most of the educational gains made during that period. Again Northern humanitarian and philanthropic groups filled the breach—among them the Freedmen's Aid Society and the American Missionary Society. This group, founded Wiley College as a normal school for Negroes. This is the oldest Negro college west of the Mississippi River, and is also distinguished by having the first Carnegie College Library in the West.

Wiley College is located at Marshall in Harrison County. It is a coeducational institution of about 700 students. Included on the attractive campus are seven brick buildings dating from the historical period.
Mormon colonization of Utah contained many communitarian elements. The Order of Enoch, founded by Joseph Smith in Independence, Missouri, was a frank attempt at communal living. Never popular with the main body of Mormons, the order nevertheless persisted through the early years in Utah. There, in modified, non-Utopian form, it became a welfare instrument by which the wealthier members of the community relieved the needy and grub-staked new arrivals. This tradition of sharing and "looking after their own" has always been a strong theme in Mormon society. The welfare agencies of the Church of Latter-Day Saints have, from its founding, been strong components of that church's social activities. In other ways, too, the communitarian ideal found expression in Utah. For example, individual rights in the use of land and water were strictly subordinated to the general welfare. These rules and regulations, sanctioned by the theocratic power of the Mormon leaders, gave the Utah settlers a cohesion vital to the success of arid-land colonization. The systematic expansion of Mormon settlements in Utah and beyond to the surrounding territories was further evidence of the tight-knit society that Brigham Young had shaped. In many respects, the Mormons differed from the Utopians only in the fact that they succeeded. They were religiously or philosophically motivated like the Utopians; they were strongly communitarian in outlook; and the envisioned Zion in Utah had much of the Utopian in it. The ingredients of their success included strong, stable, and effective leadership by Brigham Young; a modified communitarianism that preserved for the individual the fruits of his industry; and a doctrine almost puritanical in its praise of hard work and self-reliance--no invitation to the shiftless breed that wrecked many Utopias. Though the Mormon's success usually excludes them from the literature of Utopia, it would seem, if the above interpretation is correct, that they should climax all such studies. They managed to strike the precise balance between spirituality and the facts of human nature that eluded all other communal movements.

Beyond the communitarian or Utopian aspects of the Mormon experience is their impact on the history of American immigration. The following selection from M. A. Jones American Immigration succinctly states the matter.

*Classified as "exceptional value" sites in the subtheme "Overland Migrations" and the theme "Political and Military Affairs after 1869,"
The largest and most successful group immigration consisted of Mormons. The first Mormon overseas mission was founded in England in 1837, and three years later the departure of British Saints began. Other missions were established during the 1850's in Scandinavia, Germany, and Switzerland, and by the time of the Civil War nearly 30,000 Mormons had emigrated from Great Britain and several thousand more from the Continent, especially from Scandinavia. From start to finish the movement was under close supervision. Vessels were chartered for the exclusive conveyance of Mormon emigrants, and church officials accompanied each shipload from Liverpool to New Orleans and from there up the Mississippi. At first their destination was Nauvoo, Illinois, but after 1847, when Brigham Young led his followers to the Great Salt Lake Valley, Mormon immigrants had to make an additional thousand-mile journey on foot across the plains from Iowa. This phase of the journey was just as highly organized. Immigrants were formed into handcart companies under the leadership of experienced plainsmen, and although disaster befell two companies in the Wyoming snows of 1856, the crossings were made with remarkably little loss. Continuing beyond the Civil War, Mormon immigration was greatly facilitated by the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, and by the end of the century, when immigration virtually stopped, the total arrivals since the movement began had risen to nearly 90,000.¹

¹M. A. Jones, American Immigration (Chicago, 1960).

Temple Square is in the heart of Salt Lake City and the Pioneer Monument is just east of the city at the mouth of Emigration Canyon. The one, with its Temple, Tabernacle, and historical museum, illustrates the central influence of the church in Mormon life. The other, depicting "The Gathering of Zion" and the hardships that the pioneers and overseas immigrants underwent during that gathering, emphasizes the group solidarity that meant success in the Mormon endeavor.
On October 12, 1773 the new brick building on Francis Street in Williamsburg accepted its first two patients. This institution, which has grown into the present Eastern State Hospital, was the first sanatorium established exclusively for the care of the mentally ill in the New World.

Until the public hospital was established, insane paupers had been cared for, when they were cared for at all, under the direction of the vestries of the parishes in which they lived. Mentally ill persons who were not paupers had to depend on their relatives and friends for help.

During the period of parish responsibility concern for the mentally sick was usually limited to the most violent and dangerous cases. These were usually confined in the nearest jail or in privately-built log cages.

At the close of the Colonial era, a more positive and humane policy evolved. Pennsylvania took a preliminary step when the colony established the first general hospital in America in 1756. This institution was designed primarily to care for the "sick poor," but it also had accommodations for the mentally ill.

In 1770, the Virginia General Assembly enacted legislation providing for the appointment of fifteen trustees or directors to superintend the construction of a sanatorium and to administer its affairs afterwards. The law also made an appropriation to cover the initial cost of the project and outlined procedures for the commitment, reception, and discharge of patients. The hospital was completed in the fall of 1773 and the first patients admitted.

Early patients were subjected to the same forms of treatment which were used in European asylums. James Galt, the first keeper, was, however, accounted a "man of much humanity."

In 1841, Dr. John Minson Galt II was appointed superintendent. He abandoned the former emphasis on custody and concentrated on curing every possible case. Novel forms of occupational and recreational therapy were introduced, and he made the Williamsburg institution one of the most progressive of its type in the United States.

The original building and subsequent additions were destroyed in a disastrous fire in 1885. A small frame cottage which had been the home of the first custodian, James Galt, survived. The cottage has since been moved from the hospital grounds to the Duke of Gloucester Street. It is now maintained as part of the restored area of Williamsburg.
St. George Tucker House

Location. Williamsburg

St. George Tucker graduated from the College of William and Mary in 1772, was admitted to the bar, and began the practice of law in Williamsburg. His career was interrupted by the Revolution, during which he supported the Patriot cause energetically.

After the Revolution he spent virtually the remainder of his life in public office. He became professor of law at William and Mary, served for eight years on the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, and then for nearly fifteen years as judge of the Federal district court in Virginia.

Tucker was one of the earlier opponents of slavery. In 1796, he published a Dissertation on Slavery which was included in his commentary on Blackstone's Commentaries. In his Dissertation, Tucker stated that slavery was incompatible with our principle of government and that of the Revolution. He included a plan for gradual emancipation; he hoped to encourage emigration as a substitute for planned colonization.

Tucker's ideas on slavery and emancipation were widely read and circulated, but like so many similar plans, his ideas found no actual realization. Tucker was writing at a time when slavery was waning somewhat and when other prominent Southerners, such as Thomas Jefferson, were also advocating emancipation. Perhaps his ideas influenced some of these men and played an indirect part in the founding of the American Colonization Society in 1817.

The St. George Tucker House is located in Williamsburg. The house was built in the Early Republican period and is large, but possesses the simplicity of an earlier time. It is a clapboard structure with dormered gable roofs descending from the central portion. The kitchen with its massive chimney at the western end has been restored.
SITES ALSO NOTED

ARIZONA

1. Bisbee
2. *Hubbell Trading Post
3. Jerome

CALIFORNIA

4. Fellowship Farm (1912-1926), Los Angeles County, near Fuente.
5. Joyful Farm (1884), Kern County, near Bakersfield.
6. Modjeska's Farm (1876-1877), Orange County, west of Anaheim.
7. Winters Island (1893-1898), Contra Costa County, north of Antioch.

KENTUCKY

8. Home of Cassius M. Clay, Lexington

OKLAHOMA

9. Barber
10. *Cherokee National Capitol
11. *Creek National Capitol
12. Guthrie
13. Meno
14. Okarche
15. Seger Colony
16. Site of New Springplace Moravian Mission
17. Site of Old Fort Cantonment
18. Thomas

*Classified in previous studies as "exceptional value" sites.
SITES ALSO NOTED

TEXAS

19. Buckner's Orphan Home (Dallas)
20. Castroville
21. Indianola
22. Panna Maria
23. Praha
24. Serbin
25. Site of Icarian Colony
26. Site of La Reunion Colony

UTAH

27. Bingham Canyon
28. National Women’s Relief Society
CRITERIA FOR THE EVALUATION OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. Structures or sites at which events occurred that have made an outstanding contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or which best represent, the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation, and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

3. Structures or sites associated significantly with an important event that best represents some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable structure representing the work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

5. Archeological sites that have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced, or which may reasonably be expected to produce, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

6. Every historic and archeological site and structure should have integrity—that is, there should not be doubt as to whether it is the original site or structure, and in the case of a structure, that it represents original materials and workmanship. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites which are primarily of significance in the field of religion or to religious bodies but are not of national importance in other fields of the history of the United States, such as, political, military, or architectural history, will not be eligible for consideration.

8. Structures or sites of recent historical importance, relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.
Theme XXII

SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENTS

Working List

Sites Recommended for Classification
as Possessing Exceptional Value:*

1. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881, the Normal School became the core and symbol of Washington's efforts from 1881 to 1915 to ameliorate the economic condition of the Negro and to improve his way of life. (Criteria 1, 2, and 6).

2. National Headquarters, American National Red Cross, D. C. The National Society of the Red Cross established in the United States in 1881 by Clara Barton, provided for disaster relief and for assistance to the armed forces through voluntary contributions of the American people. The National Headquarters building was erected in 1915-17. (Criteria 1, 3, and 6).

3. Administration Building, Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C. Founded in 1902 by the steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, the Carnegie Institution reflects his realization that basic scientific research is essential to human well-being. The Carnegie Institution of Washington is an early example of far-sighted American philanthropy. The administration building was completed in 1910. (Criteria 1, 3, and 6).

4. Alva Belmont House, National Woman's Party, D. C. The Alva Belmont House is the permanent national headquarters of the organization which led the campaign 1913-1920 for the enfranchisement of women to national success. The passage and ratification of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution in 1920 was due in large part to the activities of the National Woman's Party. The Alva Belmont House has served as headquarters of this non-partisan organization since 1929. (Criteria 3 and 6).

5. Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace and First Girl Scout Headquarters, Georgia. Home of the founder of the Girl Scouts of the United States, it also served in 1912 as the first headquarters of the Girl Scouts. (Criteria 1, 2, and 6).

*This list does not include those sites located in the Northeast Region that may be recommended for classification.
6. Middle Amana (Historic District) Iowa. The Amana Society, a religious utopian colony composed of immigrants from Germany, has been described as "the most successful experiment in Communism in America." First settling in New York State in 1842, the society moved to Iowa in 1855, where seven Amana communities were established. Middle Amana is the best preserved of these seven villages. (Criteria 1, 3, and 6).

7. Carry Nation Home, Kansas. 1889-1902 home of Carry Nation, the militant prohibitionist. Known principally for her "barroom smashing" activities, Carry Nation dramatized the temperance movement which led to the adoption of the 18th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. (Criteria 1, 2, and 6).