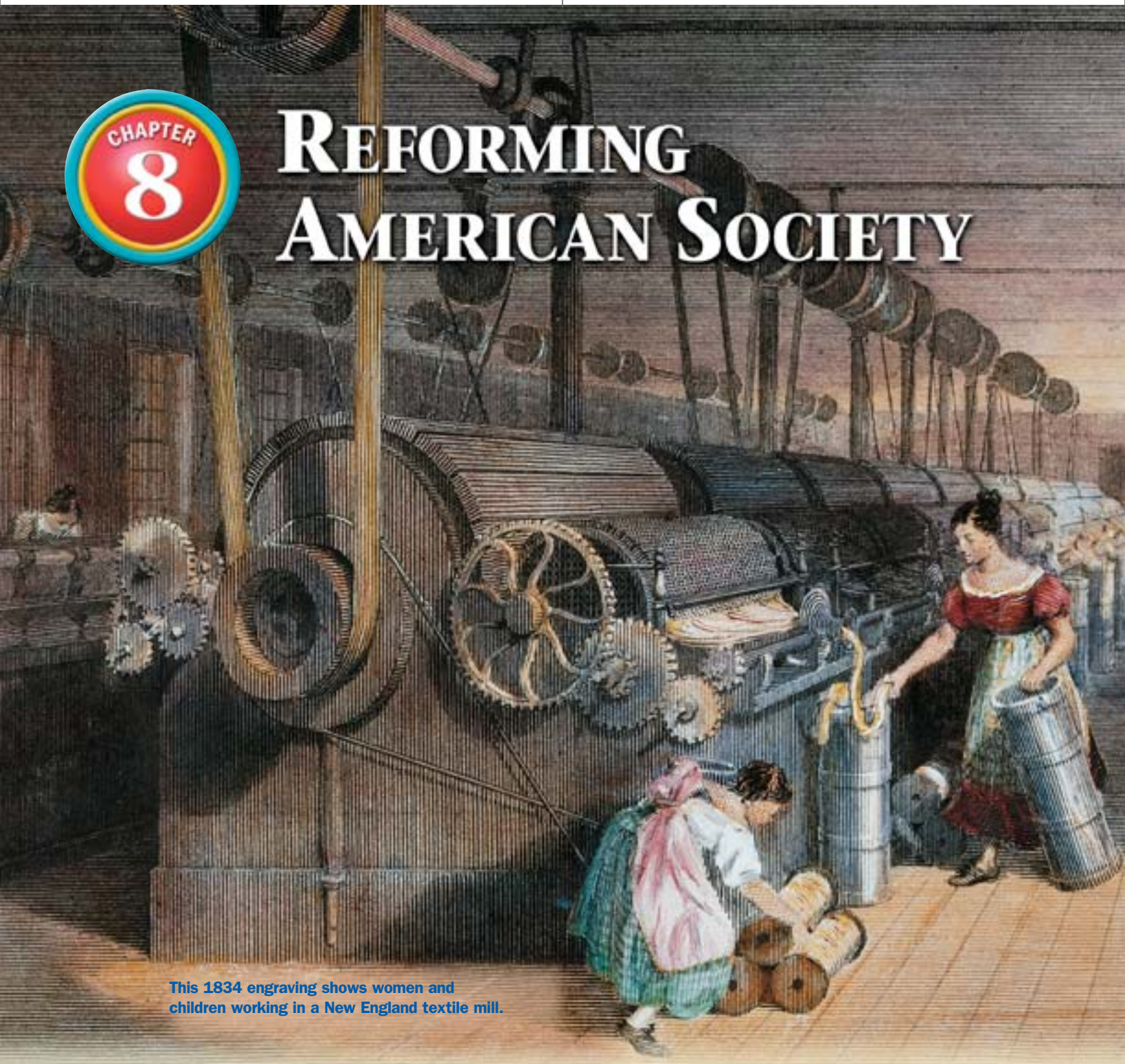




CHAPTER 8

REFORMING AMERICAN SOCIETY



This 1834 engraving shows women and children working in a New England textile mill.



1822 Large textile mill opens in Lowell, Massachusetts.

1827 Sojourner Truth is freed from slavery.

1829 David Walker prints *Appeal*, a pamphlet urging slaves to revolt.

1831 Nat Turner leads slave rebellion.

1834 National Trades' Union is formed.

USA
WORLD

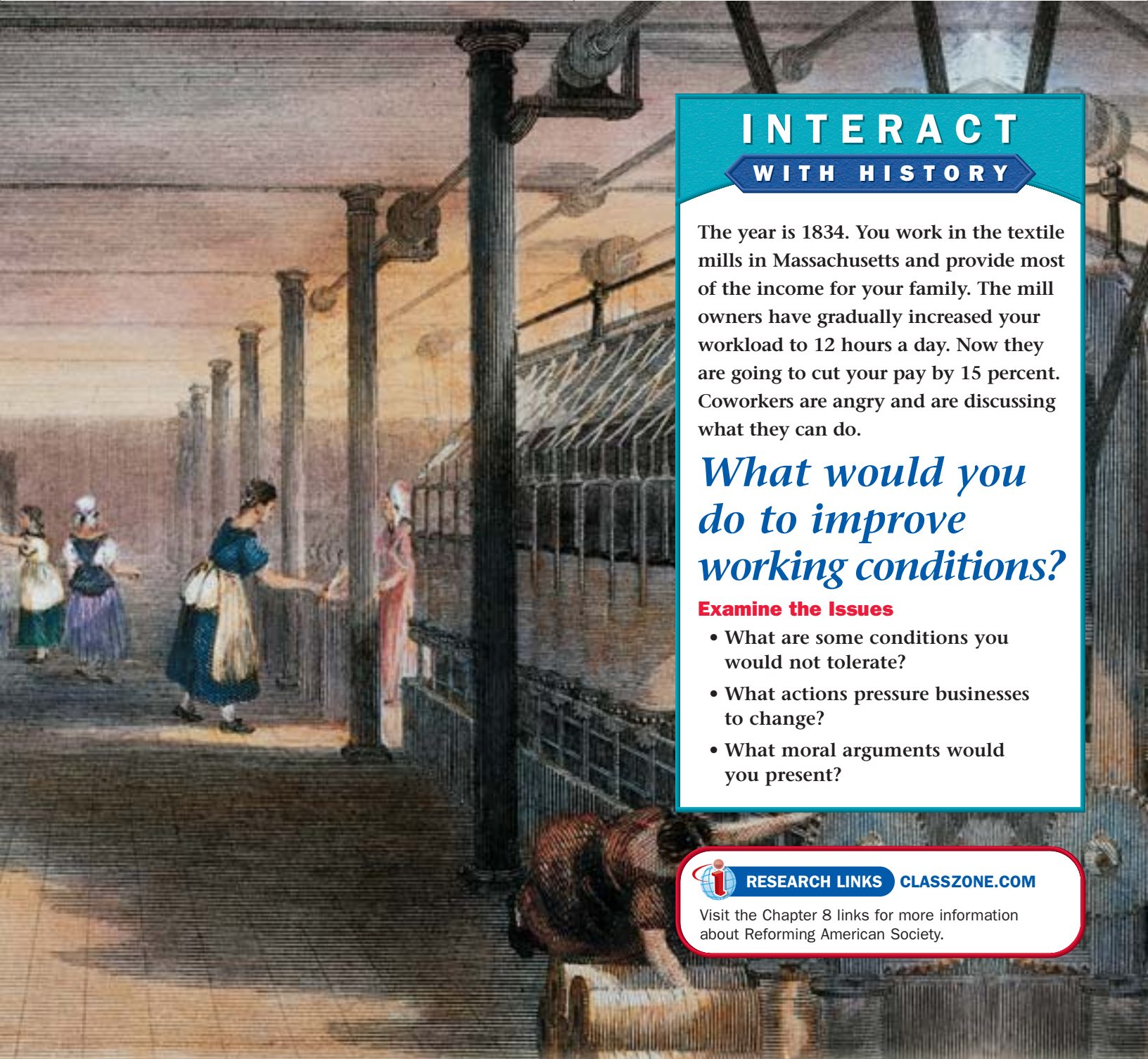
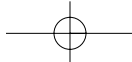
1820

1830

1820 Revolts break out in Spain and Portugal.

1832 Britain passes its first Reform Bill.

1833 Britain abolishes slavery in its empire.



INTERACT


WITH HISTORY

The year is 1834. You work in the textile mills in Massachusetts and provide most of the income for your family. The mill owners have gradually increased your workload to 12 hours a day. Now they are going to cut your pay by 15 percent. Coworkers are angry and are discussing what they can do.

What would you do to improve working conditions?

Examine the Issues

- What are some conditions you would not tolerate?
- What actions pressure businesses to change?
- What moral arguments would you present?

 **RESEARCH LINKS** CLASSZONE.COM

Visit the Chapter 8 links for more information about Reforming American Society.

1838 Frederick Douglass flees to New York City to escape slavery.



1841 Utopian community is established at Brook Farm.

1845 Henry David Thoreau moves to Walden Pond.



1848 Seneca Falls Convention on women's rights is held.

1840

1839 French and British introduce first forms of photography.



1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention is held in London.

1845 Great Potato Famine begins in Ireland.



1850

1848 Revolutions erupt across Europe, causing many Germans and others to move to America.



Religion Sparks Reform

MAIN IDEA

A renewal of religious sentiment—known as the **Second Great Awakening**—inspired a host of reform movements.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Many modern social and political reform movements grew out of the reform movements of 19th-century America.

Terms & Names

- Charles Grandison Finney
- Second Great Awakening
- revival
- Ralph Waldo Emerson
- transcendentalism
- Henry David Thoreau
- civil disobedience
- utopian community
- Dorothea Dix

One American's Story

When **Charles Grandison Finney** preached, his listeners shrieked, moaned, and fainted. The most famous preacher of the era, Finney inspired emotional religious faith, using a speaking style that was as much high drama as prayer or sermon. Converted at the age of 29, Finney traveled by horseback to deliver his message. Finney seated the most likely converts in his audiences on a special “anxious bench,” where he could fasten his eyes upon them. He lectured on the depth of the conversion experience.



▲ Charles Grandison Finney

A PERSONAL VOICE CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY

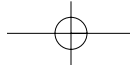
“I know this is all so much algebra to those who have never felt it. But to those who have experienced the agony of wrestling, prevailing prayer, for the conversion of a soul, you may depend upon it, that soul . . . appears as dear as a child is to the mother who brought it forth with pain.”

—*Lectures on Revivals of Religions*

The convert's duty was to spread the word about personal salvation to others. This religious activism—or evangelism—was part of an overall era of reform that started in the 1830s. Reforms of the period included women's rights, school reform, and abolition, the movement to outlaw slavery. All of these movements emerged as responses to rapid changes in American society such as early industrial growth, increasing migration and immigration, and new means of communication.

The Second Great Awakening

Much of the impulse toward reform was rooted in the revivals of the broad religious movement that swept the United States after 1790, known as the **Second Great Awakening**. Finney and his contemporaries were participants in



the Second Great Awakening. These preachers rejected the 18th-century Calvinistic belief that God predetermined one's salvation or damnation—whether a person went to heaven or hell. Instead, they emphasized individual responsibility for seeking salvation, and they insisted that people could improve themselves and society.

Religious ideas current in the early 19th century promoted individualism and responsibility, similar to the emphasis of Jacksonian democracy on the power of the common citizen. Christian churches split over these ideas, as various denominations competed to proclaim the message of a democratic God, one who extends the possibility of salvation to all people. The forums for their messages were large gatherings, where some preachers could draw audiences of 20,000 or more at outdoor camps.

REVIVALISM Such a gathering was called a **revival**, an emotional meeting designed to awaken religious faith through impassioned preaching and prayer. A revival might last 4 or 5 days. During the day the participants studied the Bible and examined their souls. In the evening they heard emotional preaching that could make them cry out, burst into tears, or tremble with fear.

Revivalism swept across the United States in the early 19th century. Some of the most intense revivals took place in a part of western New York known as the burned-over district because of the religious fires that frequently burned there. Charles Finney fanned these flames, conducting some of his most successful revivals in Rochester, New York. The Rochester revivals earned Finney the reputation of “the father of modern revivalism.” Revivalism had a strong impact on the public. According to one estimate, in 1800 just 1 in 15 Americans belonged to a church, but by 1850, 1 in 6 was a member. **A**

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHURCH The Second Great Awakening also brought Christianity on a large scale to enslaved African Americans. There was a strong democratic impulse in the new churches and a belief that all people—black or white—belonged to the same God. Thus, the camp meetings and the new Baptist or Methodist churches were open to both blacks and whites. Slaves in the rural South—though they were segregated in pews of their own—worshiped in the same churches, heard the same sermons, and sang the same hymns as did the slave owners. Enslaved African Americans, however, interpreted the Christian message as a promise of freedom for their people.

In the East, many free African Americans worshiped in separate black churches, like Richard Allen's Bethel African Church in Philadelphia, which by 1816 would become the African



MODERN REVIVALISM

Evangelical Christianity reemerged in several different religious organizations in the late 20th century. One example is the Christian Coalition, a religiously based citizen-action organization with almost 2 million members.

As with the Second Great Awakening, members of these religious organizations often are active in political movements that spring from personal religious beliefs. Indeed, some of the organizations use television much like Finney used the revival meeting to encourage believers to act on their faith.

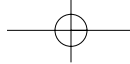
MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

A How did the Second Great Awakening revolutionize the American religious tradition?

This early-19th-century tray depicts Lemuel Haynes preaching in his Vermont Congregational Church.





Methodist Episcopal Church. Allen inspired his congregation to strengthen its faith as well as to fight against slavery.

A PERSONAL VOICE RICHARD ALLEN

“Our only design is to secure to ourselves, our rights and privileges to regulate our affairs temporal and spiritual, the same as if we were white people, and to guard against any oppression which might possibly arise from the improper prejudices or administration of any individual having the exercise of Discipline over us.”

—quoted in *Segregated Sabbaths*

Membership in the African Methodist Episcopal Church grew rapidly. It became a political, cultural, and social center for African Americans, providing schools and other services that whites denied them.

Eventually the African-American church developed a political voice and organized the first black national convention, held in Philadelphia in September 1830. Richard Allen convened the meeting, in which participants agreed to explore the possible settlement of free African Americans and fugitive slaves in Canada. Allen’s convention was the first of what would become an annual convention of free blacks in the North. The African-American church gave its members a deep inner faith, a strong sense of community—and the spiritual support to oppose slavery. **B**

History Through

Art

A VIEW OF THE MOUNTAIN PASS CALLED THE NOTCH OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS (CRAWFORD NOTCH) (1839)

This painting by Thomas Cole is an example of the Hudson River school. Like the transcendentalists, its painters celebrated the beauty of the American landscape, and the truth found in personal emotion.

What relationship between humans and nature does Cole’s painting portray?

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

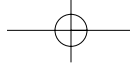
B How did the African-American church support its followers?

Transcendentalism and Reforms

Many reformed-minded individuals sought an alternative to traditional religion but found revivalism too public a forum for religious expression.

TRANSCENDENTALISM By the mid-1800s, some Americans were taking new pride in their emerging culture. **Ralph Waldo Emerson**, a New England writer, nurtured this pride. Emerson led a group practicing **transcendentalism**—a





philosophical and literary movement that emphasized living a simple life and celebrated the truth found in nature and in personal emotion and imagination.

Exalting the dignity of the individual, the transcendentalists spawned a literary movement that stressed American ideas of optimism, freedom, and self-reliance. Emerson's friend **Henry David Thoreau** put the idea of self-reliance into practice. Abandoning community life, he built himself a cabin on the shore of Walden Pond near Concord, Massachusetts, where he lived alone for two years. (See Literature of the Transcendentalists, page 246.) In *Walden* (1854), Thoreau advised readers to follow their inner voices.

★ A PERSONAL VOICE HENRY DAVID THOREAU

“I learned this, at least, by my experiment; that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours. . . . If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them.”

—Walden

Because Thoreau believed in the importance of individual conscience, he urged people not to obey laws they considered unjust. Instead of protesting with violence, they should peacefully refuse to obey those laws. This form of protest is called **civil disobedience**. For example, Thoreau did not want to support the U.S. government, which allowed slavery and fought the War with Mexico. Instead of paying taxes that helped finance the war, Thoreau went to jail. **C**

UNITARIANISM Rather than appealing to the emotions, Unitarians emphasized reason and appeals to conscience as the paths to perfection. In New England, Unitarians quickly attracted a wealthy and educated following. In place of the dramatic conversions produced by the revivals, Unitarians believed conversion was a gradual process. William Ellery Channing, a prominent Unitarian leader, asserted that the purpose of Christianity was “the perfection of human nature, the elevation of men into nobler beings.” Unitarians agreed with revivalists that individual and social reform were both possible and important. **D**

Americans Form Ideal Communities

Some of the optimism of religious and social reform also inspired the establishment of **utopian communities**, experimental groups who tried to create a “utopia,” or perfect place. These communities varied in their philosophies and living arrangements but shared common goals such as self-sufficiency. One of the best-known utopian communities was established in New Harmony, Indiana. Another was Brook Farm, located near Boston.

In 1841 transcendentalist George Ripley established Brook Farm 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.” A fire destroyed the main building at Brook Farm in 1847, and the community immediately disbanded. Most utopias lasted no more than a few years.

MAIN IDEA

Synthesizing

C In what way did Thoreau's experience at Walden reflect transcendentalist beliefs?

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

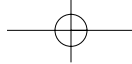
D How did the Unitarians' approach to religious experience differ from the revivalists'?

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

HAWTHORNE AT BROOK FARM

New England writer Nathaniel Hawthorne spent about six months at Brook Farm in 1841. He hoped to find solitude in which to write, but instead spent close to ten hours a day working in the barns and fields. He was forced to conclude that life there was “unnatural and unsuitable” for him.

Ten years after he left Brook Farm, Hawthorne, now considered an established author, wrote *The Blithedale Romance* (1852). A fictional account of communal life based on Brook Farm, the book suggests that striving for perfection may yield unexpected results.



▲ These fine oval wooden boxes were made in the Shaker village in Canterbury, New Hampshire. They were used for storing small items.

The failure of the utopian communities did not lessen the zeal of the religious reformers. Many became active in humanitarian reform movements, such as the abolition of slavery and improved conditions for women.

SHAKER COMMUNITIES Religious belief spurred other ideal communities. The Shakers, who followed the teachings of Ann Lee, set up their first communities in New York, New England, and on the frontier. Shakers shared their goods with each other, believed that men and women are equal, and refused to fight for any reason. When a person became a Shaker, he or she vowed not to marry or have children. Shakers depended on converts and adopting children to keep their communities going. In the 1840s, the Shakers had 6,000 members—their highest number. In 1999, only about seven Shakers remained in the entire United States.

Schools and Prisons Undergo Reform

By the mid-19th century, thousands of Americans holding a variety of philosophical positions had joined together to fight the various social ills that troubled the young nation. Some social reformers focused their attention on schools and other institutions.

REFORMING ASYLUMS AND PRISONS In 1831, French writer Alexis de Tocqueville had visited the United States to study its penitentiary system. Observing prisoners who were physically punished or isolated for extended periods, de Tocqueville concluded that “While society in the United States gives the example of the most extended liberty, the prisons of the same country offer the spectacle of the most complete despotism [rigid and severe control].” Reformers quickly took up the cause.

Dorothea Dix was compelled by personal experience to join the movement for social reform. On visiting a Massachusetts house of correction, Dix was horrified to discover that jails often housed mentally ill people.

A PERSONAL VOICE DOROTHEA DIX

“I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the present state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth. . . . Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience! . . . Injustice is also done to the convicts: it is certainly very wrong that they should be doomed day after day and night after night to listen to the ravings of madmen and madwomen.”

—Report to the Massachusetts Legislature



▲ Dorothea Dix (ca. 1846)

In 1843 she sent a report of her findings to the Massachusetts legislature, who in turn passed a law aimed at improving conditions. Between 1845 and 1852, Dix persuaded nine Southern states to set up public hospitals for the mentally ill.

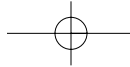
Prison reformers—and Dorothea Dix in her efforts on behalf of the mentally ill—emphasized the idea of rehabilitation, treatment that might reform the sick or imprisoned person to a useful position in society. There was, as revivalists suggested, hope for everyone. **E**

IMPROVING EDUCATION Before the mid-1800s, no uniform educational policy existed in the United States. School conditions varied across regions. Massachusetts and Vermont were the only states before the Civil War to pass a compulsory school

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

E How did the reformers change the treatment of the mentally ill and prisoners?



attendance law. Classrooms in the early schools were not divided by grade, so younger and older pupils were thrown together. Few children continued in school beyond the age of ten.

In the 1830s, Americans increasingly began to demand tax-supported public schools. For example, in 1834 Pennsylvania established a tax-supported public school system. Although the system was optional, a storm of opposition erupted from well-to-do taxpayers. They saw no reason to support schools that their children, who were mostly enrolled in private schools, would not attend. Opposition also came from some German immigrants who feared that their children would forget the German language and culture. Within three years, however, about 42 percent of the elementary-school-age children in Pennsylvania were attending public schools.

One remarkable leader in the public school reform movement was Horace Mann of Massachusetts. After a childhood spent partly at work and partly in poor schools, Mann declared, "If we do not prepare children to become good citizens, . . . if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have gone before it." In 1837 he became the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. In 12 years of service, Mann established teacher-training programs and instituted curriculum reforms. He also doubled the money that the state spent on schools.

Other states soon followed Massachusetts's and Pennsylvania's good example. By the 1850s every state had provided some form of publicly funded elementary schools. In states in the far West and in Southern states, however, it took years before public schools were firmly established. **F**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

F What efforts were made to improve education in the 1830s?

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

MCGUFFEY'S READERS

If you attended school during the mid-to late-1800s, you probably would have used a McGuffey's reader. William H. McGuffey, a teacher and preacher in Ohio, first published his popular grade-school reading books in the 1830s.

The readers, which had sold more than 60 million copies by 1879, taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as the democratic cultural values of hard work, honesty, and love of country. They also contained little moral lessons to live by, such as "Idleness is the nest in which mischief lays its eggs."



ASSESSMENT

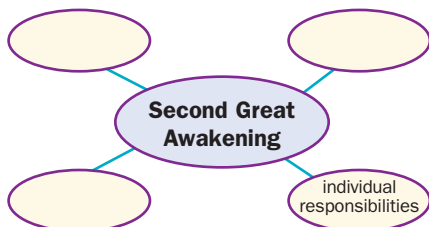
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Charles Grandison Finney
- Ralph Waldo Emerson
- Henry David Thoreau
- utopian community
- Second Great Awakening
- transcendentalism
- civil disobedience
- Dorothea Dix
- revival

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a web similar to the one shown, fill in events and ideas that relate to the Second Great Awakening.



Why did revivalism catch hold in the early 19th century?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. SYNTHESIZING

Consider the philosophical and religious ideas expressed during the Second Great Awakening and other religious reform movements. What were the key values and beliefs that guided 19th-century reformers' actions? **Think About:**

- concepts of individualism and individual salvation
- attitudes toward social responsibility
- the viewpoints of Finney, Channing, and Emerson

4. ANALYZING ISSUES

How do you think the 19th-century reform movements in schools, prisons, and asylums might have influenced reform movements today?

5. COMPARING

Why might the idea of utopian communities appeal to the transcendentalists?



AMERICAN

LITERATURE

The Literature of the Transcendentalists

1820–1850 One of the most influential American thinkers of the 19th century was Ralph Waldo Emerson. A poet, essayist, and lecturer, Emerson traveled to England in the early 1830s, where he met writers who were part of the romantic movement. Romanticism embodied a style of art, literature, and thought that stressed the human development of emotional forms of expression. Building on these ideas, Emerson developed transcendentalism—a distinctly American philosophical and literary movement that emphasized living a simple life that is not dictated by any organized system of belief.

Members of the transcendentalist movement included New England writers Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, and Henry David Thoreau. Although the movement was kindled by European romanticism, threads of transcendentalist thinking can be found in New England puritan thought, and some transcendentalists were students of Buddhism and other Asian traditions.

◀ MARGARET FULLER

Margaret Fuller was one of the editors of the transcendentalist journal *The Dial*. In 1845, Fuller published *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, a work that demanded equality and fulfillment for women.



“Is it not enough,” cries the irritated trader, “that you have done all you could to break up the national union, and thus destroy the prosperity of our country, but now you must be trying to break up family union, to take my wife away from the cradle and the kitchen-hearth to vote at polls and preach from a pulpit? Of course, if she does such things, she cannot attend to those of her own sphere. She is happy enough as she is. She has more leisure than I have—every means of improvement, every indulgence.”

“Have you asked her whether she was satisfied with these *indulgences*?”

“No, but I know she is. . . . I will never consent to have our peace disturbed by any such discussions.”

“Consent—you? It is not consent from you that is in question—it is assent from your wife.”

“Am not I the head of my house?”

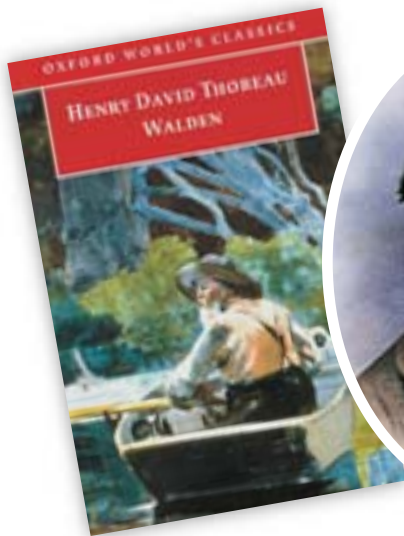
“You are not the head of your wife. God has given her a mind of her own.”

—*Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845)



▼ HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Henry David Thoreau believed that people must be free to act by their own idea of right and wrong. His work helped shape many reform movements of his time. In *Walden*, published in 1854, Thoreau wrote about living alone in the woods. Thoreau urged people to reject the greed and materialism that was affecting Americans in their daily lives.



Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity! I say, let your affairs be as two or three, and not a hundred or a thousand; instead of a million count half a dozen, and keep your accounts on your thumb-nail. . . . Simplify, simplify. Instead of three meals a day, if it be necessary eat but one; instead of a hundred dishes, five; and reduce other things in proportion. . . .

If we respected only what is inevitable and has a right to be, music and poetry would resound along the streets. When we are unhurried and wise, we perceive that only great and worthy things have any permanent and absolute existence, that petty fears and petty pleasures are but the shadow of the reality. . . .

Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away, but eternity remains. I would drink deeper; fish in the sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars. I cannot count one. I know not the first letter of the alphabet. I have always been regretting that I was not as wise as the day I was born. . . .

—*Walden* (published 1854)



RALPH WALDO EMERSON ▲

Emerson's poem "Berrying" expresses his celebration of the truth found in nature and in personal emotion and imagination.

"May be true what I had heard,
Earth's a howling wilderness
Truculent with fraud and force,"
Said I, strolling through the pastures,
And along the riverside.
Caught among the blackberry vines,
Feeding on the Ethiops sweet,
Pleasant fancies overtook me:
I said, "What influence me preferred
Elect to dreams thus beautiful?"
The vines replied, "And didst thou deem
No wisdom to our berries went?"

—"Berrying"
(published 1846)

THINKING CRITICALLY

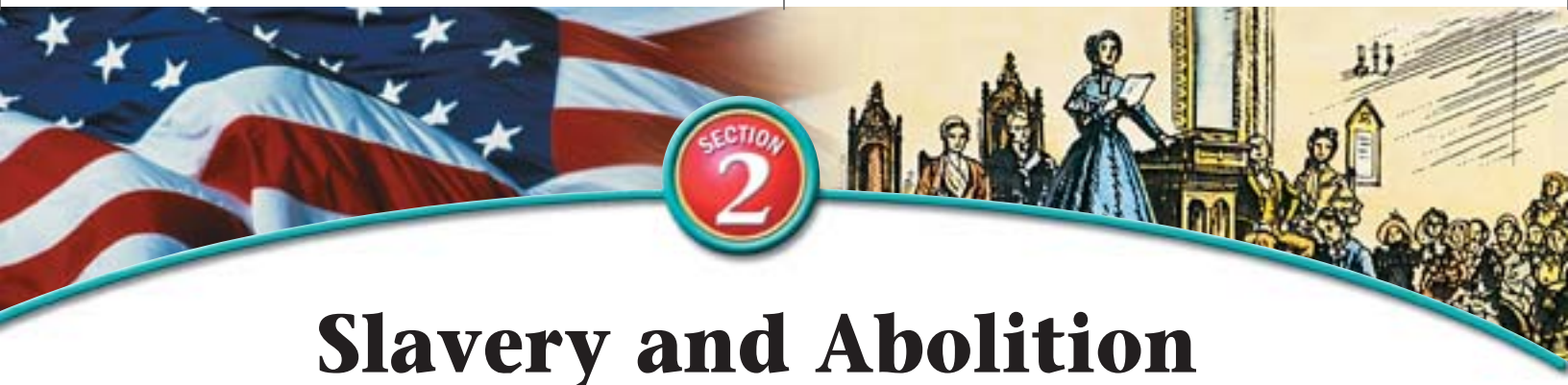
- 1. Comparing and Contrasting** What does each selection reveal about habits and attitudes in 1850s America? Cite details to help explain your answers.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

- 2. INTERNET ACTIVITY CLASSZONE.COM**

Use the links for American Literature to research and create an annotated book of famous transcendentalist quotations. Well-known examples might include: Emerson's "Hitch your wagon to a star," or Thoreau's "The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation." The quotations you choose for each writer should contain information on the source of the quotation and a short description of how each quotation expresses transcendentalist beliefs.



Slavery and Abolition

MAIN IDEA

Slavery became an explosive issue, as more Americans joined reformers working to put an end to it.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The people of the United States continue to be challenged by questions of economic and social inequality.

Terms & Names

- abolition
- William Lloyd Garrison
- emancipation
- David Walker
- Frederick Douglass
- Nat Turner
- antebellum
- gag rule

One American's Story

James Forten's great-grandfather had been brought from Africa to the American colonies in chains, but James was born free. In 1781, the 15-year-old James went to sea to fight for American independence. Captured by the British and offered passage to England, the patriotic youth refused, saying, "I am here a prisoner for the liberties of my country. I never, NEVER shall prove a traitor to her interests."

By the 1830s Forten had become a wealthy sailmaker in Philadelphia, with a fortune rumored to exceed \$100,000. Though some people argued that free blacks should return to Africa, Forten disagreed and responded with sarcasm.



▲ James Forten, a wealthy leader of Philadelphia's free black community, took an active role in a variety of political causes.

A PERSONAL VOICE JAMES FORTEN

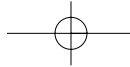
"Here I have dwelt until I am nearly sixty years of age, and have brought up and educated a family. . . . Yet some ingenious gentlemen have recently discovered that I am still an African; that a continent three thousand miles, and more, from the place where I was born, is my native country. And I am advised to go home. . . . Perhaps if I should only be set on the shore of that distant land, I should recognize all I might see there, and run at once to the old hut where my forefathers lived a hundred years ago."

—quoted in *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720–1840*

Forten's unwavering belief that he was an American led him to oppose the effort to resettle free blacks in Africa and also pushed him fervently to oppose slavery.

Abolitionists Speak Out

By the 1820s more than 100 antislavery societies were advocating for resettlement of blacks in Africa—based on the belief that African Americans were an inferior race that could not coexist with white society. Yet most free blacks considered America their home, and only about 1,400 blacks emigrated to Africa between



1820 and 1830. As one black pastor from New York angrily proclaimed, “We are natives of this country. We only ask that we be treated as well as foreigners.”

African Americans increasingly were joined by whites in public criticism of slavery. White support for **abolition**, the call to outlaw slavery, was fueled by preachers like Charles G. Finney, who termed slavery “a great national sin.”

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON The most radical white abolitionist was an editor named **William Lloyd Garrison**. Active in religious reform movements in Massachusetts, Garrison started his own paper, *The Liberator*, in 1831 to deliver an uncompromising message: immediate **emancipation**—the freeing of slaves, with no payment to slaveholders.

▲ A PERSONAL VOICE WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

“[I]s there not cause for severity? I *will* be harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject [immediate emancipation], I do not wish to think or speak or write, with moderation. . . . I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.”

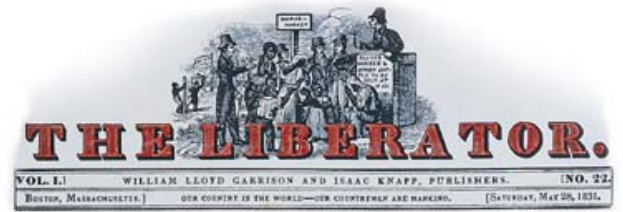
—*The Liberator*

As white abolitionists began to respond to Garrison’s ideas, he founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, followed by the national American Anti-Slavery Society a year later. Garrison enjoyed core black support; three out of four early subscribers were African Americans. Whites who opposed abolition, however, hated him. Some whites supported abolition but opposed Garrison when he attacked churches and the government for failing to condemn slavery. Garrison alienated whites even more when he associated with fiery abolitionist David Walker.

FREE BLACKS In his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, published in 1829, **David Walker**, a free black, advised blacks to fight for freedom rather than to wait for slave owners to end slavery. He wrote, “The man who would not fight . . . ought to be kept with all of his children or family, in slavery, or in chains, to be butchered by his cruel enemies.”

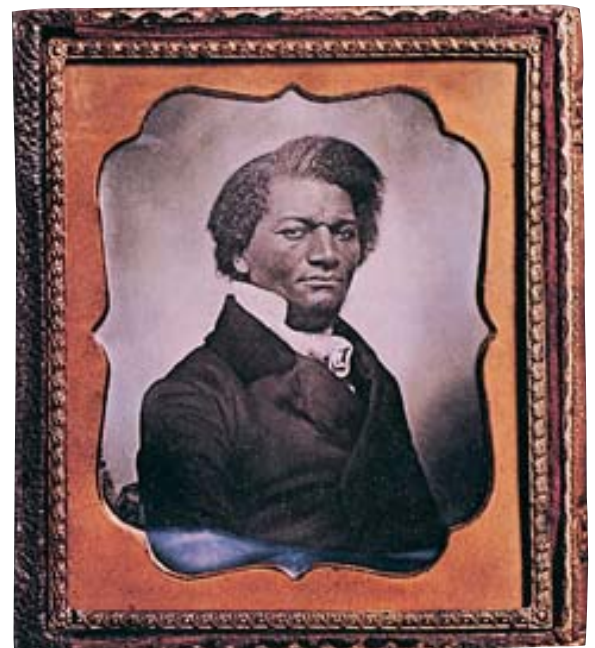
Many free blacks, more willing to compromise than Walker, had joined one of many antislavery societies active by the end of the 1820s. In 1850, most of the 434,000 free blacks in the South worked as day laborers, but some held jobs as artisans. Northern free blacks discovered that only the lowest-paying jobs were open to them. Recalling his youth in Rhode Island in the 1830s, William J. Brown wrote, “To drive carriages, carry a market basket after the boss, and brush his boots . . . was as high as a colored man could rise.” Frederick Douglass, however, rose above such limitations. **A**

FREDERICK DOUGLASS Born into slavery in 1817, **Frederick Douglass** had been taught to read and write by the wife of one of his owners. Her husband ordered her to stop teaching Douglass, however, because reading “would forever unfit him to be a slave.” When Douglass realized that knowledge could be his “pathway from slavery to freedom,” he studied even harder.



▲ William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, bore the motto: “Our country is the world—Our countrymen are all mankind.”

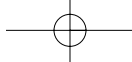
▼ Frederick Douglass, 1851



MAIN IDEA

Synthesizing

A What was radical at the time about Garrison’s and Walker’s ideas on abolition?



By 1838, Douglass held a skilled job as a ship caulker in Baltimore. He earned the top wages in the yard but was not allowed to keep any of his earnings. After a disagreement with his owner, Douglass decided to escape. Borrowing the identity of a free black sailor and carrying official papers, he reached New York and tasted freedom for the first time.

Douglass became an eager reader of *The Liberator*, which, he said, “sent a thrill of joy through my soul, such as I had never felt before.” When Garrison heard him speak of his experiences, he was so impressed he sponsored Douglass as a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society. A superb speaker, Douglass thrilled huge audiences. “I appear before the immense assembly this evening as a thief and a robber,” he would say. “I stole this head, these limbs, this body from my master and ran off with them.” Hoping that abolition could be achieved through political actions, Douglass broke with Garrison in 1847 and began his own anti-slavery newspaper. He named it *The North Star*, after the star that guided runaway slaves to freedom. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

B How did the various antislavery groups differ in approach?

Life Under Slavery

After 1830, Americans hotly debated the issue of slavery, but many African Americans still lived in bondage. In fact, the population of slaves in America had nearly doubled in the years between 1810 and 1830, growing from 1.2 million to roughly 2 million.

The institution of slavery had changed substantially since the 18th century. In those days, most slaves had recently arrived from the Caribbean or Africa and spoke one of several non-English languages. Most of these slaves worked on small farms alongside people with whom they could not easily communicate. By 1830, the majority had been born in America and spoke enough English to be able to communicate with other slaves. The rise of the plantation in the mid-18th century brought further change to the lives of the enslaved.

RURAL SLAVERY On large plantations, men, women, and even children toiled from dawn to dusk in the fields. The whip of the overseer or slave driver compelled them to work faster. Solomon Northup, who was born free and later enslaved, recalled the never-ending labor.

A PERSONAL VOICE SOLOMON NORTHUP

“The hands are required to be in the cotton field as soon as it is light in the morning, and, with the exception of ten or fifteen minutes, which is given them at noon to swallow their allowance of cold bacon, they are not permitted to be a moment idle until it is too dark to see, and when the moon is full, they often times labor till the middle of the night. They do not dare to stop even at dinner time, nor return to the quarters, however late it be, until the order to halt is given by the driver.”

—*Twelve Years a Slave*

By 1850 most slaves lived on plantations or large farms that employed ten or more slaves, but many lived on small farms, laboring beside their owners. Others lived and worked in the cities. **C**

URBAN SLAVERY By the 1830s the promise of cotton wealth had lured many Southern whites into farming, thus creating a shortage of white laborers for such

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

C Describe typical work experiences of rural Southern slaves.



▲ **Planters' children—like Charlotte Helen Middleton, shown with her nurse Lydia in 1857—often were tended by slaves who had been forced to give up their own children.**



Southern Plantations

Plantations were virtually self-contained, self-sufficient worlds over which owners ruled with absolute authority. Owners established the boundaries that a slave could not cross without punishment or death. But no boundary protected a slave from the owner's demands or cruel treatment.

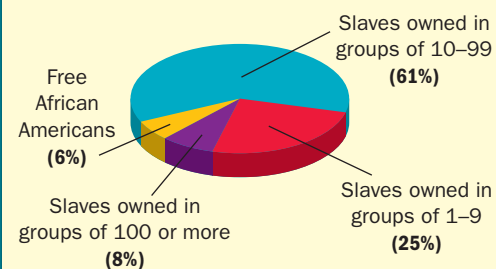


Slave quarters, from a photograph taken around 1865

industries as mining and lumber. As a result, a demand arose for slaves as workers in mills and on ships. Slaves who had developed specialized skills on plantations were now in demand in Southern cities. For example, slaves filled skilled occupations such as blacksmithing or carpentry, resulting in a new class of skilled black laborers. Most slaves lived rurally—2.8 million in 1850, compared with the 400,000 slaves living in cities. However, enslaved blacks could hire themselves out as artisans in Southern cities, often more easily than free blacks in the North, where racial discrimination prevailed.

Many enslaved women and children worked the same jobs as men in Southern industry. Slave owners “hired out” their slaves to factory owners. In return, the slave owners collected the pay of their slaves without having to supervise their activities. Thus, urban slaves spent more time beyond the watchful eye of their slave owners. Frederick Douglass remarked on differences between rural and urban slavery, noting that “a city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation. He is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation.” Douglass also noted that “a vestige of decency” in the cities limited the acts of “atrocious cruelty” to slaves that were common on plantations.

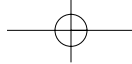
African Americans in the South, 1860



Sources: 1860 figures from *Eighth Census of the United States*; Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs

1. According to the pie graph, what was the smallest group of African Americans living in the American South in 1860?
2. Under what conditions did 61% of slaves in the South live? Explain.



▲ Artist Felix Darley completed this tinted drawing in 1863 for a history book. Nat Turner is shown (standing) preaching to his followers.

Still slaves never lost sight of their goal of freedom. For some, it was time to take more drastic and organized action.

NAT TURNER'S REBELLION Nat Turner was born into slavery in 1800 in Southampton County, Virginia. A gifted preacher, Turner believed that he had been chosen to lead his people out of bondage. In August, 1831, Turner judged an eclipse of the sun to be a divine signal for action. With nearly 80 followers, Turner's band attacked four plantations and killed almost 60 white inhabitants before being captured by state and federal troops.

Though Turner himself hid out for several weeks, eventually he was captured, tried, and hanged. In the retaliation that

followed, whites killed as many as 200 blacks—many of them innocent of any connection with the uprising. Turner's bloody rebellion strengthened the resolve of Southern whites to defend slavery and to control their slaves.

Slave Owners Defend Slavery

In some states, in the aftermath of the Turner rebellion, people argued that the only way to prevent further slave revolts was through emancipation. Others, however, chose to tighten restrictions on all African Americans.

VIRGINIA DEBATE Virginia governor John Floyd wrote of his wish for a "law . . . gradually abolishing slavery in this State." By January 1832 the state legislature was hotly debating that very prospect. "Nothing else could have prompted [the discussions]," reported the *Richmond Enquirer*, "but the bloody massacre [Turner's Rebellion] in the month of August."

The debate over the future of slavery in Virginia resulted in a motion for abolition in the state legislature. The motion lost by a 73 to 58 vote, primarily because the state legislature was balanced toward eastern slaveholders rather than non-slaveholders in the western part of the state. That loss closed the debate on slavery in the **antebellum** (pre-Civil War) South.

BACKLASH FROM REVOLTS In addition to forcing the Virginia debate, whites' fear of future slave revolts had another important effect. Most slave owners believed that education and privilege inspired revolt. Thus, many slave owners pushed their state legislatures to further tighten controls on African Americans. These controls became known as slave codes. **D**

In 1833, for example, Alabama forbade free and enslaved blacks from preaching the gospel unless "respectable" slaveholders were present. Georgia followed suit. In 1835 North Carolina became the last Southern state to deny the vote to free blacks. In some states, free blacks lost the right to own guns, purchase alcohol, assemble in public, and testify in court. In some Southern cities, African Americans could no longer own property, learn to

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

SLAVE REVOLTS

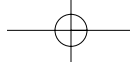
Armed rebellion was an extreme form of resistance to slavery. Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion was merely the most recent example of slave desperation.

In 1811, more than 300 slaves had rebelled in Louisiana and marched on New Orleans with spikes and axes before a well-trained militia with firearms stopped them. Gabriel Prosser had hatched a plot to take over Richmond in 1800, and Denmark Vesey had led a conspiracy to control Charleston in 1822. Both of these conspiracies were thwarted by the authorities before larger rebellions occurred.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

D How did Turner's revolt harden Southern white attitudes about basic liberties for blacks?



read and write, or work independently as carpenters or blacksmiths.

PROSLAVERY DEFENSES Some proslavery advocates used the Bible to defend slavery, citing passages that counseled servants to obey their masters. Slavery, Southern slave owners argued, actually benefited blacks by making them part of a prosperous and Christian civilization. Even Southern white Christian ministers gradually shifted toward accepting slavery during this period. Some had attacked slavery in the early 1800s, but by the 1830s most white ministers in the South agreed that slavery and Christianity could coexist.

Slave owners invented the myth of the happy slave, a cherished addition to the plantation family. To this image they contrasted that of the Northern wage slave, a wage-earning immigrant or free black who worked for pennies in dark and airless factories. George Fitzhugh, a Virginia slave owner, argued that whereas Northern mill owners fired their workers when they became too old or sick to work, Southerners cared for their slaves for a lifetime.

Abolitionists, however, continued to campaign for emancipation. One maneuver was to swamp Congress with petitions to end slavery in the District of Columbia. Southern representatives countered in 1836 by securing the adoption of a **gag rule**, a rule limiting or preventing debate on an issue—which meant that citizens submitting petitions were deprived of their right to have them heard. The gag rule eventually was repealed in 1844.

Nevertheless, as abolitionists' efforts intensified during the 1850s, some turned to violence. The more clear-sighted began to sound the alarm: this turmoil over slavery would lead to a divided nation.

WORLD STAGE

SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS

Slaves formed a smaller portion of the total population in the American South than in the Caribbean and in Brazil. African slaves formed almost 80 percent of the population of Jamaica, a colony of Great Britain. Because so many slaves in that colony died, slave owners demanded a constant renewal of their supply from Africa, thus maintaining the Atlantic slave trade. Slavery ended in the British empire in 1833.

Brazil also had a large proportion of slaves. During the 1800s slaves made up more than half the colonial population of Brazil and worked primarily on large coffee plantations. Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888.

2

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------|
| • abolition | • emancipation | • Frederick Douglass | • antebellum |
| • William Lloyd Garrison | • David Walker | • Nat Turner | • gag rule |

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a two-column chart, list the major antislavery and proslavery actions that occurred from 1820 to 1850.

Antislavery Actions	Proslavery Actions

Which activity do you think was most effective? Explain.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. SYNTHESIZING

Which do you think was a more effective strategy for achieving the abolitionists' goal of eliminating slavery—violence or nonviolence? Why? **Think About:**

- Garrison's and Walker's remarks
- Frederick Douglass's views
- Southerners' reactions to Nat Turner's rebellion

4. SUMMARIZING

What arguments did Southern proslavery whites employ to defend slavery?

5. COMPARING

Compare the similarities and differences between the situations of free blacks in the North and slaves in the South.



Women and Reform

MAIN IDEA

Women reformers expanded their efforts from movements such as abolition and temperance to include women's rights.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The efforts of 19th-century women reformers inspired both woman suffragists in the early-1900s and present-day feminist movements.

Terms & Names

- Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- Lucretia Mott
- cult of domesticity
- Sarah Grimké
- Angelina Grimké
- temperance movement
- Seneca Falls Convention
- Sojourner Truth

One American's Story

Elizabeth Cady Stanton timed her marriage in 1840 so that she could accompany her husband to London for the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, where her husband was a delegate. At the antislavery convention, Stanton and the other women delegates received an unpleasant surprise.

A PERSONAL VOICE ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

“Though women were members of the National Anti-Slavery society, accustomed to speak and vote in all its conventions, and to take an equally active part with men in the whole antislavery struggle, and were there as delegates from associations of men and women, as well as those distinctively of their own sex, yet all alike were rejected because they were women.”

—quoted in *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*

At the convention, Stanton found a friend in the Quaker abolitionist **Lucretia Mott**. Stanton and Mott vowed “to hold a convention as soon as we returned home, and form a society to advocate the rights of women.” They kept their pledge and headed the first women's rights convention, assembled at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.

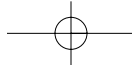


▲ Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Women's Roles in the Mid-1800s

In the early 19th century, women faced limited options. Prevailing customs demanded that women restrict their activities after marriage to the home and family. Housework and child care were considered the only proper activities for married women. Later that tradition became known as the **cult of domesticity**.

By 1850, roughly one in five white women had worked for wages a few years before they were married. About one in ten single white women worked outside


MAIN IDEA
Identifying Problems

A What were the main problems faced by women in the mid-1800s?

the home, earning about half the pay men received to do the same job. Women could neither vote nor sit on juries in the early 1800s, even if they were taxpayers. Typically, when a woman married, her property and any money she earned became her husband's. In many instances, married women lacked guardianship rights over their children. **A**

Women Mobilize for Reform

Despite such limits, women actively participated in all the important reform movements of the 19th century. Many middle-class white women were inspired by the optimistic message of the Second Great Awakening. Women were often shut out of meetings by disapproving men, and responded by expanding their efforts to seek equal rights for themselves.

WOMEN ABOLITIONISTS Sarah and Angelina Grimké, daughters of a South Carolina slaveholder, spoke eloquently for abolition. In 1836 Angelina Grimké published *An Appeal to Christian Women of the South*, in which she called upon women to “overthrow this horrible system of oppression and cruelty.” Women abolitionists also raised money, distributed literature, and collected signatures for petitions to Congress.

Some men supported women's efforts. William Lloyd Garrison, for example, joined the determined women who had been denied participation in the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. Garrison said, “After battling so many long years for the liberties of African slaves, I can take no part in a convention that strikes down the most sacred rights of all women.” Other men, however, denounced the female abolitionists. The Massachusetts clergy criticized the Grimké sisters for assuming “the place and tone of man as public reformer.”

Opposition only served to make women reformers more determined. The abolitionist cause became a powerful spur to other reform causes, as well as to the women's rights movement. **B**

WORKING FOR TEMPERANCE The **temperance movement**, the effort to prohibit the drinking of alcohol, was another offshoot of the influence of churches and the women's rights movement. Speaking at a temperance meeting in 1852, Mary C. Vaughan attested to the evils of alcohol.

A PERSONAL VOICE MARY C. VAUGHAN

“There is no reform in which woman can act better or more appropriately than temperance. . . . Its effects fall so crushingly upon her . . . she has so often seen its slow, insidious, but not the less surely fatal advances, gaining upon its victim. . . . Oh! the misery, the utter, hopeless misery of the drunkard's wife!”

—quoted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*

In the early 19th century, alcohol flowed freely in America. Liquor helped wash down the salted meat and fish that composed the dominant diet and, until the development of anesthetics in the 1840s, doctors dosed their patients with whiskey or brandy before operating.

Many Americans, however, recognized drunkenness as a serious problem. Lyman Beecher, a prominent Connecticut minister, had begun lecturing against all use of liquor in 1825. A year later, the American Temperance Society was founded. By 1833, some 6,000 local temperance societies dotted the country.

KEY PLAYER



LUCRETIA MOTT
1793–1880

History has it that Lucretia Mott was so talkative as a child that her mother called her Long Tongue. As an adult, she used her considerable public-speaking skills to campaign against slavery.

Mott became interested in women's rights when she learned that her salary as a teacher would be roughly half of what a man might receive. She was a prominent figure at the Seneca Falls Convention, at which she delivered the opening and closing addresses. Mott and her husband later acted on their abolitionist principles by taking in runaway slaves escaping on the Underground Railroad.

MAIN IDEA
Summarizing

B In what ways were women excluded from the abolitionist movement?



▲ This engraving is from a temperance society tract of around 1840. It depicts a family driven to despair by alcohol.

Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman (1838), a woman who knew “chemistry enough to keep the pot boiling, and geography enough to know the location of the different rooms in her house,” was considered learned enough.

A PERSONAL VOICE SARAH GRIMKÉ

“During the early part of my life, my lot was cast among the butterflies of the fashionable world, I am constrained to say . . . that their education is miserably deficient. . . . Our brethren may reject my doctrine . . . but I believe they would be ‘partakers of the benefit’ . . . and would find that woman, as their equal, was unspeakably more valuable than woman as their inferior, both as a moral and an intellectual being.”

—*Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman*



▲ Sarah Grimké (above) and her sister Angelina spoke out against slavery and gender inequality.

In 1821 Emma Willard opened one of the nation’s first academically rigorous schools for girls in Troy, New York. The Troy Female Seminary became the model for a new type of women’s school. Despite much mockery that “they will be educating cows next,” Willard’s school prospered.

In 1837 Mary Lyon overcame heated resistance to found another important institution of higher learning for women, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (later Mount Holyoke College) in South Hadley, Massachusetts. In the same year Ohio’s Oberlin College admitted four women to its degree program, thus becoming the nation’s first fully coeducational college.

African-American women faced greater obstacles to getting an education. In 1831 white Quaker Prudence Crandall opened a school for girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. Two years later she admitted an African-American girl, but the townspeople protested so vigorously against desegregated education that Crandall decided to admit only African-American students. This aroused even more opposition, and in 1834 Crandall was forced to close the school and leave town. Only after the Civil War would the severely limited educational opportunities for African-American women finally, though slowly, begin to expand. **C**

WOMEN AND HEALTH REFORM In the mid-19th century, educated women also began to work for health reforms. Elizabeth Blackwell, who in 1849 became the first woman to graduate from medical college, later opened the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. In the 1850s, Lyman Beecher’s daughter, Catharine, undertook a national survey of women’s health. To her dismay, Beecher found three sick women for every healthy one. It was no wonder: women

They held rallies, produced pamphlets, and brought about a decline in the consumption of alcohol that would continue into the 1860s.

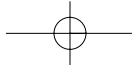
EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Until the 1820s, American girls had few educational avenues open to them beyond elementary school. As Sarah Grimké, who ran a school for women with her sister Angelina, complained in *Letters on the*

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

C What gains did women make in education in the 1820s and 1830s? Did these gains extend to African-American women?



rarely bathed or exercised, and the fashion of the day included corsets so restrictive that breathing sometimes was difficult.

Amelia Bloomer, publisher of a temperance newspaper, rebelled. Bloomer often wore a costume of loose-fitting pants tied at the ankles and covered by a short skirt. Readers besieged her with requests for the sewing pattern. Most women who sewed the “bloomers,” however, considered it a daring venture, as many men were outraged by women wearing pants.

Women’s Rights Movement Emerges

The various reform movements of the mid-19th century fed the growth of the women’s movement by providing women with increased opportunities to act outside the home.

SENECA FALLS In 1848 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott decided to hold a women’s rights convention. They announced what would become known as the **Seneca Falls Convention** (for the New York town in which it was held). Stanton and Mott composed an agenda and a detailed statement of grievances. Stanton carefully modeled this “Declaration of Sentiments” on the Declaration of Independence. The second paragraph began with a revision of very familiar words: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal.” Some of the resolutions that were also proposed at the convention spoke to the circumstances with which women reformers had struggled.



▲ Amelia Bloomer adopted the full trousers that became known as bloomers in 1851.

A PERSONAL VOICE

“Resolved, That all laws which prevent women from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

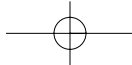
Resolved, That woman is man’s equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.”

—Resolutions adopted at Seneca Falls Convention, 1848


Nearly 300 women and men gathered at the Wesleyan Methodist Church for the convention. The participants approved all parts of the declaration unanimously—including several resolutions to encourage women to participate in all public issues on an equal basis with men—except one. The one exception, which still passed by a narrow majority, was the resolution calling for women “to secure to



◀ In 1888, delegates to the First International Council of Women met to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Seneca Falls. Stanton is seated third from the right.



KEY PLAYER



SOJOURNER TRUTH
1797–1883

Sojourner Truth, born Isabella Van Wagener (or Baumfree), became legally free on July 4, 1827, when slavery was abolished in New York. A deeply spiritual woman, Truth became a traveling preacher dedicated to pacifism, abolitionism, and equality. She earned a reputation for tenacity, successfully suing for the return of her youngest son who had been illegally sold into slavery.

Truth was not taught to read or write but dictated her memoirs, published in 1850 as *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave*.

After the Emancipation Proclamation, Truth's final cause was to lobby (unsuccessfully) for land distribution for former slaves.

themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise,” the right to vote. The vote remained a controversial aim. Some thought suffrage was an extreme solution to a nonexistent problem. As Lucy Stone’s sister wrote in 1846, “I can’t vote, but what care I for that, I would not if I could.” **D**

SOJOURNER TRUTH Women reformers made significant contributions to improving social conditions in the mid-19th century. Yet conditions for slaves worsened. Isabella Baumfree, a slave for the first 30 years of her life, took the name **Sojourner Truth** when she decided to sojourn (travel) throughout the country preaching, and later, arguing for abolition. At a women’s rights convention in 1851, the tall, muscular black woman was hissed at in disapproval. Because Truth supported abolition, some participants feared her speaking would make their own cause less popular. But Truth won applause with her speech that urged men to grant women their rights.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting
D How did the Seneca Falls Convention differ from the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention held in 1840?

★ A PERSONAL VOICE SOJOURNER TRUTH

“Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain’t I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain’t I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother’s grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain’t I a woman?”

—quoted in *Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave*

As Truth showed, hard work was a central fact of life for most women. In the mid-19th century, this continued to be the case as women entered the emerging industrial workplace. Once there, they continued the calls for women’s rights and other social reforms.

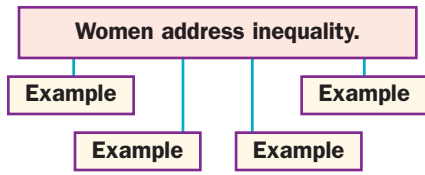
3

ASSESSMENT

- 1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| • Elizabeth Cady Stanton | • cult of domesticity | • temperance movement | • Sojourner Truth |
| • Lucretia Mott | • Sarah and Angelina Grimké | • Seneca Falls Convention | |

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES
In a diagram similar to the one shown, fill in historical events, ideas, or people that relate to the main idea.



CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES
The Seneca Falls “Declaration of Sentiments” asserted that “Woman is man’s equal.” In what ways would that change the status women held at that time? Cite facts to support your answer. **Think About:**

- women’s social, economic, and legal status in the mid-1800s
- married women’s domestic roles
- single women’s career opportunities and wages

4. EVALUATING
In what ways did the reform movements affect the lives of women—both white and African American? Use details from the section to support your answer.

5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS
Why do you think that many of the people who fought for abolition also fought for women’s rights?



The Changing Workplace

MAIN IDEA

A growing industrial work force faced problems arising from manufacturing under the factory system.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The National Trades' Union was the forerunner of America's labor unions today.

Terms & Names

- cottage industry
- apprentice
- master
- strike
- journeyman
- National Trades' Union

One American's Story

In 1841 a brief narrative appeared in the *Lowell Offering*, the first journal written by and for female mill workers. A young girl who toiled in the mill—identified only by the initials F.G.A.—wrote about the decision of “Susan Miller” to save her family’s farm by working in the Lowell, Massachusetts, textile mills.

At first, Susan found the factory work dispiriting, but she made friends, and was proud of the wages she sent home.

A PERSONAL VOICE F.G.A.

“Every morning the bells pealed forth the same clangor, and every night brought the same feeling of fatigue. But Susan felt . . . that she could bear it for a while. There are few who look upon factory labor as a pursuit for life. It is but a temporary vocation; and most of the girls resolve to quit the Mill when some favorite design is accomplished. Money is their object—not for itself, but for what it can perform.”

—*Lowell Offering*, 1841

Just a few decades earlier, work outside the home might not have been an option for girls like Susan. At the same time that women’s roles began to expand, changes occurred in the way goods were manufactured.



▲ A young worker from the mills in Waltham, or Lowell, 1850.

Industry Changes Work

Before “Susan” and other girls began to leave the farms for New England’s textile mills, women had spun and sewn most of their families’ clothing from raw fibers. In fact, in the early 19th century almost all clothing manufacturing was produced at home. Moving production from the home to the factory split families, created new communities, and transformed traditional relationships between employers and employees. The textile industry pioneered the new manufacturing techniques that would affect rules and behavior required of most American workers.



RURAL MANUFACTURING

Until the 1820s, only the first step in the manufacture of clothing—the spinning of cotton into thread—had been mechanized widely in America. People then finished the work in a **cottage industry** system in which manufacturers provided the materials for goods to be produced at home. Though women did most of this work, men and children sometimes helped too. The participants in this cottage industry brought the finished

articles to the manufacturer, who paid them by the piece and gave them new materials for the next batch of work.

When entrepreneurs like Patrick Jackson, Nathan Appleton, and Francis Cabot Lowell opened their weaving factories in Waltham and later Lowell, Massachusetts (see Chapter 7, page 213), their power looms replaced the cottage industries. Mechanizing the entire process and housing the tools in the same place slashed the production time, as well as the cost, of textile manufacture. By the 1830s, the company that Lowell and his partners had formed owned eight factories in Massachusetts with over 6,000 employees, at an investment of over \$6 million.

EARLY FACTORIES Textiles led the way, but other areas of manufacture also shifted from homes to factories. In the early 19th century, skilled artisans had typically produced items that a family could not make for itself—furniture and tools, for example. As in cottage industries, the artisans usually worked in shops attached to their own homes. The most experienced artisans had titles: a **master** might be assisted by a **journeyman**, a skilled worker employed by a master, and assisted by an **apprentice**, a young worker learning a craft. Master artisans and their assistants traditionally handcrafted their products until the 1820s, when manufacturers began using production processes that depended on the use of interchangeable parts.

The rapid spread of factory production revolutionized industry. The cost of making household items and clothing dramatically dropped. In addition, new machines allowed unskilled workers to perform tasks that once had employed trained artisans. Unskilled artisans shifted from farm work to boring and repetitive factory work and to the tight restrictions imposed by factory managers. Nowhere were these restrictions more rigid than in the factory town of Lowell, Massachusetts. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

A How did factory production change American manufacturing?

▲ Families used spinning wheels to spin yarn, which they wove into cloth on home looms. They sold their cloth to local merchants.

Farm Worker to Factory Worker

Under the strict control of female supervisors, a work force—consisting almost entirely of unmarried farm girls—clustered in Lowell and the other mill towns that soon dotted New England. At their boarding houses, the “mill girls” lived under strict curfews. The girls’ behavior and church attendance was closely monitored, but despite this scrutiny, most mill girls found time to enjoy the company of their coworkers. By 1828 women made up nine-tenths of the work force in the New England mills, and four out of five of the women were not yet 30 years old.

Northern Cities and Industry, 1830–1850

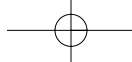


This depiction of Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1834 shows the factories along the river banks.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- Region** In areas where the textile industry was strong, what other industry was also prominent?
- Place** How did the sites of New York City, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati encourage their growth as industrial towns?





FROM THE ASHES

Malden Mills, the largest employer in Lawrence, Massachusetts (near Lowell) was devastated by fire in December 1995, as shown above.

The mills' owner, septuagenarian Aaron Feuerstein, not only announced that he intended to rebuild but pledged to keep his employees on the payroll during reconstruction.

To much acclaim for his generosity, Mr. Feuerstein said:

"Everything I did after the fire was in keeping with the ethical standards I've tried to maintain my entire life. . . . Whether I deserve it or not, I guess I became a symbol of what the average worker would like corporate America to be in a time when the American dream has been pretty badly injured."

After it was rebuilt, production of Malden Mills' popular synthetic product—Polartec—doubled.

THE LOWELL MILL Mill owners hired females because they could pay them lower wages than men who did similar jobs. To the girls in the mills, though, textile work offered better pay than their only alternatives: teaching, sewing, and domestic work. In an 1846 letter to her father in New Hampshire, 16-year-old Mary Paul expressed her satisfaction with her situation at Lowell.

A PERSONAL VOICE MARY PAUL

"I am at work in a spinning room tending four sides of warp which is one girl's work. The overseer tells me that he never had a girl get along better than I do. . . . I have a very good boarding place, have enough to eat. . . . The girls are all kind and obliging. . . . I think that the factory is the best place for me and if any girl wants employment, I advise them to come to Lowell."

—quoted in *Women and the American Experience*

Like Mary Paul, who eventually left factory work to pursue other work, most female workers stayed at Lowell for only a few years. Harriet Hanson Robinson, a mill girl who later became involved in the abolition and women's rights movements, applauded the mill girls' influence in carrying "new fashions, new books, new ideas" back to their homes.

CONDITIONS AT LOWELL The workday at Lowell began at 5 A.M., Mary Paul wrote her father, with a bell ringing "for the folks to get up. At seven they are called to the mill. At half past twelve we have dinner, are called back again at one and stay until half past seven."

These hours probably didn't seem long to farm girls, but heat, darkness, and poor ventilation in the factories contributed to discomfort and illness. Overseers would nail windows shut to seal in the humidity they thought prevented the threads from breaking, so that in the summer the weaving rooms felt like ovens. In the winter, pungent smoke from whale-oil lamps blended with the cotton dust to make breathing difficult.

Mill conditions continued to deteriorate in the 1830s. Managers forced workers to increase their pace. Between 1836 and 1850, Lowell owners tripled the number of spin-

dles and looms but hired only 50 percent more workers to operate them. Factory rules tightened too. After gulping a noon meal, workers now had to rush back to the weaving rooms to avoid fines for lateness. Mill workers began to organize. In 1834, the Lowell mills announced a 15 percent wage cut. Eight hundred mill girls conducted a **strike**, a work stoppage in order to force an employer to respond to demands. **B**

STRIKES AT LOWELL Under the heading "UNION IS POWER," the Lowell Mills strikers of 1834 issued a proclamation declaring that they would not return to work "unless our wages are continued to us as they have been." For its part, the company threatened to recruit local women to fill the strikers' jobs. Criticized by the Lowell press and clergy, most of the strikers agreed to return to work at reduced wages. The mill owners fired the strike leaders.

In 1836, Lowell mill workers struck again, this time over an increase in their board charges that was equivalent to a 12.5 percent pay cut. Twice as many

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

B What factors contributed to the worsening conditions workers endured at Lowell beginning in the 1830s?



women participated as had two years earlier. Only 11 years old at the time of the strike, Harriet Hanson later recalled the protest.

A PERSONAL VOICE HARRIET HANSON

“As I looked back at the long line that followed me, I was more proud than I have ever been since at any success I may have achieved, and more proud than I shall ever be again until my own beloved State gives to its women citizens the right of suffrage [voting].”

—quoted in *Women’s America: Refocusing the Past*

▲ Lowell mill workers often lived in company-owned boarding houses.

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating Decisions

C Based on the results, do you think the decision to strike at Lowell was a good one? Explain.

Again, the company prevailed. It fired the strike leaders and dismissed Harriet Hanson’s widowed mother, a boarding-house supervisor. Most of the strikers returned to their spindles and looms.

In the 1840s, the mill girls took their concerns to the political arena. In 1845, Sarah Bagley founded the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association to petition the Massachusetts state legislature for a ten-hour workday. The proposed legislation failed, but the Lowell Association was able to help defeat a local legislator who opposed the bill. **C**

Workers Seek Better Conditions

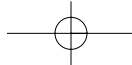
Conditions for all workers deteriorated during the 1830s. Skilled artisans, who had originally formed unions to preserve their own interests, began to ally themselves with unskilled laborers. When Philadelphia coal workers struck for a 10-hour day and a wage increase in 1835, for example, carpenters, printers, and other artisans joined them in what became the first general strike in the United States.

Although only 1 or 2 percent of U.S. workers were organized, the 1830s and 1840s saw dozens of strikes—many for higher wages, but some for a shorter workday. Employers won most of these strikes because they could easily replace unskilled workers with strikebreakers who would toil long hours for low wages. Many strikebreakers were immigrants who had fled even worse poverty in Europe.

“I regard my work people just as I regard my machinery.”

TEXTILE MILL MANAGER, 1840s

IMMIGRATION INCREASES European immigration rose dramatically in the United States between 1830 and 1860. In the decade 1845–1854 alone nearly



ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

IRISH IMMIGRANTS STRIKE

Smarting from the hostility around them, Irish immigrants soon began to view unions as an opportunity to advance their prospects. In fact, Irish dock workers organized New York City's most famous strike of the 1840s.

When Irish women tailors organized the Ladies Industrial Association in New York City in 1845, their leader, Elizabeth Gray, denounced "tyrant employers."

Though employers retained great power through the 1840s, unions did manage to win a few victories.

3 million immigrants were added to the U.S. population that had numbered just over 20 million. The majority of the immigrants were German or Irish.

Most immigrants avoided the South because slavery limited their economic opportunity. What's more, Southerners were generally hostile to European, particularly Catholic, immigrants. German immigrants clustered in the upper Mississippi Valley and in the Ohio Valley. Most German immigrants had been farmers in Europe, but some became professionals, artisans, and shopkeepers in the United States.

A SECOND WAVE Irish immigrants settled in the large cities of the East. Nearly a million Irish immigrants had settled in America between 1815 and 1844. Between 1845 and 1854 Irish immigration soared after a blight destroyed the peasants' staple crop, potatoes, which led to a famine in Ireland. The Great Potato Famine killed as many as 1 million of the Irish people and drove over 1 million more to new homes in America.

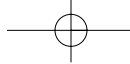
Irish immigrants faced bitter prejudice, both because they were Roman Catholic and because they were poor. Frightened by allegations of a Catholic conspiracy to take over the country, Protestant mobs in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston rampaged through Irish neighborhoods.

Native-born artisans, whose wages had fallen because of competition from unskilled laborers and factory production, considered Irish immigrants the most unfair competition of all. Their willingness to work for low wages under terrible conditions made the desperate Irish newcomers easy prey for employers who sought to break strikes with cheap labor.

NATIONAL TRADES' UNION In their earliest attempts to organize, journeymen formed trade unions specific to each trade. For example, journeymen shoemakers

This 1848 engraving shows immigrants arriving in New York City from Europe.





organized one of the nation's earliest strikes in 1806. During the 1830s, the trade unions in different towns began to join together to establish unions for such trades as carpentry, shoemaking, weaving, printing, and comb making. By means of these unions, the workers sought to standardize wages and conditions throughout each industry.

In a few cities the trade unions united to form federations. In 1834, for example, journeymen's organizations from six industries formed the largest of these unions, the **National Trades' Union**, which lasted until 1837. The trade-union movement faced fierce opposition from bankers and owners, who threatened the unions by forming associations of their own. In addition, workers' efforts to organize were at first hampered by court decisions declaring strikes illegal. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating

D Why was the national trade union movement important?

COURT BACKS STRIKERS In 1842, however, the Massachusetts Supreme Court supported workers' right to strike in the case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt*. In this case, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw declared that Boston's journeymen bootmakers could act "in such a manner as best to subserve their own interests." A prominent American court finally had upheld the rights of labor. Although by 1860 barely 5,000 workers were members of what would now be called labor unions, far larger numbers of workers, 20,000 or more, participated in strikes for improved working conditions and wages.

The religious and social reform movements in the nation in the mid-19th century went hand in hand with economic changes that set in place the foundation for the modern American economy. While some Americans poured their efforts into reforming society, others sought new opportunities for economic growth and expansion. As the nation adjusted to the newly emerging market economy, migration west became a popular option.



▲ This trade union banner was made for the glass cutters organization around 1840.

4

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- cottage industry
- journeyman
- strike
- master
- apprentice
- National Trades' Union

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a chart like the one shown, name things that contributed to the changing workplace in the first half of the 19th century.



Which of these are still part of the workplace today?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES

Do you think the positive effects of mechanizing the manufacturing process outweighed the negative effects? Why or why not?

Think About:

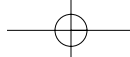
- changes in job opportunities for artisans, women, and unskilled male laborers
- changes in employer-employee relationships
- working conditions in factories
- the cost of manufactured goods

4. EVALUATING DECISIONS

If you were working in a factory during the mid-1800s, would you be a striker or a strikebreaker? Support your choice with details from the text.

5. IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS

How did the influx of new immigrants from Germany and Ireland affect circumstances in the American workplace?



DAILY LIFE

1820-1850

Working at Mid-Century

In the years before the Civil War, most workers labored from dawn to dusk, six days a week, without benefits. Although many Northerners criticized the South for exploiting slave labor, Southerners criticized the industrial wage system, mostly in the North, for exploiting free workers. Both North and South used children—cheap labor—for full workdays. While 10-year-old slave children worked in the fields like adults, one Northern mill employed 100 children ages four to ten.



◀ COTTON PLANTATION FIELD SLAVES

The field slave's day during cotton harvest began with a bell an hour before dawn, a quick breakfast, and then a march to the fields. Men, women, and children spent the entire day picking cotton, bundling it, and coming back after dark carrying bales of cotton to the gin house. They then made their own suppers and ate quickly before falling asleep on wooden planks. No other antebellum workers had such harsh, brutal treatment imposed on them. For most field slaves, the master's whip was a constant threat.

Length of Day: pre-dawn until after dark
Type of Labor: picking and bundling cotton
Payment: substandard food and shelter

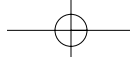
MILL WORKERS ▶

Approximately 80 percent of textile-mill workers were young women between the ages of 15 and 30. The day began with a bell for a quick breakfast in the boarding house, followed by a march to the factory, and the tending of machines all day. Workers put up with heavy dust, the roar of machines, and hot air with windows nailed shut to keep in the humidity. When competitive pressure increased on the owners, workers had to speed up their work for lower wages. Children made \$1 a week; older girls and women, \$3; men, \$6.

Length of Day: 12 hours
Type of Labor: operating machines
Payment: \$1 to \$6 a week

Courtesy George Eastman House





Haymaking (1864), Winslow Homer

▲ FARMERS

Because farmers' livelihoods depended on the weather, soil conditions, and the market prices of crops, their earnings were unpredictable—but usually very low. Generally men spent their days clearing land, plowing, planting, and hoeing the fields, while women raised vegetables for family consumption, helped harvest fields, cared for livestock and for the family, and made clothing.

Length of Day: dawn until after dark
Type of Labor: planting, tending crops, caring for livestock
Payment: dependent on crop prices

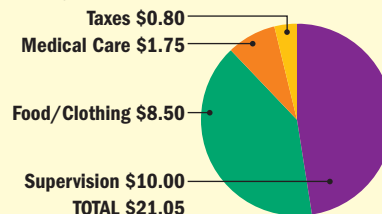


DATA

FILE

ANNUAL COST OF MAINTAINING A FIELD SLAVE

A typical Southern plantation owner in 1848–1860 would spend the following to take care of a field slave for one year.



Source: *Slavery and the Southern Economy*, Harold D. Woodman, editor

WORKERS IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY

Average monthly earnings from 1830 to 1850 for a few common occupations:

Job	Year	Monthly Earnings
Artisan	1830	\$ 45
Laborer	1830	\$ 26
Teacher, male	1840	\$ 15
Teacher, female	1840	\$ 7
Northern farmhand	1850	\$ 13
Southern farmhand	1850	\$ 9

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

WORKERS IN THE LATE 20TH CENTURY

Average monthly salaries for each profession:

Job	Monthly Salary
Teacher—elementary	\$ 2,758
Teacher—high school	\$ 2,900
Construction worker	\$ 2,399
Service worker	\$ 1,518

Source: *Employment and Statistics*, June 1996, U.S. Department of Labor; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1994.

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

1. Drawing Conclusions What attitudes about women and children do you see reflected in work patterns during the mid-19th century?

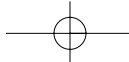
SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R18.

CONNECT TO TODAY

2. Researching Children's Rights Report on labor laws and societal changes that protected children's rights and prevented child labor in factories.



RESEARCH LINKS CLASSZONE.COM



CHAPTER 8 ASSESSMENT



TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance during the mid-19th century.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Second Great Awakening | 6. Frederick Douglass |
| 2. revival | 7. Elizabeth Cady Stanton |
| 3. Ralph Waldo Emerson | 8. temperance movement |
| 4. abolition | 9. strike |
| 5. William Lloyd Garrison | 10. National Trades' Union |

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Religion Sparks Reform (pages 240–245)

1. What new religious ideas set the stage for the reform movements of the mid-19th century?
2. How did Dorothea Dix contribute to reform?

Slavery and Abolition (pages 248–253)

3. How did William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and David Walker each propose ending slavery?
4. What steps did white Southerners take to suppress slave revolts?

Women and Reform (pages 254–258)

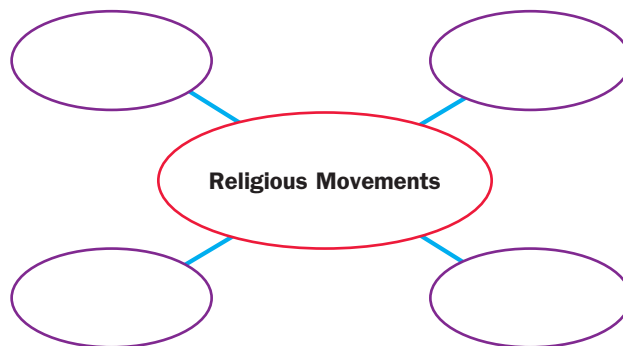
5. What was the cult of domesticity?
6. What was the purpose of the Seneca Falls Convention?

The Changing Workplace (pages 259–265)

7. How did working conditions in the Lowell textile mills present new opportunities and new hazards?
8. Describe the two waves of U.S. immigration in the mid-1800s.

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Use a diagram similar to the one shown below to list the various reform movements that grew out of early-19th-century religious movements.



2. **EVALUATING** What was the most important reform of this period? Support your answer with references to the text.
3. **INTERPRETING MAPS** Look at the map on page 261. From the pattern of industries shown on the map, what conclusions can you draw about the kinds of industries that were the first to develop in the West? Support your answer with references to the text.
4. **SYNTHESIZING** What means did the abolitionists use to try to convince the public that slavery should be abolished?

VISUAL SUMMARY


REFORMING AMERICAN SOCIETY


RELIGION SPARKS REFORM

The Second Great Awakening brings religious revival, social reform, and a new awareness of what it means to be an American.

SLAVERY AND ABOLITION

Slavery becomes an explosive issue as growing numbers of white and black Americans join reformers working for abolition.





WOMEN AND REFORM

Women reformers expand their reform efforts from movements such as abolition and temperance to include women's social and political rights.

THE CHANGING WORKPLACE

A growing industrial work force faces problems arising from changes in manufacturing and the creation of the factory system.



Standardized Test Practice

Use the quotation below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.

“We affirm that while women are liable to punishment for acts, which the laws call criminal, or while they are taxed in their labor or property for the support of government, they have a self-evident and indisputable right to a direct voice in the enactment of those laws and the formation of that government. . . . Who are citizens? Why males? Why foreigners? because they pay a poll-tax—the intemperate, the vicious, the ignorant, anybody and everybody who has the wit to elude pauperism and guardianship, if they are only *males*. And yet women are to live under this city charter, obey, be taxed to support, and no pauper establishment or guardianship is thought necessary for them . . . How inconsistent is all this!”

—Harriot Kezia Hunt, letter to “Frederick U. Tracy . . . of the City of Boston, and the Citizens generally, and the Legislature in particular, November 15, 1854.”

- In this passage, Dr. Harriot Kezia Hunt, an early-19th-century feminist, is asking that —
 - women be entitled to vote.
 - women pay their share of taxes.
 - immigrants be subject to taxation.
 - only intelligent people be entitled to vote.
- The National Trades’ Union was supported by all of the following groups *except* —
 - factory workers and farmers.
 - immigrants.
 - business owners and bankers.
 - journeymen and apprentices.

Use the quotation below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 3.

“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 . . . The power, which is at once spring and regulator in all efforts of reform, is the conviction that there is infinite worthiness in man which will appear at the call of worth, and that all particular reforms are the removing of some impediment. . . . I see at once how paltry is all this generation of unbelievers, and what a house of cards their institutions are, and I see what one brave man, what one great thought executed might effect.”

—Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Man the Reformer”

- How does Emerson characterize his belief in reform?
 - All people are capable of positive reform.
 - Some people are good; others are not.
 - Most people are too selfish for reform.
 - Most institutions are ungodly and will fall.
- The Seneca Falls Convention agenda modeled its resolutions on —
 - the cult of domesticity.
 - the Declaration of Independence.
 - the Fourteenth Amendment.
 - the temperance movement.

ADDITIONAL TEST PRACTICE, pages S1–S33.



TEST PRACTICE CLASSZONE.COM

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

- INTERACT**
WITH HISTORY

 Recall your discussion of the question on page 239:

What would you do to improve working conditions?

Now that you know more about the changing workplace, address some specific actions to address workers’ grievances. Work with a small group to develop a plan of action.

- 
INTERNET ACTIVITY

CLASSZONE.COM

Visit the links for Chapter Assessment to find out more about utopian communities. If you were a utopian reformer, what kind of community would you form? Prepare an oral report that describes your plans for a utopian community.