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**“WITH QUENCHLESS ZEAL, PRESS FORWARD, THEN”: TEMPERANCE
IN THE RURAL COMMUNITIES OF THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY,
NEW YORK, 1790-1860.**

by

SHERYL KELLY DE LEO

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York**

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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INTRODUCTION

America was profoundly changed by the experience of the Second Great Awakening, which was manifested by evangelical Protestant revivals occurring from 1800 through the 1840s. Most antebellum Americans did not belong to an organized religion, although, most antebellum church members were Protestants. Many antebellum social and moral reform efforts were prompted by evangelical thinking, but not all reformers were evangelized Protestants, or even Protestant. Both reformers and Protestant evangelicals shared a heartfelt belief that change was possible and desirable, and consciously chose to turn that belief into action. Antebellum reform crusades, perhaps born to some extent out of the Second Great Awakening, were undertaken by thousands of individuals who felt impelled by a variety of motivations to improve their social and economic environs, as well as bring changes to the American republic.

Evangelicalism centered on free will, upon the ability of each person to choose virtue over sin, and on the concept of individual perfectibility based on free will. The search for personal and communal holiness led evangelicals to play an integral role in reform movements and fostered formation of interdenominational “benevolent enterprises” dedicated to social and moral reform. By combining republicanism, perfectionism and Protestant dominance, American reformers would purify and advance their nation and civilization. Antebellum evangelicals and reformers developed Bible Societies to distribute God’s Scriptures and established Sunday schools in order to instill evangelical Protestant values in the young. They promoted prohibition of Sunday labor,

commerce, and mail delivery, and fought for temperance in their attempt to combat the religious, social and economic evils of drunkenness. ¹

The evangelical belief system, although adopted by only a minority of Protestants, largely controlled discussions of antebellum social issues and was able to prevail on such concerns as temperance. ² So influential was the relationship of evangelical Protestantism to antebellum political culture, it has been identified as antebellum America's predominate subculture. The perfectionist outlook informed political choices and affiliations of such believers infused local and national politics with a moral urgency. Evangelicals favored conscience over compromise and demanded communal as well as individual moral correction. Their strident moral stance assured that their moral reform crusades would not be politically ignored. Evangelical reformers gave their support to whichever political party accommodated their demands, and in their concern for national virtue focused on the need for a sober electorate. Considering themselves engaged in a struggle for good over evil, northern evangelicals and reformers looked to the Whig and Democratic parties to further their aims during the 1830s and 1840s. Various third parties also attracted such activists in the late 1840s and into the 1850s. Unwittingly, perhaps, they contributed to the polarization of the two parties and hardened the sectionalism of the 1850s in pursuit of their goals. ³

The first step for many temperance advocates was to adopt the principle of personal temperance and then total abstinence in order to commit themselves to God. Such personal commitments to total abstinence in small rural communities, such as those in New York's Hudson River Valley, developed into the broader, more important effort to purify America and create a virtuous republic. ⁴ The temperance crusade was the

most prominent antebellum moral reform movement and attracted thousands of adherents to the cause. America's immoderate alcoholic drinking habits threatened the new nation's virtue and, therefore, any chance for Christ's earthly return in the view of many. In addition, secular and religious reformers believed that drunkenness created economic and social instability and strained tax-supported public resources, such as pauper relief and prisons. The vigorous antebellum temperance movement attacked intemperance with interdenominational fervor and demands for total abstinence. When moral suasion failed to put a stop to drinking, temperance advocates learned to apply political pressure through public opinion and direct activism in their search for stronger controls over alcohol consumption.

Aspects of antebellum American society and culture were affected by revivalism, evangelicalism and movements to improve personal and communal conduct. Religion and reform, both closely associated with the Second Great Awakening, encouraged the development of antebellum middle class sensibilities and consciousness. In turn, religion and reform, especially the temperance movement, helped secure middle class status for participants. The emerging market economy also relied upon the normalizing influence of organized religion and moral reforms, and a temperate populace was especially desirable. ⁵ Dominant antebellum opinion and custom held that women were morally superior to men, and many women considered themselves the moral center of their families and their communities. As a result, many of them participated in antebellum moral reformation movements. Women were drawn especially to the temperance crusade because intemperance and drunkenness threatened their families and communities, and

they organized to secure against such dangers. Indeed, women's activism was vital to the antebellum temperance cause. ⁶

Many free African Americans in northern communities also adopted various social and moral reforms for personal and religious reasons. They sought to better their own social and economic condition, and to "elevate the race" in the eyes of a prejudiced white majority. Many were convinced that such improvements would serve to advance the abolition of southern chattel slavery by proving that blacks were not inherently degraded. Free middle class African Americans took up the temperance crusade because, like white reformers, they believed that intemperance particularly undermined their community and threatened their eternal salvation. ⁷ The African American temperance and abolition causes and their participants were closely interwoven aspects of the black antebellum struggle for freedom and self-sufficiency. ⁸

Such social currents were strong in New York State which at the end of the American Revolution was one of the two most populous states with a growing importance both politically and economically in the new nation. The City of New York had served as the capital of the United States and was an emerging vibrant commercial center at a time when the rest of New York State was engaged primarily in agriculture with an economy tied to the land. The formation of the first American temperance society in the rural Saratoga County village of Moreau in 1808 signaled the organization of social and moral forces against intemperance in New York. Evangelical religious beliefs in the perfectibility of human behavior arising from antebellum religious revivals, which marked New York especially, added to the call for a virtuous and temperate American republic. Temperance reform moved from the personal to the public arena

when advocates urged fellow Americans to forgo alcoholic beverages in pursuit of personal security and a virtuous national order. The state's developing middle class fostered, as well as gained vigor from the antebellum temperance movement. Women in New York were called upon to affect moral and social change based on their supposed moral superiority and influence. Often whole families participated in reform movements, and special effort was made to provide activities for children and adolescents in order to attract and maintain their dedication to the cause. Temperance reform activities took hold in New York's urban centers, but an important segment of that crusade grew in its small rural communities, including the hamlets, villages and towns which dotted the Hudson River Valley.

The majority of the state's citizens lived in the Hudson River Valley, the corridor between the cities of New York and Albany. (See Appendix 1, Map of Region, and Appendix 2, Cited Cities, Towns and Villages.) The Hudson River Valley, comprising nine rural counties lined up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany, played an important part in antebellum New York. Rensselaer, Columbia, Dutchess, Putnam and Westchester Counties face the east bank of the Hudson River and the counties of Greene, Ulster, Orange and Rockland on the opposite side. The Hudson River allowed for active economic and social commerce among the counties, as well as with the state capital in Albany and the metropolis of New York City. The region, settled long before the American Revolution, had a mature agricultural economy. Farms in the valley produced crops for both cash as well as subsistence: dairy products, wool for textiles and leather goods, as well as meat and eggs for market. Towns throughout the area served as regional entrepot for the farms and farmers, and supported the surrounding countryside.

Natural resources were tapped to produce lumber and quarry stone. Railroads and canals added to the agricultural region's capacity to move from subsistence to market farming and animal husbandry as the rural Valley's agrarian economy matured. Natural resources and a growing population stimulated industrial and commercial enterprises. The region participated in many important antebellum social, religious, political and economic developments. As the century developed, a socioeconomic middle class emerged in the Hudson River Valley's counties. Hudson, in Columbia County, served the region as a communications and transportation hub, as well as social and economic locus. The Valley's population grew from approximately one hundred eighty-five thousand to nearly five hundred thousand inhabitants during the first five decades of the nineteenth century, and more and more of those residents were immigrants from New England and Europe. 9

Antebellum temperance reform in the Hudson River Valley was chronicled by the widely read regional temperance newspaper, the *Columbia Washingtonian*, which weekly reported myriad activities and nurtured the culture of temperance in the Hudson River Valley. The journals of Valley residents John Stanton Gould, Edmund Platt, John Bower and Alson Ward, as well as other sources, also provide details of the region's active temperance crusade. The region's temperance movement described by local Hudson River Valley sources corresponds in many ways to wider efforts across the nation to stem intemperance. The interdenominational character of temperance work attracted a broad section of antebellum society. Early on, temperance advocates adopted the Fourth of July celebration as their Second Independence Day. The American republic required that citizens participate soberly and thoughtfully in the concerns of the nation. Drunkenness,

especially that associated with the electoral process, threatened the security of the American republic, in the view of antebellum temperance advocates.

From the early republic until the 1830s, temperance principles required moderate consumption of fermented alcoholic beverages and avoidance of “ardent spirits.” When such early efforts failed to rid the nation and the Valley of inebriates, some temperance advocates demanded total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. During the mid- to late-1830s, such persons labored chiefly among the already temperate population, seeking to persuade them to adopt total abstinence. Concern for drunkards, or alcoholics, languished until several chronically inebriate laborers gave up all drinking and formed the Washington Total Abstinence Society in 1840. Named in honor of George Washington and known as Washingtonians, the society attempted to reform alcoholics by offering their “experience talks” of the degradation of alcoholism and the total abstinence pledge. They promised the recovering alcoholic kindness and assistance, as well as sober social companionship. Washingtonianism, a strong presence in many Hudson River Valley communities, attracted thousands of new and different people to the temperance movement. In addition to reforming alcoholics, many abstinent persons who believed that alcoholics could reform joined the Washingtonians in the 1840s. Antebellum American medical practice began to adopt the premise that alcoholism was a medically and morally treatable disease. As Washingtonians understood it, continued sobriety required faith and friends. Because of the original working class bent, Washingtonians were more understanding of the economic needs of “rumsellers.” Some in the temperance community did not agree, however, and they abandoned the “moral suasion” practices of the Washingtonians for legal coercion. In the late 1840s, such temperance

advocates tried to limit local alcohol sales, and then campaigned for legislated statewide prohibition of any manufacture or sale of alcoholic beverages in the 1850s. In the antebellum search for solutions to social and physical ills, a number of reformers looked to phrenology and other pseudo-sciences for answers. As the attractions of Washingtonianism waned, temperance societies which required only a pledge to total abstinence were replaced by fraternal orders devoted to temperance work and mutual aid. Many Washingtonians became Sons and Daughters of Temperance, Rechabites, Good Samaritans or joined the Good Templars in the late 1840s and 1850s. The antebellum temperance movement in the rural Hudson River Valley exhibited those same aspects of broader attempts to reform American drinking habits. The region's temperance crusade is defined and characterized by the myriad activities undertaken by the many temperance advocates in the Hudson River Valley.

NOTES

Introduction.

1. Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (Reprint, University of Minnesota Press, 1944. New York: Harper and Row, 1962) provides a broad overview of the effects revivals had on antebellum America. Protestant evangelical and reformist concepts are explored in Timothy L. Smith's study of urban New York, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* With a new afterword by the author. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); George M. Marsden, *Religion and American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990); and Whitney R. Cross's pioneering study of western New York, *The Burned Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950), examined the religious fervor that led many to reform movements. In "Talks to Teachers on Psychology. IV. The Will," *The Atlantic Monthly* 83, no. 499 (May 1899): 617-626, William James described "the will" required to make such choices of good over evil as the voluntary choice to pursue one behavior over another (virtue rather than sin) after conscious consideration of alternative paths and consequences. Moral action derives from the effort required to maintain the appropriate choice in the face of conflicting impulses or ideas. Antebellum evangelicals and reformers reaffirmed and reinforced their choices when they worked to reform antebellum American society to their ideal.

2. See Paul K. Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995) for a discussion of the dominance of evangelical and reformist thought in antebellum America.

3. Richard J. Carwardine's important study, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), explores the influential relationship of Protestantism to antebellum political culture.

4. James R. Rohrer credited ordinary evangelical Protestants as the moving force in temperance reformation and identified the importance of the rural movement in "The Origins of the Temperance Movement: A Reinterpretation" *Journal of American Studies* 24, no. 2 (1990): 228-234.

5. The upstate western cities of Utica and Rochester, New York were studied by Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and Paul E. Johnson,

A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978) respectively. Both connected religious revivalism and moral reform, especially temperance, to middle class aspirations and activities.

6. For a discussion of women, see Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics and Class in the Nineteenth Century United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990); and Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998).

7. African American self improvement methods and causes are discussed in Frederick Cooper, "Elevating the Race: The Social Thought of Black Leaders, 1827-50" *American Quarterly* 24, no. 5 (1972): 625-640; William Pease and Jane Pease, *They Who Would Be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1974); and James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publ., 1979).

8. For the African American temperance movement and its connections to abolitionism, see Donald Yacovone, "The Transformation of the Black Temperance Movement, 1827-1854: An Interpretation" *Journal of the Early Republic* 8, no. 3 (1988): 281-297; C. Peter Ripley, Roy E. Finkenbine, et al, ed., *The Black Abolitionists Papers. The United States, 1830-1846* vol. 3. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); and Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

9. Descriptions and discussions of post revolutionary antebellum New York State are found in: the collection of essays in Stephen L. Schecter and Wendell Tripp, ed., *World of the Founders: New York Communities in the Federal Period* (Albany, N. Y.: New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, 1990); William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright, ed., *New York and the Rise of American Capitalism: Economic Development and the Social and Political History of an American State, 1780-1870* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1989); David M. Ellis, et al., *A History of the State of New York* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967). Agricultural New York's market considerations are discussed in Martin Bruegel, "The Rise of a Market Society in the Rural Hudson Valley, 1780-1860" (Ph. D. diss., Cornell University, 1994). Allan Kulikoff, *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1992) sites the beginnings of American capitalism in the countryside, rather than in cities, with yeoman farmers who owned the land they worked and produced a surplus, which they sold. Sally McMurry, *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change, 1820-1885*. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) examined dairying and agricultural practices in primary source-rich Oneida County, New York. Those upstate New York farmers readily switched from subsistence cheese making to market production, and then to factory production. Yet during this process, farmers continued to barter among themselves for goods and services.

CHAPTER ONE

“THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE IS SPREADING O’ER THIS OUR NATIVE LAND”: THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY

**“The temperance cause is spreading o’er this our native land,
And Alchy with his subjects, know not where to make a stand.**

“A Parody on ‘Uncle Sam’s Farm’-Temperance Song

Reformation of the alcoholic drinking habits of residents of the Hudson River Valley was actively pursued by reform minded individuals. An expansive web of temperance societies and associations were formed, not of necessity but of choice. Such “voluntary expressions of social preference” added another cultural dimension to the participants, and helped to create the culture of temperance reform present in the region. 1 Many like-minded Valley residents participated in sundry opportunities within their region to further their cause. Attendance at temperance-related events in the Valley is noted by four male journal writers during the middle years of the nineteenth century. John Stanton Gould of Columbia County was deeply involved in regional reform, and living in Dutchess County were two adolescent boys and a young farmer who described temperance activities which occurred in their immediate area. In addition to journals, many temperance-related activities in the region were reported or advertised in the weekly temperance newspaper, *Columbia Washingtonian*, as well as in several other local newspapers. From these sources an understanding of the multiplicity of pursuits

engaged in by Hudson River Valley temperance advocates, and the role those activities played in the lives of the participants can be ascertained. Part of the reason for such concern and activism can be found in the fact that the per capita consumption of whiskey in America nearly doubled between 1790 and 1830 when, by the latter date, Americans drank 9.5 gallons per capita of hard liquor. Temperance reform movements seemed to lead to a decline in consumption to 3.7 gallons of distilled spirits per person by 1845. Perhaps an even more particular impetus to the Hudson River Valley temperance movement is found in a description of the Columbia County village of Kinderhook in the mid-1820s. “[I]t was the custom...for both young and old [men], to collect at the nearest public-houses. In the many townships there were scores of these, and Kinderhook had its share. Here they remained talking and drinking till early dinner-time, returned again by five in the afternoon, and spent the evening, till probably mid-night, in drinking, gambling, cock-fighting, horse-racing, or perhaps fighting among themselves. Idleness led the way to immorality, and to frequent ruin....”²

A young Alson Ward of Dutchess County kept a journal spanning the years 1844-1860. In it, he recorded, among other things, the work he and others performed on his father's farm in Pleasant Valley. Ward also noted his comings and goings along with those of family and friends, most of whom were involved in the temperance movement. Indeed, the Ward farm itself seems to have been run on strict temperance or "cold water" principles. Alson Ward noted, he had "made some cider (or rather juice to drink) from apples.”³ The *Columbia Washingtonian*, probably read by the Ward family, encouraged the use of apples as food for man and animal, rather than only in the making of cider.⁴ Ward wrote of the various temperance meetings and conventions he attended and the fact

that he and his sisters practiced music in order to perform at those events. These temperance meetings, frequented by the Wards, were usually held on Sunday evenings at one of the local Protestant churches.

Alson Ward, although a Presbyterian, attended other local Protestant churches for religious services as well as for temperance meetings. The Wards were Democrats and, as such, participated in local political events such as party and electioneering rallies, and Town Meeting Days in "The Valley." On one such 1844 Town Meeting Day held in Poughkeepsie, Ward "found great excitement, many drunk or partly so as usual although temperance has made quite a revolution within a short time." He also attended an 1844 meeting of local Democrats in the "Valley" in support of the Democratic candidates standing in an upcoming election. Of the election itself, Ward decried that the political contest provided an opportunity for parties to gain votes by the "unfair means" of offering alcohol and money to voters. ⁵ Other temperance reformers agreed that political events were often accompanied by the intemperance of both participants and spectators.

Published in 1842, *The Appeal of the Reformed Inebriates to the People of the United States* invoked the spirit of republicanism as a means of achieving a sober electorate. The tract stated that the "venerable tree of liberty" had been planted during the American Revolution and stood guard against any tyranny, including that of alcohol. That republican tree of liberty, it stated, must be tended with sobriety and wisdom in order to flourish. The buying and selling of votes for alcohol could only weaken and corrupt the true republic of the United States with despotism, warned the reformed authors of the entreaty. ⁶ Because political contests afforded antebellum nineteenth century men yet another opportunity to indulge in copious drinking, the temperate advocates advised

themselves and others to beware of the election-time. The Columbia County temperance agent and correspondent of the *Columbia Washingtonian* reported that he had seen a man, who had relapsed into his former drunken ways during the last "political excitement," when he was tempted by free drinks. ⁷

Free drinks were commonly dispensed on election days by political candidates and parties, in hopes of persuading voters to their side. Indeed, elections were often occasions for "communal binges." ⁸ Temperance reform sought to counter the influence of alcohol in the political process. In 1843, temperance men were encouraged to attend the preliminary meetings of their respective political parties in order to influence the location of polling places on election days. Moving polling places from taverns to schools or temperance houses were "patriotic efforts" and crucial to the integrity of the republic, according to the *Columbia Washingtonian* that year. Additionally, town meetings and elections should be held in temperance or school houses to assist reformed men, since alcohol was not served there. ⁹ The benefits of controlling alcohol in political matters were demonstrated by the "great quietness" experienced during the 1842 elections in New Lebanon. Temperance inspectors insured that no alcohol was sold or given, although a tavern was the voting site. -

Many reformed temperance men had lapsed and moderate drinkers had fallen into drunkenness by frequenting places where beer and cider tempted them beyond their ability to resist, reported the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The only solution was to avoid, as much as possible, situations where beer and cider were found. The reformed men needed the "counsel of friends, and the frequent admonitions of friends to save them," in the presence of alcohol. In addition to New Lebanon's experience, the report on the 1842

elections from Hudson was equally positive. There had been no fights or angry arguments over candidates in Hudson that election day, because alcohol had been banned, so believed temperance reformers, who contended that one drunken man was seen all day. Drink makes man "unfit for self-government" and because of the ban the recent voting was "the most *manly* election" seen in Hudson. Reformers continued to advocate the positive influence of abstinence on political occasions. ¹⁰

The *Columbia Washingtonian* also found another affect of temperance reform in political matters. In a call to temperance men to support the temperance press, the paper noted that the Columbia County Board of Supervisors had spent nearly \$500 for printing during their last session. However, only \$7.20 of that sum had been paid to the *Columbia Washingtonian* to print an election notice required by law. The county board instead had used the "political presses" to print political notices. "How under these circumstances, is the Temperance press to be sustained? We put this question to temperance men, hundreds of whom can control their legal printing with a word." ¹¹

A schoolhouse on every hilltop, and no dramshops in the Valley.

Lizzie Penney, "No Dramshops in the Valley"-Temperance Song

A license to sell alcoholic beverages cost \$125 and was renewable each year, if the municipality's voters approved the granting of licenses. Municipal Commissioners of Excise received petitions and applications for a license to sell liquor in stores, inns, taverns and hotels. To secure a license, a bond was required "in surety that the innkeeper will not permit gambling, cockfighting or bowling...and that storekeepers will not permit

liquor to be drunk on premises.” In addition, the applicant “shall not ...keep a disorderly Inn or Tavern or Suffer or permit any Cockfighting, Gaming, or playing with cards or dice, or keep any Billiard Table or Other Gaming Table or Shuffleboard....” The license holder was to be “of good moral character and sufficient ability to keep an inn or tavern and [ensure] that an inn or tavern is absolutely necessary...for the actual accommodation of travelers.”¹² The issue as to whether such licenses should be issued was presented to the electorate annually. At such electoral activities, alcoholic beverages flowed freely.

In the months preceding the 1846 vote on an excise license law, temperance advocates continued the fight against the proposed repeal of the 1845 “No License” law. Rallies generated support against granting excise licenses throughout the region, including Hudson, Claverack, Chatham Four Corners and Kinderhook, as well as Kingston on the opposite side of the river. At the same time, the *Columbia Washingtonian* published appeals “To the Irish in the State of New York,” warning that rum was “ruining” the Irish in “our adopted country.” The laboring class was urged “go to the polls in all your strength” in self-defense against the ruins of drink.¹³

Ward and his family supported a “No License” ballot of 1846. The proposal on the ballot would permit each New York State municipality to determine annually whether it would grant or deny licenses to sell alcohol within its borders. Ward listened to ministers at his church and at the Baptist Church preach a “No License” message to their congregations. The vote was held May 19, 1846, which he regarded as “the Great Day to decide whether rum shall be peddled or not.” Pleasant Valley voters disapproved of the granting of any licenses to inns and taverns to sell alcoholic beverages that year.

In 1846, temperance advocates succeeded in their fight against municipal

alcoholic beverage sale licenses in much of the Hudson River Valley. In spite of their triumph, however, temperance reform was stymied by continued illegal sales of alcohol in the area. The Columbia County grand jury indicted nine people on the misdemeanor charge of selling drinks without a license; seven of them, including the only woman, pled guilty and paid their fifteen dollar fines to the court. At the fall 1846 term of the Greene County Court of General Sessions at Catskill some eighteen persons were indicted on those same charges. The problem centered in Coxsackie and Cairo, since most the complaints stemmed from those villages; or, perhaps, they were subject to stronger law enforcement. There may have been even more violators that season, but the grand jury foreman complained about the difficulty in securing untainted jurors to hear license violation cases in spite of open violations. Just south of Greene, however, the Ulster County grand jury proclaimed their intention to uphold the license law during the winter 1846-1847 court session. ¹⁴

To counter such situations, the Dutchess County "temperance community" met at Simmons's Temperance House. (Temperance houses or hotels were establishments operating according to non-alcoholic principles.) The reformers gathered to "take some measures to enforce the new license law as the rum sellers keep on selling just as though there was no law against it." ¹⁵ A Washingtonian temperance reformer demanded to know why fellow Washingtonians and church members allowed grog shops to exist openly and, more pointedly, where were the temperance "Sunday police" and the authorities when the no license law was violated? The *Columbia Washingtonian* noted illegal sales and asked "how long will Columbia rumsellers do so?" Temperance advocates gained greater advantage the next year when the fine for illegal sales increased

to twenty-five dollars and the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the state's excise license laws against a challenge by opponents of such sales restrictions. 16

The following year, the annual vote on licensing in Pleasant Valley was again before the electorate, and Ward was present at Town Meeting Day. He cast his vote for "no license" in 1847 and remained in town throughout the day. The majority of voters disagreed with Ward's temperance position and voted to permit the town once again to grant licenses to legally sell alcoholic beverages. 17 Temperance reformers had long held that that easy access to drink led to excessive drinking. In 1836, the Greenburgh Temperance Society of Westchester County had determined that in their midst were "a considerable number of habitual drunkards...[with] long confirmed habits." They also noted and blamed the fact that alcohol was widely available in their neighborhood. The Greenburgh society saw "but little prospect of reclaiming" the "habitual drunkards" among them until access to alcoholic beverages was restricted. 18

While Alson Ward watched the license law voting results in Dutchess County, the County Clerk of neighboring Putnam County filed the local results of the 1846 municipal license issue there. Of the six jurisdictions in Putnam County, five voted no license, thereby, determining that there could be no legal sale of alcohol in those towns from May 1846 through April 1847. Only voters in Patterson approved the issuance of licenses to sell alcohol for the year. 19 Of Columbia County's nine reported towns and villages, there were only two votes for 1846-1847 licensing, including Claverack which was "strongly" in favor of licensing. On the other hand, Stockport was noted for the "numerous and respectable operatives [workers]" laboring in the enterprises of

“intelligent and wealthy” owners who “decidedly encourage Temperance reform.”

Greene County’s major villages also voted no license, as did Poughkeepsie in Dutchess County. 20

**Don’t sell him another drink please.
He’s reeling already, you see,
I fear when he comes home tonight,
He’ll beat my poor mother and me.**

C. Ross, “Don’t Sell My Dear Father Rum”-Temperance Song

Putnam County temperance reformers could point to current violations of the excise law that regulated the sale of alcohol in the 1840s. They knew that illegal sales were a long-standing problem in Putnam County. In 1835, the county's grand jury indicted thirty-one persons for selling alcoholic beverages without a license. Those indicted faced such charges as "keeping a common, ill-governed, disorderly house," where persons were found "drinking, tippling, cursing, swearing, quarreling and otherwise mis-behaving themselves." Several of those indicted by the Putnam County Grand Jury in 1835 were identified as laborers or merchants who stood accused of having sold liquor in their shops or homes. Cornelius Nelson and Henry Croft allegedly ran such a shop in Phillipstown and posted \$400 bail to assure their appearance in court, while most of the other defendants were released without bail. At his trial, the accused, Harry Hoyt of Patterson, filed an affidavit stating that when his tavern license lapsed he did not sell any drinks until it was renewed. Another defendant, Ebenezer Foster of Southeast, pled guilty, even though a local constable had stated in deposition that he had not seen

Foster sell any drinks and, furthermore, Foster had even refused requests for drinks.

In a document unique for its detailed description, Phillipstown widow Margaret Purdy was indicted in 1835, on the usual charge of selling without a license. However, the Putnam County Grand Jury also charged that Purdy had sold drinks to "evil disposed and wicked persons of ill fame and conversation" on the Sabbath. The indictment further accused her of maintaining a "common ill governed and disorderly house...by means whereof the said evil disposed persons became intoxicated[,] riotous[,] noisy and quarrelsome whereby divers unlawful assemblies[,] riots[,] routs[,] affrays[,] disturbances and violations of the peace" occurred both night and day. Moreover, Purdy's actions were a "subversion of youth...in their manners[,] conversation[,] estate and obedience." Interestingly, the county attorney chose not to prosecute Margaret Purdy and entered a *Nolle Prosequi* motion, which was accepted by the court. However, the remaining thirty indictments for violation of the excise law handed up that April 1835 stood and most of the defendants pled guilty as charged. ²¹ Temperance advocates in Putnam County pointed to such cases as another reason for temperance reform.

The "temperance community" in Dutchess County cited by Alson Ward in the battles over alcohol was an active one. He recorded some of the temperance meetings and other events held in his area as the years went by. In the heyday of Washingtonianism, the grass roots temperance movement of the early 1840s, Ward attended protracted temperance meetings held by neighborhood Washingtonians during the weeks before and after the Christmas season of 1844. ²²

Protracted temperance meetings were modeled on the Protestant religious revivals of the time and appeared in the Hudson River Valley during the 1840s. One such

meeting was held in Columbia County in June 1842, according to the *Columbia Washingtonian*. Then in November 1842, there occurred ten days of "animated and animating" temperance meetings in Hudson where the audience was addressed by the "Albany Carpenter," James Kilburn. During March of the following year came another prolonged temperance meeting, in Chatham Four Corners, despite the "exceedingly cold weather." The meetings were regarded as productive, as well as popular. A number of "hard cases" were pledged to total abstinence from "all that intoxicates " at a protracted temperance meeting held in Hudson during August 1843. Just after the Hudson meeting, Sunday meetings in the "grove" and at the Reformed Dutch Church of Johnstown evolved into a week of nightly held assemblies. William Free of Poughkeepsie, a reformed drinker, addressed the assembly and A. P. Bullock, a temperance singer from Hudson, entertained with temperance odes. Again that winter, protracted meetings were conducted each evening for a week at a rented meeting room in Davis Hall in Hudson. In fact, temperance meetings in Hudson were so frequent and large, making their business so successful, that the proprietors of the commercial Davis Hall decided to enlarge the meeting room to better accommodate the full Washingtonian meetings. 23

The City of Hudson is situated right on the eastern bank of the Hudson River and serves as the seat of government for Columbia County, as well as a regional entrepot. Hudson, twenty-eight miles below Albany and opposite Athens in Greene County, was the locus of much antebellum temperance activity and home to the temperance newspaper, the *Columbia Washingtonian*. First known as Claverack Landing, the site of Hudson was located within a grant of land, which was originally purchased from Indians in 1662 and then confirmed by a patent from the English governor in 1667. It soon

became a center of the surrounding agricultural economy, as well as a favorable ferry and sloop landing. In 1783, four New England Quakers seeking to establish a commercial center moved to Claverack Landing, where they purchased the property from descendants of the original patentee. The name of the small settlement was changed to Hudson in 1784, based on the supposed fact that it was Henry Hudson's first upriver landing. Under the tutelage of the Quakers, Hudson grew rapidly.

In addition to supporting agricultural and commercial enterprises, Hudson became the second port of New York State, after the City of New York. Shipbuilding and subsidiary endeavors began, and within two years of the Quaker purchase twenty-five seagoing vessels hailed from Hudson. In recognition of its size and importance, in 1786, the city licensed seventeen businesses "to retail all kinds of spirituous liquors." In 1790, the city became an international port of entry and was incorporated as the third city in the state. Hudson also supported one of the three chartered banks in the state. With an excellent supply of timber, ship-building continued apace, and trade with Charleston, Havana, Santo Domingo, the Windward Islands and Brazil was undertaken by ships sailing out of Hudson. Hudson also served as the commercial center of Columbia County, the Berkshires and northwest Connecticut. With the Napoleonic Wars, shipping traffic and profits became transatlantic rather than southerly. However, with the 1807 embargo on such trade established by Thomas Jefferson, commercial shipping, shipbuilding and dependent businesses rapidly declined. The situation worsened with the War of 1812, and the Bank of Hudson, chartered in 1808, failed. The population declined from 5,310 in 1820 to 5,004 persons by 1825. The fortunes of Hudson soon revived as a result of a whale-fishing association of investors formed in 1829. Hudson

served as a whaling center for the next fifteen years, but that enterprise failed with the general decline of the whaling industry and saw the last whaler sail out of Hudson in 1845. The advance of railroads in the region insured that Hudson remained a vital location when Hudson became the terminus of the first railroad line from the Atlantic seaboard to the Hudson River. The city had also long served as an entrepot for agricultural support activities, such as milling. Tanneries also flourished as the local and regional forests supplied the bark needed for tanning while the local farms supplied the animal skins to be tanned. Merino sheep were introduced to the area and woolen textiles were manufactured in and around Hudson. In 1814, the only foundry between New York City and Albany was established in Hudson to produce stoves and agricultural castings. The foundry supported a machine shop for the manufacture of tools and, with its success, additional foundries followed suit. The city continued to serve as a commercial entrepot for the agricultural and commercial interests in the Hudson River Valley. Hudson remained an important regional center into the 1860s, both supportive of and dependent upon the local, regional and national economies. ²⁴ Because of its prime location and commercial success, Hudson proved to be a natural center of temperance activities, as well as the home of the influential regional temperance newspaper, the *Columbia Washingtonian*.

Alson Ward was one of many in his area to attend marathon temperance meetings in the 1840s. At the Sabbath evening gathering that opened the protracted series of December 1844 meetings attended by Ward, not all of those assembled were of like mind. Ward noted that one man heckled the speakers and the audience by uttering " a few spurious remarks." The heckling continued the following evening as opponents

of temperance reform irritated the assembly, especially the Washingtonians. As the week progressed, "A good number" of the temperance advocates in attendance managed to keep away the annoying inebriates. 25

Opposition to the purpose of temperance meetings often took the form of taunting both the speakers and the assembled. As such, heckling at temperance meetings by those was not isolated. It should be noted, however, that reports of the heckling behavior stem from the temperance advocates. Numerous *Columbia Washingtonian* reports contain references to such annoying practices in the Hudson River Valley. A November 1842 Germantown temperance gathering held on a Saturday night at the Germantown School House near Sturges's Tavern drew a small crowd. At that meeting the group was disturbed by a local "squire," reportedly a church deacon, who was assisted in his annoying activities by the barkeeper from the tavern. The two men succeeded in breaking up the temperance meeting, to the discouragement of the agent and those who attended the gathering. 26 On another occasion, in 1843, the temperance county agent reported a stronger threat to the peace and progress of the reform efforts. He stated that during two crowded temperance meetings at the school house in Milan, where seventy-five total abstinence pledges were recorded, a number of those present expressed the fear that the school house would be damaged in retribution by those in the area who opposed temperance. Another disruption occurred at the Green River School House in Columbia County when the Hillsdale Temperance Society assembled there in March 1844. The building was crowded and some forty to fifty persons took the teetotal pledge that evening. But, to the consternation of the society, several drunken men disturbed the meeting. Similar disturbances continued as the year wore on. In May 1844, the county

temperance agent, George Haydock, presented six of his experience lectures in some of the "worst areas" of Poughkeepsie. The "enemy gathered round and threatened" but Washingtonians, with the support of the clergy and "Christian professors," routed the unwelcome taunters from the meeting. 27 These incidents reflect the fact that not all Valley residents approved of the joint mission of the temperance movement to reform drunkards and prevent drinkers from becoming alcoholics by taking the total abstinence pledge.

The influence of the Washingtonians, an organization begun by six reformed alcoholic laborers and artisans in Baltimore, was noteworthy in the Hudson River Valley. The recovered-alcoholic Washingtonians gave "experience" addresses at temperance meetings which brought many signatures to the teetotal pledge in the 1840s. John Stanton Gould recalled that in the early 1840 some of the Baltimore men were brought to Hudson by a local benefactor. "[M]echanicks [*sic*] were attracted to hear them....The effect of their rude speeches in the open street was really wonderful." 28 In 1842, the Greene County temperance agent for the *Columbia Washingtonian* lectured as a "Reformed Drunk" in Durham. Benjamin Stainsby secured 399 pledges in just three nights. These talks attested to the speakers' former degraded lives in an attempt to sway fellow intemperates to accept the totally abstinent path and persuade abstainers that it was possible to redeem the "lost." The value of the "reformed drunk" to the temperance movement was not underestimated. "Our Washingtonians would find the cause of temperance advancing more rapidly if they would take hold of the work as reformed men do...." Further, "Every man who knows anything of intemperance *practically*, should tell what he knows; this is the great secret of the reform...." 29 Washingtonians declared that

“we want not sermons, but cold water speeches...talk to us as men, not as preachers.” 30

We are all Washingtonians,
We have all Signed the Pledge!

Hutchinson Family, “We Are All Washingtonians”-Temperance Song

In the fall 1842, Henry A. Fay, a New York City lawyer, spoke on temperance throughout Dutchess County under the auspices of the *Crystal Fount*, a New York City temperance newspaper. Fay had gone through personal and professional ruin caused by alcoholism before experiencing a reformation through Washingtonianism. Fay’s trip did not start easily; he left New York City on the barge “Dutchess County,” which was towed up the Hudson River to Lower Red Hook. Landing there at 2:30 a.m., Fay walked a mile uphill from the river to the main road. In the evening, he conducted a large temperance meeting at the Red Hook School House and reported that the audience appreciated his experience talk and signed temperance pledges. Fay moved on to speak at a temperance store in Mechanicsville, where there was an eighty-member temperance society. Again, he told the story of his former drunkenness and the harm his law practice suffered, and more persons signed the total abstinence pledge. His experience talks in Barrytown and Tivoli boosted membership in those temperance societies. By the end of his visit, Fay had spoken to more than 1, 000 people. 31 Upon hearing such an experience presentation by a Columbia County reformed man in 1844, Alson Ward noted that “such men often produce more feeling than others that know [intemperance] by observation merely.” 32

An 1843 report in the *Columbia Washingtonian* of the first experience meeting in Stockport judged that such meetings were efficacious when compared to the temperance

lectures usually heard in the region. That meeting was soon followed by another, at which the Columbia County temperance and newspaper agent, Benjamin Stainsby, related his own past life and misdeeds, as well as the death of his wife due to drinking. However beneficial these experience talks were, they gave rise to other concerns. The *Columbia Washingtonian* rushed to assure "a lady" that not only a "lower class of people" attended meetings and signed the total abstinence pledge. By the end of 1843, the same paper noticed that the frequency of the experience meetings had declined and called for them to be renewed. 33

Yet, experience talks were still being given in 1845, as reported from Kinderhook. The small village of 3,512 persons boasted of three temperance societies, including a Young Man's Temperance Society. 34 One of them, the Kinderhook Temperance Society met every other Sunday evening during the fall of 1845. Many in Kinderhook had taken the temperance society's vow to abstain from intoxicating drinks. However, the Kinderhook Temperance Society was troubled by the lack of progress among those who were most in need of reformation. The low number of pledges from Kinderhook's inebriates continued despite experience speeches by reformed "men well known in this neighborhood for their habit of intemperance." 35 The year before, each family in the village had been visited by a temperance society delegation and each person in the village had been asked to take the pledge. The result was five hundred pledges, including some from the "most abandoned." Kinderhook's weekly meetings were held at the Reformed Dutch or the Methodist Episcopal Church in the village. It was proudly noted that Kinderhook trustees had granted no licenses for alcoholic beverages to groceries, and there were only two licensed taverns. 36

Alson Ward wrote of conflicts in the Hudson River Valley temperance movement in his journal. Friction among temperance reformers during 1846 in Dutchess County was evident to Ward who noted such an incident by writing his comments in capital letters, presumably signifying the importance and effect of the conflict. On an 1846 Sabbath evening, Ward attended a meeting at which the annual question arose whether to approve or disapprove of local licensing to sell alcohol. During the evening, "some misunderstanding" occurred between the Washingtonians and the "old society" of temperance reformers, which led to each group holding its own meeting at the same time in the same hall. 37

The discord between factions of temperance reformers indicates that the movement was not uniform in the Hudson River Valley. There were differences at play in the Valley. A disparity existed regarding the sale of alcoholic beverages between middle class and working class Washingtonians. 38 Some Washingtonian laborers, artisans and mechanics often were sympathetic toward those men and women who tried to make a living by selling distilled alcohol. Frequently, "rumsellers" and Washingtonians were friends and neighbors. This was especially true of those who sold the more affordable single drinks in groceries, grogshops or taverns. Many of the working class could not afford to purchase a full container of beer, cider or whiskey and so sought single drinks. Additionally, they were also not as likely to drink wine as were those of the middle class. Washingtonians of the working class often recognized that temperance reformation could threaten the "rumseller" with financial injury. In fact, the Valatie, Columbia County Board of Excise granted licenses to sell alcoholic beverages to "some grog shops, and that on the petition of Pledged Temperance men and members of

the church” in 1844. That same year, the Greene County Temperance Society, which promoted excise license law restrictions, declared a tavern licensed to sell drinks was “actually necessary for the actual accommodation of travels and the public good.” ³⁹ Abraham Lincoln had warned in an 1842 address delivered to the Springfield, Illinois Washingtonians: “too much denunciation against dramsellers and dram drinkers...was both impolitic and unjust.” ⁴⁰ The movement also menaced some of the closely held class concepts of artisans, mechanics and laborers whose culture included the use of some alcohol in daily life. “We have no sympathy with this trade in ruin. But we do not array ourselves against all of them, we ask them not to sell [,] but if not able [to forego selling,] but will sign the pledge [total abstinence] and reform [we] accept them....” ⁴¹ Because of that position some of the more orthodox temperance advocates, such as the New York Temperance Society, considered the Washingtonian total abstinence pledge to be “defective.” The Washingtonian pledge allowed for the making and selling of intoxicating beverages and did not specifically prohibit such activities, whereas the New York Society pledge did outlaw such undertakings. ⁴² The conservative strain of temperance feared that the temperance movement had become vulgar and coarse under Washingtonianism because “those who had always been sober gave way to the reformed.” To conservatives, that mistake meant that temperance meetings, with experience talks and temperance songs, more closely resembled bar rooms than the more sedate format they preferred. ⁴³

Differences of views were also expressed by some temperance reformers in their preference for “moral suasion.” Persuasion to the cause of abstinence was the method preferred by Hudson River Valley Washingtonians, of all classes, rather than coercion by

law that emerged in the more orthodox camp. 44 "We all for Moral Suasion go, and seek by love to win our foe." This phrase from a popular temperance song expressed a belief that moral suasion was the proper means to achieve the goal of a temperate society.45 Experience talks by redeemed drunkards were attempts to persuade listeners to follow the total abstinence path. Another form of moral suasion in temperance matters is found in Alson Ward's journal. Ward, accompanied by his father's hired farm hand, was introduced to "temperance prosperity" by a Washingtonian temperance speaker. The reformer pulled a small bag of coins from his pocket and shook "it about at no small rate" as a means of demonstrating the prosperity his listeners could expect from a life of total abstinence. 46

Many antebellum temperance reformers were not satisfied by espousing "abstinence from all that intoxicates," they wanted to be in the company of fellow believers. A culture of temperance reform developed among advocates, one that was evident in the Hudson River Valley. Public hotels and houses that eschewed the sale of alcohol attracted the antebellum nineteenth century temperance advocate. The new Plough Hotel in Albany in 1844 was one such establishment. It was "pleasantly situated" on State Street opposite the Episcopal Church and within a few minutes walk of the railroad station and the steamboat landing, as well as the post office and banks. The traveler was offered a "peaceful place of rest...table spread with luxuries of the season...obliging servants...and a gentlemanly landlord...." 47 When Alson Ward traveled westward in New York State he was able to take tea at a temperance hotel in Syracuse, before going on to Oswego. His hometown, Pleasant Valley, provided such an establishment in the Simmons Temperance Hotel. The hotel was a regular stagecoach

stop and temperate travelers could find comfort there. Additionally, temperance organizations in the area held special events at the hotel, such as large meetings and ceremonies. ⁴⁸ The Greene County Temperance Society held its January 1 1843 annual meeting at the Presbyterian Church in Cairo and then retired to the Samuel L. Hayes Temperance House for dinner. In fact, the presence of a temperance house in the village was so important to the members of the Stuyvesant Falls Temperance Society that they held a benefit meeting to assist the proprietor so he could remain in business. ⁴⁹ This incident indicates not only the high value temperance advocates placed on such accommodations, but also the economically deleterious effect of foregoing alcohol sales could have upon a tavern or inn.

No alcohol we'll buy or sell,
Away, away the bowl;
The tippler's offer we repel....

John Yates, "Away the Bowl"-Temperance Song

"Remember Always Patronize the Temperance Groceries," the *Columbia Washingtonian* exhorted its readers in 1843. The newspaper also made it a policy to publish, free of charge, the names of grocers and storekeepers who sold no liquor so that the temperance community could know which businesses to patronize. There were seven such businesses listed in Hudson in September 1843 and some others were added to the list throughout the fall. In the summer of 1844, Alfred Gifford, Thomas Brown, and C. McArthur added their names to the list of those who ran temperance groceries in Hudson. ⁵⁰ In the 1840s, thirsty customers of the W. and G. Storrs Hudson shop were

able to purchase a "temperance beverage," according to advertisements in the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The drink, called "Silver Top No. 1," was manufactured using Spanish sarsaparilla by William Brown, a chemist located on Washington Street in Hudson. ⁵¹

For the temperance advocate who suffered from dyspepsia, asthma and general debility, a remedy "CONTAINING NO ALCOHOL!" was available. The product called "Oxygenated Bitters" was touted as the cure of those complaints in all their various forms, as well as myriad others, according to an 1853 advertisement placed in a Hudson newspaper. ⁵² Messrs. Armstrong, Barnes and Denton advertised their Poughkeepsie temperance grocery as early as 1839 in the *Poughkeepsie Telegraph*. "Temperance men, among others, will no longer be under the necessity of going to New-York to purchase their family groceries." Another such Poughkeepsie grocery store advertised "Cheap Groceries" for sale. ⁵³ The *Troy Temperance Mirror* advised its readers to patronize local Rensselaer County temperance stores and hotels, as well as temperance men in their professions. The Poughkeepsie temperance newspaper, *The Safeguard*, proclaimed "It is the duty of Temperance men to sustain Temperance groceries." ⁵⁴ The businesses conducted on the temperance principle of neither stocking nor selling alcoholic beverages needed the support of temperance-minded customers if they were to succeed.

Notice of the location of temperance hotels or public houses in the Hudson River Valley in the 1840s was also given in local and temperance newspapers. Two such Greene County establishments were recognized; William Vandenburg kept a temperance house in Coxsackie and Elisha Blackman did likewise in Cairo. There were several houses classified as "cold water" in Greene County, including one in Durham. Temperance establishments also placed advertisements in the newspapers to publicize

their businesses. Thomas T. Brown advertised his Hudson temperance grocery and Daniel McClinch his Chatham hotel. Mr. Sleight, who ran the Rail Road House in Mellenville advertised that he had "the only tavern in the place" and would keep it as a temperance house. Daniel McClinch and Ezra Lay, both of Chatham Four Corners, publicly pledged to run their respective hotels on a temperance basis, although they possessed licenses to sell alcohol. However, in a later issue, the *Columbia Washingtonian* questioned whether McClinch's establishment had remained free of rum. J. W. Hallenbeck's tavern "over the bay" in Greenport became a temperance house and hosted temperance meetings in 1844. ⁵⁵ In 1843, one Thomas Hoag published a public notice in the *Columbia Washingtonian* that he offered to rent or sell a "well known Tavern Stand" in Federal Stores, Chatham. The tavern stand had a "dwelling house" and a store attached. If rented, Hoag required that the tavern and store must be "kept strictly on Temperance principles." True to his word, a year later it was advertised that Thomas Hoag's temperance house, "at the old stand," was operated on the teetotal principle. Columbia County also was home to temperance houses in New Lebanon and New Lebanon Springs in 1847. There was one Columbia County tavern owner at Raymond's Temperance Hotel in Chatham Four Corners who declared "no Rum, nor any apology for it. This is a temperance house in *Principle!* and never will be a Rum shop under its present keeper gain or lose." The change from selling alcohol to running a temperance establishment was undertaken by some tavern owners in order to attract customers because of the popularity of the temperance cause in the Hudson River Valley, or so said the *Columbia Washingtonian*. However, it was later noticed that a number of those tavern owners reverted to selling alcohol rather than maintaining the ban on such sales. ⁵⁶

Perhaps the cost of maintaining temperance houses in small villages was too high for tavern proprietors to remain in the teetotal business.

Establishments operated on the total abstinence principle dotted the Hudson River Valley. The Greene County Temperance Society had resolved in 1834 to patronize merchants and tavern keepers “who do not trade nor traffic in ardent spirits.” ⁵⁷ In August 1844, the *Columbia Washingtonian* published a notice that a new temperance hotel had opened in Pleasant Valley at the wagonmaker's room. This location saw some of the temperance meetings and a convention attended by the Pleasant Valley diarist, Alson Ward. To minister to the traveling temperance advocate, a temperance hotel was opened opposite the Western Rail Road depot in Chatham Four Corners in the fall of 1844. Despite all this activity, a year later, Hudson still had no such accommodation to its credit. Hudson did offer Hitchcock's Temperance Eating House, which boasted of a separate entrance through a hallway to a "Ladies" room open day or evening. Hudson's own temperance hotel, the National, first opened in May 1846 and could seat four hundred at dinner. ⁵⁸ By the fall of 1848, and with a major change, the National Hotel on Franklin Square in Hudson was advertising the quality of its liquors in the *Hudson Gazette*. It had been operated on the temperance principle for only two years. ⁵⁹ The Fort Orange Temperance Hotel replaced the Union Hotel in Ghent in 1846, and there were two temperance hotels in Catskill, one at Catskill Point operated by J. Barnum and the other was Joseph B. Lyne's Franklin Temperance House. ⁶⁰ In 1843, Joseph B. Lyne also advertised his Catskill Franklin Temperance House in the local Democratic newspaper, the *Catskill Recorder*, stating that he would keep the establishment free of all intoxicating beverages. The Franklin House in Catskill was still run on the temperance

principle by its new owner, James D. Gardner, in 1847. ⁶¹ The American Hotel in Troy maintained a temperance operation in 1851. ⁶² Churchill's Hudson Street Temperance House in Albany had begun to provide for the abstinent traveler in 1835 and claimed to be the first such Albany establishment. It was located "in sight and opposite the Steam Boat Landings, but a few rods from the Depots of the Eastern and Western Cars, Post Office, Stage Offices...in the centre of the Wholesale and Retail business of the city." In addition, the owner boasted that the house "has been repaired, altered painted, and lit with gas this spring." ⁶³ Temperance hotels and boarding houses located in New York City advertised for guests in the *Columbia Washingtonian* in order to attract those Hudson Valley temperance advocates who traveled to that city. To travel up and down the Hudson River, to the National Hotel or to other destinations, the steamboat "Utica" was declared a temperance boat under Capt. Jeremiah Bame in October 1843. ⁶⁴

Social life for Alson Ward and his brothers and sisters frequently revolved around their temperance activities. These events afforded the rural family the opportunity to be in the company of friends and neighbors. Dutchess County temperance reformers took the opportunity to visit with each other while exhibiting their patriotism as well as their abstinence by celebrating Independence Day with a "temperance celebration" in LaGrange. More frequently, however, the Ward children enjoyed the regular temperance meetings and special events, such as fairs and conventions. They spent time preparing for those activities and often attended them as a family. For example, the Ward family was often present at temperance meetings, which were held in surrounding churches on Sabbath evenings. At one of these Sunday night meetings, Alson Ward, his father, and friends and neighbors were treated to a speaker who entertained the audience "for a

proper time." 65

Other temperance events also brought Hudson River Valley residents out to mingle with like-minded neighbors. In the fall of 1844, the Hudson female Martha Washington Temperance Society advertised that they would hold a "Social Fair" in Hudson to support their charity work. The women also conducted a "Social Temperance Party" in January 1846, again to benefit their charity coffers. "Young and Old" were invited to attend the social at John Stafford's house in Greenport. The admission price of fifty cents, or seventy-five cents for a couple, entitled the partygoers to a "hot supper." The male counterpart of the Martha Washingtonians in Hudson hosted a Christmastime "Washingtonian pic-nic" at Hudson's Davis Hall in 1843. The admission charge of one dollar went to benefit the society. The evening was a great success and people "danced til early morning." 66

The Christmastime social was so popular, that the following year, the Hudson society organized a "Temperance Cotillion Party" held at Davis Hall. That event was billed as an "annual fete." In December 1845, the Hudson Washingtonian Society's Finance Committee organized the third annual "Temperance Ball" to raise money to support their meetings, and to help pay for rent, lighting and fuel. They charged an admission fee of seventy-five cents and invited all of Hudson and neighboring areas. The Washingtonians especially invited "those friendly to the cause (who are opposed to dancing)" because since dancing was so popular it was difficult to find someone who could help run the ball. A second notice for the annual "frolic" advertised that the seventy-five cents fee would admit two persons, or a couple, "one of each sex." 67

The Hudson Washington Temperance Society conducted their next "Pic-Nic" in

February 1845 at Davis Hall. At their annual "Temperance Pic-Nic" in 1847, the Hudson male temperance society expected a full house at one dollar a ticket, with supper tickets being an extra charge. ⁶⁸ These events were popular among temperance advocates for they enjoyed the food, music and dancing, as well as the company they found there.

Another kind of temperance event took place in April 1843 in Greeneville Centre. A double "temperance wedding" was conducted at a large temperance meeting attended by approximately one thousand temperance advocates. The two couples were escorted to the nuptial church by the meeting marshal and were attended by a cadre of marchers holding their temperance banners. The church elders met them at the church and the choir sang at the wedding ceremony. An 1842 temperance wedding of a different sort occurred in New Lebanon when a Columbia County couple, who had been "separated by drink," were reunited in marriage by the "magic charm of the Washingtonian pledge." ⁶⁹

Other temperance events, which attracted many followers, were held within the Hudson River Valley. The Dutchess County Temperance Convention, which occurred in August 1844, was well attended. (Each county temperance society was a composite of the individual local societies within the county, which were auxiliaries to the overall parent society.) The event was billed as a "temperance celebration," and to for prepare it, Alson Ward spent a day successfully gathering donated provisions for a public dinner to be held during the convention. But with rainy weather, the convention was held indoors in the Pleasant Valley wagonshop mentioned earlier. Because he was in charge of food for the event, Ward arrived early at the wagonshop in order to prepare for the dinner. Ward had succeeded in securing food enough for four hundred conventioners who would have dinner or tea at the wagonshop. As busy as he was with preparations, Ward

found time to listen to one of the Hudson River Valley's well-known Washingtonian temperance lecturers, George Haydock. 70

Haydock, who also served the *Columbia Washingtonian* as a county agent, related the story of his colorful life to the rapt listeners that day in Pleasant Valley. Haydock "who had been a great sufferer by the use of alcohol [,] gave from the platform in front of the [wagon]shop an artillery of truths that will not be easily forgotten." 71 Among these truths was the fact that he had lost one leg and one eye in a drunken accident. Before his mishap, Haydock worked in Hudson as a wool-maker and sawyer. At age thirty-six, Haydock was reformed in Hudson by two of the original Washingtonians who were traveling through the Hudson River Valley on a speaking tour. A temperance lecturer billed as the "Old Wood Sawyer [one who saws wood]," Haydock claimed that he was able to "saw the hardest stick you may have" with his story. 72 He considered himself a professional speaker and listed his occupation as "Temperance Lecturer" in the 1850 Hudson City Directory. 73 Haydock was arrested in Washington, D. C. for lecturing on the streets on a Sabbath in December 1853, according to the *Columbia Republican*. Haydock continued in his colorful career as temperance lecturer and was still speaking on temperance matters in 1867. 74

Speaking at Alson Ward's temperance convention in Pleasant Valley, Haydock could be heard clearly from a nearby hotel where a group of men spent the day drinking, according to Ward's account. One of the drunken men then approached the temperance orator; "Liar," he called out to Haydock. The day was saved when the intoxicated man crawled under the speaking platform and soon fell asleep, leaving the temperance people to hear the rest of Haydock's address while undisturbed. Unfortunately, that evening's

convention proceedings in church were disrupted by two "notorious drunkards" who entered the church, each carrying a bottle of liquor. ⁷⁵ Clearly there were persons in the region who did not espouse the tenets of the Dutchess County "cold water army" which counted Alson Ward and his family as members.

On another occasion, Alson Ward also had the opportunity to hear the noted "reformed drunkard" and temperance lecturer, John B. Gough, who was on a speaking tour through the Hudson River Valley. Gough had been an unsuccessful printer and impoverished actor before his reformation and subsequent successful speaking career. ⁷⁶ Snug and dry under a big tent in Poughkeepsie in order to hear Gough, Ward did not let the foul weather dampen his enthusiasm. He recorded that he was "highly pleased" with the celebrated Gough. ⁷⁷ John Bartholomew Gough appeared many times in the Hudson River Valley during the 1840s and 1850s, and his colorful career will be used to demonstrate various aspects of the temperance reform movement which emerged in the region.

The *Columbia Washingtonian* reported on the Pleasant Valley convention which Ward attended, as well as on a number of other Dutchess County temperance meetings during August 1844. Of the Pleasant Valley convention which Ward worked so hard to prepare, the newspaper recorded that some two hundred and fifty persons dined at the wagonmaker's shop. A meeting at the Presbyterian Church in Pleasant Valley followed the successful dinner Ward had devised. Sadly, the newspaper wrote that the day's temperance reform activities "drew in 3 rum drinkers, " who disrupted the meeting, as Ward also noted. The *Columbia Washingtonian* also reported on a number of other outdoor temperance gatherings in Dutchess County during August 1844. There were two

held in Poughkeepsie that month. In addition, one held in Huestonville garnered six total abstinence pledges, four of which were from hard drinkers. Six more were pledged in Franklindale and Manchester hosted two meetings, where the second attracted a full house and prompted five pledges. ⁷⁸

Following his successful convention, Alson Ward took part in planning an 1845 spring temperance "festival." He was a member of the "committee for arrangements" which met several times at Simmons's temperance house nearby. Their efforts were rewarded with another fortunate experience, as Ward wrote in his journal. The next affair was a wintertime festival held in January 1846, and again at Simmons's. Alson Ward attended this temperance event with his sister and noted that approximately one hundred and fifty persons ate supper at the temperance hotel during the event. ⁷⁹

The spring of 1846 brought another temperance convention for the people of Pleasant Valley and the surrounding countryside, which members of the Ward family attended at their Presbyterian Church. April 1847 found the mass meeting at the Pleasant Valley Episcopal Church. Before the convention, Alson Ward practiced the music which would be played on his melodeon (a small reed organ). Two of the Ward daughters accompanied their brother to the practice sessions held in the church. On the appointed date, he served as a delegate of his temperance society, in addition to his musical contribution, remaining all day and well into the evening. Attendance at the April 1847 convention was small due to the cold and unpleasant weather, which did not seem to hinder Alson Ward's enthusiasm for the convention. ⁸⁰ The Ward family enjoyed being with their friends and neighbors and the temperance convention provided the occasion.

Although temperance meetings frequently attended by Alson Ward in Dutchess

County were conducted in local Protestant churches, records of other churches including the Baptist Church of Carmel, in neighboring Putnam County, provides another example of church-based temperance reform activities in the Hudson River Valley. Between February 12 and March 5 1842, some 109 members of the Carmel Baptist Church signed a temperance pledge which incorporated the spirit of the church, as well as the temperance reform mission. "Intoxicating liquors as a beverage are not only needless but harmful to the social, civil and religious interests of man," the pledge stated. It was a Christian duty to abstain from alcohol oneself, and to refrain from supplying such items to workers or friends. A Christian must also forego selling alcoholic beverages, according to the Carmel church. The 31 men and 78 women who signed the church's temperance pledge declared that "in all suitable ways we will discountenance the use of it in the community." True to the belief that use of alcohol was against their Christian standard, the Carmel Baptist Church excluded members throughout the years for such transgressions as "using and selling intoxicating liquors" and "drinking to excess and refusing to hear the church." Indeed, one of the signers of the 1842 temperance pledge, Silas Washburn, who was baptized into the church in 1845, was excluded for intoxication and quarreling in 1858.⁸¹ Another signatory to the 1842 Carmel Baptist Church temperance pledge was Hiram Cole. Cole had been indicted by the Putnam County Grand Jury for violations of the excise license law on October 1 1834, as well as January 1 and April 10 1835. Cole, who owned a retail store in Kent, appeared before the local justice in the Court of Oyer and Terminer each time to plead guilty to the charge of having illegally sold liquor to be imbibed in his shop. One of the three witnesses testifying against Hiram Cole in April 1835 was one Nathaniel Cole. Interestingly,

Nathaniel was also indicted in April 1835, but the District Attorney entered a *Nolle Prosequi* and dropped the case against Nathaniel, while following through with Hiram's prosecution. 82

All hail! Ye friends of temperance,
Who're gathered here tonight, sirs,
We welcome you with joyful hearts
Each generous son and daughter,
For here's the place of all, to shout
The praises of cold water.

Hutchinson Family, "Cold Water"-Temperance Song

A multitude of activities and events centered on the temperance reform movement in the Hudson River Valley and successfully attracted many followers. Regularly scheduled temperance meetings and social events served to reinforce the bonds among like-minded individuals in the Valley, and frequently entire families became involved in temperance work which provided them with the opportunity to socialize within a like minded community. The Wards, who attended temperance events as a family, exemplified this aspect of the temperance work.

Hudson River Valley temperance meetings were many, so that temperance advocates had many opportunities to participate in the reform movement. Hamlets and villages, as well as larger settlements, all over the region proudly reported their temperance society activities. In the summer months, Columbia County meetings were often conducted out of doors, amidst tree groves when the weather permitted. On summertime Sunday afternoons in August 1843, Stockport held its temperance meetings

at McKinstry's Grove. ⁸³ Winter and inclement weather forced meetings indoors in churches, school houses or public halls. The temperance society of Hillsdale met each Monday at the Methodist Church, while the society of Kinderhook convened at the Hemlock School House on Wednesdays. ⁸⁴ Wintertime weekly meetings in Greene County were announced for Catskill, Leeds, Athens, and Freehold and in Ulster County's Greeneville by the *Columbia Washingtonian* in January 1844. That same winter, at the Columbia County villages of Stockport, Stuyvesant Falls, Chatham, Valatie and Greenport temperance societies met weekly. At those meetings, Valatie proudly presented music by the teetotal Valatie village band, while Stockport touted that it counted "respectable farmers" among its members that season, when farmers had more leisure time. Chatham, in particular, was proud of its record on temperance. In January 1843, the Chatham Washington Temperance Society announced the roster of ten hamlet societies it incorporated. There were 150 members of the Federal Stores society, which had existed since 1836. The other nine Chatham societies dated from 1841 and 1842 and, all told, the Chatham Washington Temperance Society claimed 1,193 members in a town that numbered 3,663 in 1840. ⁸⁵

Columbia County winter meetings were held each week in Malden Bridge, Chatham Centre and at the Waltermire School House in Ghent in 1844. Calls to organize temperance societies soon led to weekly meetings at Stone Mills and Taghkanic. Woodstock and Yankeetown in Ulster County held their first weekly joint meetings on two successive nights in March 1844, when two hundred attended the events and seventy-eight added their names to those pledged to abstain from all alcohol. In summer of 1844, weekly meetings were conducted in Columbia County at the Hudson Court House, the

Columbiaville Print Works, Stockport, Greenport, Stuyvesant Falls and Leeds each week. Copake Flats Methodist Church and Hillsdale West Baptist Church hosted afternoon meetings of local temperance societies every Sunday. The three hundred and fifty members of the Valatie Washington Temperance Society met each Saturday evening in the Lecture Room during the summer of 1844. During that same season, the Ghent society had grown so much it moved its meetings to the Macy School House. ⁸⁶

Benevolence toward intemperates and their families was a tenet of the temperance reform movement that occurred in the Hudson River Valley. The Greene County Temperance Society resolved to “relieve the wants of the poor inebriate by our money and our efforts.” In order to achieve part of this objective, the society chose Capt. P. C. Dorr as the Greene County temperance agent to serve under its direction and foster the practice of total abstinence throughout the county. The Greene County Temperance Society paid him thirty dollars each month for his services and expenses from the money collected at his temperance meetings. In January 1843, Dorr reported to the society that he had given 204 temperance lectures in Greene County during 1842. From these talks, 1,981 total abstinence pledges were made and 184 persons were redeemed from a life of drinking and degradation. Under his tutelage, fourteen new societies were formed in Greene County and thirteen taverns had ceased selling alcoholic drinks that year. Dorr had collected \$217.43, which was insufficient to pay his contracted salary and expenses. Therefore, it was decided by the sponsoring Greene County Temperance Society that it would be necessary for the various member societies in the county to contribute to the cost of the agent. ⁸⁷

At the September 1843 meeting, the Greene County Temperance Society acknowledged the formation of another temperance organization in Leeds, where sixty-two signed the pledge. Then at the parent Greene County Temperance Society's quarterly meeting in the fall of 1843, the roll call of auxiliaries was read and reports were heard from each: Catskill, Leeds, Cairo, Kiskatom, Cairo Methodist Church, Centreville, Freehold, Greeneville Centre, Gayhead Union Church, Greeneville Methodist Church, Athens, Greatville, Cocksackie, Cocksackie Landing, Van Schaick District School, and Windham Centre.

By the next assembly of the Greene County societies in January 1844, P. C. Dorr was able to announce that he had delivered 168 lectures to the various groups during 1843. There were thirteen new societies formed and the same number of "rumsellers" had ceased their sale of liquor. Dorr had overseen 1,796 pledges and with the 600 pledges obtained at meetings he did not conduct, the total number of Greene County residents pledged to total abstinence "from all that intoxicates" stood at 2,396. This indeed appeared to be an impressive amount of work undertaken in ten months. At the next meeting of the Greene County Temperance Society, which was held in Freehold, in February 1844, the local societies reported 1,250 pledged constitutional members.⁸⁸ (An individual could take the total abstinence pledge without undertaking "constitutional" membership in a society, which frequently involved dues and attendance at meetings.) In September 1846, the Greene County Grand Jury of the Court of General Sessions in Catskill indicted twenty-nine people; eighteen of them for violations of the excise law.⁸⁹ The Greene County Temperance Society continued to record success in the battle against intemperance. The July 4 1850 semiannual meeting of the society held in Windham

Centre was the chance for an “immense assembly...[which] filled the spacious building selected for the occasion, yard and the streets, lanes and avenues to overflowing.” The choir sang temperance odes and the Oakhill and Windham Centre Brass Bands played for the event. ⁹⁰

Sons of your patriot sires,
Light up anew the fires
Of Liberty!

Isaac F. Shepard, “National Temperance Ode”-Temperance Song

Certain events in the Hudson River Valley were flavored by the temperance movement and its adherents. Temperance advocates laid special claim to two national holidays, the Fourth of July and George Washington's birthday. The Fourth of July was arguably the most important patriotic and social celebration of antebellum nineteenth century America. ⁹¹ Removed by only several generations from the writing of the Declaration of Independence and the armed conflict, which secured that independence, the antebellum American felt a direct connection to Independence Day. The Fourth of July, or Independence Day, was especially meaningful to temperance reformers who sought to free their family, neighbors and neighborhoods from the influence of alcohol. Total abstinence from alcoholic beverages constituted "A Second Declaration of Independence" among the Hudson River Valley temperance community on the Fourth of July in 1842. ⁹²

Members of the Village of Kinderhook Temperance Society formed a committee

of five to call upon their neighbors to promote an alcohol-free Fourth of July in 1842. "All who feel interested in the preservation of our Liberties, are invited to attend," read the notice in the local Democratic newspaper, the *Kinderhook Sentinel*. The ceremonies planned by the society would be conducted on "Temperance principles" and "Ladies of our community may with propriety participate." To the temperance-minded Kinderhook residents, "American Independence" was tied to "Total abstinence from all that can intoxicate." ⁹³ Nearby in Hudson several hundred men, women and children enjoyed a "Washingtonian meal" to mark the important day in 1842. Because the dinner was free of all alcoholic beverages, there were "no upset tables," boasted the *Columbia Washingtonian*. ⁹⁴

The Greene County Temperance Society celebrated Independence Day of 1844 with a mass meeting at Leeds. A parade of 1,500 temperance advocates marched or rode in wagons flourishing their societies' banners to honor the day. In 1846, the Germantown temperance people in Columbia County marked the important event with a "Temperance Celebration" at the Grove Temperance House. Across the Hudson River in Greene County, a temperance Fourth of July in 1846 was conducted in Athens with music provided by the Oak Hill Band of Music. Temperance societies in full regalia marched in the Athens procession to the grove for addresses and music. Afterward, they enjoyed a "Temperance Dinner" at the Brick Hotel in Athens. ⁹⁵

The anniversary of George Washington's birth on February 22 also gave rise to annual events based on temperance principles as a way of honoring the former president. The day was particularly significant, in the 1840s, to those who joined the Washington Total Abstinence Societies. The societies thought it appropriate to honor the first

president who had led the war of independence from Britain, while they pursued the quest for freedom from intemperance. The plans of the Hudson Washingtonian Society to acknowledge Washington's birthday in 1844 were announced a week before the event. When the anniversary arrived, the Washingtonians marched from "Parade Hill" to their meeting room in Davis Hall, which was "crowded to excess." The celebrants called to mind the parallels between George Washington's fight for independence with their own against the tyranny of alcohol. "Washingtonianism is benevolence, active benevolence," declared the temperance reformers as they renewed their devotion to their cause and paid homage to George Washington. ⁹⁶ In order to appeal to the patriotism of antebellum temperance advocates, a popular 1847 temperance songbook offered "Descendants of the Patriot Band." The goal was achieved when lines such as these were sung: "again let freedom's cradle rock with the name of Washington" and "By Washington's immortal name, Resolve, like him be free." ⁹⁷ The patriotic sentiment was echoed in an early 1850s New York State Temperance Society circular: "Our forefathers *pledged* themselves to drink no tea under British taxation...solemn day of '76, when the band of patriots ...*pledged* their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor...We want their sons to imitate them." ⁹⁸

Hudson Valley temperance advocates did not organize parades and ceremonies only on national holidays. The occasion of their second 1843 quarterly meeting provided the parent Greene County Temperance Society with the opportunity to gather all of the county's temperance societies in Windham Centre. The meeting room "overflowed" with people in spite of the bad weather. For the affair, the Prattsville Brass Band was escorted by the Osbornville Fire Company on horseback. The Greene County militia joined the

procession and hundreds of men, women and children paraded carrying their temperance societies' banners. Two hundred friends of temperance sat down to a "cold water" dinner, accompanied by speeches given by temperance dignitaries. The "ladies" presented banners to the temperance firemen and the temperance militia during the dinner. Afterward, they marched as a group to the church to hear more speeches and a report of temperance activities undertaken during the quarter. The large assembly heard that some 855 persons had taken the total abstinence pledge and 83 of these were reformed drunkards. It was also announced that sixty-three temperance lectures had been given in the county and that the organization had persuaded six "rumsellers" to cease the sale of alcohol. 99

The Gayhead Temperance Society, which comprised 393 members in 1842, met each month to report on the progress of temperance in their area of Greene County. To stir up support for temperance reform, the society met at the school house on a Saturday afternoon in October 1845 to the call of "martial musick" created by four small drums, a bass drum and four fifes. The music had the desired effect, as the listeners were filled with "involuntary gayety" as they marched around the school house carrying the society's banners. They then retired to the building where the temperance society choir sang to an overflowing audience. 100 The next month, the Gayhead Temperance Society again gathered at the Gayhead School House. For this occasion, they formed a procession of more than one hundred members accompanied by fourteen musicians. Two small boys bore the society banners before the group, which wore "regalia suitable for the occasion." Decorative arm bands and chest ribbons, as well as plumed hats, spurs and regulation swords for some of the men, served to proclaim the reform message and group

identity. ¹⁰¹ The procession marched forward to the strains of music, which imparted an "exhilarating spirit to all, producing elasticity to every nerve and cheering every heart." Again, the Gayhead society marched back to the school house where the assembly, "which was accumulating very fast," was treated to choral music. The Gayhead Temperance Society understood and capitalized on the value of music to inspire and entertain. They were evidently successful, for at the next meeting the society found the "House in a perfect jam...glad to see...neighbors present who through prejudice seldom attend a temperance meeting." ¹⁰²

The Gayhead Temperance Society attempted to find other ways to attract members and newcomers to their meetings. However, not all of the efforts were as successful as the "martial musick." In 1844, the society invited Doctor Tappan, a "mesmerizer and Phrenologist (a Stranger)" to address them. In spite of "a good attendance, the lecture[was] a failure, the people disappointed and the members mortified. Consequently no names to the Pledge." ¹⁰³ Phrenologists often addressed Hudson River Valley audiences in the 1840s, as did George W. Taylor, who lectured on the "Practical Utility of Phrenology" at the Washington Circulating Library in Hudson at Davis Hall, in Hudson in 1843. ¹⁰⁴

Phrenology was a popular nineteenth century pseudo-science imported from Europe to study the shape and formation of the human head as a means of interpreting and describing a variety of desirable, as well as undesirable, characteristics. ¹⁰⁵ It was among the antebellum moral physiological reforms arising in the early 1830s, which included Sylvester Graham's well-known dietary and sexual restrictions. Such "body reformers" focused on the private rather than the public realm, and using contemporary

scientific study and thought “shaped them into sacralizing codes that promised physical and spiritual well-being and social regeneration.” 106

The preeminent antebellum American phrenologists were the brothers Orson and Lorenzo Fowler. Orson Fowler, once a Congregational seminary student, fitted current European phrenology theory to the American democratic and Christian environment. 107 In the 1830s, Orson was joined by his younger brother, Lorenzo, at their busy Fowler “Phrenological Cabinet.” There the two men performed phrenological examinations and sold their charts and models, as well as their *American Phrenological Journal*, begun in 1838. The joint phrenology shop and publishing house, which published Walt Whitman’s first work, was located on New York City’s active Nassau Street, the center of New York publishing. Lorenzo developed a ceramic model of the human head with labeled phrenological “organ” sites, which the brothers popularized. Originals and reproductions of the model continue to be popular in America, even if only to provide amusement.

Orson had been an Amherst theology student and a classmate of Henry Ward Beecher, who submitted to a “reading” with favorable results. Orson Fowler remained committed to evangelicalism and transferred much of that enthusiasm, and the concept of perfectibility, to his life mission to carry the “truth of phrenology” to the country. Many antebellum reformers were attracted to phrenology’s philosophy in their search for the root of social ills surrounding them. Hundreds willingly submitted to Fowler readings of their skulls, including Walt Whitman, Horace Greeley, Brigham Young, and P. T. Barnum. Aaron Burr’s cranium, however, was examined by means of a postmortem cast made for the Fowlers. The results of such readings were printed and offered for sale in

the "Cabinet." The appeal of the Fowler brand of phrenology continued at least until 1911, when their phrenological journal ceased publication. Orson Fowler began lecturing on phrenology in the Hudson River Valley in the early 1840s. He forged a closer connection to the area when he designed and built a revolutionary octagon-shaped home in Fishkill, Dutchess County in 1853. The house design was based on phrenological theory and set off an architectural craze for similar houses. 108

Phrenology and temperance were linked by Orson Fowler in an 1846 publication, entitled *Temperance Founded on Phrenology and Physiology: OR The Laws of Life, and the Principles of the Human Constitution*. Fowler asserted that alcohol affected that part of the brain he supposed responsible for "Adhesiveness, or the organ of friendship, located in the base of the brain which often leads to affection among drinking friends." According to the Fowler interpretation, the affection, which naturally developed among drinking friends, led to even more drinking, but total abstinence from alcohol would prevent perversion of the attribute of "adhesiveness." The site of such "adhesiveness," could be found at the back of the head, near "amateness" and "combativeness." (See Appendix 3, Phrenology Chart.) Fowler also contended that alcohol adversely affected the part of the brain which controlled vice; abstinence could stem a decline into depravity. 109 P. T. Barnum echoed the belief that addiction to alcohol was "social." In the early 1850s, Barnum opined that it was "the very best class" who were most susceptible to intemperance because they are the "most social, most benevolent, noble-hearted, kind, charitable class of men...[we are] our own worst enemies." As such, the sociable person falls into drinking as a "social habit, not a natural appetite...he excels his neighbors in his *social* qualities." 110

Orson Fowler did not limit his phrenologically-based advice to the avoidance of alcohol. He published a volume on matrimonial matters which included such sections as “Selection: or, Mutual Adaptation” and “Courtship and Married Life: Their Fatal Errors, And How To Render All Marriages Happy.” He also outlined the negative consequences of ignoring his guidance. ¹¹¹ Reporting on a similar lecture in 1842, the *Kinderhook Sentinel* published an article under the title, “PHRENOLOGY—*Ladies, don’t deceive yourselves!*” A Mr. Gibbs had given a number of recent phrenology lectures at Hudson Academy to “respectable audiences.” On the September 1842 evening in question, however, after Gibbs began to present his views on the phrenological aspects of marriage, several women rose from their seats and left the room. Secure in his skills, once the lecture was finished, Mr. Gibbs remarked, “I will bet five dollars that every one of those particular and exquisite ladies who have taken exception to this lecture, will be an old maid.” Afterward he publicly examined several heads and provided “unerring facts” to “bursts of acclamation.” Such approbation “established truth of the science,” the paper contended. ¹¹²

Phrenology, animal magnetism and mesmerism were among the theories studied by antebellum American medical science in order to understand and deal with chronic intemperance. Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745-1813) followed his 1772 *Sermons to Gentlemen Upon Temperance and Exercise* with a study into the causes and effects of intemperate alcohol use. Rush’s ground breaking 1784 work, *An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind: With and Account of the Means of Preventing, and of the Remedies for Curing Them*, introduced the concept that regular and repeated drinking of alcoholic beverages to the point of intoxication was a

progressive moral and physical disease, and greatly influenced antebellum thought on alcoholism. Rush's description of "disease" should not be equated with the disease model accepted by modern medicine and the American public, however. In the nineteenth century, intemperance or alcoholism was viewed as a "disease of the will," as described by Rush. It was not understood to be a progressive pathological disease as it is today. According to antebellum nineteenth century medical thought, alcoholism and its physical consequences developed incrementally from repeated failure of a drinker's moral will power as he or she continued to drink. As Rush's popular monograph circulated in the early nineteenth century, doctors began to declare that habitual drunkenness caused many health problems and deaths, and that total abstinence could effect a cure. An 1804 essay by the British naval officer, Thomas Trotter, published in Boston in 1813 added to the diffusion of the alcoholic disease concept throughout the American medical community. Trotter insisted that drunkenness was a disease which required the services of a physician who understood its mental and physical effects. 113

With quenchless zeal, press forward, then,
Ye lovers of your fellow men;
From year to year your cause gains ground,
Oh may it spread the world around.

Order of Exercises, Marlboro Chapel-Temperance Hymn

Rush's *Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits* was reprinted frequently during the early nineteenth century. The work described the supposed moral, social and medical effects of various different alcoholic beverages and proposed the establishment of "sober houses" or asylums in order to sequester the alcoholic from temptation until able to return

to society. Rush believed that the new republic required sober and responsible citizens and feared the spread of intemperance. He depicted the relationship of liquor consumption to “prompt” and “chronic” consequences in descriptive detail by means of his “Moral and Physical Thermometer, A Scale of the Progress of Temperance and Intemperance.” (See Appendix 4, Moral Thermometer.) The so-called thermometer correlated and depicted the behavioral and economic problems Rush associated with drinking distilled alcoholic beverages, as well as the physical conditions and legal punishments to be expected. He did not consider temperate consumption of fermented beverages, such as wine, cider and beer, when accompanied by food to be particularly harmful to one’s health and happiness. Only water and milk, however, held the promise of good health. Rush contended that only in the initial stages of drinking could the disease process be stopped, and failing that the addiction would progress through increasingly harmful stages. Loss of family and friends, illness, poverty and legal punishments, as well as a hard death were in store for the habitual drinker, according to Rush. ¹¹⁴ The currently accepted disease model of alcoholism appeared with the 1947 publication of influential research findings of Yale University’s E. M. Jellinek, M. D. Jellinek’s model of a progressive and degenerative illness was adopted by the American Medical Association a decade later, although it has received some criticism as being “vague and uncertain.” ¹¹⁵

The views that intemperance was a failure of moral will and a disease coexisted in the nineteenth century. Physicians and lay persons blurred the lines between drinking as cause of disease or as result of disease. Antebellum medical support of the belief that chronic drunkenness constituted a curable illness grew, however, as other physicians

spoke before medical societies, scientific gatherings and students in the 1820s and 1830s. ¹¹⁶ In 1832, seventy-five of Boston's eighty doctors denounced distilled alcoholic beverages and discouraged their use by citing them as the cause of disease and death. Other diseases and disorders were more difficult to treat in intemperate patients, the doctors added. Influential advocacy of alcohol abuse as disease and calls to eliminate medicinal use of alcohol by important members of the medical community advanced medical standards and professionalism, as well as temperance reform. ¹¹⁷ Benjamin Rush and others recommended the establishment of institutions dedicated to the medical treatment of alcoholics. ¹¹⁸ Convinced of the necessity for such institutions, Dr. J. Edward Turner campaigned for one in New York for twenty years. In 1858, he received a state charter to establish the New York State Inebriate Asylum in Binghamton funded with ten percent of alcohol-related state revenues, such as alcohol sales licenses and taxes. In addition to medical wards, a chapel and library, as well as a gymnasium, riding stables and a billiards room would be available to asylum patients when completed. However, Superintendent Turner was later dismissed over rancorous philosophical and management disagreements with the institution's Board of Trustees. Turner believed that alcoholism required lengthy treatment and restraint and had received state authority to hold patients under civil commitment if necessary, which evoked complaints from patients and their families. While the arguments grew, the inebriate asylum suffered fire damage and Turner was charged with arson and embezzlement, which he denied. In 1880, New York converted the buildings to a state mental hospital. ¹¹⁹

The poison that kills both the body and soul,
Has sunk him beneath the beasts of the plain.

Archibald Scott, "The Wife's Lament"- Temperance Song

Nineteenth century discussions of alcoholism as physical and moral disease appeared in popular literature of the era. Edgar Allan Poe was familiar with current medical thinking on the subject in 1843 when he wrote "The Black Cat." In Poe's tale of increasing inebriation and cruelty, the protagonist declares "my disease...grew upon me—for what disease is like Alcohol!" 120 Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote a number of antebellum temperance stories, which appeared first in evangelical publications and *Godey's Lady's Book*. Almost all of her alcoholic fictional characters were portrayed as misguided individuals under the spell of drink. Stowe's temperance works acknowledge the necessity of intervention and medical treatment in order to restore the inebriate to health and security. The first temperance tale appeared in 1839 as "The Drunkard Reclaimed," then became "Let Every Man Mind His Own Business" in 1843, and is the story of an intemperate family man who has dragged his genteel wife and children into poverty and shame. A family acquaintance steps in to provide medical treatment which, with faith in God and the help of his loving modest wife, leads to his recovery. The family's finances and social standing rebound with his newly found sobriety. In another antebellum Stowe temperance story, a kind young woman recognizes that a male social acquaintance is bound for drunkenness. The man is inherently good, but confused and weak, she believes. The young woman takes command of the situation, and through her influence succeeds in saving him from further alcoholic decline in "The Coral Ring,"

which was also published in 1843. The practice of middle class women's unwitting use of alcohol as a medicinal potion is described in an 1835 Stowe story, "Uncle Enoch." A good-natured temperance advocate, Uncle Enoch attempts to stir up temperance reform in his village, and in his own home. His wife and other ladies of the village regularly imbibe alcohol as protection against the cold and feeling faint. In her 1852 novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe ascribed differing characteristics to her fictional drinkers, thereby distinguishing among reasons for intemperance. Only the innately evil slave holders and overseers were condemned for their drunkenness. By the 1870s, as she struggled with her own son's alcoholism and daughter's opium addiction, Stowe wrote *My Wife and I* and *We and Our Neighbors*. Mr. Bolton, the intemperate main character, is too weak to resist the power of alcohol once he starts drinking, therefore, only total abstinence can save him. Except for her fictional slaveholders, Stowe's fictional alcoholics were worthy of redemption and received the help necessary to return them to family and social standing. 121

We invite the whole creation to come and sign,
And leave off drinking brandy, rum, cider, and wine.

"A Parody on 'Uncle Sam's Farm'" - Temperance Song.

The Washingtonian temperance reform movement of the 1840s was committed to redemption of the drunkard through kindness and total abstinence. Temperance activists in the Hudson River Valley believed that with such help their intemperate friends and neighbors would gain moral and social respectability. They worked hard to achieve a temperate environment for themselves, as well as for their redeemed friends. They were

aided by American medical and literary attitudes on alcoholism and alcoholics which influenced their perception that inebriates could be saved by total abstinence and understanding.

NOTES

Chapter One

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Extracts From His Correspondence With Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall and Others (New York: Appleton and Co., 1894).

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CHAPTER TWO

HUDSON RIVER VALLEY LIFE AND PROBLEMS: A CASE STUDY FROM THE JOURNAL OF JOHN STANTON GOULD

Smallest help, if rightly given,
Makes the impulse stronger;
It will be strong enough one day.

Charles Mackay, "There's A Good Time Coming"-Patriotic Song

A focus on particular persons in the Hudson River Valley, who were involved in the many antebellum agricultural, economic, religious, reformation, community and political developments, may aid us in placing some topics in context. John Stanton Gould, of Hudson, New York, embodied many of the themes I wish to discuss. His journal, which concentrated on events from 1847 through 1852, contains comments on major issues related to a changing New York dating from the era of the American Revolution. Additionally, Gould carried on a substantial correspondence with his daughter Mary from 1862 to 1868, in which he not only detailed seven generations of family history, but wrote as well of important political and religious events occurring in his lifetime. The events and issues Gould discussed in his journal and letters mirrored those important to the region and the state until the eve of the Civil War. His writings and activities provide us with a case study of reform efforts in the Hudson Valley. ¹

Active in Hudson River Valley life, Gould oversaw "an admirably conducted farm," played an "active part in agricultural improvement," and was a "popular essayist

on scientific subjects,” as well as a “philanthropist.” An active Whig, Gould joined the Republican Party as the Civil War approached, but “held his temperance principles above all party allegiance.”² Characteristic of the antebellum middle class, Gould practiced self-improvement and self-control. He kept his Quaker faith, but also attended other Protestant churches and religious revivals in the area. Gould adhered to the religious concept of perfectionism, which held that individual and collective virtue was necessary to salvation, and possible to achieve. But, he believed that personal and communal progress, not immediacy or cataclysm, would bring about the desired state. He worked very hard to hold himself to that standard, and tried to assist others to see the benefits of a virtuous life. Gould was involved in a number of antebellum moral reforms, including prison and asylum improvement, pauper relief, and public and Sunday schooling. The movement to banish intemperance was paramount among the causes he espoused, however, and Gould devoted much of his time and effort in furthering temperance reform in the Hudson River Valley. An early temperance advocate, he became a leading member of three important and active temperance societies in the area, including the Washington Total Abstinence Society, which was dedicated to reclaiming alcoholics. Gould was an inveterate temperance activist, and traveled and spoke throughout the region in order to gain adherents to the total abstinence pledge. He co-founded the important and informative temperance newspaper, the *Columbia Washingtonian*, and frequently contributed articles and reports of local and regional temperance activities.

Gould (1812-1874) exemplified the characteristics of many residents in the Hudson River Valley. He had migrated to the town of Hudson from Rhode Island in

1827 at age fifteen, after completing his education in chemistry. He was sent to work for a family friend in the manufacturing and printing of cotton fabrics. Gould lived the rest of his life in the Hudson River Valley and continued to make use of his scientific bent there. Gould became a farmer and used the latest agricultural technology to increase the yield of his crops and animals. He was very interested in advances in manufacturing and transportation and invested in a local factory and development of railroad transportation in the Valley. Although his farm was situated outside the city of Hudson, he became involved in urban as well as rural affairs, was active in local Whig politics, and represented his district in the New York Assembly. Gould's devotion to public service included an active participation in the reform movements popular in antebellum America. Aside from Gould's political life, he established a family, whom he cared for, worried about and sought to guide. Gould worked hard to remain faithful to his religious beliefs and regularly attended the Hudson Friends Meeting with his neighbors. He continued to farm, teach his children, visit friends and neighbors, politic and take a very active part in the life of Columbia County.

Upon moving to Columbia County, he transferred his Quaker affiliation to the Hudson Society of Friends, thereby joining relatives and friends who had preceded him. 3 Gould soon became prominent in many of the reform movements of the day, including temperance and the concept of providing common schooling for children. But when left a widower with three young children, his children were home taught, under his supervision, with his daughters receiving the same education he provided for his son.

John Stanton Gould's mid-nineteenth century diary, touched on a myriad of topics, describes important political and social themes in the development of the Hudson

River Valley and New York State. Gould wrote of land proprietorship and anti-rent agitation, religious revivals, education, prison reform, the treatment of the poor and mentally ill, manufacturing, improvements in the means of transportation and communication, the Whig and Democratic parties, while constantly engaged in temperance reform.

Although a faithful Quaker, Gould attended additional services at other Protestant denominational churches along with the Weekly and Monthly Meetings of Friends. His religious practices can be seen as a reflection of the religious heterogeneity of the State of New York. ⁴ When Gould moved to New York as a young man, he was fortunate in having family members who had preceded him and set a way for him to follow. Today, it is somewhat incredulous to believe that the town of Hudson to which he migrated emerged as a whaling center in the nineteenth century when Massachusetts and Rhode Island whalers found they could safely harbor their ships at that spot on the Hudson River. Consequently, many migrants from those New England areas eventually settled in Hudson.

Hudson exemplifies a number of developments which proved to be important to the Hudson River Valley, and the nation. The town is located on rolling upland on the banks of the Hudson River in Columbia County, which was formed (in 1786) from Albany County, and continued to be surrounded by farmland and outlying villages during the nearly fifty years that Gould lived there, from 1827 to 1874. In 1783, a group of Rhode Island Quakers, who were seeking a safer harbor for their whaling ships after suffering losses to the British navy during the revolutionary conflict, settled at Claverack Landing. The settlement was incorporated as Hudson in 1785 and named the county seat

in 1805. Hudson (Claverack Landing) had been declared a “port of entry” in 1775 and has remained important to the area ever since. The town shipped out river and coastal fishery catches, lumber and “country produce” and supported the whaling industry until its decline in the 1840s. Two bays assisted in making Hudson a regional entrepot, and a ferry across the river to Athens allowed passengers and cargo an easy access to the western bank of the Hudson River. By mid-century, several steamers left Hudson for Albany daily, and the New York City to Albany dayliners stopped at Hudson, and the ferry to Catskill across the Hudson was located nearby. The town became an important station on the Hudson River Railroad and the western terminus of the Hudson and Boston Railroad (formerly the Hudson and Berkshire line, which had been extended in the 1850s). Much manufacturing, particularly of iron, cotton and paper, took place in Hudson. In fact, Columbia County produced the largest quantity of paper in New York State. Hudson was engaged in such extensive commercial enterprises that it supported three banks. The town boasted a population of 6,720 at mid-century and supported three newspapers and four public schools, including one for African American children. Nearly 43 percent of the juvenile population attended at least once during the school year and the schools adhered to a tight budget, which pleased taxpayers. In addition, there were eleven private schools, including the Hudson Academy and the Hudson Female Academy, as well as two public libraries, which housed seven hundred volumes. The Franklin Library Association held twelve thousand books in 1850 and offered an “interesting course of lectures” each winter. The city directory listed seven fraternal organizations in 1850: the Odd Fellows, Free Masons, the Order of United American Mechanics, as well as four benevolent mutual aid temperance organizations, the

Rechabites, Good Samaritans, Sons of Temperance and Daughters of Samaria.

In 1832, a Dr. White established a “lunatic asylum,” which operated until New York opened the first state facility nine years later in Utica, several hundred miles away. The building changed hands a number of times during the ensuing years, and housed the Hudson Female Academy in 1851. An orphan asylum was begun in 1843, and operated by a “lady board of managers” with private funds, housed forty to sixty children a year at mid-century. Because they began the settlement of the town, the Society of Friends was the first religious organization to establish itself in Hudson. The Hudson Meeting began in 1784 and the first meeting house was erected the next year. Seventy-five years later, there were two Quaker meeting houses and a goodly number of other houses of worship: Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Dutch Reformed, Universalist, Wesleyan Methodist, African Methodist and Catholic churches.

The surrounding areas include high table land and sandy and gravelly loam, as well as rocky outcroppings and rolling hills. Numerous streams and tributaries supported mills, limestone was quarried, and iron ore, lead and other minerals were mined. Staple agricultural produce of the era included hay, potatoes and the grains of rye, oats and buckwheat. In addition, farmers produced butter, cheese and animal stock for market. s

Always interested in agricultural developments, Gould, as a landowner, researched and tested new methods and equipment. He became a leader in his local agricultural society and then in the state organization and lectured on various farm topics and supported an agricultural college for the state. Gould made speeches and recorded the quality of cattle, horses, grapes and roses at the Columbia County Fair in 1847. In October 1846, the Berkshire, Massachusetts Agricultural Society invited Gould to present

its anniversary address. Upon hearing the news, the *Columbia Republican* of Hudson informed its readers that "Gould is an intelligent and practical farmer who always talks to the point" and congratulated the Berkshire organization on its choice of speakers. ⁶ Gould supported new modes of transporting people and goods in and through the Hudson River Valley and made note of the type of transport he used in his own travels. These activities led him to participate in politics for Gould was elected as a Whig to the state legislature, where he served from 1847 through 1852.

John Stanton Gould was fascinated with science and favored founding an astronomical observatory in New York City, and agreed with an assembly appropriation in support of the College of Physicians and Surgeons because he thought it important to cultivate medical science. In 1849, Gould lectured before Agricultural Societies on subjects of interest to them such as the use of manure, gathered data on crop yields and costs, and continued to advocate for an establishment of an agricultural college that would teach scientific farming. "Millions," he felt, would be saved if New York agriculture could be managed properly. As a member of Agricultural Society's committee to foster development of improved ploughs, he attended lectures on soil improvements and judged agricultural fairs. ⁷ Ten years later, he was still a prominent member of the state Agricultural Society and, at the 1859 Cayuga County Fair, Gould spoke on beets, sugar beets and sorghum. In 1863, Gould's address to the Jefferson County Agricultural Society on dairying was entitled "Milk and Its Compound." An interest in the science and technology of farming remained with him throughout his life. ⁸

Gould shared the antebellum nineteenth century fascination with educational experiences derived through lectures and broad reading. He frequently recorded the

books he read, and noted, for example, that he finished the fourth volume of Kent's *Commentaries* and Froissant's *Chronicles*. He also read MacAuley's two volume *History of England*, Story's *Conflict of Laws*, and a biography of John Quincy Adams. John Marshall's book on the federal constitution was duly noted in the journal. Upon reading the papers of Elestice Gilbert's revolutionary experiences, Gould decided that the revolutionary committees had exercised as much "arbitrary power as the Sultan," as they had claimed the right to make and enforce local ordinances to further the revolution. ⁹ His interest in the law and history was reflected in the works he chose to read; what he read influenced his thinking on contemporary, as well as that on historical matters.

Gould enjoyed being a lecturer on the local circuit in 1848-1849. He diligently prepared to deliver a lecture on Greeks and spoke to a large audience at the Columbia County Franklin Society on the topic, "The Maidens and Matrons of Greece," and was frequently asked to repeat this lecture. The Franklin Society's lecture course at the Hudson Presbyterian Church was the site of an extemporaneous talk by Gould on "The Atmosphere." He was pleased to record that this, his first such speech, was given with "no difficulty whatever" and the audience "never better satisfied." The Columbiaville Reading Society also asked him to speak at one of their meetings. A critical listener, Gould recorded that a lecture by the president of the state medical society on temperaments was "a mere compilation, without the slightest touch of originality." ¹⁰

Gould's interests were extensive and catholic. He followed the progress of hydropathy and herbalism in affecting cures of ills. He spoke with a woman who had used chloroform for childbirth. Although the woman was delivered of a baby who suffered from a cleft palate, Gould was confident that "the terrors of childbirth seem

entirely overcome, [and] no case has yet resulted disastrously.” He was fascinated by a group of touring Iowa Indians encountered on the train to Albany. Gould noted that the eleven Iowas were in full costume and paint and were "exhibiting" in the principal cities. Always interested in seeing and learning more of his world, Gould visited a diorama of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on exhibit in Troy. He commented on the display of cities, boats, agricultural products and costumes and customs displayed. Two hours after his April 1849 visit, Gould recorded that the exhibition hall burned down with the diorama and its miniatures. While in New York City on business the next year, Gould took the opportunity to visit an "anatomical museum" and deemed it accurate and "a most perfect school of pathological anatomy.” ¹¹

The antebellum vogue in clairvoyance, which swept New York and the nation, also captured his attention upon hearing about the “Poughkeepsie Seer and Clairvoyant” from the manager of the Albany Iron Works as he toured that factory in January 1850. He later visited with a friend who read to Gould some of the revelations of the clairvoyant, Andrew Jackson Davis, had provided to the man and his wife. He found the couple "liable to be imposed upon" by "shallow and ignorant infidels." Apparently, that had already occurred as the couple lost their money to the clairvoyant. ¹²

From the Hudson River Valley, Andrew Jackson Davis was a popular antebellum clairvoyant mesmerist and lecturer so that by 1847, a book comprising 157 of his lectures was in its thirteenth edition. He was born in Orange County in 1826 to a poor shoemaker turned “cattle keeper.” In 1837 the family moved to Dutchess County, where the father gathered the means to purchase a Poughkeepsie grocery store in 1840, and apprenticed his son to a local shoemaker a year later. The “Poughkeepsie Seer” described himself as

“unschooled” with “imperfect” reading skills in order to support his claim to so-called intuitive abilities. In 1845, Davis was “mesmerized” and “magnetized” during a series of “Animal Magnetism” lectures in Poughkeepsie. Afterward, his clairvoyant powers were tested “beyond dispute,” by his own account. Declaring a desire to aid “the *diseased*” with those powers, Davis became a full-time clairvoyant. For three years, he examined and prescribed treatments for those who presented themselves to him and delivered presented more than 150 lectures while in a supposed trance. He left Poughkeepsie to continue his career in New York City in 1848. Davis declared himself “an ardent temperance man.” “Poverty is necessity unsupplied...a diseased societal organization...if all men were properly situated, want would not exist in any *port*...[and] intemperance results from wrongful neglect of another’s necessity in receiving a living wage.” He created a philosophy and a career by melding antebellum interests in various interrelated pseudo-scientific movements and his mesmerist-clairvoyant “skills,” as well as sympathy with the working class. Mesmerism that began in Europe as a form of hypnotic mind control, grew into a system of supposed healing in America. By the 1840’s, mesmerists and clairvoyants professing the ability to heal the physical and spiritual ills of their clients seemingly flooded America. ¹³

Education of children, his own and others, frequently occupied Gould's thoughts. He followed the scholastic progress in the Columbia County schools as a member of the committee on common schools, in the late 1840s and early 1850s. State and locally financed free schooling for children was among the issues which interested antebellum reformers. ¹⁴ Upon visiting School Number Two, he commented that it was "in tolerable order" but not as "animated" as it could be. School Number Four was "in good

order" with a well liked teacher, although he was chagrined to see that the school mistress used unapproved books in her classes, "some new books different from those agreed upon by town superintendents, and I communicated my decided disapprobation of the step to her." He did approve of the existence of a school house for the children of the workers at a local tobacco factory. Gould visited School Number One to check on a new teacher, who seemed to be doing well with a large school. Later examination of the new teacher found her to be "bright and intelligent" but in need of "thorough drilling." 15

Childhood was regarded as a distinctive period in life development in antebellum America and concerns about his children were topics for journal notations. 16 In his journal, Gould recorded the weights, illnesses, lost teeth, bad habits and accomplishments of his children. He chastised himself for his impatience with the children's progress in their lessons recognizing that, "Children cannot understand like grown persons. I must cultivate the virtue of patience more." When he helped his daughter master arithmetic fractions, he deemed it to be "better than scolding her." His "less manageable" son, with a "rebellious disposition," made Gould determined to pray for him more and to pay closer attention to the boy. 17

The status and behavior of women in the Hudson River Valley concerned Gould. In July 1848 supporters of equal women's rights under the law met in Seneca Falls, a town in the Finger Lakes district of central New York. Nine months later in April 1849, Gould's stand on female suffrage was noted in a conversation he held with a local Columbia County office holder. "Had a long talk with Cowles about natural rights, he goes for the natural rights of voting for males. I cannot see what natural right of voting a male of 21 can have that is not equally possessed by a female of the same age...." While

there is no evidence of communication with women's suffrage advocates, Gould's Quaker religious practices would have predisposed him to accept a public religious role for women. ¹⁸ In addition, because he was politically active, he may have known of the Seneca Falls Convention and of the prominent involvement of Quaker women, including Lucretia Mott and the Grimke sisters, Angelina and Sarah. Quaker women were largely responsible for the convention and its declaration of women's rights. ¹⁹ Gould, it seemed, had independently formed an opinion of the equal capacity of women to make reasoned political choices. By the same token, Gould was firm in his belief that women should behave modestly and decorously. Witness his response to the actions of some women encountered at an estate auction, "Women seem most unlovely at an auction[,]
when they contend for good bargains they unsex themselves." ²⁰ In preparation for the fall 1840 elections, Gould promoted Whig candidates throughout Columbia County, including in Canaan. "[T]here for the first time I saw ladies at a political meeting." He took pains, however, to note that "The town was famous for the decorum with which its political operations were conducted, no jokes were tolerated from the speakers...." Propriety and probity were qualities which the Whig Party claimed for itself, in contrast to their accusations that Democrats lacked such attributes and, in fact, were immoral. In order to publicize the difference between the two parties, Whig strategists made a point of inviting women to be present at their rallies in 1840. ²¹

In the 1840s, a crisis arose between landlords and tenant farmers in the Hudson River Valley. Sentiments among rent-paying tenants on large manors ran high for the right to acquire property in their own names, while landlords adamantly supported traditional New York privileges of ownership and duties of tenancy. John Stanton Gould

was in the assembly when violence erupted over the continued call for rent payments. He recorded the developing events as they affected Columbia County and the Hudson River Valley.

Questions relating to land ownership and land rights may be traced to colonial times. New York was first claimed by the Dutch, but it was under British rule after 1664 that the familiar large land grants were made to single individuals. In the Hudson River Valley, the area claimed by the Van Rensselaer family on both sides of the river in the Albany region, along with the vast Livingston manor geographically situated below it on the River's eastern bank, were legitimized in 1685. Land patents authorized by colonial governors continued apace throughout the eighteenth century until the eve of the American Revolution. Land speculation had become a thriving business in colonial New York. On the eve of the American Revolution the vast majority of land between the City of New York to the South, and Albany on the eastern side of the Hudson River to the north, was held under nine patents. The Manor of Rensselaerswyck covered thousands of acres both to the east and west of the Hudson River at Albany. Stretching southward from what was to become Columbia County, on the eastern side of the River there were such holdings as Livingston Manor, Great Nine Partners Patent, The Oblong Patent, Beekman Patent, Philipse's Highland Patent, Cortlandt Manor, Philipse Manor and Pelham Manor. Extensive areas west of the river were also titled in large grants to individual holders. 22

This system of proprietorship and land tenantry caused Royal Governor Cadwallader Colden to recognize remorsefully that New York's "Young people go from this Province and Purchase Land in the Neighboring Colonies." The difficulty of

attaining and developing small affordable pieces of land was responsible for an outward migration of small farmers. Remaining in the Hudson River Valley often meant agreeing to a tenantry arrangement on a large estate as an ordinary farmer. This pattern of large scale tenant farming was unique to New York and remained in effect throughout the colonial era and well into the next century.

In the mid-eighteenth century, 1751-1766, some tenant farmers in the Hudson River Valley rebelled against paying quitrents on manorial lands. The landed gentry prevailed in court and open hostilities briefly erupted.²³ This antagonistic relationship between patent holders and the small tenant farmers who tilled their land remained to affect events in the Hudson River Valley in the nineteenth century when, again, the unresolved differences erupted. Following the close of the American Revolution, many of the large and small land holders who had remained loyal to Great Britain left their lands and country. Although this freed some land for resale to small farmers, most of the large patent holders in the Hudson River Valley had supported the American cause and so their lands remained intact and continued to be farmed by quitrent paying farmers.

By the 1840s, rural unrest reappeared in New York State. The Panic of 1837 had depressed both land values and prices paid for agricultural products, but landlords of extensive manors still demanded that rents be paid. Hard pressed tenant farmers on large land holdings in the Hudson River Valley counties and adjacent Delaware County rebelled, and staged anti-rent protests that ranged from refusal to pay rents to attacking landlords and inflicting bodily injury. The anti-rent movement was confined to New York State and localized to those counties where the colonial manorial proprietorship patterns prevailed. Two particular occurrences converged in the Hudson River Valley to

create unrest, the 1837 panic and ensuing depression, as well as the 1839 death of the Rensselaerwyck patent holder. 24

The death of Stephen Van Rensselaer in 1839, one of the last "patroons," meant that a new system could be initiated. It would prove to be a hard birth. In order to pay the debts left by the patroon, his heirs sought to collect long unpaid rents on the vast holdings. Van Rensselaer tenants who could not, or would not, pay were evicted. Most of the tenants on the estate were descended from the original tenant settlers and had established deep roots in the Hudson River Valley. Tenants refused to pay rents and demanded that they be given outright title to their farms. On July 4, 1839, Rensselaerwyck tenants issued a statement, which linked their uprising to the American Revolution. The renters refuted Van Rensselaer's claim to their farms as "the pretended proprietor of our soil." "[W]e pledge each unto the others our fortunes and our sacred honor...we shall light up torches of quite another sort if we are thus driven." 25 The state militia was called in to quell the area.

By 1844, the anti-rent movement had grown to a full-scale revolt throughout the Valley and it was destined permanently to modify the system of land ownership in New York. Anti-renters disguised as "Indians" violently opposed both landlords and sheriffs. With the leader of the rebels held in the Hudson, Columbia County jail, a militia unit was sent to head off any attempts to rescue him. Remembering the lessons of the revolutionary years, anti-renters organized themselves into committees, published newspapers, met in conventions and elected their own representatives to the New York State legislature. They had become a political force locally in the Valley, as well as in the state, thereby influencing both the Democratic and Whig parties. 26 The legislature

recognized that some action was necessary, and responded by a gradual abolition of the right of the landlord to evict and seize property for lack of rent payments. Additionally, rents paid to landlords would be taxed. The 1846 New York State constitutional convention adopted measures, which forbade any future lease of lands, rental of such lands, or service on those lands for lengthy periods. However, current leases were upheld. ²⁷ Hence the continued unrest and refusal to pay rents. The situation was eventually relieved as landlords gradually sold their holdings, since they could not enforce payment of rents. However, before such reforms finally took effect, anti-rent unrest continued in the Hudson River Valley.

Local rebellious activities naturally concerned John Stanton Gould, who heard the news from neighbors. To Gould, the 1840s anti-rent situation in Columbia County was an "outrage." The fact that a sheriff in attempting to evict a non-rent-paying tenant met with resistance troubled him. He spoke of the incidents in early 1847 with Horace Greeley, the newspaper publisher, who had declared himself a "strong anti-renter" and who advocated a law that would require sale of landed estates upon the death of the current owner. Greeley's proposal would ensure that the practice of large estates held by one family would die with the current generation of proprietors and the amount of land any one person could own would be controlled by legislation. ²⁸ Greeley was not only the editor of the *New York Tribune*, but an ardent Whig. He was a member of the "political firm of Seward, Weed & Greeley" that dominated Whig politics in New York from 1838 to 1854 with Thurlow Weed, editor of the influential *Albany Evening Journal*, and William H. Seward, governor of New York 1838-1842. As head of the assembly's Whig caucus, Gould naturally came into contact with the Whig leadership. A thorough

search of Greeley's papers has revealed no references to John Stanton Gould. 29

Trying to stay abreast of all developments Gould, then in Albany, wrote to friends seeking information on the anti-rent situation. He was informed that in Columbia County "eighty to ninety" men disguised themselves as "Indians" and were armed to fight evictions. The band opposed the eviction of a farmer named Trukles for non-payment of rent on land leased from an owner, Tanner, who proposed the sale of that land for non-payment. The armed men demanded that the Tanner property be divided into ten acre plots and be given to those who had no land. 30 The events and demands in Columbia County had apparently escalated beyond a refusal to pay rents on farmland, for the State militia had to be sent into Columbia County in 1844 to quell any violence. In the minds of some local residents, land redistribution had become the goal of at least certain agitators.

Proprietor Tanner was physically assaulted by eighty to one hundred anti-rent protesters, who had squatted on his land. Gould heard rumors that the governor intended to pardon these protesters. While some were pardoned, "Big Thunder," Smith A. Boughton, a physician and the anti-rent leader from Rensselaer County, who had disguised himself in ersatz Indian clothing and declared himself "chief" of the anti-renters, was not included. Tenants on the extensive land holdings of the Livingston family joined in this rebellion against rents and evictions. Anti-rent activity in Columbia County continued throughout the winter and spring seasons of 1847 when the men from the area traveled to Albany to meet with the Anti-Rent Committee of the state legislature. According to Gould, anti-renters influenced state politics and policies out of proportion to their numbers. 31

The situation worsened. "A number of young men of fortune and influence," Gould was told, plotted to enter Columbia County, take physical possession of those lands contested by the anti-renters and defend those lands against the owners and the civil authorities. During a legislative recess Gould returned home, and while there, visited a woman whose house had been attacked and a hay stack burned by anti-renters because she had paid the rent to the landlord. However, she blamed the landlord rather than the rebellious farmers for her troubles. Gould later visited Sing-Sing State Prison while on an official inspection tour and found an anti-rent prisoner "quite unsubdued" by his conviction and imprisonment. However, the anti-renter's brother, also at Sing-Sing for like cause, "seemed humble and sorry for what he had done." At the same time, another anti-rent prisoner did not seem to "see that he has done wrong, " in challenging the practice of the Livingston Manor tenancy. Although, as a Quaker, the prisoner did think he had been too "worldly" and neglectful of God. While Gould was at home, rumors circulated of a plan for the state to purchase land from the proprietors and then resell it to "the people." ³² Clearly, these social and economic dynamics within the Hudson River Valley signaled significant political and economic changes during this period as tenant farmers demonstrated their dissatisfaction with land holding practices during the 1840s and into the 1850s.

Other areas of reform and change were important to Gould. Arriving in Hudson in 1827 at the age of fifteen to work in the chemical department of a new "Printing establishment for calicoes," Gould retained an interest in the technological advances occurring in manufacturing processes. While in Albany in January 1847 he found time to visit the Albany Glass Works and recorded some of the glassmaking processes, the

output, the number of employees, and the valuation of the product. One month later, upon visiting an ironworks factory located between Albany and Troy, he noted that two hundred men were employed in making iron pieces, commented on their wages and how much it cost to make each piece. At another factory, he computed the capital invested. Following up on this interest, Gould prepared a brief on the General Manufactory Law of New York for the edification of his fellow legislators in January 1848. Not only did his diary record his laboring over several evenings to write the brief but also noted the number of pages written at each sitting. In April 1849, he inspected the State Printer's Office, which had both power and hand presses, and demonstrated interest in the presses' capacities. Additionally, he inquired about salaries and worker productivity while at the print office. Progress was important to John Stanton Gould, and important, he felt, to New York State and the Hudson River Valley. Alexis de Tocqueville had observed the American penchant for statistical recordings of all manner of items, and Gould was an excellent representation of such writings. 33

Gould's interest in manufacturing led him to invest \$1000 in a local tobacco factory in 1848. Once the tobacco company had been organized and incorporated, Gould was elected president. He visited the factory frequently, inspected the snuff mills, and weighed his children on the platform scales. Ever mindful of recording quantities of production, Gould took pleasure in keeping track of the tobacco enterprise, which used Kentucky and Virginia tobacco to create smoking and chewing products. Eighty-five pounds of tobacco stems and leaves yielded fifty-four pounds of tobacco suitable for smoking in paper or sixty-five dozen small paper cigarettes. The factory girls were paid twelve cents per thousand "segars" and one girl, he noted, rolled four thousand cigars in

ten hours. It required the labors of one man and three boys to prepare the wrappers, thirty boys to strip the leaves for the machines, and thirty boys for packing the smoking and chewing tobacco. Men tending the machines earned one dollar per day. The paper cost fourteen and one-half cents per pound. A hogshead of tobacco weighed approximately twelve hundred pounds and one half of it became dressed as cut tobacco.

Almost two months later, however, the factory lay idle as there was no tobacco to dress due to crop shortages. However, even when the factory was back in operation the situation was tentative. "The girls are in much disorder" and without supervision, Gould recorded. Problems continued to mount, the factory hands were not being paid and Gould was most distressed. He had taken over supervision of the snuff mill for an absent friend who held the mortgages on \$10,000 worth of tobacco company property and the "snuff flour." Gould traveled to New York City on the steamboat "Hudson" in order to "see about Snuff concerns." After two years of sporadic production and financial uncertainty, Gould found a buyer for the tobacco machines and sold the snuff to a "pedlar." 34

Gould remained interested in manufacturing and innovation as he traveled throughout the Hudson River Valley. In 1848, he recorded the work of "a young mechanic" of Valatie, Columbia County, who had invented a machine to render South American cactus into "a very beautiful material for ladies bonnets." He was pleased to hear of this "new article of American manufactory." His travels took him to visit a pottery that made jugs of local clay. He also noted that fifty Canadians had gone to Coxsackie, Greene County, to work in the brickyards. There they would work hard all day and "dance half the night." 35

Agricultural production and financial calculations fascinated him, and such interests extended beyond his own farm. He recorded that a herd of hogs had recently been sold in Columbia County for five cents per pound in May 1849. The drover had bought the herd of five hundred and fifty-five hogs in Ohio for two cents per pound, and drove them eastward to Columbia County at the rate of ten miles per day, feeding them twenty-five bushels of corn each day of the march. The hogs gained an average of twenty-five pounds each on the trek from Ohio. Gould not only recorded the information, but it seemed to please his sense of order and, presumably, his business acumen. 36

Transportation modes were frequently recorded as he traveled back and forth at mid-century between Hudson and Albany, to and from other spots in Columbia and other counties, and down to New York City. Notes Gould made of his travels between his home in Hudson and Albany, while serving as his district's assemblyman, provide us with an overview of transportation in the era. Gould's means of transportation between home and Albany was determined by accessibility and the weather. He frequently used the railroad when he went to Albany, some thirty miles away. In order to reach the railroad station, Gould resorted to stage coach traveling. In winter, when the roads frequently were impassable, he noted that he crossed the Hudson River over the ice so that he could return to Albany. Crossing the Hudson over ice was a regular occurrence for Gould. Some people set up businesses transporting travelers over the ice floes by creating floating bridges. In an attempt to reach Athens, on the other side of the Hudson, Gould found that the trip to be taken partly on ice and partly over open water was too risky and so he turned back. When he did venture forth later that week he became stuck on the

flats and the ice on the western side of the River, and had to wait for rescue. Gould also employed a sleigh when winter snow was plentiful. 37

Bad winter weather in 1847 made a train trip from Albany to Hudson quite long; he left at 4:00 PM, one day, and arrived in Hudson at 9:00 that night. Trains took Gould to Chatham, Albany, Schenectady, and Troy during the winter. Always interested in technology, Gould recorded drawings and comments about an innovative rail design discovered on a trip to the well-known Albany Iron Works. The new rail was designed to better absorb the shock of the locomotive engine, thereby reducing discomfort to the passengers as well as wear and tear on the rails. 38

In good weather, travel by steamboat was preferred. River travel was pleasurable and he could board in Hudson and be in Albany in a short while. He often enjoyed the company of friends to pass the time on the boat. During springtime in 1847, Gould traveled by steamer to New York City and back, remarking that the fare was but fifty cents each way. On one occasion during the winter he rode the last steamboat up the Hudson one winter as the River was being iced up. He splurged by taking a warm stateroom passage, at a cost of two dollars, as he rode down to New York City. At another time he traveled to Newport, Rhode Island from New York City, by the steamer "Empire State," in eight hours and twenty-three minutes. Travel by steamboat was not without risk, however. In May 1849, the steamer "Empire," out of Troy, sank after a collision with many passengers drowned. 39

Fast and affordable train transportation of goods and people became more important in enabling a region to compete against others that were served by a railway. The Hudson River Rail Road ran from New York City, along the right bank of the

Hudson River, and then crossed the River to reach Albany. Gould was closely involved in the development of another railroad, the Hudson and Berkshire. He authored a bill in the 1847 assembly session that would authorize the railroad to move people and goods through the Berkshire Mountains of Massachusetts, then into the upper Columbia County in order to reach Albany. He also held stock in the corporation. After months of frustration, he moved the bill out of committee, where it had languished for months. The assembly voted to pass the bill after several false starts, and the companion Senate bill was soon reported out of committee and adopted. Much work was needed, however, before a single track could be laid. Gould wondered whether either the Hudson River Rail Road or the Hudson and Berkshire Rail Road corporations would ever be able to pay their stockholders, for railroad investment was risky. To demonstrate appreciation for Gould's and other legislators' activities in promoting the enabling legislation creating the Hudson and Berkshire Rail Road, a dinner was held in Hudson on December 22, 1847. 40

Banking issues also proved important to John Stanton Gould and his constituents in the Hudson River Valley. In fact, in a letter to his daughter Mary, Gould remarked that until 1837 the state and Columbia County had “long been hopelessly democratic.” The “spell was finally broken” because the Democratically controlled legislature had passed a law prohibiting issuance of bills less than five dollars, which hurt the cash strapped Hudson Valley inhabitants, as well all New Yorkers suffering from the panic which had begun in 1837. That consequential law, and the power of the banks, influenced enough New Yorkers to elect a Whig majority to the state assembly in 1838. Gould worked hard and “made a good many speeches in various places” in order to help elect a Whig who, along with two Democrats, went to Albany from Columbia County. He investigated and

discussed banking issues with his colleagues in both the assembly and senate. Based on his findings, Gould sought reduced interest rates for borrowers of money through an assembly bill in October 1847, and spoke against the current usury laws. To assist his rural constituents, Gould offered a bill in the assembly that would authorize establishment of savings banks. He continued to work for passage of the savings bank bills in both the assembly and senate in 1848, buttonholing key senators in the process. 41

Back home, Gould encountered evidence of local financial distress in March 1848. He met with a farmer who desired to mortgage his life interest in the family owned farm to raise enough cash to pay his debts. The farm had lost money for the last two years because the farmer, whose principal crop was potatoes, had purchased potato seeds at high prices only to have the crop rot. 42

Gould's legislative career brought him into contact with the concept of the "ten hour system" and the "living wage." This was the era of strength for the Locofocos, the working men's faction of the Democratic Party, which fought against the combined disasters of loss of income and reduced status for the mechanic and artisan. Gould met with Horace Greeley to discuss the topic, and he recorded that he found Greeley rather naive on the issue. To Greeley he attributed the belief that "man is a creature of circumstances [and] if provided with employment at remunerative prices" his character would improve. 43 A wage large enough to support a worker and his family was required to ensure men of character, according to Greeley. 44 Gould, however, believed that only God and personal reformation influenced men to be better. He did, however, support payment of a "living wage" and brought that message to Governor Seward on January 6, 1847. The governor used the opportunity to "pleasantly" tell him that Mike

Walsh, of the Locofocos in New York City, accompanied by the Speaker of the Assembly, called on him the day before to discuss the matter and "one of them hooked [stole] his hat." 45

The "ten hour system" for a ten-hour workday was the subject of an 1849 address by Gould to a very large meeting held at a local tavern. 46 He demonstrated to the audience, to his own satisfaction, that the value of property was derived solely from labor. "The interest of all classes were essentially alike" and that dissension between classes was injurious to all. The "oppression of one class by another reacted upon the oppressing class." He used as examples the anti-rent troubles in Columbia and Rensselaer counties and, drew upon his readings in European history, the French Revolution, the peasant wars in Germany, and high church bigotry. More than ten hours of daily labor injured the body, he told the gathering. Children were deprived of an education and the electorate were robbed of the opportunity for study required for the intelligent exercise of the franchise. Additionally, he told them, without the "ten hour system," the Sabbath was desecrated. With the ten-hour day, Gould argued, men would work more zealously, waste less, and poverty and criminality would be reduced. 47 While no evidence showing that Gould had contact with communitarian reformers has been found, he would have been aware of the many contemporary crosscurrents of perfectionism, utopianism, and millennialism, then circulating in New York. He surely would have been familiar with nearby New Lebanon, the Shaker community in Columbia County. Several communitarian followers of Robert Owen, the British utopianist reformer, made the transition from Owenism to Shakerism at New Lebanon in the 1820s and 1830s. Best known among the converts was Frederick Evans, a British immigrant.

Evans was the brother of labor reformer and printer George Henry Evans, who published the *Working Men's Advocate* in New York City. 48 Through Gould's political involvements, he knew of the political and economic positions of the Locofocos and of the "Workies" or members of the Workingmen's Party, among other political groups active in his era.

"Pauperism and its attendant train of evils is making rapid progress amongst us," Gould wrote, and outlined steps to avert its path in January 1849. He felt that the laws dealing with poverty were inadequate, but the administration of them far worse because the supervisors of the poor were political appointees. He proposed construction of county poor houses for "health and economy," and the purchase of cheap fuel and food. Education would provide paupers with the means to lift themselves out of their condition. To reduce the incidence of pauperism, the superintendents of the poor should act as registration and employment agents for the county. Candlemaking, he suggested, was an appropriate employment and applicable to county poor house labor. It was in the interest of the affluent to reduce pauperism, but he expected objections to the cost of such administration of the poor. He also feared his plan would become another "political machine" in the hands of the overseers of the poor. Gould continued to work for the codification of the poor laws, and found the task harder than expected. His goals were to reduce taxes, alleviate poverty, improve the "nurseries of the poor" and, especially, to bring "the rich and the poor into closer and more fraternal intercourse." 49

John Stanton Gould was committed to a wide variety of reforms and found a home in the New York Whig Party which described itself as "the party of law, of order, of enterprise, of improvement, of benefice, of hope, and of humanity." 50 Riding the

crest of anti-Jacksonian sentiment, Gould had been elected to the New York State Assembly from Columbia County in 1846 as a Whig. In the 1846 elections, Whig candidate John Young, Assembly spokesperson for the anti-rent movement, was selected to be governor, with the support of the Anti-Rent Party, shortly before the elections. The Whigs gained five of the eight senatorial seats and sixty-eight were elected to the Assembly, along with fifty Democrats and ten Anti-Renters. The Whigs took over Albany from the Democrats who had held the governor's office and the legislature since 1842. Upon arriving in Albany in January 1847, he was appointed secretary of the Whig assembly caucus, which he found "exceedingly crowded." Former Governor Seward, said Gould, stirred up trouble, unsettling the "conservative spirit" that once dominated the Whig Party. Whig conservatives were opposed to both Seward's and Thurlow Weed's so-called "progressive democracy." In 1847, Gould strongly criticized a Whig candidate, Daniel O'Connell, who had won his seat by campaigning to "every Irishman on the canal" presumably by offering the Irish voters "progressive democracy." 51

Gould did plan to expend time and energy "stirring up the Whigs" to the importance of upcoming elections. But he found the local Whigs unorganized and disinterested in the fall 1847. He campaigned in 1847 for his own reelection against the local Locofoco anti-rent assembly nominee and won. He happily recorded that Whig Party candidates were successful all over the state at the November 1847 elections. 52

Political maneuvering in the factions of the Democratic Party also interested Gould. The colorful splinter groups, the conservative Hunkers and the more radical Barnburners, worked at cross purposes within the party. The Democratic split occurred in 1844 over the former president and noted New York Democrat Martin Van Buren's

opposition to the annexation of Texas. The positions of the two factions gave rise to their expressive names. The appellation Hunker is thought to be a corruption of a Dutch word "hunkerer" or selfish person. While Van Buren's followers were dubbed Barnburners because their opponents accused them of burning down the barn to rid it of vermin. Dissension within the Democratic ranks led to a struggle at the 1847 convention held in Syracuse. Differences between the Hunkers and the Barnburners also caused a fight over nominees for the Erie Canal commissioners in September 1847. Such poor conditions had developed on the Erie Canal while under regular Democratic commissioners that the canal boatmen had voted for the Locofoco ticket. That ticket was regarded as the working men's faction within the Democratic Party, according to Gould's source of Democratic Party information. 53 Political emotions ran high in both parties that year.

Gould hoped that a central control of New York's Whig party by Thurlow Weed was declining. Weed's "influence will become less and less," recorded Gould in April 1848. In the weeks preceding the 1849 state Whig convention, Gould attended local conventions in Columbia County at Hudson, Chatham and Albany, in order to meet with and discuss the various candidates and delegations to the state convention. Earlier that year he had begun writing political articles for the *Columbia Republican* on "Whig policy." Traveling by express train to the 1849 Whig convention at Syracuse as a Columbia County delegate, he recounted the split between Hudson River Valley Whigs over Weed. Convention delegates from Westchester, Ulster, Greene and Albany counties were for Weed, while Dutchess and Columbia delegates opposed him, and those from Rensselaer were divided. He did, however, give Weed his due as "a good tactician." In September 1849, he planned the organization of the local Whig campaigns back in

Hudson upon returning from a train ride from the Syracuse convention while being accompanied by Horace Greeley. Soon he was at the Poughkeepsie Hotel in Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County for more political discussions and planning, although a ball held at the hotel interrupted his sleep all night. He noted a lack of enthusiasm for the Weed ticket in Poughkeepsie. He returned to Columbia County to attend the Whig convention in Claverack where he was disappointed that the candidates he had supported were defeated because many of the delegates he had counted on switched to the opposition. 54

That same election season, several Democratic Locofocos, on the way to their convention, called upon Gould who found that their "talk did not argue much for harmony." Election Day of 1849, however, was "quietly conducted, and without ill feeling on either side." Once the elections were over, dissension within Whig ranks continued apace and Gould's disapproval of Thurlow Weed only hardened.

"Whigs are no match for the Locos [Locofocos] in organization" and Locofocos took more chances as "[political] betting was a great lever in Loco hands," but Whigs were "more judicious" with funds, Gould noted in February 1848. He felt that the 1844 elections had been controlled by eleven hundred "doubtful" Whig votes. To his dismay, money obtained from the state's central Whig committee in New York City, which was scheduled to be apportioned throughout the county, had all been spent in Hudson. 55

Politics in the antebellum Hudson River Valley was not an impersonal orderly process. Gould wrote in 1848 that Columbia County's New Lebanon people were the "most strenuous" in politics and "carry their feelings into private life and are suspicious of each other within most private transactions." Sentiment towards local, state and

national candidates could be strong. Gould recorded his thoughts on the maneuverings and partisanship of the Whig Party. After hearing much against him, Gould decided he could not support Zachary Taylor on the Whig ticket in the upcoming presidential election. Taylor was "strong minded" while on the other hand, Millard Fillmore, a Weed Whig, was too placid, and "Seward has no influence at all." "When ever a vacancy [in office] occurs it will be filled with a good sound Whig," Gould wrote. Seward deserved praise for his "boldness on the slavery question" but his "truckling to the Catholics" and "efforts to make personal devotion to himself the sole passport to office and elevation in the party" was Gould's measure of Seward. "Cliques must be stopped or the Whig party will be destroyed." In 1839 and 1840, Seward, a devoted Whig and well-practiced politician, proposed that all of New York's schools share state funding. That would have permitted state moneys to be available for Catholic schools, an idea which appealed to Bishop John Hughes of New York, and the voters in his flock. Protestants reacted to Seward's plan as an attack on the public schools, which Gould worked so hard to improve, and more to the point, on their power over those schools. The Whigs lost the governor's office and the Democrats did not fund Catholic schools. Bishop Hughes did succeed in wresting funding decisions for the schools from appointed Protestants and by giving such decisions to a popularly elected board. 56

Gould, on an April 1849 trip to Albany, spoke with a Columbia County judge who believed that "no party could succeed in the country without turning their enemies out of office" and replacing them with friends. General Zachary Taylor would be called upon to do likewise, the judge declared. (A Whig, Taylor was the newly inaugurated American president and a hero of the recent war with Mexico) However, Gould

continued to express his hope for a president with moral courage who would disregard political consequences and behave honorably in office. John Quincy Adams, Gould thought, was such a president and for that was honored in the end by "hearty plaudits" for his principled actions. "The verdict of the world is generally right at last." 57

National political events also had an effect upon state and local politics. Gould's maiden speech in the assembly in 1847 concerned the extent of the state's involvement in a national affair. The Mexican War had begun and New York volunteers were fighting in support of American honor and Manifest Destiny. 58 The New York State Assembly was in the process of debating a bill to appropriate ten thousand dollars to assist those volunteers. The Whigs disliked the bill but were fearful of opposing it because of possible negative political consequences at home if they did not favor the bill. Gould spoke in opposition to the appropriation but the bill passed the assembly in January 1847. Some months later, Gould attended a senate session debating the governor's war message, and found a general disposition against it. However, opposition appeared to have been more related to internal arguments with the governor over committee assignments, rather than in actual opposition to the concept of supporting the Mexican War. That same evening he spoke with Thurlow Weed, publisher of the influential Whig paper, the *Evening Journal* of Albany. He chastised Weed for his support of the war. The editor replied that, in his estimation, the best plan to insure peace was by the election of a Whig president, and it was his plan to help do so. Dissension over the war message continued. On the train to New York City in February 1849, Gould chatted with two officers serving in the Mexican War who shared their wartime experiences with him. They explained that they possessed "an all pervading " sense of God's mission in the war and their part as

instruments in the "great design." This sentiment, they said, made them invincible. 59

Slavery was an important antebellum issue that Gould touched on in his journal.60 The New York Senate had discussed the prohibition of slavery in "countries" conquered by the United States in the Mexican War during a January 1847 session. Gould heard opinions expressed that the Locofoco's espousal of the abolition of slavery by the United States Congress was designed to garner votes for Silas Wright, considered a possible northern Democratic presidential candidate. Wright was a principal member of the Albany Regency faction of the Democratic Party and a former governor of New York. Later in the year, Gould was informed by Horace Greeley that the southern Whigs and Henry Clay, a Kentuckian and Whig presidential candidate, favored the Wilmot Proviso which would prohibit slavery in any territory gained from the Mexican War and who wanted the northern Whigs to "stand their ground firmly" on the vote in the United States Congress. 61

The somewhat shameful activities of Locofocos in the New York legislature also gained space in Gould's journal. With no joy he recorded on March 29 1847 that a Locofoco, Mike Walsh of New York City, was "sadly drunk in the House today and conducted shamefully," and on another occasion a month later that he was drunk on the floor of the assembly and threatening his fellow assemblymen with physical violence. The upholding of dignity and purpose in the assembly were important to Gould, for he watched the assembly floor turned into turmoil with fighting among legislators and with arrests made by the sergeant-at-arms. 62

Since antebellum nineteenth century politics were both raucous and sometimes prone to physicality, the effort to define nineteenth century political parties by the

characteristics exhibited by members in the particular subgroups, is not simple. Gould sought to capture some of the seemingly contradictory characteristics of men whom he met while serving in the assembly. The first was a stranger to him who had been born and reared in Chatham, Columbia County. The gentleman claimed that had been "always a democrat though his father was a Federalist." He also told Gould that he supported the abolition of capital punishment. On another occasion Gould wrote fondly of the merits of a Locofoco, a Hicksite Quaker who was possessed with a most hearty laugh and who loved "a drop of liquor on occasion." ⁶³ On a July 1848 visit to Sing-Sing State Prison, Gould spoke with two of three brothers incarcerated for their anti-rent deeds. The two informed him that they had voted for him in the last election, while their brother "always" voted the Democratic ticket. Once again, on a visit to a state prison, a prisoner confided to him that "the prisoners are nearly all democrats." When it came to an 1847 assembly bill to permit "emigrant" paupers to be transported to any county in the state by the county Commissioners of the Poor, and then be allowed to vote, Gould voted no. The bill would give the commissioners, most likely Democrats, "almost unlimited power" to "control their votes at pleasure." The emigrant paupers would be moved to gain "employment," given tools and even land, enabling the commissioners to "carry any county in the state at a doubtful election" with the emigrant votes. ⁶⁴

As described, John Stanton Gould was involved in many of the issues which were important to his family, his farm and his constituents in the mid-nineteenth century Hudson River Valley. Gould examined the world through his own perspective, and attempted to solve the problems he found. Very often, those issues extended beyond the borders of the region, and Gould and many other residents participated in major state and

national discussions, and contributed to social, economic and political developments in antebellum America. Even as Gould engaged in these myriad activities, his interest in temperance reform in the region remained constant and dominant.

NOTES

Chapter Two

1. Gould, *Journal of Residence at Albany, 1847-1852*. Olin Library, Cornell University; idem, *Letters On the HISTORY of the GOULD FAMILY to Mary W. G. Baldwin, 1862-1868*.

2. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 2 revised ed. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1900), 695.

3. Gould joined the Hudson meeting, which had earlier been home to Hannah Barnard (c. 1754-1825), who has been likened to Ann Hutchinson in intelligence, eloquence, and fortitude in her beliefs. An uneducated Hudson resident and Baptist, Barnard in 1772 became a Quaker upon marrying a Friend who, like John Stanton Gould had migrated to Hudson from Rhode Island. In 1793, she became a Quaker minister, traveling throughout New York and New England. Barnard adopted so-called New Light beliefs, derived from by some late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Irish Quakers, which questioned the moral authority of the Bible on war and decried the emphasis on frequent visiting, disciplining and disowning of fellow meeting members, among other issues. Accused of heresy and denied permission to preach in Europe, Barnard returned to Hudson, where she was disowned by that meeting in 1802. Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (Richmond Ind.: Friends United Press, 1988), 170-171, 289-290. Hugh Barbour, et al, ed. *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of New York Yearly Meetings*, with a foreword by Martin E. Marty (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 102-104. *Quaker Crosscurrents* examined New York Yearly Meetings from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries.

4. For a discussion of the religious heterogeneity of New York State, see Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) and Richard W. Pointer, *Protestant Pluralism and the New York Experience: A Study of Eighteenth-Century Religious Diversity* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1988).

5. *Directory of the City of Hudson*, 3-5, 14, 22-23; Edgar Mayhew Bacon, *The Hudson River From Ocean to Source* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), 503-509; J. H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse, N. Y.: R. P. Smith, 1860), 241-249. For Columbia County history, see Ellis, *History of Columbia County*.

6. *Columbia Republican*, 22 September 1846.

7. Gould, *Journal*, 16 February; 14, 25, 26 March 1847; 19 January, 2 February, 18 May 1848; 9 October 1849. John Stanton Gould's interests were eclectic, as were those of many antebellum Americans whose interests generated advancements in communications, science and transportation. Those same advancements also created a broader American interest in contemporary affairs and developments. Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2000), 90-100, describes the widening interest of the young republic; Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise: American, 1815-1840* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 76-94, highlights some of the other topics which interested antebellum Americans; and for discussion of how antebellum Americans gained common information and its importance, see Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); and idem, *The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650-1870* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). Donald M. Scott, "Print and the Public Lecture System, 1840-1860," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. William Joyce (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983), 278-299, describes how the public lecture system in rural communities contributed to the construction of an antebellum middle class "culture core."

8. John Stanton Gould, *Address of Hon. John Stanton Gould, delivered before the Cayuga County Agricultural Society, at their annual fair held at Auburn, September 14, 15, and 16, 1859* (Albany: Van Benthusen Steam Printing House, 1865); idem, "Address by J. Stanton Gould, Delivered before the Jefferson County Agricultural Society, September 30th, 1863. Milk and its Compound," Jefferson County Agricultural Society Addresses, New York State Library. Agriculture was a major segment of the New York economy, and agricultural interests have played a large part in the state's economic, political and historical developments. Gould belonged to the Columbia County and New York State Agricultural Societies and lectured before others. For the importance of antebellum New York agricultural societies see, Donald B. Marti, "Early Agricultural Societies in New York: The Foundations of Improvement," *New York History* 48 (1967): 313-331. Antebellum New York agricultural practices are discussed in Ulysses Prentiss Hedrick, *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York* (New York State Agriculture Society, 1933; reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 1966). Donald Hugh Parkerson, *The Agricultural Transition in New York State: Markets and Migration in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1995), examines agricultural life in the middle of the nineteenth century, the beginnings of agricultural changes and their impact on farmers, families and society. Parkerson points out that the agricultural river valleys of New York were settled earlier, had more stable mature market economies and less migration than the western areas of the state. In the Hudson River Valley, those farmers who produced little surplus largely had been replaced by market-focused surplus farmers by the mid-nineteenth century, 148. For information on antebellum agricultural developments see Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).

9. Gould, *Journal*, 10 January, 26 February, 25 March, 8 July 1848; 7 May 1849; 2 July 1849. Some of the volumes Gould read were advertised for purchase in Hudson at

Wynkoop's Book Store in the *Columbia Washingtonian*, 16 January 1849. For a discussion of the place of the lecture in antebellum society, see Donald M. Scott, "The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 66 (1980): 791-809; and idem, "Print and the Public Lecture System, 1840-1860," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. William Joyce (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983).

10 Gould, Journal, 4, 6, 10, 18, January; 2 February, 2 March; 21 April 1848; 13 February 1849.

11. Ibid., 19 January, 25 February 1848; 7 March, 18 April 1849; 4 April 1850.

12. Ibid., 8 January, 12 March 1850.

13. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind*, 13th ed. (New York: Charles Partridge, 1847), viii, x, xi-xv, 687; idem, *Memoranda of Persons, Places and Events in Magnetism, Clairvoyance, Spiritualism* (Boston: William White and Co., 1868). Davis identified eternal connections between mind and body, the individual and society, and the physical and spiritual universes. He called this concept "harmonialism" in *The Great Harmonia; Being a Philosophical Revelation of the Natural, Spiritual, and Celestial Universe* (Boston: Mussey, 1850); Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 228; and David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 224, 226, 259-260. For the connections between mesmerism and religion, see Robert C. Fuller, *Mesmerism and the American Cure of Souls* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982). In *Mesmer and Animal Magnetism: A Chapter in the History of Medicine* (Hamilton, N. Y.: Edmonston Publ., 1994), Frank A. Pattie demonstrates that the antebellum medical community delved into mesmerism as a healing system. Ruth Brandon, *The Spiritualists: The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Knopf, 1983), explores several strains of spiritualism. For the impact of mesmerism and other such practices on antebellum American literature, see Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America*, 224, 236, 258-262, 270-272, 276, 310, 329-30; and Samuel Coale, *Mesmerism and Hawthorne: Mediums of American Romance* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1998).

14. Donald Hugh Parkerson and Jo Ann Parkerson, *The Emergence of the Common School in the U. S. Countryside* (Lewiston, N. Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1998), examines the socio-historical roots of the mid-nineteenth century primary school movement in the rural north, focusing on New York, and the vital part played by commercial farmers. Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983) and Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education, The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980) cover the development of the public school system in America.

15. Gould, Journal, 3 January; 4, 30, 31 March; 1 April 1848.

16. For antebellum concepts of childhood and adolescence, see Joseph H. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1979): 480-492; idem, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790-to the Present*, (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Stephen Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 43-65; Harvey J. Graff, *Growing Up In America: Historical Experiences* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1987); and Philip Greven, *Child-Rearing Concepts, 1628-1861* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973).

17. Gould, Journal, 26, 29 January; 6 February; 26, 29 April 1848; 10, 11 April 1849.

18. Ibid., 12 May 1849. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, recognized the public religious expressions and participation of female members. For the place of women's ministry in American Quakerism, see Barbour, et al, ed., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 165-182 and passim; see Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 29-30, 75, 119, 169-170, 197, for a discussion of the path breaking ministries of Quaker women; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 193-230; and Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 145-166. A noted antebellum Quaker woman spoke publicly while in the Hudson River Valley. Angelina E. Grimke called attention to her public speaking career in Poughkeepsie, New York when she spoke before "a promiscuous assembly" (both male and female attendees) in March 1837. In the mid-1830s, the Quaker Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, helped open the way for antebellum women to publicly lecture on various reform topics. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, ed., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), xvi, 9-10.

19. The 1848 Seneca Falls convention was organized by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, with the assistance of Martha Wright (Mott's sister), Mary Ann McClintock and Jane Hunt. The five women were active and devoted Quakers, and built upon their positive and their negative experiences in temperance and abolition reform movements in calling for the meeting. Stanton wrote the convention's Declaration of Sentiments, and of the 100 known declaration signatories, at least 23 were Quakers. Barbour, et al, eds., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 165-182. Also see Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987) and Margaret H. Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986).

20. Gould, Journal, 3, 21 April 1849. See Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity, Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press 1981), 67-89, and Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio:

Ohio University Press, 1976), 21-41, for discussion of expected middle class female behavior.

21. Gould, Letter CXLVI, 13 April 1867; Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 187-188.

22. David M. Ellis, et al., *History of the State of New York* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 61-70; Montgomery Schuyler, *The Patroons and Lords of Manors of the Hudson* (New York, 1932); and Alexander Clarence Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933-1937), vol. 1-3. For a discussion of post revolutionary manorial status, see Jacob Judd, "Manorial Influences in New York After the American Revolution," in Stephen L. Schecter and Wendell Tripp, ed., *World of the Founders: New York Communities in the Federal Period* (Albany, N. Y.: New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, 1990).

23. Sung Bok Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York Manorial Society, 1664-1775* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1978) provides extensive detailed account of Hudson River Valley land holding patterns and practices. David M. Ellis, *Landlords and Farmers*; Reeve Huston, *Land and Freedom: Rural Society, Popular Protest, and Party Politics in Antebellum New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 11-76; and Irving Mark, *Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775* (Port Washington, N. Y.: I. J. Friedman, 1965).

24. For the anti-rent activities in Delaware County, see Dorothy Kubik, *A Free Soil – A Free People: The Anti-rent War in Delaware County, New York* (Fleischmanns, N. Y.: Purple Mountain Press, 1997); for the entire Hudson River Valley, see the newly published Charles M. McCurdy, *The Anti-Rent Era in New York Law and Politics, 1839-1865* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

25. *Daily Argus*, 3 December 1839, quoted in Philip S. Foner, ed., *We the Other People: Alternative Declarations of Independence by Labor Groups, Farmers, Women's Rights Advocates, Socialists, and Blacks, 1829-1975* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 306.

26. The local and state political influence of anti-renters is covered in Huston, *Land and Freedom*, 56-75, 131-174; idem, "The Parties and 'The People': The New York Anti-Rent Wars and the Contours of Jacksonian Politics," *Journal of the Early Republic* 20, no. 2 (2000): 242-271; McCurdy, *The Anti-Rent Era*; and Michael F. Holt, "The Election of 1840, Voter Mobilization, and the Emergence of the Second American Party System: A Reappraisal of Jacksonian Voting Behavior," in idem, *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 151-191.

27. For a discussion of the 1846 New York constitution, see Peter J. Galie, *Ordered Liberty: A Constitutional History of New York* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1996), 272-330.

28. Gould, Journal, 5, 6 January 1847.

29. See Elliot Robert Barkan, *Portrait of a Party: The Origins and Development of the Whig Persuasion in New York State* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1988) for a discussion of the Whig Party, politics and government in New York, from the end of the Revolution to the eve of the Civil War; Holt, *Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party*, 902 and passim; and Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979). Horace Greeley Papers, 1831-1872, New York Public Library, The Research Libraries, Rare Books and Manuscripts, New York, New York.

30. Gould, Journal, 6, 7 January 1847.

31. Ibid., 14, 21, 22, 27 January; 30 March; 1, 15, 16, 22, April 1847.

32. Ibid., 23 April; 15, 23 May; 22 July; 22 August 1847.

33. Gould, Letter LXIV, 22 October 1864; Gould, Journal, 7 January; 9, 24 February; 28 April 1847. De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 115.

34. Gould, Journal, 2, 21, 25, 30, 31 March; 3, 26, 29 April; 2, 30 May; 7 June; 22 December 1848; 1 November 1849; 25 March 1850.

35. Ibid., 2 June 1848; 10, 19 April 1849.

36. Ibid., 9 May 1849.

37. Gould, Journal, 8, 11 January 1847; 15, 20 March; 24 December 1849. For a discussion of antebellum transportation developments, see George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: M. E. Sharpe Publishers, 1977); Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York: Norton, 1961); Stuart Bruchey, *The Roots of American Economic Growth, 1601-1861: An Essay in Social Causation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); idem, *Small Business in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980) 1-27; Sellers, *Market Revolution*, 79-91; and Donald Hugh Parkerson, *The Agricultural Transition in New York*, 30, 57, 143-145.

38. Ibid., 17 January 1847; 19 January 1848; 8 January; 15, 16 March 1850.

39. Ibid., 11 April, 22 May 1847; 10 June 1848; 19 May, 11 December 1849.

40. Ibid., 11 March, 21 October, 11, 19 November, 22 December 1847.

41. Gould, Letter CXLVI, 13 April 1867; Gould, Journal, 3, 6, 10 September; 20 October 1847; 21 January 1848. Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 211-227; and Daniel Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815-1840* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 171-190. Michael F. Holt, "From the Center to Periphery: The Market Revolution and Major-Party Conflict," in *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880* ed. Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 225-226, contends that the sharply different Whig and Democratic parties' economic responses to the Panic of 1837 generated great interest and strong interparty conflicts, and drew thousands to the polls.

42. Gould, Journal, 22 March 1848. For the results of crop failure and rural debt in the antebellum Hudson River Valley, see Martin Bruegel, "The Rise of a Market Society in the Rural Hudson Valley, 1780-1860" (Ph. D. diss., Cornell University, 1994), 170-214. For New York, see Parkerson, *Markets and Migration*, 14-14, 98, 109. See Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1790-1860* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 199-203, for the effects of debt, bankruptcy and financial panic on other rural regions; and Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 70-76.

43. Gould, Journal, 7 February 1849. See Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, for a full discussion of labor's political interests and activities in New York.

44. On Greeley's life (1811-1872) and work, see Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, (New York: J. B. Ford and Company, 1868). Written when Greeley sought support for his presidential aspirations, the book overlooks some of his socialist reform goals and activities of the 1840s. However, Greeley's *Recollections* remain pertinent to many antebellum events. Greeley remembered well his early poverty in New York City in the 1830s when he worked as a printer, and so, remained sympathetic to labor. Horace Greeley, *Hints Toward Reforms, In Lectures, Addresses, and Other Writings* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1850). Don C. Seitz, *Horace Greeley, Founder of The New York Tribune* (Indianapolis, 1926; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970) is old fashioned but informative. A useful biography of Greeley is Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley, Nineteenth-Century Crusader* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964). A discussion of Greeley's ideas can be found in Erik S. Lunde, *Horace Greeley* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981).

45. Gould, Journal, 6 January 1847. Mike Walsh, a colorful Irish immigrant engraver, journalist and editor, was a radicalized Locofoco Democrat by the time he was elected to the 1846 legislature along with John Stanton Gould. Walsh was leader of New York City's "shirtless" Democrats, who were working class and unorthodox in their political beliefs. A Protestant, Walsh was born in 1802 and left Ireland as a small child with his family. He always called himself a "true American." Walsh went on to the United States Congress in 1852. Sadly, alcoholism dominated his last years and he was

found robbed and beaten to death on March, 17, 1859. For a discussion of Mike Walsh and the Working Men's Party, see Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 326-335.

46. Taverns traditionally and regularly provided space for public and political meetings, as well as respite for the traveler and drink for locals. See E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformation in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 201-202, 218-19; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 53; Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic*, 27-28; and Peter J. Thompson, "A Social History of Philadelphia Taverns, 1683-1800" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1989).

47. Gould, *Journal*, 10 January, 8 July 1848; 7 February, 7 May 1849.

48. See John F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 107-108 on Frederick Evans and his conversion at New Lebanon, New York; and Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 172-216 on the labyrinth of theoretical connections and divisions among antebellum labor leaders and editors.

49. Gould, *Journal*, 27 January, 11 February; 11, 17 April 1849.

50. New York Whig Legislative Address of 1844, quoted in Rush Welter, *The Mind of America, 1820-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 18 and cited in Holt, *Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party*, 81. See *Ibid.* for a detailed discussion of the inherent disparities within the Whig Party, and among New York Whigs, which foretold the demise of the party.

51. Gould, *Journal*, 4, 11 January 1847; Denis Tilden Lynch, "Party Struggles, 1828-1850" in Flick, ed., *History of New York* vol. 6, 75-76. For a discussion of antebellum political parties, see Richard C. Ellis, "The Market Revolution and the Transformation of American Politics, 1801-1837," in *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1860* ed. Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway, (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 149-176; Michael F. Holt, *Political Parties and American Political Development: From the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Daniel Feller, "Politics and Society: Toward a Jacksonian Synthesis," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (1990): 135-161; and Richard P. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

52. Gould, *Journal*, 18, 30 October; 3 November 1847.

53. *Ibid.*, 28 January; 13, 24 September 1847.

54. *Ibid.*, 10 April 1848; 25 May; 17, 20, 22, 24, 17, 20, 22, 24, 27 September; 3, 5 October 1849.

55. Ibid., 24 February 1848; 6 October; 6 24, 25 November; 10 December 1849.

56. Ibid., 24 February, 9 June 1848; 12 April 1849.

57. Ibid., 21 April 1849.

58. Antebellum views of the need for geographic expansion, exceptionalism and destiny of America are discussed in Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 22, which makes the point that capitalist agriculture (which was prevalent in antebellum Hudson River Valley) required territorial expansion. For the 1840s discussions, see Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Destiny: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); and Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: McGraw Publishers, 1963).

59. Gould, Journal, 11, 26 January 1847; 20, 21 January 1848; 20 February 1849. Northern Whigs tended to oppose unregulated territorial expansion because they doubted that such a large, culturally heterogeneous area could be successfully managed. Yet, that same Whig faction approved the financial support of the Mexican War. Southern Whigs favored Texas annexation as an extension of slavery. The “commercial empire” sought by John Quincy Adams and his New York disciple, William Seward, comprised another aspect of Whig expansionist theory, Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny*, 48-49, 56, 58, 61-63.

60. For the connection between Quakers and abolition see David Brion Davis, “The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823, The Quaker Ethic and the Antislavery International,” in *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1992), 27-24. Jean R. Sonderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Barbour, et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 65-75, 170-172, 183-190; Barbour and Frost, *Quakers*, passim. For a discussion of the place of abolitionism in the nineteenth century world, see the updated readable and helpful synthesis in James Brewer Stewart, *Holy Warriors : The Abolitionists and American Slavery*, revised ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997); Merton L. Dillon, *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619-1865* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana University Press, 1990); Aileen S. Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850* (New York: Norton, 1979). Yellin and Van Horne, ed., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*, examines antislavery activism among white and free African American women. Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) finds that women’s support of abolitionism was crucial. Women engaged in public and private behaviors, ranging from sewing circles to political speeches and petitioning, often despite cultural gender norms. Louis S. Gerteis, *Morality and Utility in American Antislavery Reform* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1987) focuses on a middle class drive to order their world. Paul Goodman, *Of One Blood, Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1998)

finds that the basis of abolitionism went beyond religion to social and cultural issues, such as market disruptions of traditional gender roles. The foundation of antislavery thought can be found in David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967) and idem, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975).

61. Gould, Journal, 15, 16 January; 7 October 1847.

62. Ibid., 29 March, 30 April 1847. Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic, New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 326-343, discusses Mike Walsh, his political beliefs and fractious nature.

63. Gould, Journal, 11, 13 October; 16 November 1847. John Stanton Gould tended toward evangelical Quakerism. He was a full participant in many of the developments eschewed by many Quakers. In 1827, the American Religious Society of Friends was split by a theological controversy over the practices and direction of the society precipitated by Elias Hicks (1748-1830) of Long Island, New York. Hicks began his active itinerant preaching in 1779, and was compared with Daniel Webster for his eloquence by contemporaries. He was committed to traditional Quaker ideology of reliance upon the Inner Light and rejected many modern undertakings, such as common schools, higher education and transportation improvements. He thoroughly opposed the new evangelical Quaker emphasis on Scriptural authority, the Trinity, atonement and the immediate abolition of slavery, among others. It was not that Hicks denied Scriptural authority, rather he objected to the growing prominence of evangelical Quakerism which focused on that authority. He sought a return to the earlier dependency on the Inward Light for guidance. Nor did Hicks favor slavery, for he preached strongly against the use of any slave-made products. Orthodox Quakerism opposed Hicks and his followers or Hicksites, an appellation he disliked, and his refusal to accept to changes in focus and direction created a schism in 1827. Hicks received great support in New York, where he was well known, and in 1828, there were more than twice as many Hicksites as there were Orthodox Quakers in the state. The Hicksite-Orthodox split tended to be rural versus urban, as the older rural meetings remained Orthodox. Many New York City Quakers, however, favored Hicks because they feared the monetary losses suffered by the Orthodox who withdrew from state Yearly Meetings rather than endorse Elias Hicks. Barbour and Frost, *Quakers*, 178, 228-230; Barbour, et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 100-145.

64. Gould, Journal, 30 April 1847; 28 May, 22 July 1848.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GUISES OF REFORM IN THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY

With quenchless zeal, press forward, then,
 Ye lovers of your fellow men;
 From year to year your cause gains ground,
 Oh may it spread the world around.

Order of Exercises, Marlboro Chapel-Temperance Hymn

Antebellum nineteenth century America saw many movements seeking to reform working and social conditions, and human behavior. A number of social, cultural and economic forces converged and set the stage for those crusades. The strong sense of antebellum republicanism and nationalism was manifest by the many who were willing to work to ensure that the moral republic created by the American Revolution persevered. Improvements in communication and transportation modes bloomed in the early nineteenth century, and facilitated easier exchange of ideas and goods. The growth of a market economy, which both required and fostered such developments, contributed to social and cultural changes in antebellum America. The traditional economy of the family changed with increasing emphasis on production of goods for sale; and a middle class grew out of the changing order. ¹ As family organization and gender roles were modified, individuals were provided with the inclination, means and time to engage in reform activities. The political structure of the young nation was reorganized as the

white male electorate expanded as the early century advanced and meant that many more men, including reformers, could influence political decisions. Heartfelt and widespread evangelical Protestant revivalism, known as the Second Great Awakening, began with the new century. The religious phenomenon created a new sense of mission among participants and contributed to a general feeling that evil could and should be confronted. Evangelical beliefs, however, were not a prerequisite for such belief. Many Americans felt that it was within their power to affect the changes they desired. They believed in their capacity to reform their world, and so, were compelled to try. 2

John Stanton Gould participated in the nineteenth century quest to reform the ways of his fellow man. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s he labored for temperance and sought legal provisions for creation and support of common schools, along with the placing of bibles in every hand. In addition, he was particularly concerned with the status of prisons in New York. He was moved to take action from the reports he had heard of cruelties meted out to state prisoners. Horace Greeley had arranged for Gould's appointment to the State Prisons Committee of the assembly when he went to Albany in January 1847. In the assembly, Gould secured the printing of hundreds of copies of the state's prison reports, which included a letter to the New York State Assembly and Senate in support of prison reform from Alexis de Tocqueville, after he had visited several New York prisons. In 1832, de Tocqueville and fellow Frenchman Gustave de Beaumont toured a number of American prisons, including Auburn and Sing-Sing Prisons in New York, with an eye to using the information they gathered to improving France's prisons. New York "is without contradiction one of the most advanced in the path of reform....," the men wrote in 1832. They praised the Auburn system practice of keeping prisoners

separated and silent. “This separation, which prevents the wicked from injuring others, is also favorable to himself. Thrown into solitude, he reflects. Placed alone, in view of his crime, he learns to hate it....” Their approval did not extend to the frequent practice of whipping prisoners, however, and the harshest treatment was ascribed to Sing-Sing, where “the least fault is punished....” John Stanton Gould also disapproved of the frequency of whipping in New York’s prisons and sought to curb the custom. The men recorded that American reformers “consider man, however far advanced in crime, as still susceptible to being brought back to virtue” and they looked to modern prisons to be “the remedy for all the evils of society.” Although Beaumont and De Tocqueville credited criminal origins to habitual idleness, they were uncertain as to whether all offenders could be saved. 3

Gould gathered and used statistical data on prisons to argue for improvements in prison conditions and prisoner treatment in 1847. He also sought to obtain firsthand information, so when Westchester County asked the assembly committee on prisons for an inspection of Sing-Sing State Prison, Gould traveled there to examine the prison and its inmates. 4 New York’s third state prison, Sing-Sing, opened in 1826 on 130 acres of land in the village of Sing-Sing overlooking the Hudson River in Westchester County. Known as Mount Pleasant, the site had once been a working silver mine. The prison remains in the same location, although the town is now named Ossining. It replicated a state prison built to house felons in the small western New York town of Auburn in 1816. The physical design and operating rules of Auburn State Prison, known as the Auburn System, served as a model for antebellum American prison reform. Prisoners were kept busy during the day with productive employment and housed in separate cells at night.

Complete silence, except for necessary communication, was strictly enforced and offenders were whipped for speaking unnecessarily. Prisoners were to be reformed by useful labor, separate cells and no distractions; each inmate was to consider his or her sins and failings. Detailed and daily record keeping by prison officials was also required. "The point is to maintain uninterrupted silence and uninterrupted labor; to obtain this, it is equally necessary to watch incessantly the keepers, as well as the prisoners; to be at once inflexible and just." 5

While pursuing prison reform Gould heard of a scheme, which would allow prisoners to earn wages while engaged at prison labor, with their earnings kept in escrow until released. According to Gould the benefit of the plan was circumvented so as "to enrich certain Politicians." Later he calculated the advantage to the warden from the "profitable business" of having prisoners cane chair bottoms in the Weathersfield penitentiary. He recorded the instance of a dangerous prisoner who had been reformed by "firm kindness" shown him by the warden. Improved moral behavior, he suggested, might come from a change in the title of New York State prison chaplains to "Moral Instructors." 6

In January 1847, Gould visited Sing-Sing Prison, in the midst of an outbreak of cholera, when 128 cases developed, within a twenty-four hour period, in a hospital he described as "uninhabitable." He found women prisoners making buttons, sewing, knitting, and trimming hats," an example of the productive work prisoners undertook. "A button passes through 15 different hands before it is completed." While at the prison Gould advised the warden to "dispense with novels." The warden agreed with Gould in principle but argued that there was a lack of any other reading material in their library.

On a second visit to Sing-Sing in July 1847, Gould delivered a sermon to the prisoners in which he endeavored to show them the "connection between enjoyment [and] duty," stressing the "importance of humility." He exhorted them to avoid their "former haunts" upon release and to seek the "encouragement of the wise and virtuous."

In Sing-Sing's women's chapel during the July 1847 visit, Gould heard the female inmates sing "exceedingly well" despite being led by a "negro wench." Gould understood that no classification of inmates by race existed and that close friendships between white and black prisoners were common. In his sermon to the women, he spoke of the "vine clad cottage of their infancy, of their father's blessing, and of their mother's tender care," without any irony. He urged them to demonstrate faith in God. At the conclusion of his sermon, Gould recorded that "nearly two thirds...were weeping violently." 7

Segregated from the male prisoners, Sing-Sing's female inmates were supervised by prison matron Eliza Wood Farnham from 1844 to 1848. Gould heard the women prisoners sing because Farnham had replaced the noted "silent system" with singing and exercise. Of the opinion that prisoners could be rehabilitated under the proper circumstances, Farnham ended several other prison practices which, in her opinion, stymied efforts of female inmates to redeem themselves. She brought the women out of their cells for evening lessons, which included reading, penmanship, history and geography, as well as personal hygiene. "If the criminal is to be reformed at all, he is to be reformed for society, not solitude." Sing-Sing's female inmates enjoyed flowers and music, and holiday meals, as well as the opportunity to participate in arts and crafts activities, and rewards for good behavior during Farnham's tenure. "The nearer the

condition of the convict...approximates the natural and true condition in which he should live, the more perfect will be the reformatory influence over his character," Farnham contended. Such practices, and her demand that prisons be "morally governed," led to her dismissal from Sing-Sing in 1848. ⁸

John Stanton Gould was instrumental in the movement to abolish corporal punishment of prisoners in 1848. Incurable prisoners were no longer to be beaten; instead, they were to be confined in solitary cells. He was heartened to read in an Ithaca newspaper of the successful end of corporal punishment in the prisons in the area. ⁹

Capital punishment also concerned Gould. Upon arrival in the assembly in 1847 and at the request of Horace Greeley, he took charge of a bill seeking to abolish capital punishment in New York. Greeley provided the draft of the bill which Gould introduced and which he followed through the debates on the measure. He addressed that body for two hours in one sitting in early October 1847, as well as on several other occasions when the topic arose in the debates. The assembly heard the final reading of the bill and members voted against passage. The assembly was "much fuller than usual" on that day, presumably with the bill's opponents, although seventeen of those regarded as favorable to the bill were absent. Gould was appointed to the Assembly Select Committee on the Abolition of Capital Punishment and authored its 1847 report in favor of ending the death penalty in New York. He spoke with an assembly advocate of capital punishment who believed it to be a deterrent to murder, which could not be prevented without "hangings." On the train to Albany in January 1848, Gould also discussed capital punishment with a Baptist minister but was unable to persuade the cleric to his way of thinking. ¹⁰

In addition to prison inspections, Gould visited various asylums in Albany and

New York City in 1847. When he inspected the orphan asylum in Albany in October 1847, he recorded that the building was forty feet by sixty feet, with a capacity of one hundred-forty children, and contained one school room. He noted the amount of coal burned during the winter season and the fact that the asylum kept two cows on six acres of land. The maintenance cost for each orphan was seventy-two cents each week. In his estimation, the asylum adequately met the needs of the children. Without commenting on the situation, Gould was able to move the Committee of the Whole and the assembly to adopt a measure for the "relief of the coloured orphan asylum." In favor of common schooling for children, Gould collected information in order to bolster his arguments for it in March 1847. 11

Among his visits, he toured the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum and the Blackwell Island Lung House, Prison, Women's Hospital, Men's Hospital and Asylum while in New York City in May 1847. The Bloomingdale Asylum, set on seventy-seven acres in upper Manhattan, replaced the earlier New York Lunatic Asylum in 1821. The innovative late eighteenth century British Quaker sanatorium in York, which featured large grounds and sympathetic care, as well as healthful work and entertainments, served as the archetype for the New York hospital. Gould was also a member of the Judiciary Committee of the assembly and wrote a lengthy report on crime for the legislature several months after his institutional tours in New York City. Additionally, during 1852 Gould inspected various institutions at the request of New York City's Board of Commissioners of Emigration and the Board of Governors of the city's almshouses. Asked to examine inmate diets, Gould scrupulously provided scientific descriptions of the minerals necessary for the health and maintenance of inmates. He noted dietary discrepancies among the different

locations, compared the baked bread output of a variety of different flour brands, and examined kitchen pots and utensils. Gould also suggested daily menus for men, women and children, discussed proper cooking methods and provided a comparison of the nutritive value of various foods and their cost. Gould presented in detail the preferred size, arrangement and furnishings of dormitories and dining halls, as well as bathrooms and inmates' personal hygiene requirements. ¹²

Upon inspection in January 1847, Gould found the Albany Poor House inadequately ventilated, with some of the inmates chained to their beds. He advocated for the popular election and a limited three-year tenure for County Superintendents of the Poor in order to maintain more control of expenses at the local level. This initiative, supported by the Columbia County Board of Supervisors, initially met with resistance in the assembly, but Gould prevailed and the bill gained assembly approval later that year. He then personally appealed to several senators to support the bill, which passed in October 1847. ¹³

Antebellum New York provided a level of relief for paupers which was consistent with national assistance rates from 1800 to 1823. Paupers living in the Hudson River Valley in 1823 were provided with assistance ranging from 26 percent of the common wage in New Windsor, Orange County, to less than 10 percent in South Salem, Westchester County. In 1824, a new state law transferred control of poor relief to the county level and permitted establishment of county poorhouses. New York then became a national leader in the antebellum poorhouse movement because of the statutory change. Fifty-eight of the state's sixty-two counties had set up poorhouses by 1835 and nearly 40 percent of the poor who received assistance were housed by the counties, consisting

primarily of the direst cases among the elderly, children and the severely disabled. Otherwise, "outdoor relief," was provided most commonly in the form of work and food to the unhoused poor. Enactment of the 1824 law has been regarded as a response to the increasing heterogeneity and mobility of New York's population and as a crime deterrence as the new emphasis. Twenty-six years after the poorhouse law was enacted, poor relief in New York stood at 50 percent of the average national level. By 1859, only 19 percent of the needy were in county poorhouses. That decrease was not due to a rise in outdoor relief or a decline in the number of needy persons in New York; it resulted from a change in the level of generosity to the poor. Establishment of poorhouses in nearly all New York counties, during the 1820s and 1830s, allowed the state to localize pauper relief and its cost. The existence of county poor houses gave local taxpayers better control over costs and in choosing recipients for assistance. ¹⁴

John Stanton Gould reported on pauper relief in great detail when he inspected New York City's almshouses in 1852. It was of the "utmost importance" to provide paupers with work, for their own sakes as well as that of the taxpayers who supported them, Gould believed. Employment while in almshouses would give inmates the opportunity to learn skills, good work habits and a sense of purpose which would prevent them from feeling demoralized by their situation. Work would also serve to break the "habit of dependence," which Gould observed among the poor who received assistance. It was "very rare to find either a criminal or a pauper who is qualified to make a living by honest industry; in nine cases out of ten, some bodily or mental infirmity is the cause...[of] pauperism or crime...[making them] unable to support selves in the world...[and] unprofitable laborers in alms houses or prisons." He recommended that the

poor, as well as prisoners be taught to perform horticultural and agricultural tasks, many of a nature which could be done in spite of any so-called mental deficiencies. Cultivation was especially recommended as proper work for able adults. Young children should be taught to knit socks and mittens, presumably to be used by the almshouse children, while older children would make shoes and razor strops. Bookbinding, chair caning, umbrella stretcher production and trunk covering were other jobs Gould identified as being suitable for children. Adults could be set to making mats from cornhusks, straw hats and shoes, as well as spinning yarn and knitting. They also could pound bones for manure and break stones for “McAdamized roads,” Gould proposed.

According to Gould’s 1852 report for the almshouse governors, the cost of supporting the poor had skyrocketed in two decades. In 1832, New York State supported 15,564 poor persons at a cost of \$245, 433.21, which meant that 156 New Yorkers were needed to take care of 1 pauper, according to Gould’s calculations. By 1850, however, each pauper on relief required the support of 31 New York taxpayers because it cost \$816, 858.90 to assist 99, 433 of the state’s impoverished. The cost of poor relief had risen 233 percent in 18 years, an “eloquent” fact, Gould noted. To demonstrate that the high cost of assistance to paupers could be reduced, Gould compared the average weekly cost of poor relief in the Hudson River Valley counties of Putnam and Orange to that of “remote” upstate Cataraugus and Lewis counties. Putnam County paid a weekly average of thirty-five cents and Orange County thirty-nine cents to support their poor, while in Cataraugus County the same expense cost seventy-two cents, and in Lewis County it was seventy cents. In spite of the fact that the Hudson Valley counties were closer to New York City where the cost of living was higher, “good skill and management” made poor

relief cheaper in Orange and Putnam counties. Gould believed that proper management of pauper assistance would ease the burden on New York's taxpayers. 16

Dramatic rises in both immigration and intemperance were responsible for the "increase in Pauperism amongst us," according to New York Department of State statistics which appeared in the Hudson newspaper, the *Columbia Republican* in 1853. In New York State, the foreign-born accounted for nearly 9 percent of the poor who received relief or support in 1846, and for almost 32 percent of relief recipients by 1851. The number of foreign-born paupers remained relatively stable in 1852 while their representation in the population of state paupers declined by 5 percentage points. During the same period, the 1850 federal census found that more than 26 six percent of the country's residents at mid-century had emigrated to America. What was considered as "perfectly frightful" was the rise in numbers of intemperates among the state's paupers, as described in the newspaper. Intemperate inhabitants of New York's poor houses grew 134 percent from 1846 to 1849. 16

Many antebellum Americans believed that through their efforts intemperance could be banished from the land. Temperance reform was one of the most significant reform movements to affect America in the years between the Revolution and the Civil War. In 1808, the first known temperance society was formed in Moreau, Saratoga County, New York and the state remained vital in the antebellum fight against intemperance. During the years before the Civil War, the meanings of temperance changed from a moderation in drinking alcoholic beverages to the total abstinence from all intoxicants. Various temperance advocates sought not only temperance reform, but ascendancy of their own beliefs and positions. The "moral suasion" strategy of the first

half of the nineteenth century was soon to be overshadowed by the use of political and legal coercion tactics introduced with the prohibitory “Maine Laws” of the 1850s. Between 1851 and 1855 thirteen states, including New York, enacted laws prohibiting the manufacture and/or sale of alcohol, save for medicinal purposes. Total abstinence was to be sought by law, not persuasion, even as sectional crises increasingly drew national attention away from temperance reform. 17

John Stanton Gould became very involved with temperance reform at the personal, local level, and as an elected representative of Columbia County. He began his temperance work as a young man and continued to labor for reform his entire life. Gould offered the Columbia County Temperance Society annual address in November 1833 and repeated it at school houses and villages throughout the county that month. Elements of his thoughts may be found in the address regarding the need for temperance reform. The public good depended upon the “combined effort of the whole,” and it required a “faithful performance...contributing to and promoting works of public improvement,” Gould told his audiences. “Labor and capital constitute the wealth of nations but the drunkard cannot perform the one or contribute the other.” On the Sabbath, “Almost all the dram shops ... in direct violation of the law are ...filled with quarrelsome, wretched creatures ...infuriated by their liquor to brawling...and [leading to] every species of sin and inequity....” Furthermore, local magistrates could “testify that there are more complaints of husbands beating their wives after their Sabbath day broils [*sic*] than the rest of the week put together.” Gould contended that “we have a direct interest” in temperance reform because it would elevate the moral standards of the community. Although he expressed an early concern for inebriates that many temperance crusaders

would never have, he called for reform because drunkards were unable to perform the role society required of them. “[A] community cannot enjoy the full measures of happiness...unless every individual ...performs the duty assigned him by Providence.” A number of years later in 1847 at the Tombs Prison in New York City, he heard dismal tales from intoxicated and degraded inmates, female prostitutes, and included a drunken twelve year old boy. One of the women informed him that "she saw no comfort or profit in innocence.”¹⁸ What he saw and heard reinforced the importance of temperance reform.

During his first days in the legislative session, he met with a constituent from Livingston, Columbia County who wished to amend the liquor excise tax law in order to require the "Poor Masters" (County Superintendents of the Poor) to prosecute all violations of the law. Gould also met with state temperance reform leaders who planned to petition for the repeal of the license law. As it stood, the issuance of a liquor license was a local option. Each municipal jurisdiction voted on whether it would grant licenses to sell alcoholic beverages. He recorded that "rum sellers" lobbied the legislature in favor of the local option liquor license law, and they earned fifty dollars a week for such activities. He addressed the assembly on the issue, advocating that no licenses be granted at all and he later voted to that effect. However, the local option licensing procedure prevailed. The excise bill passed after "quite a row in the evening" on the assembly floor. Later, he feared that he had hurt the cause of temperance in the legislature by failing to overcome the objections of the other assembly members.¹⁹

It is important to note that Hudson River Valley agricultural products were used in the local production of alcoholic beverages and the antebellum temperance crusade

economically impacted the local farmers and manufacturers. Farmers who grew barley reportedly suffered when consumption of beer declined. Yet, the M. Vassar and Co. Brewery and Malt Works in Poughkeepsie, established in 1795, employed 50 men and produced 30,000 barrels of ale per year during the 1840s and 1850s. As early as 1663, a locally popular 'Sopus ale was made in the small Ulster County village of Esopus. The ale was still being made in the 1830s when the output during the mid-August through April brewing seasons was five thousand barrels. Three major breweries operated in Albany during the antebellum years. In 1855, Westchester and Orange counties each had two breweries and there was one brewery each in the counties of Columbia, Dutchess (Vassar), Greene and Rockland. ²⁰ Hudson supported at least one brewery in the early 1850s, despite the actions of the New York no license movement. In fact, the 1851-1852 *Directory of the City of Hudson* cited beer as one of the most important products manufactured in that city, among carriages, stoves and iron. Hudson supported five hotels, as well as numerous bars, groceries, oyster houses and groggeries where beer and other alcoholic drinks were consumed. ²¹ Cider made from local apples or pears was an inexpensive and commonly available alcoholic beverage in agricultural communities, "often selling for a dollar per barrel. In many a family of six or eight persons, a barrel tapped on Saturday barely lasted a full week," it was reported. ²² Dutchess County orchards produced some of the most desirable cider apples in the Valley and those farmers who grew apples and made apple cider experienced a setback during the years of temperance activity. ³² Farmers, however, continued to produce their apples and cider, and many of their neighbors and customers persisted in drinking that cider, to the consternation of John Stanton Gould and his comrades in the temperance crusade.

Temperance societies dotted the Hudson River Valley. Gould spent a great deal of time at their meetings, and he frequently addressed the participants. Gould and his temperance colleagues were strong representatives during the nineteenth century movement to form associations. 24 Gould attended the Dorcas Temperance Society festival during three days in February 1847 and addressed those gathered there. He happily reported that the festival earned \$200 for the society. He went to hear the noted “reformed drunk” and temperance lecturer, John B. Gough on several evenings in February 1847. Gough was a former intemperate and dissolute printer who had become “redeemed” after attending an “experience meeting” at which reformed artisan and mechanic Washingtonians spoke of their degraded lives under the influence of “King Alcohol.” Total abstinence from alcoholic beverages had provided them with a new and more prosperous life. Gough was duly impressed with their stories and signed the Washingtonian total abstinence pledge. A gifted public speaker, Gough soon built a career as a temperance lecturer in New York and New England. His reputation was such that it survived several well publicized alcoholic relapses. After these events, Gough would deny his failings at first but then make his ashamed apologies and return to the temperance lecture circuit. 25

The American definition of the word “temperance” altered during the early nineteenth century. Initially, to be temperate in the use of alcohol was to exercise self-restraint in drinking. Indeed, many early antebellum temperance advocates drank moderately, some eschewing “spirituous” or distilled liquors. The major temperance organization of the time, the American Temperance Society, in 1825 adopted a pledge rejecting “ardent [distilled] spirits.” A faction of the society, led by Rev. Lyman

Beecher, held that no alcoholic beverages were acceptable for temperance advocates. Because of the dispute, at the 1836 American Temperance Convention in Saratoga Springs, Beecher and his supporters formed the American Temperance Union and the new organization quickly superseded the older one. The American Temperance Union pledge demanded total abstinence from all alcohol. It became known as the teetotal pledge, presumably because the names of those taking the new pledge were marked with the letter "T," and the abstemious were identified as teetotalers.

In the spring of 1847, Gould attended temperance meetings and again spoke in Columbia County. He delivered temperance addresses to children as well, and he reported that on one occasion one thousand children had attended a July 1847 lecture series in Kinderhook, Columbia County. September 1847 found him attending a temperance convention held at the Hudson Street Methodist Church in Hudson, Columbia County, and then at the Fort Orange Division, Sons of Temperance Benevolent Society meeting in Albany. At one of those temperance meetings, Gould witnessed an entrance procession consisting of the Order of Rechabites, the Sons of Temperance and the Cadets of Temperance. Gould, himself, was a member of the benevolent society, the Sons of Temperance. ²⁶ The Order of Rechabites took their name from the patriarch, Rechab in the Old Testament who refused to drink wine (Jeremiah: 35). Both the Rechabites and the Sons of Temperance were benevolent societies pledged to total abstinence. Temperance reformers called themselves the "cold water army."

Antebellum temperance reform assisted in developing an American middle class, and, in turn, drew energy from that evolvment. Concomitantly, a middle class culture developed in antebellum America, which was in part distinguishable by its participation

in decorous public entertainments such as lectures, exhibitions and concerts. The difference between the expression of refinement or of vulgarity is defined as gentility, and the practices of such refinements developed as the antebellum middle class emerged and became a major cultural system. 27 Phineas T. Barnum is recognized as the American master showman before and after the Civil War. His importance in antebellum popular culture cannot be discounted. Barnum attracted a middle class audience by promoting various reform movements, including temperance and morality, but not abolition. Attendance at a Barnum museum or show likewise reinforced his audience's middle class identification in the process. Interestingly, Barnum recorded that most of his customers at the American Museum came from the countryside, as did John Stanton Gould, and Barnum took pains to recruit and cultivate his rural audience. He accomplished this in part because he located his museums in urban "genteel spaces" in order to attract middle class customers who circulated in such areas. Museums, lyceums and lecture halls provided moral social entertainments for many nineteenth century Americans. The middle class was attracted to such venues because alcohol, tobacco and "immoral" activities were prohibited. Although, drinking alcohol at the museum or in a lecture hall may have been forbidden, Barnum prominently advertised wine and liquor merchants at his New York American Museum. 28

Such antebellum amusements as the "dime" or inexpensive museums and lecture rooms contributed to the development of a middle class culture by supplying and demanding an "atmosphere of respectability." One of the first such establishments was Albany, New York's Towbridge Museum, which opened in 1798, with seating for 400 persons in the lecture room. The Towbridge was renovated in 1811 and the theatre was

enlarged to 1500 seats to accommodate its many visitors. Troy, New York also boasted a popular museum, which Gould visited in order to view a diorama of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers in the spring of 1849. ²⁹ Formation of an antebellum middle class character was greatly enhanced by the appearance of advice manuals, which proliferated between 1830 and 1860. Such guides provided readers with rules for social behavior and economic success. Rigorous self-control was required of aspirants to polite society and was expected to be observed in public venues, such as in attending lectures, concerts and museums. One influential essay, which stressed self-improvement and self-control, was available in at least fifteen antebellum editions. Henry Ware, Jr.'s *On the Formation of the Christian Character* exhorts the reader that "The work before you is wholly within your power." The essay is cited as the best expression of the antebellum "middle-class vision of self." ³⁰ Careful limitation of one's social and cultural environment to moral and refined entertainments was necessary to ensure that such self-improvement would be successful.

In such a cultural milieu, performers who combined talent and reform motifs were extremely popular and the Hutchinson Family Singers were one of the most successful examples. The Hutchinsons, a well-known and widely traveled temperance group of entertainers, performed in both New York City and Hudson. Gould took the opportunity to attend a concert while in New York City in early April 1850. He wrote that he had often wished to hear these well known temperance singers in concert. While being disappointed in their overall performance, he did record that the song "Had She a Father" was quite touching and the "Good Old Days of Yore" was very near the "melody of angels." Gould wrote that he had worried about offending strictly observant Quakers

who might oppose attendance at such a performance as a violation of the belief in simplicity of life. 31 Perhaps this was the reason he took advantage of the chance to see the singers in New York City rather than at Hudson.

Gould's travels across the length and breadth of the Hudson River Valley in the late 1840s and early 1850s involved much temperance reform activity. A member and officer of several societies, such as the Columbia County Temperance Society, the Washington Total Abstinence Society and the Sons of Temperance Society, Gould also frequently contributed articles on temperance, as well as agriculture, to the *Columbia Washingtonian*. This weekly temperance and general newspaper It reported on many of Gould's activities.

Gould sought in 1848 to enlist Presbyterian and Episcopal ministers of Hudson to publicize the meetings of the temperance societies, and to attend such meetings themselves. When Gould delivered an address to a large gathering of children and adults at a February 1848 temperance meeting held at Stuyvesant Falls, Columbia County, he spoke of the case of a "Drunk" who a few days before had been killed as a result of drinking liquor at a local tavern. "Many then present [at the meeting] calling themselves temperance men were guilty of his blood." Their guilt lay, according to Gould, in that they had not warned him and the "Rumseller," in the "spirit of meekness," of the danger. After he spoke, the children sang temperance songs and hymns. Gould then promoted a plan to provide all families with Sabbath and temperance manuals. Money was collected to fund the distribution of the manuals, and more was promised. Just a few days later, on the anniversary of the birth of George Washington, Gould attended a temperance meeting in Ghent. He next appeared at the Presbyterian Church in New Lebanon where, while

prepared to give a temperance address, the audience "demanded" to hear his lecture on the maidens and matrons of Greece. 32

The Sons of Temperance Society was an antebellum fraternal benevolent organization dedicated to temperance and, quite typical of societies of that day, replete with the trappings associated with such groups. Their meetings were ceremonial, providing the Sons with many opportunities to indulge in their sense of ritual. The Hudson chapter convened at the Dutch Reformed Church in Hudson, where Gould attended meetings and served as an officer. He also was invited to address the Coeyman Sons of Temperance Chapter in Greene County on the opposite bank of the Hudson River. In order to attend a grand meeting of the regional divisions of the Sons of Temperance, Gould sought to cross the Hudson River in mid-winter of 1848 to Coxsackie, Greene County. The boat traveled across the River through a channel cut in the ice stretching from dock to dock. Having successfully arrived, Gould first met with the officers in the Coxsackie division meeting room, after which they were joined by other members, including the boatman who had carried him across the river. The boatman had rigged out a long boat, placed on wheels and decorated with flags, to carry the Coxsackie and Vesta divisions of the Sons. Three hundred Sons paraded from the meeting room to the Reformed Dutch Church, where they "jammed it to its utmost capacity." The assembled throng was presented with an elegant pictorial bible, printed by Harper Brothers of New York City. The Harper Brother's Printing Company of New York City was operated by two ardent temperance advocates, sons of a Long Island Methodist preacher who also favored temperance. James Harper, the master craftsman printer and "pious master," founded a printers' Washingtonian Temperance Society in the

1840s. Also a temperance man, John Harper supplied the business acumen, and the brothers made Harper's one of the preeminent antebellum printing-publishing houses. Whenever possible, temperance reformers patronized businesses operated by fellow advocates in the battle against intemperance. After Gould had addressed the Coxsackie gathering for more than an hour, an entertainment program ensued along with a dinner of turkey, ham and beef, enjoyed by all those present. Upon hearing that the Hudson River ice had broken up, making passage across it impossible, Gould spent the night in Coxsackie. Seizing the opportunity for another meeting, the temperance men met again to hear Gould speak. 33

Most favorable news came to Gould in March 1848 when he heard that a neighbor had abandoned the use of intoxicating beverages. Encouraged, Gould spoke at a temperance meeting at School House Number Two on the pathological effects of alcohol, especially on the stomach. He related the story of a Newark, Ohio man " who took the hand of his dead wife and enclosing the glass in it[,] carried it to his lips," such could be the degradation caused by alcohol. Gould also endeavored to show the presumed progression from moderate drinking to drunkenness in order to discourage even moderate consumption. Dedicated to the formation of Sabbath schools, as well as temperance reform, Gould used whatever opportunity presented itself to promote both temperance and Sabbath manuals. 34

School houses were popular venues for temperance meetings in the Hudson River Valley. There was a "fine" meeting at Gould's tobacco factory school house, attended by many at the end of March 1848. A new temperance society was formed, officers elected, and thirty-five pledges to total abstinence from intoxicants were secured. The subject of

Gould's address to the new society was upon the influence of alcohol on pauperism and its expense to the taxpayer. A direct relationship between intemperance and poverty was frequently cited by antebellum temperance reformers. Intemperance, they preached, caused poverty and produced a situation where public funds had to support not only the inebriate but his wife and children. Surveys taken in county poor houses demonstrated the numbers of intemperate residents. 35

At another temperance meeting held in April 1850 at School House Number Two, fifteen total abstinence pledges were obtained. When he next appeared before a large audience gathered at School House Number One for his lecture, the meeting did not go as well as he wished as there was "rudeness in a part of the audience" when he failed to present his ideas "clearly." The following week found Gould returning to speak on the value of the total abstinence pledge. This audience was better behaved; he found the house full, and the singing fine. Gould lectured on the hindrances that moderate drinking posed to the temperance reform mission. Total abstinence from all alcohol was the only possible path, Gould declared that moderate drinkers and wine drinkers posed a threat to the temperate, as they frequently slid into drunkenness. 36 The way to prevent that slide was to refrain from all alcoholic drinks and to join the "cold water army."

At a subsequent meeting, Gould spoke on how men and women could advance the cause of temperance reform in their private conversations and public acts. Proper choice of associates and employment were examples to children and, therefore, were to be made carefully. Medicinal use of alcohol was regarded as a gateway to intemperance. Words and deeds would determine how the reform advanced. He succeeded in having ten present that day pledge to refrain from any and all use of drink and who agreed to "make

an effort" to circulate temperance and Sabbath books. Another theme he developed was the cost to the community of intemperance and the great dangers from even moderate drinking. Among those costs can be counted "sanity." An 1841 report on the privately owned Hudson Lunatic Asylum, established in 1831 for the "relief and cure of the insane," indicated the inmate population at eighty-three. Of those persons, nineteen were classified as recently arrived, fifty-nine as chronic and five were there for intemperance. At the end of that year, only forty-one patients remained, one inebriate "too early removed and relapsed." The Hudson asylum proprietors noted new "alterations and improvements in the part of the building, formerly appropriated to this class as to enable them to furnish better accommodations...." 37

Antebellum temperance organizations could be both formal and sedate. The Washington Total Abstinence Society was a livelier effort that captured much attention in the 1840s. Known as the Washingtonians, this total abstinence temperance reform movement began in Baltimore, Maryland in 1842 when six working class drinking men were converted after hearing a temperance speech at their local tavern. This was the only antebellum temperance reform movement begun by "drunkards" who sought to redeem themselves as well as others. The men named their movement for the heroic George Washington, who had saved the nation during the American Revolution, as they now sought to save the nation from drunkenness. The society played down the fact that the nation's first president provided the traditional election day drinks for the electorate early in his public career, and served alcohol generously when he entertained. He was, however, moderate in his own consumption. "Experience meetings," at which Washingtonians related the degraded lives that they had led, were a hallmark of this

movement. 45 A dedication to the salvation of the drunkard and his family was also unique to the Washingtonians. In fact, most of the people who joined the Washington Total Abstinence Society were not inebriates. Rather, they sought to advance temperance reformation in order to perfect their world. Women formed Martha Washington Societies to feed and clothe the impoverished families of reformed men. The newly reformed men were to be assisted in finding employment by more stalwart male members of the societies. Boys and girls joined junior versions of the adult societies. A pledge of total abstinence from intoxicants was required of all.

John Stanton Gould was a member of the Hudson, New York chapter of the Washington Total Abstinence Society and served as an officer from 1846 into the 1850s. The purposes of the benevolent organization fit well with his goals of temperance reformation and the desire to assist his fellow men. Gould spoke to an 1848 meeting of the Washingtonian Society on the "importance of watching the signs of the times." The turmoil in Europe and the approaching presidential election "fearfully aroused" and "unnaturally excited" the passions of man, he said. An appetite for strong drink was created by the excitement of the election season and European revolutions. The personal resolve against strong drink must be strengthened at such times. He related the story of one of the original brave Baltimore Washingtonians in 1842 who "would not drink liquor a second time." To inspire his audience to greater vigilance against any temptations they might suffer, Gould traced the purpose and the progress of the temperance reform efforts begun in Baltimore. 39

Church-going antebellum nineteenth century Protestants routinely attended two church services on Sundays; once in the morning, then again in the afternoon or evening.

Hudson Valley temperance meetings then frequently added a third session to be held in Protestant churches on Sunday evenings. The very concept of secular meetings on the Sabbath created controversy between those who approved of the practice and those who abhorred it. There were clergymen who took positions on both sides of the conflict over the propriety of such Sunday activities. Discussions centered on whether Sunday temperance meetings constituted a desecration of the Sabbath. In 1843, letters written by "Amicus" and published in the *Columbia Washingtonian* claimed that temperance endeavors on the Sabbath defiled the holy day. "Anti-Amicus" responded in a lengthy defense of the temperance work conducted on Sundays, including their meetings. The editor of the paper concurred with "Anti-Amicus" and declared that "it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day." Discussions about the appropriateness of Sunday temperance meetings continued for several years so that by 1846 the newspaper, and its sponsor the Hudson Washington Temperance Society, again stated that much good was done by those "whose presence is not missed in full churches on Sunday evenings." "Will the Sunday meetings continue?," the editor asked. 40 Despite objections voiced over the years, the practice of Sabbath meetings continued, and with such meetings frequently held in churches. Supportive clergymen opened the evening meetings with prayer.

It was not only meetings held on the Sabbath that offended some among the temperance community. A member of the Washington Temperance Society commented upon a Sunday meeting that also fell on Christmas. He did not oppose Sunday meetings, and had no objection to temperance lectures grounded on scripture and delivered by ministers at the meetings. He agreed that places should exist where friends of temperance could meet on the Sabbath to show that religion and temperance were on

"friendly terms," such as at local churches. However, "When individuals pretending to be temperance, meet on Sabbath Day, and by laughter, shouting, singing, and stamping display their intemperance, nothing very good can be expected there from." Such behavior was a desecration of the Sabbath and that all social meetings on Sundays be discouraged while "habits more domestic and sacred be encouraged by every true friend of temperance." 41

To the Washington Total Abstinence Society, both temperance and religion were needed in the battle to reform, not one or the other. However, the clergy must totally eschew alcohol in their own lives, as had the Washingtonians. The stance of organized Protestant religion on the drunkard also concerned some members of the temperance societies. In an 1845 article entitled "The Church and Temperance," the writer asked what organized religion had done for inebriates. "Nothing," was his answer; it was the Washingtonians alone who had redeemed the drunkard. Why were ministers fearful of the influence of the temperance movement which helped women and children, the same writer asked. "That some do their work in this cause roughly will never excuse the church from not working at all." 42

To counter the accusation that temperance men held higher allegiance to temperance reform than to organized religion; a report from Athens was entered into the *Columbia Washingtonian* to "prevent wrong impressions...to the state of religious feelings in this place." In Athens, Greene County a group including both reformed drunkards and long time teetotalers recently entered the Baptist Church upon profession of faith, and it was anticipated that new memberships would soon occur in the Lutheran Church. 43

Yet, reformed drinker and *Columbia Washingtonian* temperance agent George Haydock reported clerical and congregational opposition in Saugerties, after he spoke at the Baptist meeting house there in 1843. He was "permitted to stand upon the floor, that he might not 'desecrate the sacred desk'." Haydock was insulted by the reception and the restrictions placed on his work in Saugerties. 44 Warren Rockwell, a Hudson cabinetmaker who advertised that "Temperance Workmen" worked in his shop, and served as the editor of the *Columbia Washingtonian* as well as being an elder of the Hudson Presbyterian Church, responded in print to Haydock's testy report on the clergy's opposition. 45 Rockwell cited the assistance the Washingtonians had received from Hudson's churches, where the various temperance societies usually met. "Let the churches and church members alone," Rockwell implored. Total abstinence Washingtonianism was the major test no matter whether a man was Whig, Loco Foco or Democrat, the movement was equally indifferent to a man's religion, Rockwell asserted. And as to critics of Sabbath meetings, if they would but attend a Sunday Washingtonian meeting they would see no desecration, Rockwell averred. 46

George Haydock did give credit where he saw it was earned. He reported from Athens, on the same 1843 temperance reform tour through Greene County, that he had held a spirited temperance meeting and was joined by the Hudson Washingtonians, from across the river, who sang temperance songs. Several pledges were gathered and another meeting was held later the same week, again in the Baptist Church. Relations between the temperance reformer and the clergy had been stabilized in Athens. 47

"Certain temperance men and lectures with more zeal than discretion or kindness ...goaded [clergy] into opposition," warned the Columbia County Temperance Society in

the *Columbia Washingtonian* in 1846. A certain level of probity was called for in a Sabbath temperance meeting. Temperance meetings often were centered upon the address given by a noted speaker, such as George Haydock. However, speakers were not always available and one society reported to the newspaper that "We were as usual thrown upon our own resources for speakers" at a meeting of the society. A temperance story in rhyme was recited, then a Mr. Bleasdale followed and "as usual created much laughter and merriment, which was rather inappropriate for Sabbath evening." 48

Support by Protestant churches was important to the temperance reform movement in the Hudson River Valley. Calls for the ministers in Greene and Columbia counties to preach sermons favorable to temperance were published in the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The sympathetic temperance sermons were requested because "Many of our church members seldom attend Temperance meetings. A few sometimes attend church who are not Temperance, or at least not total abstinence men, some who 'like Temperance' but dislike the Washingtonians." There were temperance sermons given from the pulpits of the Reformed Dutch, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Universalist churches of Hudson in response to the request. It was hoped that such addresses would counter the type of recalcitrance met by a temperance agent at work in Germantown. "The backwardness of professors of religion" as found there hampered the progress of temperance reform in the area. 49

Another temperance meeting described in the *Columbia Washingtonian* cited the problem between the clergy and some members of the temperance community. American Temperance Union lecturer, J. P. Coffin, had an extensive itinerary in Greene County during the summer months of 1845. At one of his tour stops, Coffin harangued

the Cocksackie clergy for drinking wine. The difference of opinion over the issue of imbibing wine, particularly sacramental wine, went to the core of the total abstinence form of temperance. Certain temperance clergy continued to use wine, especially for religious purposes, to the chagrin of some total abstinence temperance advocates, such as Coffin. In the total abstinence camp, an interpretation of the use of wine emerged which argued that wine mentioned in both the Old and New Testaments was not fermented, and therefore, not alcoholic. Since biblical wine was only grape juice, the total abstinence faction contended that grape juice was suitable for modern religious use. In response to Coffin's criticism, the Cocksackie clergy declared that, in the future, they would receive temperance lecturers with caution. They added that Coffin should have focused his attention on those in Greene County "truly in need of reform." ⁵⁰ Other elements existed in the ongoing argument over sacramental wine. Earlier in 1836, even though totally abstinent themselves, the Westchester County Temperance Society declared that their temperance organization was not "authorized...to offer any advice, as to the proper mode of administering the Lord's Supper." Instead, they chose "Christian persuasion, sound argument and consistent example" to influence the clergy to forego the use of fermented wine at church. ⁵¹

The American Temperance Union, which employed Coffin as an agent, had grown out of the American Temperance Society. Sixteen influential Boston Protestant leaders, including Rev. Lyman Beecher, formed the American Temperance Society in 1826 in order to focus attention on the sinfulness of imbibing alcohol. The American Temperance Union promoted self-reform through total abstinence from both fermented and distilled alcoholic beverages. The association concerned itself solely with the

generally temperate population, rather than with alcoholics. Habitual drunkards would have to wait for the Washingtonian temperance movement of the 1840s for systematic reform efforts directed toward them.

The argument against Sabbath temperance work was frequently mounted by ministers who did not necessarily support the concept of total abstinence, which included a disavowal of communion wine. Gould praised an address at a late September 1849 temperance mass meeting in Chatham, Columbia County where the speaker expounded upon the fallacies of wine drinking. The scriptural authority for the use of wine was challenged, and there was no such authority, according to Gould.⁵² Once the mainstream antebellum temperance movement was committed to the total abstinence principle in 1836, advocates disagreed over the use of fermented wine for Eucharistic services. Many who fostered the formation of the American Temperance Union at Saratoga Springs called for unfermented communion wine. Edward C. Delavan, a noted New York temperance reformer and president of the New York State Temperance Society, was among those men who led the fight against fermented communion wine. So great was the controversy over the wine issue, the New York State Temperance Society suffered a significant decline in membership between 1836 and 1839, when the enrolled members dropped from 229,000 to 131,000. Gerrit Smith, another prominent New York total abstinence crusader, contended that while Jesus Christ drank wine, there was no reason for modern Americans to do so. Delavan and Smith worked hard to convince the uninitiated that the Bible did not sanction use of fermented wine. The teetotal position was strengthened by Moses Stuart of Andover Theological Seminary. One of the era's leading biblical scholars, Stuart assembled a defense for unfermented communion wine

from his reading of ancient Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. Stuart became involved in an argument over communion wine with an Albany minister. Rev. William B. Sprague delivered a lengthy sermon entitled “Danger of Being Over Wise” at the Second Presbyterian Church in June 1835. The sermon disputed the idea that temperance values demanded the abandonment of traditional alcoholic communion wine and denounced the intellectual process which promoted such a view. Moses Stuart criticized Sprague’s position in the August issue of *American Temperance Intelligencer* and reiterated his thinking on fermented wine at communion. In turn, Sprague responded to Stuart’s opprobrium, and felt so strongly that he published and distributed the twenty-nine page reply, as well as his original sermon. 53

An 1841 series of sermons on the biblical basis of abstinence from communion wine, which were given in Newburgh, Ulster County, also supported the use of traditional communion wine. The speaker contended that all wine, but especially that which was used sacramentally, was a gift of God. Since wine was produced from grapes, which God provided to humankind for its use, it should not be refused. 54 Few churches in New York, or elsewhere, changed their Eucharist wine, however. Only three hundred of New York’s more than four thousand congregations had switched to unfermented wine in 1840 and general church conferences avoided the issue because feelings on both sides ran high. Traditional practices and the scarcity of unspoiled alcohol-free wine figured among the issues which contributed to the failure of most New York congregations to use non-alcoholic wine for Eucharistic services. 55 The debate over communion wine created an Albany periodical “Devoted to free discussion as to the kind of wine proper to be used at the Lord’s supper.” The *Enquirer* was published from 1841 through 1847 and opposed

the use of alcoholic Eucharistic wine despite its claim to “free discussion.” The question of fermented wine in religious service was not settled during the antebellum temperance era and was still being argued in the 1870s. ⁵⁶

Outside of church support, the temperance reformers of Columbia and Greene counties in 1842 received encouragement from the Free and Accepted Masons of Hudson and Athens. The Freemasons from the two counties celebrated their particular feast day, St. John's Day, together with temperance advocates in Hudson in accordance with temperance principles. Temperance was the topic of the keynote address, which was followed by a "cold water" supper. Additionally, two hundred Washingtonians from Athens traveled up the Hudson River on the steamer "Hope" to participate in the Masonic temperance procession in Albany on St. John's Day. ⁵⁷

A Sunday evening temperance meeting in May 1848 at School House Number One was addressed by Gould and five new total abstinence pledges were secured. The next day saw a temperance parade at Chatham Four Corners, Columbia County. Children pinned temperance badges on the new temperance banner carried in the parade. Gould praised the work of the children and the positive influence the young could have. Indeed, he said, temperance in Hudson was begun by the Juvenile Temperance Society. Gould further addressed the gathering on the subject of intemperance as a cause of national disaster and individual distress. He asserted that a temperance pledge to total abstinence would eliminate these problems.

Temperance meetings in Columbia County and Hudson continued apace. Gould spoke to a temperance society meeting at School House Number Two three more times that May. At one such meeting, Gould revealed to the audience that cholera had

"selected the drunkard" as its victim in the recent epidemic, an example of his belief that alcohol rendered one susceptible to disease. 58

Community commemoration of the annual Fourth of July was an important ritual in antebellum America. 59 Following the American Revolution, new civic rites consecrated the bonds of the new nation and the annual Fourth of July ceremonies served to acknowledge and reinforce the common ties of the community. The events continued throughout the day and into the evening, combining inter-denominational religious practices, communal participation and patriotism. 60

Gould took his young children into Hudson so that they could enjoy the 1849 Fourth of July Procession and festivities. The year before, the Sons of Temperance in the Hudson River Valley had planned a major event to honor the day. Gould arose at 4:30 AM, left home at 5:10 AM, and arrived across the River in Greeneville, Greene County at 8:45 AM to be present at the celebration. Some four hundred gathered at the Sons of Temperance meeting hall where new members were initiated. A procession formed and marched to the church, which became filled to its "utmost capacity," with many more standing outside. Gould addressed them from the church window so that he could be heard both inside and outside the church. A grand dinner was served afterward. It was a fruitful day, which gratified Gould. 61

Gould recorded incidents that perhaps allow us a glimpse into the reason he was so very active in the reform temperance movement. A journal entry in March 1849 made note of a neighbor he both knew and pitied, "broken down both in body and mind." "But a few years ago there was not a cloud on his horizon, but by intemperance he is now reduced to the very depth of poverty" with no hope of employment. 62 He carried his

message to the youth at the West Ghent Church, Columbia County, after presenting a banner to the Juvenile Temperance Society on October 11, 1849, he then addressed the young persons on the history and use of banners and the present "moral uses" to which they were put. Next, he attended a temperance meeting in the Walter School House where the audience was "full to overflowing." "Something of the old feeling [was] manifested." Gould spoke to them on the biblical arguments for temperance and the "perfect consistency" of these points. The other speaker present "inelegantly expressed" his argument, but did so with such deep feeling that Gould found himself much comforted. 63

Always the reformer, when in the summer of 1847, Gould visited New York City and took his children to see the famous Tom Thumb, frivolity was not on his mind for he also took time to inspect the "old Brewery," which housed seventy families with two to three families in each room exemplifying "every species of wretchedness and misery." He saw many inhabitants sick with fever, and Gould offered to send one gravely ill and emaciated woman to a hospital while placing her children in an asylum. She refused. He recorded that another family ate a meal of "bones and other garbage raked from the gutters." The children ate with "the greatest relish....The whole scene begged description." In spite of such appalling poverty they seemed to have found money to buy rum while many men and women lay about in "hearty intoxication," wrote Gould, vexed by the overwhelming problems. 64

Moral behavior, or the perceived need to modify such behavior, concerned many reformers in the nineteenth century. To remedy a particular immoral condition and to prevent prostitution, a bill to suppress seduction (of females) and adultery was introduced

into the New York State Assembly in 1847. Introduced in March 1847, the bill proposed that "Any man of full age, who shall seduce and beget with child, any unmarried female under the age of eighteen years, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor..." and face up to one year in the county jail and a three thousand dollar fine. The marriage of the parties at any time before such conviction occurred would end prosecution of the offense. The proposed legislation also called for a prison sentence of six to twelve months incarceration for anyone who "shall entice or inveigle, or take any female into a house of ill fame, or assignation....for the purpose of prostitution, or concubinage...." In each instance, however, the reputation of the female victim faced possible challenge. There was no crime if the accused could prove in court that the victim was, "at the time of the offense charged, a woman of unchaste or lewd character." For keeping a house of "ill fame, or assignation, for prostitution," the court was to levy a fine of two hundred dollars "for the use of the poor of the county where such house or tenement shall be situated." The bill also sought to curb adultery and family abandonment resulting from any "illicit connection." Gould was present for the assembly debate, which elicited a great deal of "unfeeling levity" from his fellow legislators. Apparently, some members of the assembly were rather coarse in their comments on the bill, in fact, to an "indecent degree," according to Gould. One member who opposed the bill did so on the grounds that women were the "divinely appointed conservators of chastity." It was best not to violate that divine decree by seeking to punish men for their transgressions. Women, argued the legislator, would be led to seduce men in order to marry them. Gould argued for the bill on the floor, but it was defeated by five votes.⁶⁵ However a similar bill would be passed by both houses and enacted the next year, however.

The antebellum crusade to “curtail sexual deviation” in New York began in earnest with the founding of the New York City Magdalene Society in 1831. Beginning as an attempt to reform prostitutes, the purpose was expanded to include the restoration and protection of moral purity. The moral reformers or purifiers sought to rescue prostitutes and eliminate the temptations and social behaviors that forced women to turn to prostitution as a means of support. Intemperance was considered to be the gateway to other vices, such as gambling and sexual immorality. Missionary work by female members of various church and reform organizations in jails and slums convinced them of the need to save women from prostitution. Considering the older prostitutes as too “worn out by drunkenness and dissipation” to be redeemed, the reformers focused on the young women, whom they saw as “*victims [sic]* not voluntary participants in vice.” Such young women had often been seduced and then abandoned by both the man and their families, with no means of support. The attempt to secure a protective anti-seduction law began in 1838 when the Female Moral Reform Society of New York City petitioned the state legislature for laws which would punish seducers. With such a law, the moral and legal double standard, which so burdened women and left the offender untouched, would be overturned, reformers believed. There existed consistent opposition to prostitution reform and legal punishment for seduction, which included the belief that women reformers should not concern themselves with such public matters. John Stanton Gould encountered sentiments in the assembly wherein it was argued that prostitution was an inherent evil and laws banning seduction would be unenforceable. In addition, because women inherently were more moral than men, they were more culpable in sin. In 1848, after ten years of political activity by moral reformers state-wide, including John Stanton

Gould, the seduction of “an unmarried female of previous chaste character” became a “crime against society.” As such, it was punishable by up to five years imprisonment and a one thousand dollar fine. Familiar obstacles to the prosecution of seducers continued to exist. For example, the victim had to file a complaint against her seducer within one year of the offense, present evidence other than her own testimony and face an examination of her character and behavior in court. ⁶⁶

In antebellum nineteenth century reform circles, the enslavement of African Americans as chattel was a major topic. In September 1847, Gould heard Frederick Douglass, billed as the “Fugitive Slave,” speak at the State Street Baptist Church in Albany. Douglass declared that prejudices held against blacks were obstructing the move toward emancipation. Gould found Douglass to be both “droll and amusing,” and a “surprising example of the force of genius” at overcoming adversity and obstacles. Several months later, he had the opportunity to speak with an agent of the American Bible Society who had recently returned from Texas. The agent related the story of a Methodist preacher who admonished local slave masters about the mistreatment of their slaves. Presented by the slaveholders with the choice of leaving the area or being lynched, the preacher left Texas. Gould discussed his support of abolition with fellow passengers on the train from New Lebanon to Albany shortly after he heard the tale of the Methodist preacher’s troubles. ⁶⁷

The status of free blacks in the Hudson River Valley also concerned him. He was present at the 1849 Fourth of July celebration of the local African-American community and recorded that, “they spoke well and demonstrated clearly enough that all they wanted was an opportunity to take their stations with the most gifted among the whites.” ⁶⁸

Revivalism was another major force in antebellum New York and the nation. The Second Great Awakening, which began in 1801 as the new century opened and continued into the 1840s, swept the young nation as evangelical Protestants renewed their faith in Jesus Christ as their savior. 69 Gould was touched by evangelistic revivalism. While remaining a member of the Hudson Weekly Meeting of Friends, he sometimes attended the services of other local Protestant denominations. Faith in God was central in his life and he taught his children their religious subjects. In April 1849, while recording the conversion of a Catholic woman to evangelical Protestantism, Gould regretted that his own children had not been "born again." While in North Adams, Massachusetts, Gould attended a revival in the Congregational Church during January 1850. The minister was "solemn, pointed and faithful" in his sermon, but "without vehemence, or unduly terrific imagery." The small church was densely crowded with men, women and children. The congregation was unusually still as the minister spoke, "seeking in silent sorrow" the light. Leading members of the church prayed and some of those present testified that they had found God who had answered their prayers. The North Adams revival had been started by a woman who had been convinced of the necessity to reestablish relations with women from whom she had become estranged. These women were struck with the power of religion as they resolved their differences, and from this group the revival grew. Its sincerity impressed Gould. 70

As the number of Catholics in the area increased in the late 1840s, religious tensions were evident in the Hudson River Valley and were recorded by Gould. Interested in examining various religious concepts, he attended lectures on "apostolic succession" and the concept of episcopacy at the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches on

several Sundays in April 1848. On the third Sunday evening, Gould was disturbed to hear a minister urge “[E]piscopalians” to “persecute [Catholics] now as formerly if they had an opportunity.” It was a proposal he found “uncharitable”; and he considered the man’s statement that five Protestants could “whip twenty Catholics” to be a “sad recommendation of [P]rotestantism.” 71

Gould, a farmer, found time to be fully engaged in the agricultural economy of the Valley and its future. He sought to insure a good future by constantly improving the quality of his farm and supported improvements in farming methods. Transportation was important to the agricultural economy of the Hudson River Valley as farmers needed to move their produce and animals to market. Gould invested in the development of the Hudson and Berkshire Railroad, which ran eastward from Hudson thirty-six miles to Great Barrington, Massachusetts. As an assembly member from Columbia County, he worked for the passage of legislation in support of the Hudson River Rail Road. He also followed technological advancements and welcomed the introduction of new designs whether for railroads, machinery or science.

As a member of the Whig Party, he was not doctrinaire in his political life. Gould could both criticize the Whigs and praise Democrats. The matter of the 1840s and 1850s anti-rent situation in Columbia and other Hudson River Valley counties concerned Gould greatly, for he witnessed the change in the long-standing pattern of land holding in New York become a more equitable system. Although he remained a strong supporter of the value of private property in the anti-rent unrest, he also spoke out in favor of the ten-hour workday. Gould could be conservative on some issues and liberal on others. He appears only to have followed his conscience. As a Quaker, his conscience led him to oppose

slavery, the low status of African-Americans in the Valley and the Mexican War. Gould tended toward perfectionism, or the belief that one could lead a life without sin, and acknowledged that only faith and service to God would lead him there.

Perfectionism can be described as an expectation that individual sinless virtue was possible once one had received the Holy Spirit. It was an important strain of antebellum Protestant thought and those striving for that sacred state could disagree over how to pursue it. Perfectionism had implications for individual and communal actions. It was an individual obligation to live a moral life and a public responsibility to ensure that one's family, neighbors and nation did so as well. Imbued with the optimism inherent in perfectionism many antebellum Protestants practiced personal rectitude and undertook great efforts to convert others to their beliefs. Charles Grandison Finney, the Methodist preacher who evangelized a New York populace in the 1830s and 1840s, taught that the sinless state was achievable in this life. Sometimes called ultraism, perfectionism also contained strains of immediatism, not only could sin be stamped out, but the "extirpation" must occur at once.

Once Christian morality triumphed over sin, Christ would return to earth, and Satan would be chained, for one thousand years of glory would commence, as disclosed in the Revelation of John, the last book of the New Testament. William Miller of Low Hampton, New York, located in upstate New York on the Vermont border, predicted that Christ's return would come to set off the millennium on October 22, 1844. Miller and his followers, known as Millerites or Adventists, suffered their great disappointment when Christ's return did not occur.⁷² Most evangelical Christians, however, expected not immediate personal or communal faultlessness, rather progress toward perfection over

time. 73 This was true of John Stanton Gould's approach in his own strivings to be sinless, and his public work for temperance, and penal and educational reforms seems to exemplify such gradualism.

Gould's conscience led him to a hands-on involvement in the various reform movements that characterized his era. He exemplified the American Quaker interest in prison reform. 74 Gould pursued the goal of helping to reform the state's prisons by visiting prisons and prisoners throughout the state and by gathering data to bolster his cause. As an assemblyman, he worked for both prison reform and the abolition of the death penalty in New York. Outside the prisons, Gould advocated an improvement of the academic education system in the Valley. He inspected schools and examined teachers with the purpose of ensuring better education for the children in common schools. Gould expended great time and energy on studying the causes and effects of poverty in order for him to be better equipped to offer solutions to outstanding problems. He saw the solution to be twofold, in that both the state and the pauper must work to eradicate poverty.

Of all his reform activities, the temperance reform movement received Gould's greatest efforts and concern. It was his most important work as he worked tirelessly to affect a change in the drinking habits of his compatriots. He joined many temperance societies, attended innumerable meetings and lectured without pause. He constantly advocated the concept of total abstinence as the way to achieve reform, for it was his belief that the intemperate could become temperate if they so willed. He thought that it was the duty of parents to set a good example and also believed in the ability of children to sway adults to the right path. Middle and working class antebellum temperance reformers in the Valley and throughout the nation were convinced that intemperance

caused poverty and consequently dragged whole families down into degradation. The evidence was all around them when they witnessed the results when skimpy wages went for drink. Families struggling under such conditions often appealed to benevolent societies and entered poor houses for aid. Therefore, reducing drunkenness reduced pauperism. Gould advocated revisions in state laws regarding the sale of liquor and the local licensing option for such sales. A mainstay in Columbia County and the Hudson River Valley, Gould's influence in the temperance reformation movement throughout the region was strong. He truly wanted to do good and was gratified when he witnessed what appeared to be successes in his perpetual battle against intemperance, and the other ills of society.

NOTES

Chapter Three

1. Most social historians have studied nineteenth century trends for signs of a middle class. However, C. Dallett Hemphill, "Middle Class Rising in Revolutionary America: The Evidence From Manners," *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 2 (1996): 317-355, found a late eighteenth century concern about etiquette among social equals who were "in the middle," rather than the class consciousness cited later in the nineteenth century. There are a number of studies which document the nineteenth century emergence of a middle class, including Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*. Paul E. Johnson, *Shopkeeper's Millennium*, found that middle class formation was spurred by revivalism in western New York. Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, used occupational categories in industrializing antebellum cities and behavioral patterns within the identifiable category strata to find a middle class, which would not have a fully developed common consciousness until after the Civil War. Amy Dru Stanley, "Home Life and the Morality of the Market," in *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*, ed. Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 74-98, examined how nineteenth middle class women reacted to changes in the family economy and finds that many used those changes to their advantage in pursuit of social reforms. Recently, Catherine E. Kelly, "'Well Bred Country People': Sociability, Social Networks, and the Creation of a Provincial Middle Class, 1820-1860," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19, no. 3. (1999): 451-480, added to the understanding of antebellum middle class by describing a variation on the urban vs. rural consideration. The provincial middle class, she discovered, developed a social intercourse which moved between "high and low styles keeping something of each." Because their circles were smaller, the provincial middle class was somewhat more inclusive than the urban middle class.

2. See George M. Marsden, *Religion and American Culture* for a discussion of the combination of republicanism, millennialism and perfectionism which influenced antebellum social thought; William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); and for a broad overview of the era see Tyler, *Freedoms Ferment*. A full discussion of the place of religion, revivalism and reform is found in: *An Essay on Sources: Religion, Revivals and Reforms*.

3. Gould, *Journal*, 6 January 1847; De Tocqueville and de Beaumont's assessment of New York's reform model prisons appears in Gustave de Beaumont, *On the Penitentiary System in the United States, and Its Application in France*. By G. de Beaumont and A. de Tocqueville. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1833;

reprint, with introduction by Thorsten Sellin, Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), viii, 48, 55, 73.

4. Gould, Journal, 13 January, 24 March 1847.

5. Under the Auburn System, wardens were to keep exact records on each prisoner, noting all infractions and punishments meted out, as well as any prisoner complaints about conditions or treatment. Wardens also recorded when any guard violated the rules, while physicians and chaplains who served the inmates kept daily reports on their interactions with prisoners. During their 1832 tour of New York prisons, Gustave Beaumont and Alexis De Tocqueville interviewed Elam Lynds who served as warden of Auburn and then Sing-Sing and developed the system of silence and segregation while at Auburn. Lynds was sent to Sing-Sing to oversee construction of that institution by one hundred trusted Auburn inmates, who were not secured until they built the prison which was to hold them. In addition to ordinary felons, the Auburn housed mentally incompetent and insane criminals, which were segregated from the general prison population. In 1848, Utica State Hospital, which treated New York's mentally ill, accepted such inmates. In 1859, Auburn State Prison opened the first facility designed especially for the criminally insane. New York State, *Sing-Sing Correctional Facility Sub-agency History Record* and *Auburn Correctional Facility Sub-agency History Record* (<http://11unix.nysed.gov.cgissirsi>); Beaumont, *Penitentiary System*, 43, 162. For a discussion of the antebellum nineteenth century connection between sin and crime see David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 57-78.

6. Gould, Journal, 14 January, 28 March 1847.

7. Ibid., 12, 14 January; 21 July 1847.

8. Ibid., 22 July 1847. Female felons were housed separately from male inmates under the Auburn system. Both Sing-Sing and Auburn state prisons detained women until the Bedford Hills Reformatory for Women opened in 1931, in northern Westchester County. *Sing-Sing Correctional Facility Sub-agency History Record*; *Auburn Correctional Facility Sub-agency History Record* (<http://11unix.nysed.gov.cgissirsi>). For a discussion of the imprisonment of women, see Nicole Hahn Rafter, *Partial Justice: Women in State Prisons, 1800-1935* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985); David J. Rothman and Sheila M. Rothman, ed., *Women in Prison, 1834-1928* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1987). Sing-Sing matron and dedicated prison reformer Eliza Farnham was born in Rensselaerville, New York in 1815, and received minimal education at a Quaker school in Westchester County. In addition to her prison work, she wrote fiction and chronicled American western life, including the actions and fate of female members of the ill-fated Donner Party, as well as expostulating on the natural superiority of women over men. Her pursuit of the causes of crime led her to the study of phrenology and she edited and illustrated a popular British treatise on the effect of "cerebral organization," or phrenology, on the commission of crime in 1846. In that work, Farnham recognized that alcohol exacerbated underlying phrenological conditions

conducive to crime and believed that total abstinence was necessary to rehabilitation. Farnham's progressive beliefs, especially in phrenology and the necessity that prisons be "morally governed," contributed to her dismissal from Sing-Sing in 1848. Hugh Barbour, et al., ed., *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of New York Yearly Meetings*, with a foreword by Martin E. Marty (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 180; Marmaduke B. Sampson, *Rationale of Crime*. Marmaduke P. Sampson's "Treatise on Criminal Jurisprudence Considered in Relation to Cerebral Organization." With Notes and Illustrations by Eliza W. Farnham (Reprinted with the addition of a new introductory essay by W. David Lewis, London: S. Highley, 1846, Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1973), xix-xxii 32, 35, 72-73, 116-117, 135, 144; and Eliza W. Farnham, *Woman and Her Era* (New York: A. J. Davis, 1864)

9. Gould, Journal, 26 January; 8, 17 November 1848.

10. Ibid., 6, 7 January; 1, 2, 22 October 1847; 19 January, 2 May 1848. New York (State) Legislature. Assembly. Select Committee on the Abolition of Capital Punishment, *Report* (Albany, 1847). Contemporary penal codes, prisons and punishments concerned Gould and other antebellum reformers. For an examination of corporal punishment in prison, orphanages, and asylums, as well as reform attempts in New York, see Myra C. Glenn, *Campaigns Against Corporal Punishment: Prisoners, Sailors Women and Children in Antebellum America* (Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York Press, 1984). Louis P. Masur, *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) offers a review of capital punishment reform thought. Thomas L. Daum, *Democracy and Punishment: Disciplinary Origins of the United States* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) and Adam J. Hirsch, *The Rise of the Penitentiary: Prisons and Punishment in Early America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992) describe the various types of punishments meted out to prisoners, including whipping, used in antebellum New York state prisons.

11. Gould, Journal, 11, 13 January; 24 March; 28 October 1847. On American asylums and prisons, see David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), which focuses on the marginalization of certain Americans, the causes of poverty, mental illness and need for moral regeneration, as well as the institutions created to deal with them in an emerging market society. Ellen Dwyer, *Homes for the Mad: Inside Two Nineteenth Century Asylums* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Lynn Gamwell and Nancy Tomes, *Madness in America: Cultural and Medical Perceptions of Mental Illness Before 1914* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995).

12. Gould, Journal, 27 May, 29 October 1847; idem, *A Report on Food and Diet Suited for Almshouses, Prisons, and Hospitals*. By the Hon. John Stanton Gould. Prepared at the Request of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration, and the Board of Governors of the New York Almshouses (New York: William C. Bryant and Co., 1852), 7-23, 30-45, 47, 53, 56-57, 72-80; Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 165-166.

13. Gould, *Journal*, 13, 14 January; 11 April, 26 October, 16 November 1847.
14. Joan Underhill Hannon, "The Generosity of Antebellum Poor Relief," *Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 3 (1984): 814; idem, "Poor Relief Policy in Antebellum New York State: The Rise and Decline of the Poor House," *Exploration in Economic History* 22, no. 1 (1985): 253.
15. Gould, *Report on Food*, 60, 62-63, 70-71.
16. *Columbia Republican*, 27 December 1853.
17. John A. Krout, "The Genesis and Development of the Early Temperance Movement in New York State," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 21 (1923): 78-98. Rorabaugh, *Alcoholic Republic*, presents an interesting and informative exploration of the scope of American drinking. Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, examined the antebellum northeastern urban temperance movement. The mid-western urban experience is studied in Jed Dannenbaum, *Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washingtonian Revival to the WCTU* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984). The antebellum temperance movement is discussed in An Essay on Sources: Temperance.
18. Gould, Annual Address, 1833; idem, *Journal*, 25 May 1847.
19. Gould, *Journal*, 7, 26 January; 27 March; 28 April; 12, 21 May; 16 November 1847.
20. Stanley Baron, *Brewed in America: A History of Beer and Ale in the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962), 28, 151-156, 160, 259; J. H. French, *Gazetteer of New York*, 109, 275.
21. *Directory of Hudson*, 4, 24.
22. Rorabaugh, *Alcoholic Republic*, 111; Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: J. B. Ford and Co., 1868), 98-99.
23. David M. Ellis, *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 190.
24. Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Richard D. Heffner (New York: Mentor Books, 1956), 95.
25. Gould, *Journal*, 10, 11, 12, 14, 24, 25 February; 12 April 1847. For the life and works of John B. Gough, see Gough, *Autobiography*; idem, *Platform Echoes*; idem., *Sunshine and Shadows*.

26. Gould, Journal, 9, 27 April; 17 June; 3, 27 July; 17, 22 September 1847; 20 June 1849.

27. Richard L. Bushman, *Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 61-63.

28. Bluford Adams, *E Pluribus Barnum: The Great Showman and the Making of U. S. Popular Culture* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 85, 113; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 359; David Nasaw, *Going Out, The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

29. Andrea Stulman Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 6, 86-87, 153; Gould, Journal, 13 February 1829.

30. Karen Halttunen examines the contribution of advice manuals, published between 1830 to 1860, to the formation of antebellum middle class character in *Confidence Men and Painted Women, A Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982) 50. For analyses of antebellum middle class behavior codes see, John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century America*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); and Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Story of Middle Class Culture in American, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Henry Ware, Jr.; quoted in Louis P. Masur, *1831: Year of Eclipse*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 75. Masur credits Ware's essay as the best expression of the emerging antebellum middle class ethos.

31. Gould, Journal, 24 April 1850.

32. Ibid., 17, 18, 22, 29 February 1848.

33. Ibid., 29 February; 2, 8 March 1848; Rorabaugh, *Alcoholic Republic*, 212; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 311, 317-318.

34. Gould, Journal, 17, 24 March 1848; Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1780-1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988) studies how and by whom antebellum Protestant Sunday Schools were shaped and used.

35. Gould, Journal, 30 March 1848; Greene County Poor House Accounts, 1828-1932 and 1849-1884. New York State Historical Association. Cooperstown, New York.

36. Gould, Journal, 6, 11 April 1850.

37. Ibid., 27, 29 April 1848; *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 21 March 1844.

38. Crowley, ed., *Drunkard's Progress*, examines the central importance of antebellum temperance movement "experience talks," including T. S. Arthur's renditions for print and stage, as well as the speeches of John B. Gough and George Haydock. The three temperance advocates were closely connected to New York's Hudson River Valley. Arthur grew up in Greene County and Haydock lived in Hudson, New York and lectured throughout the Hudson River Valley in the 1840s and 1850s. Gough's lecture circuit very frequently included the region's cities and towns, including Hudson.

39. Gould, Journal, 2 May 1848.

40. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 12 October; 9, 16 November 1843; 7 May 1846.

41. Ibid., 6 January 1843.

42. Ibid., 12, 26 October 1843; 13 November 1845.

43. Ibid., 23 February 1843.

44. Ibid., 23 February 1843.

45. Ibid., 11 January 1844.

46. Ibid., 9 February 1843.

47. Ibid., 23 February 1843.

48. Ibid., 21 May 1846; 29 December 1842.

49. Ibid., 17 December 1846; 22 April 1847; 10 November 1842.

50. Ibid., 19 June 1845.

51. Westchester County Temperance Society, Record Book, 1829-1848. Westchester County Historical Society. 1836, 6.

52. Gould, Journal, 24 September 1849.

53. William Buell Sprague, *Danger of Being Over Wise: a Sermon Preached June 7th, 1835, in the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany* (Albany: Packard and Van Benthuyssen, 1835); idem, *Dr. Sprague's Reply to Professor Stuart's Letter Addressed to him through the American Temperance Inelligencer of August, 1835: Relative to his Late Sermon in the Exclusion of Wine from the Lord's Supper* (Albany: Packard and Van Benthuyssen, 1835).

54. *An Expose of McCarrell's Sermons on Bible Temperance Preached at Newburgh, August, 1841. By a Washingtonian* (New York: Burnett and Allen, 1842).

55. On the New York controversy over communion wine, see Krout, *Origins of Prohibition* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1925), 159-62; Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 145-148; and Leo P. Hirrel, *Children of Wrath: New School Calvinism and Antebellum Reform* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky, 1998), 128-132. For discussions among Protestant sects, especially the Methodist Church, see Betty A. O'Brien, "The Lord's Supper: Fruit of the Vine or Cup of the Devil?," *Methodist History* 31, no. 4 (1993): 203-223.

56. *Enquirer* (Albany, N. Y.: C. Van Benthuyssen, 1841-1847) ; "Communion Wine and Bible Temperance. William M. Thayer," *New Englander and Yale Review* 29, no. 111 (1870): 397.

57. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 7 July 1842.

58. Gould, Journal, 6, 9, 15, 19, 20 May 1848.

59. Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power*, 36-47, examines the Fourth of July celebration as theatrical expression of changing power loci in Philadelphia. The development of American nationalism was fostered by celebrations and rituals, including the Fourth of July, and commemorations have both reflected and influenced American national popular political culture, according to Waldstreicher, *Perpetual Fetes*, 295-348. Waldstreicher's attention to African American considerations serves to reinforce the ideological nature of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century American rituals. The Fourth of July was not only a convenient venue to protest the existence of slavery; it also reinforced that slavery was a national problem, especially after the 1816 founding of the American Colonization Society. Brooks McNamara, *Day of Jubilee: The Great Age of Public Celebrations in New York, 1788-1909* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 34, finds that public celebrations were shaped as theatre in order to promote ideals, which changed over time. Temperance advocacy in New York City evoked class disagreements over sale of alcohol at Independence Day celebrations in the 1840s. However, even the conservative diarist and former mayor, Philip Hone, did not object to the food and drink stalls, which provided refreshments to working class Independence Day celebrants. Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1990) examines women's place and space during the era of masculine public celebrations.

60. David G. Hackett, "The Social Origins of Nationalism," in *Religion and American Culture: A Reader*, ed. David G. Hackett (New York: Routledge, 1995), 96-97, 105.

61. Gould, Journal, 4 July 1848; 4 July 1849.

62. *Ibid.*, 5 March 1849.

63. *Ibid.*, 11 October 1849.

64. Ibid., 23 July 1847.

65. New York, Assembly (16 March 1847): A225; Gould, Journal, 8 November 1847.

66. Larry Whiteaker, *Seduction, Prostitution, and Moral Reform in New York, 1830-1860* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), ix, xi-xiii, 25-26, 46-49, 98-99, 141-143. Whiteaker's examination found that the attempts to suppress seduction and prostitution in antebellum New York raised important questions of the relation of economic displacement created by the market revolution and the existence of prostitution as the sole means of support for many women. He also questioned the part played by many moral reformers in creating those desperate conditions through their own economic policies and pursuits. For a full analysis of the significant part prostitution played in the economy of New York City, see Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1992).

67. Gould, Journal, 30 September 1847; 22 January, 25 February 1848.

68. Ibid., 5 July 1849; as John Stanton Gould recorded, Columbia County African Americans celebrated the national holiday. However, Elizabeth Ruah Bethel, *The Roots of African American Identity: Memory and History in Antebellum Free Communities* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 1-2, wrote that many free blacks in the North placed greater emphasis on celebrating events other than the Fourth of July, including those more directly connected to African American experience, such as the anniversary of the death of Crispus Attucks, the first black to die in the American Revolution. In 1852, Frederick Douglass refused to speak on July 4 as requested by the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. Instead, he spoke on July 5 and reminded his white audience that their Independence Day was not his to glorify, William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1991), 172.

69. See Cross, *Burned Over District*; Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*; Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

70. Gould, Journal, 8 April 1850; 11 April 1849; 21 January 1850.

71. Ibid., 23 April 1848.

72. Benjamin McArthur, "Millennial Fevers," *Reviews in American History* 24 no. 3 (1996): 369-382, discusses nineteenth and twentieth century millennialism. Cross, *Burned-Over District*, provides a descriptive overview of perfectionism, 198-208, 268-284; Curtis D. Johnson in *Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), 108-133, examines the disruptive effects of ultraism on Cortland County, New York Protestant churches. A significant number of ultraists in that central western agricultural county left their more

moderate home churches to form their own fellowships in the 1840s, causing the moderate churches to modify their focus on discipline of members' expressions of belief in an attempt to retain congregants. To some extent, scholars view perfectionism differently. In *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*, with a new afterword by the author (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 103-113, Timothy L. Smith defines perfectionism as the perfect love of Christ experienced, a striving for a sacred life, and he relates it to strains of transcendentalism. Rather than a revolutionary movement, Smith finds that it was accepted by mainstream urban Protestants. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 219-220, regards perfectionism as more radical. As such, he found that it served as an impetus to immediatism, as well as causing splits within evangelical reform, which he described as a dilution of important reformation efforts.

73. Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 3.

74. Barbour and Frost, *Quakers*, 166-167.

CHAPTER FOUR

“UNITED IN A TEMPERANCE BAND”: THE CULTURE OF TEMPERANCE

United in a temperance band,
We're joined in heart, we're joined in hand.

John Yates, “Away the Bowl”-Temperance Song

A culture of temperance reform developed as antebellum temperance advocates living in the towns, villages and hamlets, as well as on farms scattered throughout the Hudson River Valley increasingly interacted with each other through the temperance movement. The local temperance newspaper, the *Columbia Washingtonian*, was instrumental in creating and transmitting shared values as it reported on the many endeavors of temperance advocates in the region. In June 1843, the parent Columbia County Temperance Society held its quarterly meeting with representatives from the local societies. John Hawkins, one of the original six reformed Baltimore Washingtonians, addressed the society on Saturday and then again on Sunday, before a large gathering. More than eight hundred temperance meetings had been conducted in Columbia County during the past year, the society reported. At those meetings, there had been "many valuable names added to the [list of those who had] pledged through the agency of the Washingtonians who could have been reached no other way." Additionally, the society announced to its members that their newspaper, the *Columbia Washingtonian*, had over a thousand weekly subscribers in the Hudson River Valley.

Counting the subscriptions and single issues purchased, the paper reached at least 1,400 readers. Because most of the subscribers were families, the actual number of readers was multiplied several fold. The newspaper was originally paid for by the Hudson Washington Temperance Society, but after three months, the society found it too great an expense. Several people, including John Stanton Gould, purchased the paper's printing press and types in order to loan to the temperance society. To defray the cost of publishing the paper, the Columbia County Temperance Society apportioned the costs to various town societies and asked these groups to raise money to pay the printers. ¹ The *Columbia Washingtonian* was published from 1842 to 1851, and reflected the views of the temperance society which sponsored it. Edited by Warren Rockwell, a Hudson cabinetmaker and member of the Hudson Washington Society, the paper provided temperance advocates in the Hudson River Valley with temperance news and announcements of temperance activities. To this newspaper temperance-minded Valley residents turned for local, state and national news, as well as temperance items. The paper was sold by agents who also served as agents of the temperance societies in the region. The agents traveled throughout the region and were responsible for arranging and addressing temperance meetings, obtaining signers of the total abstinence pledge and reporting news of the various meetings and societies that dotted the district. "Traveling much and speaking often," one county agent was to give forty-eight lectures in forty-seven towns during July and August 1842. So ubiquitous were the agents in the region, that the *Columbia Washingtonian* felt it necessary to warn its readers against impostor agents who collected money for subscriptions, but who pocketed the money. ²

The Columbia County Temperance Society had enjoyed a banner year under the

presidency of John Stanton Gould in 1843. In addition to the broad circulation of the newspaper, the society reported that it had witnessed 15,000 signed pledges since 1841. This in a county comprised of 44,000 residents. Five hotels in Columbia County had become temperance establishments, although one of them reverted to the sale of alcohol. Additionally, five or six taverns closed during the year. However, no account was given of the number of "grog shops" operating in the county, for such establishments tended to be clandestine and came in and out of existence rather casually. These so-called "grog shops" were usually groceries, private houses or shops which sold single drinks, often illegally, and were frequented by the laboring class. The society was also proud to announce that 131 fewer persons had been jailed in the Columbia County Jail in Hudson during the prior year. In fact, the society claimed that the jail was so empty of prisoners that at times it was used for temperance meetings. 3

The popularity of those temperance meetings in the Hudson River Valley resulted in well-attended gatherings in 1843. Local temperance societies reported, in the *Columbia Washingtonian*, that their meetings regularly attracted crowds of people favorable to the total abstinence cause and message. At a Sunday evening meeting of the Hudson Washington Temperance Society in March 1843, the meeting place was overfilled. So many turned out for the meeting that some in the society complained that "pious citizens were crowded out," which prevented the offering of the customary opening prayer. Pious temperance people of Hudson were warned to "come early, next time." During the summer of 1843, a Wednesday meeting at the Court House in Hudson drew such a crowd that "many stood around the windows and door listening..." outside the building. 4

The shout of Washingtonians is heard on every gale.
They're chanting now the victory o'er cider, beer and ale.

Hutchinson Family, "King Alcohol"-Temperance Song

The Hudson Washington Temperance Society continued to attract an audience into the winter of 1843 when the society met on Wednesday and Sunday evenings at Davis Hall. One January 1844 meeting was overcrowded although no public announcement of the meeting had been made, the *Columbia Washingtonian* reported. Song and prayer opened the evening meeting, which had filled by word of mouth. A speech which lasted ninety minutes was so successful that it was repeated the next night, with "no spot unoccupied." A year later in January 1845, the Hudson Washingtonians continued to have meetings which were filled to "overflowing," and where ten to twelve persons took the total abstinence pledge at each meeting. There was so much activity, asserted the *Columbia Washingtonian*, that wintertime was excellent for temperance work in the Hudson River Valley. "The long evenings and leisure of the Agricultural portions of the people are favorable to action, in a moral enterprise." 5

Reports of full meetings also came in from the outlying regions of Columbia County. A February 1845 temperance gathering in the Ghent Waltermire School House was described as "a regular jam. The audience looked as if piled one upon another." The Kinderhook Temperance Society advertised that it would provide "seats for ladies" at a crowded meeting in the Grove on a Sunday afternoon in September 1843. A "very large" meeting was held at the Presbyterian Church in Valatie on a Sunday evening in

November 1843. The church was filled by six o'clock and a prayer opened the meeting. The crowd was pleased to hear a lecture by "Prof. Grimes," a popular speaker and "phreno-magnetist." Grimes had already addressed the Hudson Washingtonians and spoken at Davis Hall on "Phreno-Magnetism" at a benefit, which raised thirty-five dollars for the local orphan asylum. 6

The meetings of temperance societies in the early 1840s were both full and frequent. Benjamin Stainsby, temperance and *Columbia Washingtonian* agent, reported on meetings he had held in the area in the early summer 1844. He had conducted meetings in Columbia County at Chatham, New Lebanon, Canaan, the New Lebanon Union Church, Chatham Centre, North Chatham, Federal Stores, the Canaan Baptist Church, and Brainard's Bridge, all in the space of several weeks. The schedule of meetings for one week in June 1844 in the rural Greene, Dutchess and Columbia counties was long. Greene County meetings were held in Leeds and Cairo, and in Dutchess County at Pine Plains, Milan and Jackson Corners. That June week saw Columbia County meetings held at Chatham Four Corners, Sunday afternoon; Waltermire School House in Ghent, Sunday; Stockport Printworks Chapel, Sunday; Johnstown, Wednesday; Clermont Village, Thursday; Gallatin Corner, Sunday; the "grove near Vantassel's," Sunday; McKinstry's Grove in Greenport; the Methodist Episcopal Church in Brainard's Bridge; and Stuyvesant Landing. 7

The five or six county temperance agents employed at any one time by the Columbia County Washington Temperance Society were expected to organize temperance meetings in the surrounding area and to collect subscriptions for the society's newspaper, a vital link to the temperance reform movement throughout the Hudson River

Valley. It was these men who traveled to the hamlets in the Valley in order to conduct meetings and sell subscriptions to the *Columbia Washingtonian*. Often the agent was a reformed man who was dependent upon the society and the paper for his livelihood. George Haydock, a reformed Washingtonian, had been employed by the temperance society in just such a capacity. It was Haydock whom Alson Ward heard at the Pleasant Valley, Dutchess County temperance convention in August 1844. When Haydock was unable to work in March 1845 because of sickness, the Hudson Washington Temperance Society hosted a benefit at Davis Hall and collected donations at a Washingtonian meeting to assist him. By July, Haydock was again giving temperance lectures in the area and speaking on the streets of Hudson to all who would listen. In reporting one of Haydock's endeavors, the *Columbia Washingtonian* noted with irony that when Haydock addressed a temperance gathering, "some of our proud citizens...will never demean themselves as to attend a *Temperance* meeting and hear 'George Haydock's *Vulgar Speech*'." The newspaper recognized the value of the work Haydock performed for temperance reform. The temperance reform needed men such as Haydock to attract the more "common" persons to the movement and stamp out the use of alcohol. Washingtonians espoused the view that a man who had suffered was better heard by men who were suffering. 8

Some advocates of temperance in the Hudson River Valley were not pleased by the demeanor and status of temperance lecturers such as Haydock. When Haydock spoke before an 1845 meeting of the Gayhead Temperance Society, he was "extremely desultory and excentric [*sic*]...[and] disregarded any thing like system or arrangement—full of anecdotes severe and sarcastic upon our opponents, and by his shrewdness and

witticism kept the audience in a burst of laughter.” Haydock and others like him used huckster-type techniques to attract and hold an audience, which to certain reformers seemed to be an undignified way to affect temperance reform. In the minds of reformers who thought that prayer, hymns, and decorous speeches would win the day, many popular Hudson Valley antebellum temperance speakers were unsuitable to the high-minded work of temperance reform. Praise for a temperance speaker who was not “low and ridiculous” was sent by one such temperance reformer to the *Columbia Washingtonian* in 1844.⁹ Yet other Valley temperance advocates, such as Alson Ward and John Stanton Gould, appreciated the colorful techniques and speeches of the reformed men who sought to reform others.

We’re not the temp’rance men of old--
We go for something new.

We touch not, taste not, handle not,
What can intoxicate;
We’ll live and die without a blot,
And shun the drunkard’s fate.

John Yates, “Young Tee-Totaler’s Song”-Temperance Song

Temperance advocates frequently participated in reform activities as families and as members of junior societies. In this way, the youth among the reformers were able to learn and replicate the temperance culture of their elders, as well as socialize with others who shared their values. The “Young Tee-Totaler’s Song ” declared a commitment to lifelong temperance, which was shared by young people of the Hudson River Valley. Residing in rural Pleasant Valley temperance community was another individual who

kept a journal during the same period as that of Alson Ward. John Bower (1814-1888) was still a young teenager when he wrote of his involvement in the temperance movement in 1844 and 1845. Bower worked on the family farm and, later, in a woolen mill in Pleasant Valley. While his record is brief, the characteristics of temperance in the Hudson River Valley are present. Bower belonged to the Juvenile Franklin Temperance Society in Pleasant Valley. He attended Sunday evening meetings with an uncle and enjoyed the songs that accompanied the temperance speeches, "a number of odes were sung...and were worth hearing." At another such meeting, Bower found "a number present" and recorded that the "evening went off well." 10

In the 1850s, another Dutchess County boy, Edmund P. Platt (b. 1843), wrote of his experiences in the temperance reform movement. The Platt family lived in Poughkeepsie and published the town's newspaper, the *Eagle*; Edmund would become one of his town's leading merchants. In 1857, when he was fourteen years old, Platt and his older brother John organized a juvenile temperance society in Poughkeepsie. John was elected as the first president of this "youth temperance and mutual improvement society." At meetings held on two consecutive nights, John Platt read his essay on temperance principles and "an emancipated slave" spoke and sang for the assembly. Abolitionism was most likely a tenet of the Platt family, as Edmund went to hear Frederick Douglass three times in one week when Douglass lectured in the region on the evils of slavery. 11

The Poughkeepsie juvenile temperance organization met on Friday evenings and Platt enjoyed a "lively time." At one such meeting in 1857, Platt listened to a debate on whether legal prohibition of alcohol was the best means of suppressing intolerance. 12

The topic reflected the "Maine Law" strain of temperance which sought to legally prohibit sale of intoxicants statewide and state by state. Dubbed the "Maine Law" because that state passed the first statewide prohibition law in 1850, it served as a model for other states. New York passed a prohibitory law in 1855 but it only lasted one year before being overturned as unconstitutional. During the brief life of the New York statute against the sale of alcoholic beverages, a man named Berberick was the first person arrested in Platt's hometown of Poughkeepsie for selling drinks in his bar. Found guilty of violating the prohibition law, Berberick was fined \$50. In neighboring Columbia County, James Minkler of Austerlitz was arrested for drunkenness under the law. The case created "a great deal of excitement," and the Recorder's office was crowded during examination of the case. No material facts were found to prosecute Minkler, and the case was dismissed. 13

The problem of using liquor in cooking was discussed at another temperance meeting attended by Platt that season. Concern about alcohol in food was not unfounded. The *Columbia Republican* of Hudson published the "New Mode of Preparing Tomatoes for the Table" in the summer 1859, as the "tomato season" approached. The reader was directed to slice ripe tomatoes, sprinkle them with white sugar and "then add claret wine sufficient to cover them." The author of the claimed that the claret wine was superior to the diluted vinegar, which was sometimes used, and would impart to the tomatoes "a richer and more pleasant flavor, more nearly resembling a strawberry than anything else." Many temperance advocates chose to cook without spirituous ingredients, however. During the first three decades of the early republic the number of printed cookbooks which included alcohol in a recipe declined by half. Mincemeat pie without the

traditional liquor became “temperance pie” as the culture of temperance grew and more families eschewed alcohol in any form, and from 1830 to 1859 ever fewer cookbooks called for alcoholic ingredients. The efforts of Platt’s temperance society to expel impurities from their young lives extended to other habits. At a Friday evening meeting, the juvenile temperance society also questioned whether or not to preclude use of tobacco, as well as alcohol, in their total abstinence pledge. Tobacco was prohibited to members of the society by a vote of twenty-four to three. ¹⁴

Juvenile temperance organizations were modeled on the adult societies and served as an auxiliary to and a source of future members of the adult society. In addition, at juvenile activities Hudson River Valley youth enjoyed opportunities to visit among themselves, while strengthening the bonds of temperance reform. The “Young Gentlemen and Ladies” of the Washington Total Abstinence Society in Kinderhook were organized in August 1842. By the following year, sixty had joined the band of reformers. The *Columbia Washingtonian* in 1843 declared that true temperance men were obliged to organize children in to the “Cold Water Army.” Several weeks after the dictum was published, a Young Men’s Temperance Society was organized at Davis Hall in Hudson as an auxiliary to the New York State Young Men’s Temperance Society. The young men of Hudson invited young ladies to be present at their meeting in order that they too might benefit from the program. The popular local Hudson Valley temperance lecturer and musician, A. P. Bullock, addressed the assembled young people, while his daughter entertained with temperance songs. The Bullocks frequently were heard singing temperance music at the various temperance meetings in the area. To encourage temperance among the young, the New York State Youth’s Temperance Society in

Albany published a monthly magazine *Youth's Temperance Enterprise* in the 1840s. The juvenile publication included temperance tales, poetry, song music and essays on the necessity for total abstinence, as well as encouragement for the youthful crusaders. ¹⁵

The report of a Hudson Washington Temperance Society meeting credited the young persons present with saving a particular 1845 meeting. Davis Hall in Hudson was "jammed" with temperance reformers, but no one volunteered to open the meeting with a prayer or to address the assembly. When the meeting did not proceed, the adults present quit Davis Hall. Left to their own devices, the young Washingtonians in the hall began a meeting with prayers and song. The adults returned and the hall was soon refilled for a now successful meeting. The value of the young reformers was noted by the newspaper's report of the incident. ¹⁶

Junior temperance societies continued to form throughout the Hudson River Valley in the 1840s. In Ulster County, the Saugerties Temperance Society met on George Washington's Birthday in 1844 to create a Washington Temperance Society for the men. The women joined the new Martha Washington Temperance Society auxiliary and sponsored a junior group for the girls of Saugerties, so that they too participated in reform customs. Likewise, across the river in Columbia County, the Copake Temperance Society met on a September 1844 Sunday in the Methodist Church on the Flats to form their juvenile society. Forty-four young people joined Copake's young organization that day. A few months later, Germantown followed suit when the Young Men's Temperance Society was organized in January 1845 so that the boys could take part in the reform life. ¹⁷

Just as the senior societies convened, the children's organizations met to further

the cause of temperance in the Hudson River Valley and meet with like-minded peers. The New York State Youth Temperance Society convention met in Kinderhook in June 1844. The youth meeting drew two thousand young men and women from around New York State to express and celebrate their commitment to temperance and to the temperance way of life. Van Alen's grove in Stuyvesant Falls was the site of an 1846 mass meeting of juvenile societies from around the Hudson Valley. The adult societies met nearby to hear George Haydock while the children marched in the "cold water army." 18

Temperance activities provided young temperance advocates with moral entertainment and opportunities to enjoy the company of other young people, as well as purpose. Edmund Platt went to the Pleasant Valley Methodist Church to hear a temperance poem recited and was favorably impressed. Twice in March 1857, he enjoyed the opportunity to hear the well-known Hutchinson Family Singers, as they toured the region performing their temperance music. The Hutchinsons, whom Platt rated as "pretty good," was the same group enjoyed by John Stanton Gould. The group was still entertaining in the Hudson Valley into the 1860s and Platt was able to hear them twice more in 1862. 19

Come all ye who are fond of singing, let us set a song a ringing.
Sound the Chorus strong and hearty, and we'll make a jovial party.
Get out of the way, Old Sir Toddy!

"Old Sir Toddy."-Temperance Song

The antebellum culture of temperance was expressed through the many poems,

songs, parades and other activities of the temperance crusade. Temperance affairs were long affairs and such moral entertainments served to keep the proceedings lively. The temperance cause and its advocates' way of life were ritualized by those pleasures. Temperance music, in particular, effectively expressed the commonly shared values of the temperance community, and was important to the movement's appeal. Appreciation of genteel popular music, including temperance songs, expanded during the era before the Civil War and helped shape the emerging antebellum middle class. 20 "[A] temperance song book was compiled [,] many of the songs were very choice and set to spirited music, singing was a great feature at the meetings and a very effective one," John Stanton Gould wrote of the first years of the Washingtonian movement. Possibly, he referred to the 1842 *The Washington Minstrel; A Collection of Songs and Hymns*, a popular compilation of temperance music, which was published in New York City and available locally. Other Washington Temperance Society song books were available for use at meetings and "for the Private Actions of Washingtonians." 21 It was not only temperance advocates who enjoyed tunes. It was "a singing age" which caused the *New York Mirror* to complain in 1840 that laborers on the streets of New York City "made enough music every day of the week to set every citizen's teeth on edge." 22

The popularity of temperance songs has been attributed partly to their capability of replacing current songs with secular themes. Antebellum temperance music was based on established tunes, as were most popular songs of the day. "Away to School" became "Away the Bowl" and Stephen Foster's "Oh! Susanna" was transformed into the temperance-based "O Rumseller." 23 Antebellum temperance odes with religious, patriotic and domestic ideals began to be widely circulated in songbooks, periodicals,

elocution and school reading books, as well as in pamphlet and tracts from 1830 forward, and blossomed in the 1840s. Popular poetry also served as the basis of music designed to stir temperance hearts. “Sail on, sail on. O ship of hope! Sail on for truth and right; the breath of God is in your sail. The haven is in sight..., ” read John Greenleaf Whittier’s “The Ship of Temperance,” which easily served as lyrics for a temperance song. With minor alterations to include the temperance crusade, Whittier’s “Seedtime and Harvest” was also set to music in the 1850s. In 1842, temperance advocates bought twenty thousand copies of a single edition of the *Temperance Journal* devoted to temperance music. The 1847 *Mountain Minstrel, Containing a Collection of Temperance Songs, Hymns and Glees, Suitable for All Total Abstinence Societies* typified temperance song books of the era. The crusade’s minstrelsy also marked the stages of antebellum temperance reform. It chronicled the appeals for moderation in the 1820s and early 1830s, the mid-1830s turn toward total abstinence, and concern for the inebriate in the 1840s, to the demands for prohibition of the 1850s. Adherents of the temperance cause conveyed their reforming and redeeming messages in their music. Humor and satire were not absent from temperance songs, however. “And he who will not ‘sign the pledge,’ ...May be...a *stiff Cold-water-man* at last!” ended a temperance song whose lyrics comprised a series of twenty similar puns. 24

Music seemingly exploded on the scene in the 1840s. This occurrence gave rise to touring professional singing families who embodied American ideas and styles while singing of ordinary and common American experiences. America's favorite antebellum singing ensemble was from a farm family of thirteen boys and girls. The Hutchinson Family Singers learned to support temperance at home. During the 1837 national

financial crisis, their father refused to plant hops, one of the few remaining profitable crops. Hops were but a “tool of King Alcohol,” in the view of the Milford, New Hampshire farmer. The singing group included temperance music in all of their concerts beginning in 1840. Upon hearing original Washingtonian John Hawkes speak at an 1841 Boston temperance rally, “We at once ...took the [total abstinence] pledge and on all public occasions we sang ‘We are all Washingtonians’.” Each time the family performed their signature song, “The Old Granite State,” they reaffirmed their commitment to the temperance movement with “all Washingtonians...all teetotalers.” The Hutchinsons, who sang of temperance and abolition sentiments, worked for social change through their music and pioneered the association between public entertainment and reform. The singers became the voice of the temperance movement and sang in harmony at more than twelve thousand concerts during their career, staying at temperance houses and hotels whenever possible. 25

The Hutchinson Family Singers appeared regularly throughout the Hudson River Valley performing their specialty of temperance music. In addition to the tribute to their home state, they frequently included “King Alcohol.” Written by Jesse Hutchinson, it was especially popular at temperance Fourth of July commemorations each year. Another popular temperance song, “Don’t Violate Your Pledge,” was sung when the group toured the region in the 1840s. Their first tour of the Albany area in summer 1842 did not go well for the Aeolian Vocalists, as the Hutchinsons were first known, however. The singers were confronted by “rowdies” at a temperance meeting in Ballston Spa. Their activities in the area may have offended some local residents. In Bethlehem, the Hutchinsons and other temperance advocates gathered at a local tavern, confiscated the

alcohol there, then marched in procession to a nearby hill and set fire to the liquor. "We sang some temperance songs, and had a jubilee...." The Vocalists also appeared without much success at the popular seasonal watering spot Saratoga Springs, as well as in Albany, Schenectady and Sandy Hill. Fortunately, an important Albany fan introduced them to genteel society in that city. He also suggested that they replace their original theatrical appellation, The Aeolian Vocalists, with their family name, in order to better appeal to their intended church and reform society audiences. (In antebellum America, aeolians sang, danced, told jokes or acted in skits at theatrical presentations known as *olios*.) Thurlow Weed, Whig politician and editor of Albany's *Evening Journal*, entertained the family in his home and promoted their talents in his influential newspaper. After that successful Albany stay, the family of temperance singers regularly toured the Hudson River Valley with great success. They gave concerts in Hudson and Troy a number of times in 1843, and in April 1845, they sang for the female and male inmates at the New York State prison in Sing-Sing (Ossining). While there, they also sang at the funeral of two male prisoners. The Hutchinsons visited Sing-Sing again the next year for the benefit of the prisoners. The group returned to the area frequently during the 1840s, and reform advocates in Rockland County, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, Catskill and Albany were pleased with the 1850 itinerary. 26

Other singers and musicians also passed through the area, giving performances with temperance themes, and the *Columbia Washingtonian* advertised their appearances in the region. A pianist, Professor Hubbard, appeared in Red Hook and Rhinebeck as well as Rondout, Kingston and Saugerties in 1842. Noted temperance "gleesingers" Ossian E. Dodge and G. Covert conducted "a temperance mission up the beautiful

Hudson," stopping at Poughkeepsie, Barnegatt, Putnam Valley, Hyde Park, Valatie, Kinderhook and Hudson. After crossing the Hudson, the singers performed in Catskill and Coxsackie and garnered nearly three hundred pledges from their 1842 tour of the region. Dodge and Covert gave a free temperance concert at the crowded Hyde Park Methodist Church. They sang four temperance songs, addressed the gathering and followed with more music. For their efforts, they were rewarded with twenty-nine pledges, thirteen of which were by "habitual drunkards." At yet another temperance meeting and free concert in Barnegatt, a small settlement four miles south of Poughkeepsie, the two reported a "regular rush" to sign the pledge. Ossian E. Dodge continued to perform temperance music into the 1850s in the region. Twenty-five cents bought a ticket to hear Dodge sing at Hudson's Van Vleck's Hall in January 1853. ²⁷ The *Columbia Washingtonian* announced that the popular Yonkers baritone, James M. Brown, would perform in an 1844 temperance concert at the "Temperance Hall" in Hudson. In Hudson the commercial Davis Hall was used so frequently for temperance related activities that it came to be known as Temperance Hall. The Yonkers baritone was well known in New York City temperance circles which held a benefit concert to help pay his expenses in 1842. Brown also had a following in Suffolk County where he was engaged to sing at temperance meetings several times in 1844 and 1847. He sang "a beautiful song" and collections were taken at the meetings to pay for his services. ²⁸ The Washingtonian singers, Hubbard, Walden and Kelley attracted many persons to temperance meetings who otherwise would not attend, so noted the temperance newspaper. A musical concert in Hudson by the Orphean Family was advertised twice in the autumn of 1844. Another family of temperance singers, the Cheney quartet of three

brothers and a sister from New Hampshire, toured the region in 1846, stopping in Hudson for a concert. These groups, like the Hutchinsons, specialized in temperance music when they toured the Hudson River Valley and provided the temperance community with an opportunity to enjoy moral entertainments. Touring temperance singers were a counterpart to touring temperance lecturers. Temperance concerts were so well liked, and apparently lucrative, that the *Columbia Washingtonian* warned its readers about impostor temperance singers who "cashed in" on the popularity of the true temperance performers. ²⁹ Music was an important part of temperance activities in the Hudson River Valley and many performers provided temperance-related music in response to the desires of the temperance community.

Temperance entertainment continued to draw audiences in 1847 as "Temperance Entertainment for Washingtonians" by the Eddy Family was announced for Davis Hall in Hudson during September 1847. Advertisements for Washingtonian songbooks available at Wynkoop's book shop in Hudson appeared in the newspaper throughout the 1840s. *The Washingtonian Minstrel* and Bensel's *Temperance Harp* were among the temperance songbooks for sale in the Hudson Valley. ³⁰ *The Temperance Harp, Containing Firemen's, and Other Songs by A. Bensel*, which contained thirty-seven songs, some with familiar melodies, asserted that music was known to be a great aid to temperance. Music "will bring many to the Temperance meetings who like to hear a good song, or hymn, and might otherwise attend those places where liquor is sold and songs sung." ³¹ A temperance songbook entitled "The Temperance Vocalist, Consisting of a Choice Collection of Temperance Odes, Original and Selected, As Sung By James M. Brown of Yonkers, by whom this work is compiled," was printed and available in 1846. ³² The

Columbia Washingtonian announced that temperance songbooks were also offered for sale in the paper's office in Hudson. With the music books, temperance-minded families were able to entertain themselves at home with music that reinforced the goodness and necessity of their temperance mission. The songbooks were also useful at temperance meetings when a society relied on its own singing rather than use professional performers, such as local residents A. P. Bullock and his daughter. Music was such an important part of temperance meetings that one society credited its female members with "singing to retain attention," thereby generating enough interest to save the society. 33

Not all entertainment enjoyed by temperance advocates was musical. "A Temperance Drama" by Mr. Williams was performed at the Davis Hall in Hudson in November 1844. *A Drunkard Reformed*, a temperance play, was on the bill in Hudson that same month and Hudson Washingtonians were especially invited to attend, according to the newspaper advertisement for the performance. The Hudson Washington Temperance Society postponed its meetings until the end of the play's run in Hudson, in order that all those members interested could attend the theater. In November of the following year, the New-York Dramatic Association performed a temperance play at Davis Hall in Hudson. In addition to commercial stagings, temperance dramas were also written for temperance societies to be enacted by their members at meetings and in schools and temperance halls. 34 The popularity of temperance drama was part of the nineteenth century antebellum attraction to amusements that carried a moral message, especially temperance meetings, lectures, concerts, plays and exhibitions.

Thespian undertakings were not the only source of dramatic expression found in the temperance reform movement. Temperance meetings evoked the ritual of evangelical

revivalism that captured so many antebellum Protestants, thereby linking the revivalistic process to the temperance movement, and temperance meeting as theatre. The ceremony of the Protestant evangelical revival was designed to lead sinners through a public conversion experience. Temperance meetings can be seen as secular ritual, with the signing of total abstinence pledges akin to taking a seat on the "anxious bench" of a revival meeting. Both actions were tangible signs of willingness on the part of the participant to forsake sin or despised behavior. In fact, the notable revivalist, Charles Grandison Finney, linked alcohol directly to Satan when he named it sinful to drink "demon rum." Drinkers and that "servant of Satan," the rumseller, were sinners and destined for hell if they did not repent, Finney asserted. Those who lived totally abstinent from intoxicants would enjoy security and God's grace, and the happiness that temperance could impart on earth would be continued in heaven. Finney integrated temperance reform into his revival ritual and fostered an egalitarian concept of temperance; denouncing the sin of drinking could save all, as Christians would be saved by denouncing sin at a revival. Temperance reform became even more egalitarian after the advent of Washington Temperance Societies in the 1840s, which brought the drunkard and the reformed drunkard into the center of reform efforts. The fact that both revivalism and temperance movements were interdenominational meant that both strains of reform would attract and encompass a broader section of antebellum society. However, temperance reform meetings were not identical in form or fashion to evangelical Protestant revivals of the nineteenth century. At temperance meetings reformers and reformed were not viewed as direct channels of God, as they were at revival meetings, nor did spontaneous preaching usually occur at temperance events. 35

Push it along, and keep it moving,
The Temperance cause is still improving.

“Old Sir Toddy”-Temperance Song

Temperance meetings, lectures, concerts and dramatic stage productions did employ revival-like techniques and imagery to advance the reform cause. Through their respective media, the speaker, singer or dramatic character awakened the audience to the dangers of drinking and drunkenness to their souls, bodies, families, communities and nation. Audiences were reminded that the intemperate who tempted fate by imbibing faced moral, social and economic ruination. Recognition of the inherent perils of drink encouraged the audience to unite against alcohol, labor for temperance reform and set an example by refraining from the use of any intoxicating beverages. Antebellum patriotic sentiment was invoked in those reformers who viewed preservation of the American republic as their special charge. Initially, the primary audiences of temperance lectures and events were those who already lived temperate, if not totally abstinent, lives. The Washington temperance movement of the 1840s was the first to dedicate itself to the salvation of the alcoholic drinker. That drinker was to be convinced to cease his harmful practice by the "experience" lecture and testimony of a reformed man, who employed predominately secular rhetoric and motivating imagery of the goodness of a life lived without alcohol. 36

The strong nineteenth century moral boundaries given to respectable amusements especially promoted antebellum temperance activities and the culture of temperance

reform. Moral entertainments such as temperance lectures, music, plays, mass meetings, fairs, picnics grew out of the need to provide temperate pastimes and replace the social attractions of the tavern for the reformed drunkard and total abstainers. In this sense, the temperance lecture can be viewed as moral entertainment, as well as the more recognized antebellum forms of moral amusement. Those who could lecture, sing, play music or act in the moral cause of temperance toured the Hudson River Valley and gained quite a following. John Stanton Gould, Alson Ward, Edmund Platt and the regional temperance newspapers recorded their impressions of such lecturers and entertainers. The journal writers also wrote of the pleasure they had derived from attending such activities and amusements. Gould visited P. T. Barnum's American Museum with his children while on a trip to New York City; he considered it a suitable activity for his family. Those journal records and the newspaper articles indicate that the Hudson River Valley temperance and mass meetings, lectures, plays, concerts, conventions, picnics, protracted meetings and other temperance events served a social, as well as moral, function and fostered camaraderie among reformers. For many reformers and reformed, those temperance events replaced the temptation to drink, especially on holidays such as the Fourth of July and New Year's Day. Additionally, those events required great preparation, which also became a social moral activity itself. As noted, Alson Ward of Pleasant Valley busied himself with practicing music and providing dinner for the temperance conventions he was to attend. Temperance reformers came to recognize that temperance events could be used to provide social interaction, as well as to advance the cause of reform.

Come all you jolly fellows, And hear my sad lament,
 I'll tell you of a story, And that with good intent.
 It's of my own experience, Of which you all may gain,
 Some knowledge of the horrors, Of getting drunk again.

“Drunkard’s Lament”-Temperance Song

Temperance oratory was another important public expression of the nineteenth century antebellum temperance reform movement, as was oratory in all of its forms to antebellum society. The zenith of American oratory occurred during the revolutionary era through the civil war. Republicanism released democratizing energies which enlivened the style of public speaking, especially on political and social reform matters, as well as other public activities. Antebellum audiences esteemed public speakers and addresses which met their oratory standards. ³⁷ Early in the 1840s, reformed alcoholics were responsible for the “experience talks” that brought so many signatures to the tee total pledge. Praising the benefits of experience temperance talks in the Hudson River Valley, the *Columbia Washingtonian* lamented that “our Washingtonians would rather pay a stranger to tell *his* experience than to tell their own.” ³⁸ Speaking on temperance matters and giving experience talks for pay became the livelihood for a number of mid-nineteenth century lecturers and temperance agents. In 1842, one Oswego, New York reformed drinker and former tavern-keeper turned temperance lecturer declared that “having had experience in ...bachanalian [*sic*] glee, and also having taken an eight years’ graduation in a liquor TAVERN, or FINISHING-OFF SHOP, he is rendered a Professor in the skill of Washingtoniana.” The “Old Landlord Reformed” promised to tell of his drinking experiences and the need for the total abstinence pledge, as well as the “missionary spirit” of Washingtonianism toward inebriates. ³⁹ Lecturing on temperance

was not without risk in 1846 Greene County's New Baltimore, however. Angered by experience talks occurring near his tavern, a "rumseller" caused the lecturer to be arrested. The temperance advocate was later released, and subsequently sued the tavern owner in county court and was awarded \$490 by the jury for his troubles in advancing the cause of temperance in New Baltimore. 40

Among the temperance lecturers who appeared in the Hudson River Valley during the antebellum nineteenth, none was more popular and famous, or theatrical, than John Bartholomew Gough (1817-1886). Like many other reformed speakers, he centered his lecture on testimony of his reformation from drunkenness. 41 However, the erstwhile professional actor Gough characteristically used very dramatic flourishes and jokes, as well as impersonation and mimicry in reenacting the story of his conversion from drunkenness. His was a classic drunkard's tale: led astray by companions, despite the pleas of a good wife who then died from neglect, years of degradation, bouts of delirium tremens, and, finally, the intervention of a kind philanthropist who offered financial assistance predicated on Gough's total abstinence pledge. Gough presented an idealized testimony of his classic conversion experience replete with the most theatrical of gestures and language. Gough's style, as well as his story, attracted a following and accounted for his great popularity. Alson Ward declared Gough to be a most impressive lecturer in 1847. "What a lecture..." Susan B. Anthony declared after attending an 1849 Gough temperance address which favorably impressed her. 42 A nineteenth century Gough biographer described how the temperance man captivated his audience.

"His hair was bushy and he tossed it about as a lion does his mane. The lithe form was always in motion, and needed a large platform for full effect. The restless, eager hands, supple as India-rubber, were perpetually busy

flinging the hair forward, in one character, back in another, or standing it straight up in a third; crushing the drunk-fiend, pointing to the angel in human nature, or doubling up the long coat tail in the most grotesque climaxes of gesticulation.” 43

As Gough's popularity rose, so did the fees he was able to command. In 1845, Gough was paid \$10 for each temperance lecture he delivered, the same lecture earned \$25 in 1850. A decade later in 1860, at the peak of his popularity, Gough charged \$300 for each of his noted temperance lectures. 44 It was in 1860 that young Edmund Platt of Poughkeepsie was able to enjoy a Gough lecture performance. Popular antebellum temperance lecturers used animation, jokes, comic and sad temperance songs and exciting rhetoric to engage the attention of the audience, thus providing moral entertainment as well as moral direction.

Gough skillfully imitated drunken slurs and dialects, and his dramatic renditions of temperance poetry and songs appealed to his audiences. Gough regularly toured the Hudson River Valley describing his degraded experiences with "demon rum" and his subsequent salvation through sobriety. In July 1844, he spoke in Hudson and was accompanied by Rev. John Marsh, Secretary of the American Temperance Union. Marsh was a familiar figure in the New York temperance arena and visited the Hudson River Valley region during the 1840s and 1850s, speaking to the Ulster County Temperance Society on the history of the temperance movement in 1851. Gough and Marsh addressed audiences at both the Reformed Dutch Church and the Presbyterian Church, where school aged children were gathered to hear Gough. Then the adults congregated in the evening to hear the temperance lecturers at the Hudson Reformed Dutch Church. Afterwards, Gough alone went onto the Ghent Reformed Dutch Church for a Sunday

morning address, followed by one in the afternoon at the chapel in Stockport. The next year, Gough was engaged to speak for a week in Albany where he would address the annual meeting of the New York State Temperance Society. 45

Going “up and down the Hudson River...diverging occasionally, to towns lying off the more traveled route,” Gough toured the Hudson Valley region twice in 1847, stopping at Catskill in April and in September. Gough also gave his famous temperance talks in Hudson, Mellenville, Kinderhook, and Chatham Four Corners in September 1847. That same month Gough also spoke in High Falls, New Paltz, Newburgh, all in Ulster County, and then in Cold Spring, Putnam County. Gough recorded that he lectured “generally in the towns on the Hudson River” in 1848, and while speaking in a “large tent” at the Kingston Fourth of July celebrations that year “part of the seats and platform gave way.” Fortunately, no one was seriously injured in the mishap. “John B. Gough Again Fallen,” declared a New York City newspaper following the incident, referring to Gough’s infamous 1845 relapse into drunkenness. 46

He was back in the region again in 1849, speaking at the Hudson Presbyterian Church on a successive Friday and Saturday in January. Next, Gough lectured at the Hudson Dutch Reform Church on Monday to benefit the Hudson Orphan Asylum, which housed thirty children and was in need of funds to support them. Later that year, Gough spoke to the Greene County Temperance Society on the Fourth of July. The July 1849 journey also included other Greene County stops at Durham, Catskill, Lexington, Prattsville, Windham Centre, Greeneville and Cocksackie. He was back at Windham Centre on the Fourth of July in 1850. The patriotic event drew an “immense assembly...[which] filled the spacious building selected for the occasion, yard and the

streets, lanes and avenues to overflowing to overflowing.” In addition to Gough’s address, music was supplied by the temperance society choir, as well as the Oakhill and Windham Center Brass Bands. 47 Gough was still touring the Hudson River Valley into the 1860s. Upon hearing Gough at Poughkeepsie in Pines Hall in 1860, the young Edmund P. Platt judged him to have given the very best lecture he had heard. By that time, in addition to temperance lectures Gough had branched out to include topics such as “London Street Life” and “Peculiar People” in order to retain his audience. Even speaking on such subjects, Gough “infused all his lectures with principles and interests of temperance.” 48

Like the Hudson Washingtonians who adjourned their meeting in November 1844 to attend the performance of a temperance drama in the city, many antebellum Hudson Valley temperance advocates enjoyed melodramatic productions. In fact, most drama of the American theatre of the day was melodrama. By the 1840s, much of the theatre performed on American stages was indeed American, characterized by American writers and actors, and there existed a patriotic pride in the emergence of an American theatre. In fact, allegiance to an American actor led to a deadly 1849 riot between New York City fans of the American Shakespearean actor, Edwin Forrest, and those who favored his rival, the British actor William Macready. Popular antebellum American theatre attempted to foster a sense of respectability in order to attract the growing middle class American who desired moral entertainments. Consequently, many of the first American plays were melodramas with religious or moral themes.

Dramatization of the drunkard's conversion to sobriety by touring stage productions was just such a form of moral entertainment; and it is credited with fostering

acceptance of legitimate American theatre. *The Drunkard, or the Fallen Saved* was one of the most popular American dramas of any era, as well as the most popular antebellum temperance drama. The play was developed in 1844 at the request of Boston temperance reformer Moses Kimball for his Boston Museum. Kimball hoped that his melodrama "might aid the cause of Temperance," presumably in addition to achieving commercial success. So popular was that temperance drama, that shrewd businessman, P. T. Barnum, staged a production at his New York City American Museum. By 1845, *The Drunkard*, which presented the typical inebriate's redemption journey in well-liked standard melodramatic form, was playing simultaneously in four major cities, New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and touring productions soon followed. The combination of the drunkard's reformation and the melodrama format assured that the formulaic play would gain great favor among the antebellum temperance community. Written by dramatist William Smith, the 1844 temperance melodrama was the first of its kind to gain a national audience. 49

Reform melodrama developed from the domestically based melodrama of the late 1830s, in which the central motif was the home under threat. The standard villain character represented a specific social ill, such as drunkenness, and was the personification of depravity and evil. The melodrama was centered on the hero who must be rescued from the villain, his own evil habit. The rescue is affected through the prayers of the good and faithful heroine and the intervention of Providence as embodied by a philanthropist or reformer, who would lead the hero through his reformatory journey. Thus, the antebellum melodrama was theatre as moral propaganda and entertainment, as well as one facet of the temperance reform culture. 50

Antebellum audiences, including Hudson Valley temperance advocates, understood the imagery of the temperance plays they attended. The most famous one, *The Drunkard*, opened with the hero-husband as symbol of man, who in his innocence falls into sin-drunkenness at the instigation of the tempter-villain, despite his wife-heroine's pleas to remain free of drink. The wife provided spiritual and moral guidance, which was rejected and resulted in a fall from grace. The drunken fall ruined the domestic peace the couple had enjoyed and the salvation the husband could have achieved. The melodrama was staged in five familiar acts: Innocence, The Fall, The Downward Spiral, Reformation, and Restoration. The successful dramatic structure of *The Drunkard* was copied by the vast majority of temperance melodramas of the era, including the popular temperance tale set in the Hudson River Valley, *Ten Nights in a Bar-room and What I Saw There*, which was dramatized for stage in the early 1850s. More than one hundred temperance plays were written during the first five decades of the nineteenth century. *The Drunkard* and *Ten Nights in a Bar-room* were two of the most popular and lucrative. *Little Katy, or the Hot Corn Girl* was adapted for the stage from an 1853 series of articles which exposed the degradations of slum life in Horace Greeley's *New-York Tribune*. The melodrama, which depicted the plight of the children of drunkards, joined *The Drunkard* and *Ten Nights in a Bar-room* as the three most popular antebellum temperance plays. In the play, Little Katy suffers a murderous beating from her drunken mother, yet forgives her mother before she dies. The dramatic rendition of poverty, alcoholism and child abuse was staged three different times before the Civil War in New York City and rivaled *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in popularity with theatre audiences. 51

Fiction with temperance themes was popular with many nineteenth century antebellum readers who sought moral entertainment or occupation, and temperance tales were frequently published as serials by general, as well as temperance presses and newspapers of the era.⁵² Temperance literature began to appear in the 1820s and the two decades of the 1840s and 1850s witnessed the highest antebellum output of the popular genre. Eleven titles were published between 1820 and 1830 and fifty-three between 1830 and 1840. However, ninety-one temperance tales appeared during the forties and fifties. So well liked was the genre, both Nathaniel Hawthorne and Washington Irving complained of the popularity of what they considered to be a vulgar form of literature. Although not a temperance man himself, Hawthorne succumbed to the financial rewards of temperance fiction, producing a tale that appeared in the 1843 edition of *The Temperance Almanac*. Temperance literature sold so well and was so lucrative that it attracted professional writers, of whom less than 2 percent had any connection to the temperance reform movement. There were 65 men and at least 45 women who wrote temperance works professionally, and 106 publishers who printed those pieces in the period between 1820 and 1860. Temperance literature, more than any other form of antebellum fiction, including abolition fiction, carried a social message to a broad audience, and thus provided its readers with another form of moral entertainment. At least thirty weekly and monthly temperance journals were in circulation between 1820 and 1860, while six abolitionist magazines and seven works of fiction existed in the same period. An 1850 weekly family newspaper *Fireside Companion* advertised that it was “Devoted to Literature, Foreign and Domestic News, the Arts and Science for the domestic circle, Temperance, and morality in general.” The weekly promised reviews of

“family literature; and will endeavor to restrain the taste for frivolous reading which seems to be fast becoming the characteristic of fashionable literature of the present age.” 53 Periodicals and newspapers devoted to temperance provided purposeful moral entertainment, and so upheld the culture of reform.

Father, dear father, come home with me now!
 The clock in the steeple strikes one;
 You said you were coming right home from the shop,
 As soon as your day's work was done.
 Our fire has gone out—our house is all dark—
 And mother's been watching since tea,
 With poor brother Benny so sick in her arms,
 And no one to help her but me.

Henry C. Work, “Come Home Father”-Temperance Song

Temperance fiction qualified as “family literature” and such stories and poetry appeared in all of the domestic magazines so popular with antebellum readers. Temperance advocates bought annual temperance almanacs, which touted “In addition to the Calendar and Astronomical Calculations...contains... Statistics of Intemperance, valuable reading matter, Anecdotes, Stories, choice Illustrations, etc....” 54 Annual gift books devoted solely to temperance and favored by antebellum Americans appeared in the 1840s and 1850s. The 1847 issue of the gift book, *The Fountain*, included contributions by the well-known antebellum writers, Hudson Valley native T. S. Arthur, along with Fanny Forrester, Lydia Sigourney, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Horace Greeley, among others. Greeley and Sigourney also contributed to the 1850 annual, *The National Temperance Offering*. Best selling temperance writer, T. S. Arthur, edited *The Temperance Offering for All Seasons* from 1851 through 1854, and each issue built upon

the popularity of the genre. Arthur wrote nearly half of the temperance tales in the 1854 edition, which also included a temperance work by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Early temperance fiction of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century had been written mainly by clergy members of the American Temperance Union, which published and disseminated the works. That involvement of the clerically dominated Protestant American Temperance Union fostered the belief that redemption from drunkenness could be achieved only through the work of God. Like the early temperance reform movement, the early strain of temperance literature tended to ignore the plight of the drunkard. The American Temperance Union publications appealed to many readers who were already temperate, if not totally abstinent. Temperance fiction, which focused on the redeemability of the alcoholic, would not appear until the 1840s, with the rise of Washingtonianism, much like that same development in temperance reform and melodrama. Successful temperance fiction writers of the 1840s and 1850s who admired the Washingtonian movement, such as Walt Whitman and T. S. Arthur, realistically rendered in their works the results of alcoholic drinking and the strength required to overcome the behavior. Professional women writers Lydia Sigourney and Caroline Lee Hentz also wrote accurate accounts of female alcoholics. Centering their temperance tales on the redeemable drunkard, sympathetic professional temperance writers reflected their era's new belief in the possibility of reform for those previously disregarded. 55

Walt Whitman, whose poetry was favored by nineteenth century Americans, authored several temperance based works: "Young Grimes," an 1840 poem; "Wild Frank's Return" and "The Child and the Prolifigate," both 1841 tales; "Rueben's Last Wish," a tale published in 1842; and his most popular temperance work, *Franklin Evans*

or *The Inebriate*, serialized as a weekly shilling novel in 1842. Whitman indicated that *Franklin Evans* had been written to further the cause of the temperance movement, especially the Washingtonian strain of redemptive temperance reform. The publisher of the serial requested that Whitman write the temperance tale in order to take advantage of the success of T. S. Arthur's *Six Nights With the Washingtonians*, which had appeared earlier that year. Twenty thousand copies of Whitman's story were sold; and during Whitman's lifetime, *Franklin Evans* proved to be his most popular work. With its strong plot line and good character development, *Franklin Evans* remains one of the best examples of antebellum nineteenth century temperance fiction. ⁵⁶

Whitman considered temperance, especially the Washingtonian practice of telling life experience stories, to be a form of popular entertainment, as well as a means to a necessary reformation. Antebellum temperance advocates sought moral entertainments and such writers as T. S. Arthur and Whitman supplied good temperance fiction with the requisite moral elements. The sensational tales of personal degradation, which were central to the Washingtonian experience talks, were essential if temperance was to successfully compete with the other entertainment forms so popular with antebellum audiences. Washingtonians had to contend for the antebellum audience with a thriving penny press, serialized stories, crime-filled melodramas and the unusual attractions offered by popular exhibition halls. While the temperate may have sought moral entertainments, the audiences which the Washingtonians addressed were often more accustomed to a different caliber of entertainment. In order for moral entertainment to entice adherents to the cause of personal and communal temperance reform, it had to supplant the other attractions available. ⁵⁷ P. T. Barnum was himself "an advocate of

teetotalism,” a position advertised in promoting his American Museum to those who were interested in the “Sights and Wonders of New York City.” At his exposition hall in New York City, Barnum featured an exhibit of wax figures depicting “A [*sic*] Intemperate Family,” a poor family ravaged by the physical and pecuniary effects of a father’s alcoholism. Convinced of the fallacy of “moderate” drinking, in 1845 Barnum gave up spirituous liquors and the wine he learned to appreciate on an early 1840s European tour with Tom Thumb. As a temperance advocate and true to his business sense, Barnum stressed the practical benefits of total abstinence and condemned the financial losses attributable to intemperance and the suffering it inflicted on innocent women and children. 58 The Barnum exhibit displayed a realistic temperance message and added a moral attraction to others of more dubious moral appeal in the famous museum. Apparently, Barnum did refine the attractions of his American Museum so that it met the exacting moral standards of John Stanton Gould, who had visited the exhibits while in New York City.

In striving to attract temperance advocates to his most popular work of temperance fiction, *Franklin Evans or The Inebriate in the World*, Walt Whitman employed familiar characters and plot line. The common moral elements of hero, heroine and tempting villain are present; intemperance threatens, and then destroys, the heart of the family. The costs of drunkenness to the individual, the family and society are laid out for the reader as young Franklin Evans progresses through the story. The main character, like Whitman, left his native Long Island to make his way in New York City; Whitman as an apprentice printer and the fictional Evans as a mercantile clerk. On his journey to the city, Evans was warned against the dangers of drink when he encountered an

innkeeper who had lost his family farm and pride to his intemperate ways.

Franklin Evans did not heed the warning inherent in the story of the Long Island innkeeper; and once in New York City and employed as a clerk, he began to drink with his companions and soon fell into intemperance. Such wayward behavior caused him to lose his respectable position. Able to secure only menial factory work, Evans left his respectable rooms for less desirable, but more affordable, accommodations. At this juncture, Evans, determined to redeem himself, pledged that he would no longer drink strong liquors. At his new boarding house, Evans courted and won the daughter of his newly deceased landlady. Unschooled but blessed with a good heart, the young wife suffered from his further fall from respectability. Due to Evans's inability to provide for his new wife, the couple lost the boarding house, their only asset, to creditors. Young Mrs. Evans, never strong, contracted a fatal illness in their lowly quarters. Seeking solace for his loss, Evans turned to wine, which was not prohibited by his pledge against using "ardent spirits." However, drinking wine led to imbibing other intoxicants and, once again, Evans fell into the familiar "forgetfulness of the oblivion-causing cup." An utter failure in the city, Evans returned to the countryside in search of salvation from his troubles. Once there, he continued to drink all manner of alcohol and became even further dissipated. On his rambles through Long Island, Evans happened to hear an "experience" temperance speaker and took the redemptive message to heart. Every man was considered worthy and capable of reformation and a return to dignity, the Washingtonian lecturer assured him. The first step was adoption of the pledge to abstain from "all that intoxicates," which Evans signed. The fortunes of Franklin Evans improved once he was totally abstinent and sober again.

The story of Franklin Evans does not end there, however. For all of his good intentions, Evans relapsed to his former ways with further bouts of drinking. This development was followed by an unfortunate marriage and business failure. Once again in a degraded condition, Franklin Evans was visited by the message of temperance in a dream, in which abstinence was shown to be the only means to an honorable and secure way of life. Evans finally found lasting prosperity and stability through the total abstinence pledge of a Washington Temperance Society on his native Long Island. The moral of *Franklin Evans or The Inebriate in the World*, was that only total abstinence was effective, and praise was helpful to the Washingtonians and redemptive work. Whitman's popular temperance tale promoted the cause of antebellum temperance reform and provided readers with another form of moral entertainment. It may also have influenced Whitman, himself, to take the total abstinence pledge, which he did after the publication of his temperance novel. 59

The genre of temperance tales afforded temperance advocates with positive reinforcement of the goodness of their mission, as well as a warning to all others. Antebellum temperance reform was an important social issue which provided timely material to professional writers, some of whom achieved financial success through their efforts. The most popular and successful temperance writer of the antebellum period was a native of the Hudson River Valley. Timothy Shay (T. S.) Arthur, the son of an unsuccessful farmer, was born in Newburgh and grew up in West Point and Baltimore, in Greene County. 60 Arthur's two most popular works were based on the theme of recounting events he witnessed: *Six Nights With the Washingtonians*, written in 1842, and *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room, and What I Saw There*, which appeared twelve years later.

Six Nights With the Washingtonians became a "best seller," which has been defined as selling copies to the equivalent of at least 1 percent of the contemporary population or 175,000 copies throughout the 1840s. In addition to writing book-length fictional accounts, Arthur also published his own monthly temperance magazine. Editor Sarah Josepha Hale's *Godey's Lady's Book* also published more than sixty of Arthur's temperance tales and sketches in the forties and fifties. Arthur produced temperance tales from 1840 into the 1870s, with but a short break in the mid 1860s due to ill health, and his most popular works in the genre were produced in the 1840s and 50s. Arthur wrote better temperance fiction than most of his contemporaries, devising good plot construction and character development around the primary theme of preservation of the family against the threat of intemperance. Arthur wrote often of the moral influence that women and children were able to exert and the necessity of an attractive, comfortable home to defend against the attractions of the tavern. Using those devices, Arthur wrote stories, such as "The Cold Water Wedding" and "Give Me My Husband," which were popular with antebellum readers. Arthur understood better than other antebellum temperance writers did the nature of alcoholism and the sufferings of the alcoholic, as a result of time spent with the Washingtonians. Arthur praised the efforts of the grassroots Washingtonian movement of the 1840s in *Six Nights With the Washingtonians*. The work praised the redemptive appeal of Washingtonianism to alcoholics who had previously been judged as lost. Both Arthur and Walt Whitman were able to represent previously damned inebriate with both realism and sympathy. Like the Washingtonians, Arthur favored the principle of moral suasion in the 1840s. However, convinced that moral suasion could not succeed, by the 1850s he advocated legal coercion to curb

intemperance.

Arthur's 1854 *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*, which recounted events supposedly witnessed there, was set in the Hudson River Valley and presented the familiar theme of a man and his family degraded by drink and the tragedy that befell them. In that work, Arthur developed one of the most famous of all temperance tale characters, Mary Morgan. A young girl, Mary was sent by her distressed mother to bring her drunken father home from the tavern; "Father, dear father, come home with me," Mary unsuccessfully begged of him. While thus pleading, Mary was accidentally killed in the tavern by the tragically villainous and drunken barkeeper, Simon Slade. The guilt and grief Mary's father experienced afterward led him to reform and return to his family. Arthur's well-liked *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room* temperance tale was second in antebellum books sales only to Harriet Beecher Stowe's influential *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which had appeared in 1851-52. ⁶¹ The *Columbia Washingtonian* carried an Arthur temperance tale, entitled "The Touching Reproof," in serial form for its readers in 1842. His works were available in circulating libraries and general stores, as well as bookstores, in the Hudson River Valley. ⁶² Arthur was considered to be an effective and popular temperance writer, and the temperance community in the region would have been readily familiar with the works of native son, Timothy Shay Arthur.

The popular works of Arthur and Walt Whitman reinforced antebellum faith in the total abstinence pledge for alcoholics, as well as the ability of drunkards to reform. Because he did not adhere to his total abstinence pledge, Whitman's favorite temperance lecturer, John B. Gough, experienced several alcoholic relapses during his long speaking career. Gough knew well the physical and emotional consequences of his relapses,

although he was always forgiven by his loyal following. Perhaps as a result of his experiences, Gough asserted that "Drunkenness is a mysterious disease and the power of appetite on a nervous, susceptible organization [human body] is almost absolute, and there is no remedy by total abstinence-total and entire." 63

Friends that I loved in the grave are laid low,
 Hopes that I cherished are fled from me now;
 I am degraded for rum was my foe,
 Long, long ago—long, long ago.

Sadly my wife bowed her beautiful head,
 Long, long ago—long, long ago.
 How I wept when I knew she was dead,
 Long, long ago—long, long ago.

John B. Gough, "Inebriate's Lament"-Temperance Song

The influence of temperance lecturers on the alcoholic listener was the theme of an 1842 temperance tale published by the American Tract Society. *Mr. Nobody; or, How I Became a Teetotaler* was the story of a sailor who had forsworn alcohol upon hearing the renowned John B. Gough speak at a temperance meeting. In addition to the positive message of a reformation by temperance, this publication reinforced the eminence of Gough's career as a lecturer. 64 Another sailor was saved from drunkenness in the 1843 story, *The Disenthralled: Being Reminiscences in the Life of the Author; His Fall from Respectability by Intemperance.-And Rescue by the Washingtonian Society*. Told by the author, who was the Hudson River Valley temperance lecturer Joseph Gatchell, the events occurred in Columbia County in 1841. Gatchell, a self-described drunken sailor, landed in New York City, and seeking other employment, he traveled up the Hudson

River to Hudson by steamboat. From Hudson, he traveled by train to Chatham Four Corners, where he worked at laying railroad tracks and boarded with a farm family. In the village of Valatie, he happened to meet an old sailor, and together they spent several drunken days there. Upon his return to Chatham Four Corners, the good farm wife spoke with him of the Washington Total Abstinence Society and its redemptive value. Gatchell was persuaded to give up drink by the woman's kindness and the salvation offered by the Washingtonian total abstinence pledge. Once sober, he reconsidered his derelict religious condition, joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in Concord Corner, and later recorded his experiences. Saved from drunkenness and now a church member, Gatchell went on to become a temperance lecturer. He served also as a temperance agent of the *Columbia Washingtonian* and spread the temperance message throughout the Hudson River Valley in the 1840s. 65

Another Hudson River Valley temperance man recorded his experiences in *My Escape From King Alcohol With Trials and Triumph on Temperance Trails*, published in 1878. George Dutcher, born in the Valley in 1839, grew up on farms in Columbia and Greene counties. His father had been a farmer who lost his land due to his intemperate ways and young Dutcher was put out to work on other farms. Dutcher traveled to New York City in search of different employment, but found the city full of other young men from the surrounding countryside on similar quests. Unable to find work in New York City, he left for an unnamed "flourishing town," which was most likely Hudson, where he learned to manufacture doors. While so employed, he began drinking to excess and subsequently lost his job and was unable to find steady employment because of his intemperate habits. After many failed attempts at sobriety, he finally pledged total

abstinence from all intoxicants, which enabled him to take control of his life. Dutcher, like many other reformed men, continued in the abstinent path and enjoyed a career as a temperance lecturer in the Hudson River Valley. ⁶⁶

While much of the temperance fiction of the era was directed toward adult readers, genre writers did write moralistic stories for antebellum children. Temperance tales for children echoed the warning given in adult literature on the dangers of imbibing alcoholic beverages, and the familiar elements of temperance fiction were used. A theme popular with antebellum temperance writers was the various dangers that children encountered in cities. As depicted, urban centers posed threats to young people which were not faced in rural life. The children of temperance families read *Kitty White-Foot*, the story of a country kitten on a family visit to the city. While there, Kitty White-Foot's more sophisticated city cousins enticed her to drink from an unattended glass of whiskey. The effects of the drink were disastrous and the kitten developed seizures from the whiskey. She was revived only upon her return to the cleansing fresh air and morals of the countryside. The elements of successful temperance literature were present in the work and a resistance to temptation was thereby reinforced. ⁶⁷ In the aptly titled children's tract, *Out of Doors*, a family of city dwellers suffered from the ill effects of parental intemperance. It is the children in the story who sustain the most injury from the degeneracy of their parents and who are able to escape harm only by leaving the dangerous city for the safety of the countryside. Because the children are innocent of any blame for their parents' bad habits, and the parents are redeemable through abstinence, "It is the sin that is to be shunned and abhorred, and not the suffering victim." ⁶⁸ A belief in the ability of intemperates to reform, to care properly for their children and lead

honorable lives was espoused by Hudson Valley temperance advocates. Dedication to the temperance cause was reinforced by the books and periodicals which temperance advocates of all ages read along with the moral uplifting entertainments they enjoyed.

Visual arts also conveyed the antebellum culture of temperance reform and middle class identity.⁶⁹ The antebellum temperance newspapers and other publications often printed engraved and lithographed illustrations to accompany temperance stories. Those illustrations depicted images familiar to temperance advocates of the day: the degradation experienced by the intemperate and their families as contrasted with the happiness and comfort of the abstemious. The *Columbia Washingtonian* frequently included such an illustration to accompany the articles and tales it published. Illustrations printed in newspapers, magazines, books and tracts were mass-produced in order to reach a broad audience. One of the most well known antebellum nineteenth century temperance prints was produced by the Nathaniel Currier in 1846. “The Drunkards [sic] Progress. From the First Glass to the Grave” portrays the advancement of a well-dressed young man up and then down nine step pyramid of drunkenness. (See Appendix 5, “The Drunkards Progress.”) He begins with “A glass with a Friend,” then steps upward to take “A glass too much.” Soon, he is “Drunk and riotous” until “The summit attained Jolly companions A confirmed drunkard.” From the “summit,” he steps downward, “Poverty and Disease ” and “Desperation and crime” lead to the last footfall, “Death by suicide.” By these actions, the drunkard abandons his wife and child to make their way in the world without assistance. The wide circulation of “The Drunkards Progress” reinforced the antebellum temperance reform message that total abstinence was necessary to prevent drunkenness. As an example of the culture of temperance reform, Currier’s print found

an appreciative audience in the temperance community and remained popular with the print-buying public in nineteenth century. In fact, Currier's 1846 lithograph serves as an illustration of the antebellum temperance reform movement in contemporary textbooks and scholarly publications. ⁷⁰ Currier based on his temperance piece on an English 1730s set of eight morality paintings and engravings by William Hogarth (1697-1764), entitled "A Rake's Progress." ⁷¹

Temperance imagery in illustrative forms offered opportunities for antebellum moral entertainment and expression. Such temperance art conveyed a shared temperance culture, as well as the message of temperance. Temperance sentiments were etched on scrimshaw and worked into paper cutouts, as well as carved on walking sticks. Those convictions could also be found woven into banners and painted on signs and placards. An interesting example of such art was painted by an unidentified nineteenth century New York folk painter, known as the Utica master. He depicted the progressive evils of drinking in a set of watercolors based on English artist George Cruikshank's print series, "The Bottle." The Utica master's seven watercolors were mounted sequentially onto an 28 inch-by-18 inch sheet of paper, which was then wound onto a roller. As the watercolors were unwound from that roller onto another, they depicted intemperance's advancement from the "The Bottle is Brought Out" through the "Husband...Kills His Wife with the Instrument of All Their Misery." ⁷²

A popular painter who lived and worked on Long Island, New York produced several well-known temperance related paintings in the 1830s and 1840s. William Sidney Mount, America's premier antebellum genre artist, painted his first temperance work in 1832 at the behest of an unnamed temperance society. However, the painting,

which depicted an intoxicated man lounging on a bench after a session of drinking, was deemed unsatisfactory. Entitled "A Man in Easy Circumstances," the painting presented the inebriated man as too pleasantly satisfied for the taste of the temperance man, who refused to pay for the painting. "Mount, that will never do-you have represented the drunkard so happy, that it will not answer for the cause, " declared the temperance advocate. Fortunately, Mount was able to find another buyer for the painting. The painting was purchased for thirty dollars and displayed in the window of a Fulton Street picture frame and mirror store in Manhattan. Three years later, Mount exhibited "The Breakdown (Bar-room Scene)" at New York City's National Academy of Design's prestigious exhibition to the acclaim of critics and viewing public alike. In the painting, which depicted a tavern scene, the central figure, a shabbily dressed man, performs dance steps, which were considered less than decorous by contemporary visitors to the exhibit. The dancer's intemperance was represented by his tattered clothes, tankard and jug, while the onlookers are shown as well dressed and sober. The moral of the painting was evident to Mount's contemporaries; temperate Americans prospered in respectability while the intemperate did not. In 1841, Mount painted "Cider Making," as an allegory on the 1840 presidential contest in which the Whig candidate William Henry Harrison defeated Martin Van Buren, the Democratic candidate. Replete with political imagery, the painting contained references to the common practice of influencing the electorate with free alcoholic drinks, which was condemned by temperance advocates. A drunken electorate was considered disgraceful, as Alson Ward of Pleasant Valley explained. Mount also painted a third work which carried a temperance message, "Loss and Gain." Completed in 1848, the painting represented the concept that an unwanted loss could be

unexpectedly beneficial; the rustic figure in the painting drops his earthenware jug, only to watch the alcoholic contents spill out. The painting expressed the belief that the loss of the liquor will actually benefit the loser, even if he fails to appreciate this thought at first. 73 Mount's long career faithfully recorded themes that many of his contemporaries thought important, including reverence for rural life, patriotism, politics, race, music and temperance.

And now they're merry, without their sherry
Or Tom and Jerry, champagne and perry
Or spirits of every hue
And now they are a temperate crew
As ever a mortal knew

Hutchinson Family, "King Alcohol"-Temperance Song

Often impetus for temperance entertainment in the Hudson River Valley arose from the notion expressed in the *Crystal Fount*: "if we want men who are reformed-aye, and women too-to completely shun their former haunts...we must provide temperance places of recreation." The sentiment expressed concern for recovering alcoholics and strengthened the cause and the culture which grew up around it. Temperance reformers sought to avoid relapses into alcohol drinking by offering to both the already reformed and active reformers "Suitable innocent recreation." "A nation without innocent amusements is generally demoralized," temperance advocates believed. "[W]hen a person has discarded a bad and vicious habit, it must be replaced...by a good one." Vocal music, stage dramas and stories that both praised the temperate path and told of the evils of intemperance served the temperance community of the Hudson River Valley well

as moral entertainment they could share. Recognizing this development, two Westchester County general newspapers, the *Westchester Herald* and the *Westchester Spy*, endorsed temperance music and singing in 1842. *The Westchester Spy* even called for the establishment of temperance singing schools in order to foster the practice. No less an influential temperance figure than Father Theobald Mathew, the renowned Irish temperance leader, supported singing as a replacement for bad habits. Indeed, the chaplain of the Sing-Sing State Prison credited temperance singing with fostering abstinence among newly pledged prisoners who had previously been prone to relapses into their old drinking habits. The appearance of professional temperance singers at the prison also seemed beneficial to the inmates. A Westchester County baritone, James M. Brown of Yonkers, especially affected the female inmates of Sing-Sing when he presented his temperance repertoire there in January 1843, according to the account published by the *Crystal Fount*. Later that same month, Brown “sang some of his capital songs” at a Tarrytown temperance meeting which garnered forty-five total abstinence pledges. Although temperance singers and singing were effective in gaining new advocates to total abstinence, the singers must be temperate themselves, so declared the *Crystal Fount* in 1843. The possibility of intemperate professional entertainers performing temperance songs was not unknown to temperance reformers. The problem was more apparent in urban settings than it was in the Hudson River Valley, according to reports in the New York City temperance press. ⁷⁴

One of the functions served by the Hudson Valley temperance paper, the *Columbia Washingtonian*, was to clarify and promulgate the fundamental principles of the temperance community in the region regarding major issues of the day. Positions

taken by the paper were reflections of the beliefs espoused by its sponsoring temperance society. "Moral Suasion versus Legal Suasion" was one such principle that was defined by the newspaper for its readers. To the nineteenth century antebellum American, moral suasion meant persuasion to a particular point of view based on the inherent rectitude of the position, thereby assuming the immorality of the opposing belief. Such faith in the rightness of a particular cause characterized antebellum reform movements, including abolitionism and moral reform, as well as temperance. Demands for legal coercion followed, however, when reform advocates lost confidence in their ability to persuade the rest of antebellum society of their position. 75

Moral suasion was the "only true course" because "by this means we have already achieved a great work," the *Columbia Washingtonian* declared in 1843. This method was to be employed with friends and neighbors, as well as those intemperates whom they sought to convert to total abstinence. The temperate were to use kindness and encouragement in their efforts to convert both the intemperate and unbelievers. "Kindness and cold water" were advocated as remedies for intemperates. "Let temperate men be temperate in their language when speaking of those who oppose themselves," advised the paper. In 1845, readers of the *Columbia Washingtonian* read an admonition addressed to those reformed men in the Washingtonian movement who harangued and insulted their opponents. Such behavior only made enemies, hurt the cause the cause of temperance, and was to be avoided. 76

The limits of moral suasion were noted, however, and in an 1844 the message changed to accommodate those boundaries. While persuasion through an approach of temperate language and kindness was deemed as appropriate to reform the drunkard,

stronger methods were needed to convert the "rumseller." According to one temperance lecturer, the total abstinence pledge was doomed to fail if temptations were not removed.⁷⁷ Moral suasion had not stopped illegal Sunday sales of alcohol in the face of legal challenges and public opinion, and had threatened to "undo what Washingtonianism has done." In Hudson, fourteen reformed men combined in 1842 to see that the Sabbath ban was observed. The fourteen formally called upon the Hudson Common Council to see that the law was enforced. The committee reported that some Sunday sellers were "very imprudent" and were determined to remain open. By the next year, despite the reform committee's effort to collect about one thousand signatures on a petition to the Common Council to prohibit Sunday sales, such illegal sales continued to vex the temperance community. Although the temperance newspaper continued to call for temperance advocates to demonstrate benevolence toward the alcoholic, it declared that "License Laws Should Be Enforced." At a week of evening temperance meetings, as reported by the newspaper, it was stated that persuasion by moral means would not work on the "rumsellers of 1843." Those who could be influenced already had been won over, leaving only those with "little or no moral sensibility," to continue their practices. ⁷⁸

Some all for law and vengeance strive
Who would the car of temp'rance drive

And grind their foes to dust.

We all for Moral Suasion go
And seek by love to win our foe
And this, we hold is right.

F. M. Adlington, "Moral Suasion"-Temperance Song

A Washingtonian Temperance Society meeting at Hudson in 1847 heard the arguments for and against moral suasion debated yet again. A "rough and ready" statement in favor of moral suasion was delivered to a full house by temperance lecturer, George Haydock. Since the laws regarding licensed sales of alcohol were frequently violated, other legal remedies were advocated in 1847. In Yonkers, civil suits against illegal purveyors were initiated in 1847 by the Washingtonian offshoot of the Sons of Temperance organization. Stiff fines of \$100 or more were levied against "rumsellers" who ignored the liquor sale laws in Yonkers. Temperance reformers began to encourage county Overseers of the Poor to sue violators of the license law for the costs of supporting those in their care whom the overseers deemed impoverished by intemperance. The New Lebanon Temperance Society reported that such legal action had resulted in fines for two defendants. Attempts in Dutchess County during 1842 had failed in an effort to have licensed sellers taxed in order to seek reimbursement for damages caused by drunken assaults and batteries. 79

Suits against tavern keepers or grocers who sold liquor in violation of the license law or the Sunday ban on sales sometimes could produce results other than those desired by temperance reformers. Two such cases in 1847 reflect the local tensions over attempts by temperance men to control alcohol sales in their jurisdiction. Allen Gildersleeve, the Hillsdale Overseer of the Poor, sued Philo Robinson, who kept a grocery in Hillsdale, on the north side of the Massachusetts Turnpike in Columbia County. Gildersleeve charged Robinson with illegally selling liquor in his grocery store. During the trial in the Columbia County Justice Court, witnesses testified that they had imbibed gin and brandy and paid the bartender directly for the drinks, a clear-cut case of selling liquor without a

license. One man, a carpenter, also stated that he had consumed and paid for "ardent spirits." Another witness stated that he had some drinks in the grocery during harvest time, but had not paid for those drinks. During the buckwheat threshing season, a farmhand attested that he treated several others to "sour wine," cider and brandy, while an iron foundry worker bought his own drinks. The jury found for the defendant, the grocer, and charged court costs of \$2.25 to the Overseer of the Poor. The plaintiff then contended that the grocer owed \$25 under the license law. The charge was ignored. ⁸⁰

In neighboring Greene County, Acra temperance reformers succeeded in bringing three license law violations before the local court. This was achieved even though the Acra Overseers of the Poor were "rum sympathisers" who had refused action until they were threatened with indictments against themselves. The evidence was brought before a "Rum Justice." A "Rum Constable" arranged to have a sympathetic crowd on hand on the trial date and chose the jurors from among them. Not surprisingly, the jury returned a verdict of "No cause for action" in favor of the three defendants. ⁸¹ Earlier, the temperance agent for Greene County had charged that a church deacon, also a "rumseller," impeded the progress of the temperance movement in Acra. The village apparently had not submitted to the attractions of temperance as offered by the reformers. The experience of Bedford in Westchester County was somewhat different. As early as 1825, Bedford had required their Overseers of the Poor to prosecute all persons who kept a tavern or sold liquor in the town without a license. Any fines recovered from those illegal sales helped to defray Bedford's expenses in caring for its poor. ⁸² Bedford's temperance reformers knew whom to blame for the drunkenness in their area. In 1835, the Bedford Temperance Society reported that there were eight stores in town, five were

temperance stores, but the remaining three sold drinks "freely." In addition, one "house of entertainment" defied the excise license law and sold alcoholic beverages "profusely." According to the Bedford temperance advocates, 296 of the 504 families within the town's boundaries totally abstained from alcohol. One hundred sixty-six families drank "temperately, but there were 42 individuals, mostly heads of households, who were known to be "drunkards." The society also recorded that 1,420 gallons of rum and whiskey had been sold in 1833 to residents and others who came to town to buy drinks. One year later, those same temperance advocates described the situation in Bedford by stating that "there seems to be a lethargy which can not be accounted for-something is lacking; the people must rise in their might to overcome the strong opposition that is trying to trample" temperance reform. Additionally, the amount of alcohol consumed by Bedford's people had increased, "perhaps there are no more drinkers [than before] but those who use it, increase the quantity. Their cause is carried on with such perseverance that it seems to baffle all opposition...." 83

The place and purpose of alcoholic beverages in the lives of some antebellum working people were at odds with the desire of temperance reformers that they abstain from "all that intoxicates." This, despite the 1835 assertion of the Westchester County Temperance Society that they were pleased by the "withdrawal of stimulating drinks from the harvest field and the work-shop." 84 Ten years later, the report of Columbia County temperance agent, Benjamin Stainsby on his experience at the "Ironworks" is illustrative of the tension between those who drank and those who wanted them to stop drinking. The general opinion of the ironworkers was that they needed "*Strong Beer* at least," due to the difficulty of their labor and providing some relief from the intensity of

the heat in which they worked. To counter the efforts of temperance reformers, the ironworkers held several meetings of their own. A "rumselling Professing Christian" took charge of such meetings "at the desire of the men on the Iron Works." Stainsby reported that these rogue meetings, held at the school house, were well attended. ⁸⁵ Clearly, these men intended to resist the attempts of temperance reformers to change their ways.

Well, I'll break the old rum-jug
If you'll spare the cider-mug;
But to quit the whole concern
That's a lesson hard to learn.

John Yates, "Dialogue between a Tee-Totaler
and a Cider-Drinker"-Temperance Song

In another effort to influence the drinking of the Hudson Valley working class, the *Columbia Washingtonian* published the appeal of a "Citizen" who called for more "Home Manufactures" to be made available to workers. It was the lack of job opportunities that allowed men to be intemperate. Given enough work to fill their time and their purses, the working class would come to see the benefits of the temperate life. To expect idle men to abstain from alcohol was unrealistic, according to this "Citizen." ⁸⁶

A noted temperance advocate and philanthropist, Gerrit Smith of Peterboro in Madison County, New York developed a scheme to assist and reward the temperate. ⁸⁷ In 1849, it was announced in the *Kinderhook Sentinel* that Smith would give away tracts of land to 1000 "virtuous and landless poor persons," to be selected from each county, except Madison, in proportion to the home county's population. To qualify for selection,

the applicants were to be white, aged twenty-five to sixty, and "entirely free of the vice of drinking intoxicating liquors." Equal numbers of men and women would be chosen. The recipients from Columbia County were to be named by Mr. and Mrs. T. Beekman of Kinderhook. The Beekmans were to receive the applications for land "accompanied in all cases with such testimonials of good character as the applicant shall be able to procure." 88

The poor of New York were not the only beneficiary of lives lived according to temperance principles. Temperance advocate Edward C. Delavan in an 1847 "Letter to Merchants" appealed for merchants to stock temperance tracts in their stores. The publications would prove to be "money well invested," as their availability in stores would attract temperance-minded customers who paid their bills. Merchants who did as Delavan recommended could expect a "pecuniary profit, a most satisfactory return" from the sale of the temperance material and the timely payment of accounts, aside from the inherent moral value of supporting temperance. Temperance was good for business, according to Delavan. 89

In an effort to gain adherence to "cold water" principles among youngsters, the New York State Temperance Society proposed to place transparent anatomical depictions of the human stomach ravaged by alcohol in schools throughout the state. The drawings were produced in two sizes: the small set was used in schools and the large set was sold to temperance societies. The message graphically delivered would demonstrate how the human body was adversely affected by alcohol. In 1844, the *Kinderhook Sentinel* indicated that all schools in the Hudson Valley counties of Putnam, Westchester, Dutchess, Columbia and Rensselaer had received these renderings. A Washington, D. C.

physician named Sewall prepared the sketches during autopsies he conducted. They were printed in both English and German, and circulated extensively throughout the antebellum temperance community in the 1840s. ⁹⁰

In order to influence the behavior of others, temperance men promoted the arrest of those persons who disturbed the peace at temperance society events. The *Columbia Washingtonian* lauded the arrest of four "rowdy boys" who had interrupted a temperance concert by the Eddy Family Singers at Hudson's Davis Hall. The newspaper called for the continuation of the practice. The *Columbia Washingtonian* also noted that the four Hudson boys "in trouble" were poor, subject to bad influences, and whose mothers were unable to secure help for them. On reporting an 1844 temperance address to the youth of Hudson, the paper recognized that there were "many young men in Hudson ...which *need* to be reached." Hudson Washingtonians complained that "rowdy boys" had vandalized their meeting hall and disturbed temperance meetings for two years. ⁹¹ The temperance advocates had the remedy for the misbehavior of young men: total abstinence from alcoholic beverages.

Help us to feel for the drunkard,
In all his sin and woe;
And let our bright example teach the way he ought to go.

Let not our conduct harden him;
But fill our souls with care.

Phineas Stowe, "Deal Gently With the Fallen"-Temperance Song

The Washingtonian movement claimed the allegiance of most Hudson River Valley temperance reformers, if only for a few years. Central to this particular strain of

temperance was the principle and practice of assisting the "drunkard" to reform.

Although, as early as 1834, the Greene County Temperance Society had believed that it "ought never to believe a drunkard irreclaimable till he is dead and hence our efforts ought to be incessant for his restoration." ⁹² George Haydock declared before a meeting of the Gayhead Temperance Society in 1845 that "he threw over the Drunkard the mantle of charity and declared that restoration was possible...." ⁹³ Once given, such assistance must be continued in order to prevent the reformed from backsliding into their former dissolute ways. The reformed man, as he sought to secure the dignity promised by sobriety, should be able to count on the benevolence of the temperance reformers. The Washingtonian movement of the 1840s reinforced that principle and left it as a legacy for temperance advocates of the Hudson Valley. In an address delivered to the Springfield, Illinois Washington Temperance Society on February 22 1842, Abraham Lincoln eloquently expressed the Washingtonian practice of offering assistance and kindness to drunkards. "By the Washingtonians this system of consigning the habitual drunkard to hopeless ruin is repudiated. They adopt a more enlarged philosophy, they go for the present as well as future good.... They teach hope to all—despair to none." ⁹⁴ Washingtonians saw drunkenness as a "weakness not wickedness" and "rather a disease than a vice." The only condition of membership in their movement was "personal abstinence," and if a reformed man slipped, Washingtonians were there to "try to reclaim him again." ⁹⁵

The reformation of a man degraded by alcohol abuse was important to the man's family, to his community, and to the salvation of his soul, according to the tenets promulgated by the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The Washingtonian principle expected

both charity of purse and of spirit for the assistance of the reformed. Reports of temperance meetings held in the Hudson River Valley often included details that define the temperance reform movement in the region. Just such an instance appeared when the Ghent Temperance Society in Columbia County discovered, at an 1845 meeting, that 10 of their 385 fully pledged members had violated the total abstinence vow. The society's retiring president stated that he would disclose the names to any member who requested to know them. A motion to erase the names from the president's list failed. Rather than chastise the 10 men, the society adopted the instruction of Jesus Christ to His disciple Peter on forgiveness and chose to "apply the rule, forgive them 70 x 7." (Matthew 18:22) ⁹⁶ Ten years earlier, the Westchester County Temperance Society determined their stance on lapses: "Let us not forget that he is still our brother, and, even in his humiliation, entitled to our sympathy, nor fail to remember that he is the victim of a custom too long sanctioned....Let us strive to redeem the drunkard...and by our solicitude for him and his family, convince them that the friends of Temperance are truly the friend of the intemperate." ⁹⁷ When the Gayhead Temperance Society heard of violations of their total abstinence pledge in 1845, temperance lecturer and agent George Haydock advised the society to "cordially invite them back with us again." To encourage lapsed members to renew their abstinence pledge, the Gayhead Temperance Society appointed a committee of three to visit one Joseph P. Webber regarding his delinquency. Other committees of two to four members were sent to visit six more of the fallen-away in order to "reason" with them and return them to the temperate life. ⁹⁸ In 1846, the Columbia County temperance societies of Stuyvesant and Canaan Center formed "committees of vigilance" to visit lapsed members and then report back to the whole. ⁹⁹ Temperance

reform in the Hudson River Valley could be both charitable and vigilant.

The Washingtonian newspaper of Hudson advised wives of reformed men to encourage their husbands to attend meetings regularly in order to prevent relapses into drinking. In addition, "Sons and Daughters of Columbia" should not pass by their drunken friend or neighbor. Rather, they should be "Patriots" and extend the same philanthropy shown to the Greeks and Poles to their own countrymen who are daily being lost, exhorted the *Columbia Washingtonian*. (Revolutionaries in both lands had recently fought foreign rule to gain democratic reform, Greece successfully and Poland unsuccessfully) "Charity to the Poor" obliged Hudson River Valley reformers to help their neighbors. In 1845, the editor of the temperance paper proclaimed the "True Washingtonian Spirit" in this manner: "Here is one great secret of the signal success...truly Catholic spirit, and cordially unite heart and hand to extend the trophies of the temperance pledge and rescue the lost...save the young...without even asking or thinking about their precise system of religious or political faith." 100

Benevolence to inebriates and reformed men was the cornerstone of the temperance reformation movement that occurred in the Hudson River Valley. However, the inclination to treat the fallen and the reformed with kindness, charity and beneficence could be tailored to local conditions in the Valley. One such instance reflected the distinction between the towns in the Valley and in the surrounding countryside. Upon formation in 1842 of the Washington Temperance Society of Livingston, Columbia County, its rural inhabitants adopted a constitution that differed from that of the neighboring city of Hudson. The statement of intent and rules adopted in Livingston contained but five articles while Hudson's had twelve. A major difference concerned the

form that the requisite financial beneficence would take toward the "drunkard."

Livingston omitted, as inappropriate to their philosophy and rural location, any references to organized charity because it was an agricultural area where people were accustomed to their own "discretionary bestowal [of] charity gifts than, to be charitable by proxy."

Since the society met in local churches and groves which were available free of charge, they saw no need to levy dues on their members. Additionally, speakers from Hudson and Livingston were also available at no cost to the group and "satisfactory to the people of this district." There would be no speakers from further abroad if these same speakers charged fees. Livingston's omission of the usual constitutional ban on "traffic" in intoxicating liquors also reflected the agricultural basis of the Livingston society. As farmers, the temperance people would have frequently used their excess harvested apples and corn to make fermented or distilled beverage alcohol for sale or barter. It was not reasonable, the Livingston members decided, to expect farmers to forego part of their annual income derived from the produce of their farms. When the Hudson Washingtonians visited Livingston for a joint temperance meeting, the group was heckled by two men who had been sent by a local "rumseller." However, the temperance advocates were able to win over one of the men, who then joined them in singing temperance songs. Yet, two years after the formation of the Livingston temperance society, the *Columbia Washingtonian* published an appeal to the residents of Livingston, to those once pledged to total abstinence, to return to the temperance path. 101

Local results of intemperance captured the interest of readers of the *Kinderhook Sentinel*, a Columbia County Democratic general newspaper. For the reform-minded reader, the necessity of correcting intemperance was reinforced by a story which

appeared in the Kinderhook paper in 1842. The *Kinderhook Sentinel* published a local interest article on the Hudson Lunatic Asylum, which had opened in 1830 for the "relief and cure of the insane" and accommodated 550 patients from the Hudson River Valley by 1841. The diagnoses of asylum patients, including instances of insanity due to intemperance, were catalogued for a status report in 1841. When the report was issued in February of 1842, 83 persons were housed at the asylum, and among them were 5 chronic inebriates. Three patients had died at the facility during the year, one as a result of intemperance because he had been "too early removed and relapsed." Interestingly, the proprietors of the asylum, the Doctors White, had recently improved the facility to furnish better accommodations for the patients because New York State had opened an asylum which could compete for patients in the area. 102 The need for temperance reform could be found in the local papers, and the need was evident to those who opposed intemperance.

Deaths that involved inebriation were also noted in the region's newspapers throughout the 1840s and 1850s. In 1849, a coroner's inquest was conducted on the death of John George, who had been found dead in the millpond one mile from Kinderhook. George was known to be a "man of intemperate habits." He had recently been employed as an ostler at the United States Hotel in Valatie and was reportedly seen leaving the hotel. He had not been heard of for a week before his body was discovered. The *Kinderhook Sentinel* reported that the coroner's inquest jury found that this was a death by drowning. Temperance advocates interpreted the verdict to mean he had been intoxicated, fell into the millpond and drowned. The 1843 death of a Chatham man who died on his way home after drinking at an October husking was also reported. "The fact

of being a colored man does not alter the case," that his death was due to his intemperance, the *Columbia Washingtonian* asserted. A death in Valatie was attributed to delirium tremens caused by intoxication in 1845. A drunken "colored woman Sarah Benton," whose brother owned a bar frequented by "dissipated darkies and those white b-boys who congregate with them," died while under the influence of alcohol in Hudson during 1846. Interest in alcohol related deaths in the region continued and an 1853 *Hudson Weekly Star* article detailed such an incident. Two "drunken Irish women" had traveled from Albany to Hudson by omnibus and it was discovered upon their arrival in that city that they had smothered an infant child traveling with them. 103

Yet still Intemperance bears sway,
And sweeps its "thousand" souls away;
Down to the drunkard's grave they go,
And to dark shades of dismal wo [sic].

Order of Exercises, Marlboro Chapel-Temperance Hymn

Other Hudson Valley incidents that involved drunken participants during the 1840s and 1850s were also recorded for the readers of the *Columbia Washingtonian*. An 1844 Sunday street fight in Hudson was blamed on violation of the banned Sabbath sale of alcohol. The report of a stabbing fight between two drunken Irishmen in Rondout was also worthy of publication in 1845. The *Columbia Republican* carried the story of an 1859 incident involving the abduction of a young woman. The "girl" had been traveling home by railroad to Valatie when she was induced to drink a glass of beer by men on the train. Once under the influence of the alcohol, the girl was abducted from the train and assaulted by two of the men. The report of the evil, which supposedly befell the young

woman as a result of imbibing alcohol, simply reinforced the belief in temperance reformers that women were at risk from intoxicants. In 1860, the *Columbia Republican* also reported on a Rensselaer County death in Nassau, which was attributed to intoxication. A drunken man, who was disguised as an Indian in one of the perennial Hudson Valley anti-rent struggles, was burned to death in a fire set during the conflict.¹⁰⁴ Such incidents demonstrated that even after years of temperance reform, much of work remained for Hudson River Valley temperance advocates.

Other antisocial incidents associated with excessive drinking were reported in the temperance press. It was reported in 1844, that the Columbia County jail housed nineteen inmates, and of those inmates, sixteen were there because of deeds committed while they were intoxicated. Among the nineteen so incarcerated, ten were labeled as vagrants, with five men and five women. Temperance advocates viewed vagrancy as a particular problem, which affected both the peace of their community, and their tax levies since intemperate vagrants, unable to work, were jailed at a cost to the county. It was also pointed out that only five of the nineteen inmates jailed in Columbia County were native to the county. In fact, of a total of 192 persons imprisoned since January 1844, only one-third were Columbia County residents because of an influx of impoverished foreign immigrants along with migrant New Englanders who found their way into the Hudson River Valley in the 1840s.¹⁰⁵ Many of these migrants traveled on to western areas, but some remained in the Valley to settle or to earn cash to eventually take them westward. The era of railroad expansion coincided with the in migration of cheap labor in the 1840s.¹⁰⁶

Temperance reformers in the antebellum Hudson River Valley determined to

secure themselves against harm and degradation of intemperance by refraining from all intoxicants. They worked to spread the message for the redeeming qualities of the principle of total abstinence, and formed a culture of temperance at the same time.

NOTES

Chapter Four

1. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 5 December 1844.
2. *Ibid.*, 30 June, 7 July 1842; 7 September 1843.
3. *Ibid.*, 22 June 1843.
4. *Ibid.*, 16 March, 3 August 1843.
5. *Ibid.*, 23 November, 7 December 1843; 11 January 1844; 9, 30 January, 27 November 1845.
6. *Ibid.*, 13 February, 7 September, 19 October, 9 November 1843.
7. *Ibid.*, 13, 27 June 1844.
8. *Ibid.*, 6 March, 28 July 1845; 6 March 1846. For an example of George Haydock's experience speeches, see Crowley, *Drunkards Progress*, 191-198.
9. Gayhead Temperance Society, Book of Record, 6 September 1845; *Columbia Washingtonian*, 30 May 1844.
10. John Bower, Diary, Pleasant Valley, New York. Dutchess County Historical Society. 21 January; 10, 24 March; 28 April; 7 May; 30 June; 4 August; 15, 17, 18 December 1844; 1, 20 June 1845.
11. Edmund Platt, Diaries, vols. 1-29, 1856- 1880. Dutchess County Historical Society. vol. 1-2: 33, 37, 38; vol. 3-4: 54. Ronald G. Walters discusses the connections between temperance and abolitionism in *American Reformers, 1815-1860* Revised ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 77-102, 125-146; Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 99.
12. Platt, Diaries, vol. 3-4: 54, 70, 78.
13. *Hudson Weekly Star*, 19 July 1855.
14. Platt, Diaries, vol. 3-4: 66, 68; *Columbia Republican*, 19 July 1859; Rorabaugh, *Alcoholic Republic*, 240.

15. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 12 October; 7, 26 December 1843; 11 January, 15 February 1844; *Youth's Temperance Enterprise*, 3 no. 12 (December 1844).

16. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 11 December 1845.

17. *Ibid.*, 22 February, 5 September 1844; 2 January 1845.

18. *Ibid.*, 29 August 1844; 13 August 1846.

19. Platt, *Diaries*, vol. 3-4, 71; 11, 22, 28 March 1858; vol. 1-2, 33, 76; 17 February, 10 December 1862, vol. 5-6, 217, 250.

20. For the prevalence and role of popular music in American social history, see Lester S. Levy, *Grace Notes in American History: Popular Sheet Music From 1820-1900* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); and Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

21. Gould, Letter CXLVIII, 28 April 1867; *The Washington Minstrel; A Collection of Songs and Hymns*, 5th ed. (New York: Burnett and Allen, 1842); Aaron Burt Grosh, *The Washingtonian Pocket Companion: Containing A Choice Collection of Temperance Hymns, Songs, &c.; With Music; Arranged by W. Frederick Gould; Also, Brief Descriptions for Commencing, Organizing, And Conducting the Meetings of Washington Temperance Societies; And for the Private Action of Washingtonians* (Utica: B. S. Merrell, 1843).

22. *New York Mirror*; quoted in George W. Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre: Songs and Verse of the Temperance Movement* (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1977), 246.

23. Steven Foster's own alcoholic father tried to reform a number of times. In the 1840s, he took the Washingtonian total abstinence pledge and gave experience talks. Plagued with his own addiction to alcohol, Stephen Foster succumbed at age thirty-eight to injuries suffered while he was intoxicated in 1864. Ken Emerson, *Doo-Dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 86-87.

24. T. D. Bonner, *Mountain Minstrel, Containing a Collection of Temperance Songs, Hymns and Glees, Suitable for All Total Abstinence Societies* (1847); Ewing, *Well-Tempered Lyre*, 11-15, 18-95, 181, 191, 213; Emerson, *Doo-Dah!*, 164-166. Jane Anne Peterson, "Rum, Ruin and Revival: Protestant Hymns and the Temperance Movement" (M. A. thesis, Southern Illinois University, 1998) found the temperance movement's progression from moderation to prohibition also expressed in antebellum Protestant hymnody. Robert Raymond Grimes, "'How Shall We Sing in a Foreign Land?': Music of Catholic Immigrants in the Antebellum United States" (Ph. D. diss.,

University of Pittsburgh, 1992) discovered that temperance society songs played a part in secular parish activities 1840s and 1850s.

25. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons (Tribe of Jesse)*, ed. Charles E. Mann with introduction by Frederick Douglass (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1896), 41-42; Dale Cockerell, ed. *Excelsior: Journals of the Hutchinson Family Singers, 1842-1846* (Stuyvesant, N. Y.: Pendragon Press, 1989), xxiii-xxiv, 10, 23-80, 300; Carol Brink, *Harps in the Wind: The Story of the Hutchinsons* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), 14-15, 66, 147, 244; Philip D. Johnson, *Singin' Yankees* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1946), 6-7; and David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 170-183.

26. Asa B. and Family Hutchinson, *Papers, Diaries*, Minnesota Historical Society; John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, 59, 268, 288, 315-316; Ewing, *Well-Tempered Lyre*, 90-91; *Columbia Washingtonian*, 12 October 1843; 30 April 1846; Cockerell, *Excelsior*, 23-80, 94, 160, 301, 310; Johnson, *Singin' Yankees*, 31-39, 109-110; Brink, *Harps*, 36; and Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 172.

27. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 10 November 1842; *Columbia Republican*, January 11, 1853; and Ewing, *Well-Tempered Lyre*, 149.

28. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 11 April 1844; *Crystal Fount*, 11 April 1844; 12 October 1842; Register of the Young Men's Orient Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society for Men, Oyster Pond Historical Society, 15 January 1842.

29. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 22 June 1843; 3 September 1846; 11 May 1843.

30. *Ibid.*, 30 September 1847; 3 November 1842; *Crystal Fount*, 4 May 1842.

31. *The Temperance Harp, Containing Firemen's and Other Songs by A. Bensel*. (New York: Burnett and Allen, 1842).

32. James M. Brown, *The Temperance Vocalist, Consisting of a Choice Collection of Temperance Odes, Original and Selected, As Sung by James M. Brown, of Yonkers, by whom this work is compiled* (New York: Palmer and Moffitt, 1846).

33. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 4 August 1842; Young Men's Washington Temperance Society, Riverhead Temperance Society Collection. Suffolk County Historical Society. 7 October 1845.

34. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 21 November 1844; 27 November 1845; John W. Frick, "'He Drank From the Poisoned Cup': Theatre, Culture, and Temperance in Antebellum America," *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 4, no. 2 (1992): 37-38.

35. Susan Ogden-Malouf, "American Revivalism and Temperance Drama: Evangelical Protestant Ritual and Theatre in Rochester, New York, 1830-45" (Ph. D. diss., Northwestern University, 1981), 152-155, 160-161.

36. Ibid., 162-163, 166, 168; Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 163-164; and Crowley, ed., *Drunkard's Progress*, 25.

37. David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 154-156. For further discussion of antebellum interest in public speakers and others public performers, see Levine, *Highbrow, Lowbrow*.

38. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 18 August 1842.

39. D. C. Burdick, *Evolution of Washingtonianism or Society-Mirror* (Oswego, N. Y., 1843).

40. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 21 May 1846.

41. See Crowley, *Drunkard's Progress*, for speeches of several antebellum reformed alcoholics, including John B. Gough and Hudson River Valley lecturer and resident, George Haydock.

42. Ward, Diary, 26 April 1847; John W. Crowley, "Slaves to the Bottle: Gough's *Autobiography* and Douglass's *Narrative*," in *Serpent in the Cup*, Reynolds and Rosenthal, ed., 118.

43. W. Carlos Martyn, *John Gough: The Apostle of Cold Water* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1893), 91.

44. Ogden- Malouf, "American Revivalism," 196-200.

45. John Marsh, *A Half Century Tribute to the Cause of Temperance; Originally Delivered before the Ulster County Society, January 8, 1851, With An Appendix* (New York: American Temperance Union, 1851). Marsh understood the value of the temperance lecture and published a collection of such talks for youthful temperance activities. Idem, *The Temperance Speaker, Compiled from Various Sources for the Use of Bands of Hope, Juvenile Temperance Associations, Cadets of Temperance, &c., in Their Monthly and Weekly Meetings* (New York: American Temperance Union, 1860); *Columbia Washingtonian*, 4 July 1844; *Kinderhook Sentinel* 13 February 1845.

46. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 8 April, 14 September 1847; Gough, *Autobiography*, 240-241, 253.

47. *Columbia Republican*, 16 January 1849; *Columbia Washingtonian*, 16, 21 June 1849; Greene County Temperance Society, Records, 5 July 1850.

48. Platt, *Diaries*, 18, 19, 20 March 1861; 14 April 1862, vol. 8-9, 178, 182, 183; John B. Gough, *Platform Echoes, Or, Living Truths for Head and Heart* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington and Co., 1884), 52. John B. Gough published three autobiographical works, which described his childhood, days of dissipation and the many years he spent as a temperance lecturer and his travels throughout the United States, including the Hudson River Valley, and Europe. See Gough, *Autobiography*; idem, *Platform Echoes*; and idem, *Sunlight and Shadows OR, Gleanings from My Life Work* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington and Co., 1881).

49. Ogden-Malouf, "American Revivalism," 217, 219, 225, 231-232. For more discussion of the popular temperance play, *The Drunkard*, see Jeffrey D. Mason, *Melodrama and the Myth of America*, Drama and Performance Series (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1993), 61-85.

50. Ogden-Malouf, "American Revivalism," 239-240; For an exposition on antebellum theatre, see Rosemary K. Bank, *Theatre Culture in America, 1825-1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Walter J. Meserve, *Heralds of Promise: The Drama of the American People During the Age of Jackson, 1829-1849* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

51. Ogden-Malouf, "American Revivalism," 245-266; William W. Pratt, "Ten Nights in a Bar-room, and What I Saw There" *French's Standard Drama* no. 337 (New York: S. French, 186?); Judith N. Alexander, "Demon Rum on the Boards: Temperance Melodrama and the Tradition of Antebellum Reform," *Journal of the Early Republic* 9, no. 4 (1989): 520; Bank, *Theatre Culture in America*, 143-144; and Frick, "'He Drank From the Poisoned Cup,'" 27-28.

52. A variety of nineteenth century works of fiction with temperance motifs are discussed in David S. Reynolds and Debra J. Rosenthal, ed., *Serpent in the Cup*, and Jean Romig Kirkpatrick, "The Temperance Movement and Temperance Fiction, 1820-1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970).

53. "Prospectus of a weekly family newspaper, to be called the "Fireside companion," Devoted to Literature, Foreign and Domestic News, the Arts and Science for the domestic circle, Temperance, and morality in general. Washington City, D. C., Feb., 1850." Printed Ephemera Collection: Portfolio 200, Folder 1. Library of Congress. See Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 77-88, for trends in nineteenth century parlor literature. Stowe wrote temperance stories, and other fiction touching on temperance themes, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

54. *National Temperance Almanac* (Boston: S. W. Hodges, 1869).

55. Kirkpatrick, "Temperance Fiction," 21-24, 26-27, 32, 34, 50-52, 56-58, 68, 81-82.

56. Ibid., 50-52; Reynolds, *Walt Whitman*, 91-97.

57. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman*, 94, 96, 97.
58. *Sights and Wonders in New York* (New York, 1849), 24; *Hudson Gazette*, 17 October 1848; A. H. Saxon, *P. T. Barnum: The Legend and the Man* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 62-65.
59. Walter Whitman, *Franklin Evans or the Inebriate, A Tale of the Times, Original Temperance Novel*, with a foreword by Emory Holloway (New York: Random House, 1929); Kirkpatrick, "Temperance Literature," 33.
60. T. S. Arthur, *His Life and Works* (Boston, 1872), 23.
61. Kirkpatrick, "Temperance Fiction," 36, 46-49 55, 81. See Crowley, *Drunkards Progress*, 29-58, for an example of T. S. Arthur's temperance fiction.
62. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 28 July 1842.
63. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman*, 170-171; Gough, *Platform Echoes*, 127.
64. Charles J. Jones, *Mr. Nobody's Advice; or How I Became a Teetotaler* Tract No. 4. (New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 186?), 2-3.
65. Joseph Gatchell, *The Disenthralled: Being Reminiscences in the Life of the Author; His Fall from Respectability by Intemperance, And Rescue by the Washington Society* (Troy, N. Y.: N. Tuttle, 1843); *Columbia Washingtonian*, 4 August 1842.
66. George M. Dutcher and Samuel S. Hall, *My Escape from King Alcohol, With Trials and Triumphs on Temperance Trails* (Hartford, Conn.: Columbian Book Co., 1878), 170, *passim*.
67. *Kitty White Foot. Another True Story*. Children's Series No. 1 (New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 184?).
68. *Out of Doors. Temperance Tract for Children*. No. 5. (American Temperance Union, 184?).
69. Wendy Jean Katz, "Learning Taste: Art and the Making of an Antebellum Middle-Class Identity" (Ph. D. diss., University of California, 1997) examines the relationship of antebellum American visual arts and moral reform movements in development of a middle class.
70. Nathaniel Currier began working as a lithographer in New York City in 1834 and was known for his realistic and timely illustrations of local fires and other disasters. In 1852, he employed James Merritt Ives as a bookkeeper; they became business partners in 1857, creating the well-known firm of Currier and Ives, "Publishers of Cheap and Popular Pictures." Currier and Currier and Ives produced seven thousand "Colored

Engravings for the People” between 1840 and 1890. The company filled a need for affordable popular prints, while also generating a desire for more. It lasted, under the management of their sons, until 1907. Curriers’s special attention to detail, finely drawn and hand colored American scenes and Ives’ knowledge of popular interests secured the popularity of their typically American scenes. Currier and Ives sold their prints to the New York retail and wholesale markets, and established sales outlets in other American cities and in London. Harry T. Peters, *Currier and Ives, Printmakers to the American People* (Garden City, N. J.: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1942), 4-10, 36, Plate 90. For examples of current use of Currier’s temperance image, see Crowley, *Drunkard’s Progress*, cover and frontispiece; and Alan Brinkley, *American History: A Survey Volume I: To 1877*, 10th ed. (Boston: McGraw Hill College, 1999), 409.

71. William Hogarth’s works depict a “Young Heir” as he moves to “The Tavern Scene” after which he is “Arrested for Debt.” The “rake’s” final stop is the “Scene in Bedlam.” Barbara A. Chernow and George A. Vallasi, ed., *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 5th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 1253-1254.

72. Arthur Kern and Sybil Kern, “Alcoholism and the Temperance Movement in Early American Folk Art,” *The Magazine Antiques* 153, no. 2 (1998): 294-296, 299.

73. Deborah J. Johnson, ed. *William Sidney Mount: Painter of American Life* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1998), 30, 33, 53, 67; and idem, “The Genre Paintings of William Sidney Mount,” *The Magazine Antiques* 154, no. 2 (1998): 168.

74. *Crystal Fount*, 5 October, 21, 28 December 1842; 4 January, 1 February 1843.

75. The philosophical and religious basis for a belief the ability to change is considered by Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America’s Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 16-28. Discussions on the place of moral suasion in women’s reform activities can be found in Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 98-132. Protestant evangelicalism’s use of moral persuasion is discussed in Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America: Evangelicals and the Road to Civil War*, American Ways Series (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), 94-128, 139-140, 142-143, 171. Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860*, revised ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 77-96, discusses abolitionist views on the subject, as does William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1991), 95, 107, 169-170, 231. Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 10, 54-55, 74-75, 200-201, 209-211, focuses on the temperance crusade’s experiences with moral suasion.

76. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 4 May 1843; 23 February, 30 March, 11 May 1843; 9 May, 11 September 1845.

77. “Remarks on the Utility and Necessity of Asylums or Retreats for the Victims Of Intemperance.” (Philadelphia, 1840), 13.

78. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 6 June 1844; 25 September 1845; 29 December 1842; 31 August, 7 September 1843; 17, 24 August 1843; 20 December 1846.

79. *Ibid.*, 28 January; 15, 27 April; 20 May 1847; *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 27 January 1842.

80. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 11 March 1847.

81. *Ibid.*, 25 March 1847; 18 September 1845.

82. Town of Bedford, Westchester County, New York, Bedford Historical Records, vol. 5. Bedford Historical Society, 72, 87.

83. Westchester County Temperance Society, Record Book, 1829-1848. Westchester County Historical Society. 1835, 8; 1836, 7.

84. *Ibid.*, 1835, 9.

85. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 13 March 1835.

86. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1845.

87. In addition to his temperance work, Gerrit Smith (1797-1874) was active in other antebellum reform movements, including land reform and abolition. He contributed financially to the support and activities of the violent abolitionist, John Brown. Although Smith claimed to have no detailed knowledge of Brown's plans to attack Harper's Ferry, it is believed he was aware of the scheme in general terms. His reputed distress over the attack resulted in a stay at the Utica Asylum for the Insane. See Ralph Volney Harlow, *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1939) for Smith's many interests and activities.

88. *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 19 July 1849.

89. Eliphat Nott, *Lectures on Temperance*, with an introduction by Edward C. Delavan (Albany, N.Y.: E. H. Pease and Co., 1847), vii-viii.

90. *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 31 March 1844; Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 90, 117 n. 14.

91. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 14 October 1847; 7 March, 11 January, 24 October 1844.

92. Greene County Temperance Society, Records, 11 February 1834.

93. Gayhead Temperance Society, Book of Record, 7 September 1845.

94. Lincoln, *An Address*, 6.

95. John Zug, *The Foundation, Progress and Principles of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore and the Influence It Has Had on the Temperance Movements In the U. S., by a Member of the Society* (Baltimore, 1842), 39, 45.
96. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 8 January, 27 November 1845.
97. Westchester County Temperance Society, Record Book, 1835, 7.
98. Gayhead Temperance Society, Book of Record, 6 September, 14 November 1845.
99. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 18, 25 June 1846.
100. Ibid., 9 February, 9 November 1843; 30 May 1844; 24 April 1845.
101. Ibid., 6 January, 18 August 1842; 30 May 1844.
102. *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 10 February 1842.
103. Ibid., 19 July 1849; *Columbia Washingtonian*, 9 November 1843; 12 July 1845; 27 August 1846; *Hudson Weekly Star*, 8 September 1853.
104. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 25 July 1844; 7 August 1845; *Columbia Republican*, 19 July 1859; 24 January 1860.
105. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 18 July 1844.
106. For antebellum migration into and out of New York, see Parkerson, *Agricultural Transition in New York State*, passim; Clyde Griffen and Sally Griffen, *Natives and Newcomers: The Ordering of Opportunity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 15-24; Curtis D. Johnson, *Islands of Holiness*, 13-14, 94-101; Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind*, 97-98.

CHAPTER FIVE

“SOME GOOD GROUND” WAS GAINED: FAITH, GENDER AND RACE

The Hudson River Valley temperance community believed that they had discovered the root cause for most problems associated with intoxicated persons in their midst, and a regular reader from Stuyvesant Falls identified the culprits in a letter to the *Columbia Washingtonian*. Stuyvesant Falls had three "rumselling" places in a town that supported one carpenter, one blacksmith, one wagonmaker, two shoemakers, a school house, and significantly, was without a church. In nearby Valatie, the bar rooms were more crowded than any of the churches in town, according to the *Columbia Washingtonian*. A survey made of the southern part of Columbia County, south of the Columbia Turnpike which bisected the county, counted nine churches, with six ministers among them, and twelve church organizations. However, the very same area housed thirty-nine taverns and twenty-one "rumstores." The practice of housing post offices in local taverns also concerned reform-minded temperance activists. A poll of Columbia County post offices in the immediate area found that Hillsdale's was in a bar and that the Harlemville postmasters "sell rum." Worse yet, the Green River postmaster rented a tavern stand to house his post office, although he was a professed Washingtonian. ¹

Taverns were an important feature in antebellum communities, as they had been during the colonial era. In addition to serving travelers, local inhabitants found companionship and entertainments, as well as drink there. Taverns were enlisted as post

offices and newspaper reading rooms, and public notices were often posted in such locations. They also served as town meeting halls, election polling places and militia mustering spots. Workers, especially casual laborers, and employers used local taverns as hiring halls. Additionally, the building offered workers shelter from inclement weather as they waited to be hired. Antebellum political clubs and parties oftentimes met in taverns, and voters expected to be treated to drinks by political candidates at the tavern at election time. ² Drinking and conversation among like fellows were at the core of nineteenth century male recreational culture. The tavern or tap house was multifunctional and semi-public space, which housed social, political and economic activities and fostered gender identity cohesiveness among mostly male working class patrons. It served as the “poor man’s club.” ³ In 1842, temperance and labor reform advocate Horace Greeley noted the importance of taverns and grog shops to working men in New York City. Men found not only labor but also their social life among fellow workers in their regular tavern, according to Greeley. This was especially important for the largely Irish and German immigrants of the 1840s and 1850s. Native-born and immigrant patrons, alike, sought refuge and entertainment among similarly minded patrons in a culture of drink and camaraderie. ⁴ Such bonds were viewed as harmful by antebellum Hudson River Valley temperance advocates who opposed the drinking and ties of fellowship found in local taverns throughout the region.

Across the Hudson River in Greene County, the scene of temperance agent George Haydock's earlier success, the Athens townspeople reportedly had fallen away from their earlier pledging. At the time, Athens contained twelve rumshops. The Greene County temperance agent also reported to the *Columbia Washingtonian* that the "rum

influence" in Coxsackie had risen lately because of the popularity of a bowling alley at a village hotel and the appearance of a billiard table at the village's Hudson River landing. 5

Cold water never caused man in the gutter to be found,
And never, as I know of, to feel upward for the ground.

"A Parody on 'Uncle Sam's Farm'" - Temperance Song

Hudson temperance advocates condemned, as sources of trouble, both the illegal Sunday sales in Hudson along with the town's "understairs dens" in which young men "from among our first families" drank and became noisy and bothersome to the community. These "underground dens" were Hudson's popular oyster saloons (bars which served oysters, sandwiches, liquor and, frequently provided entertainment). "There were black, white and yellow; boys, men and women-some dancing black and white together-some drinking...there were boys from respectable families...." 6 These were dangerous combinations in the minds of the temperance reformers.

Such Hudson attractions led to complaints by "several respectable citizens" who resented such an assemblage and the riotous conduct of a portion of the "younger class of citizens." These young people came together, it was said, for the purpose of disturbing religious and temperance meetings with their profane and obscene language. The *Columbia Washingtonian* asserted that women, going to and coming from these meetings, were subjected to insulting remarks. At an 1845 teetotal party to benefit the charity work of the female auxiliary Martha Washington Society of Greenport some of neighboring Hudson's young "bloods" hid a jug of brandy in an outhouse. When the

cache was discovered during an intermission, the teetotalers dealt with the young men in a "strong reaction," according to a report in the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The problems associated with "rowdy boys" was an ongoing concern. The fact that Hudson contained a "class" of dissipated boys who drank, swore and used profane language was a trial to the reformers. What further caused dismay was the realization that the dissolute included sons of the pious and the rich, sons of "ingenious, industrious mechanics and manufacturers" made the problem even more vexing to the reformers of 1849. Some two years later, when boisterous young men were found disrupting a temperance concert at Davis Hall in Hudson, the boys were arrested and jailed for their efforts. 7

The volunteer firemen were another source of trouble in the eyes of temperance reformers. Alcohol was regularly imbibed during training sessions, while fighting fires, and in the celebrations of the fire brigades. Since the firemen also participated in civic celebrations, such as Independence Day festivities, there were boundless opportunities for them to offend the reformers. After Hudson firemen toutsled with visiting Albany firemen in 1842, the *Columbia Washingtonian* declared it "quite apparent that our young men are not all Washingtonians. Will not the ladies offer a splendid Banner to the first Fire Co. that will take the pledge?" 8

Local militia turnouts were also closely associated with the use of alcohol in antebellum America. Like the firemen, the militia units freely consumed alcoholic beverages when they practiced and marched in community parades. The reform-minded noted that all of the officers of the forty-seventh New York regiment were drunk on the occasion of their official annual drill in September 1843. Another militia unit was involved in a drunken spree at Hallenbeck's Tavern in Greenport after their annual

turnout that same season, according to a report published in the *Columbia Washingtonian*. 9

The drunken antics and crimes committed by some Hudson Valley residents naturally concerned the temperance people who lived side by side with the offenders. The temperance community tallied the cost to themselves of such misbehavior. In 1842, the citizens of Red Hook in Dutchess County petitioned the New York legislature to tax licensed alcohol sellers for the expenses the town incurred in instances of assault and battery related to drunkenness. 10 In the 1836 report of the Westchester County Temperance Society, the county's Superintendents of the Poor House declared that "in their full belief, that nine-tenths" of pauperism was directly or indirectly due to intemperance among those in their care. Furthermore, those 533 paupers in the county had cost the taxpayers \$8,558.65, of which \$6,861.20 was spent entirely on direct support of the impoverished in Westchester. Temperance reformers in Westchester County knew whom they blamed. At their 1834 meeting in Yonkers, the Westchester County Temperance Society recorded that they encountered the "apathy of many and the opposition of not a few," as they tried to reform the drinking habits of Westchester. 11 The accounts of other county poor house expenditures were used to compute the costs to the temperate taxpayers of the region. 12 A report of the Columbia County Poor House Farm in Ghent indicated that 295 paupers had been accepted from June 31 1841 to July 1 1842. One hundred and eighty of these had been "reduced" by their intemperance and needed to be cared for at the expense of the taxpayers of Columbia County. In a July 1844 visit to the Columbia County Poor House, 168 paupers were found in residence. Of that number, 158 had been admitted since January, and 38 were foreign-born. While

many inmates of the poor house were burdened with lameness or lunacy, the most frequently recorded cause of inmate impoverishment was drunkenness. Intemperance also outdistanced old age and debauchery as reasons for pauperism among the poor house population that year. The poor house keeper and his wife were "energetic Washingtonians," but the "cause of temperance" was not popular among the male paupers. Some of the men refused to attend the temperance meetings held in the poor house and when the subject was "privately urged upon them they could scarcely conceal their anger." Even so, "*some good ground*" was gained when 15 adult and 13 children residents took the total abstinence pledge following a Washington Temperance Society meeting held at the facility. 13

The drunkard is so foolish he will money waste,
On liquor, when there's water more pleasant to the taste;
The water is much cheaper, and much more healthy too.

"A Parody on 'Uncle Sam's Farm'" - Temperance Song

Intemperance, according to an 1852 New York State report on the causes of poverty, remained the leading indicator for poverty. According to the account, published in the *Columbia Republican*, there had been nearly a three-fold increase in the number of intemperate paupers in the poor houses of the state since 1846. It reported that 6,685 poor house inmates were intemperate in 1846, but by 1852, the number had jumped to 18,350. In addition, there had been a significant increase in the foreign-born wards within the poor houses. In 1852, 24.9 percent of those receiving help from the New York Overseers of the Poor had been born elsewhere, whereas they had represented only 10.7

percent of the total poor house population in 1845. ¹⁴ The number of New Yorkers impoverished by their intemperate behavior concerned temperance advocates and reinforced the reform position that a temperate life was best, both for the individuals and for the taxpayers who supported the poor house system. Such concerns over intemperate paupers had arisen as early as 1835 when it was reported that intemperates among poor house and jail inmates accounted for a major part of the custodial population: ¹⁵

<u>County</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Jailed</u>	<u>Intemperate</u>	<u>Poor House</u>	<u>Intemperate</u>
Columbia	39,907	156	124	200	136
Dutchess	50,926	81	51	443	354
Orange	45,366	107	50	227	121
Putnam	12,628	6	3	81	33
Rensselaer	49,423	66	50	234	215
Ulster	36,550	46	39	111	103
Westchester	36,456	25	20	374	113

There were other costs to the taxpayers caused by drunkenness in the Hudson River Valley, as reported in the *Columbia Washingtonian* and other local papers. In one such account, a fifteen year old boy had been convicted of second degree arson and sentenced to ten years in prison by the Hudson Court of Oyer and Terminer, the local justice court. It cost the taxpayers of Columbia County \$140 to apprehend, prosecute and convey the convicted boy to prison. The real blame, asserted the reformers, for the youngster's crime and subsequent cost to the county was to be laid at the feet of the boy's

father, who was a drunkard and who had deserted his family. 16

Other casualties from intemperance among the Valley residents were recorded by the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The story was told of "Another Victim," in which the intemperate wife of a drunkard husband had sent their child out on a Sunday to buy rum for the parents. This episode constituted two crimes, first the state of drunkenness in which the parents lived, and which was then compounded by the desecration of the Sabbath by an illegal sale of alcohol to a child. In another case, an application was granted for Mrs. Joanna B. Low of Hudson, when she applied to the Vice Chancellor's Court, to have a two man commission take charge of her brother's affairs. Mrs. Low successfully contended that her brother, Charles S. McFarlan was known to be a "common drunkard." A man of money and property, he had "wasted" it in his constant state of intoxication, his sister asserted to the satisfaction of the court. The Hudson cemetery burial announcements published by the *Columbia Washingtonian* noted when the death was caused by inebriation. 17

The *Columbia Washingtonian* published details of various Hudson Valley activities that outlined the progress of temperance reform in the region. At a Hudson meeting, the speaker presented his ideas in a logical manner, without any "low and ridiculous attempts at wit, which so often mar a temperance address." A telling description of yet another 1844 temperance meeting in Hudson indicates that women comprised half of the audience on a December evening. Mass gatherings of many temperance societies in one location also occurred in the Hudson River Valley during the 1840s. An 1842 large gathering of temperance societies in Middletown resulted in a temperance house "raising." Eleven temperance societies in the northern section of

Columbia County had held a huge meeting out of doors on a Sunday afternoon in June 1843. Then in 1846, Kingston played host to a mass meeting of temperance societies, accompanied by the Kingston Temperance Brass Band and held at the Eagle Temperance House. A Hudson meeting held in March 1844 was interrupted by an "old Irishman" who had taken the total abstinence pledge from Father Theobald Mathew, the Irish temperance leader. The Irishman spoke for a full hour, boring everyone present with his endless criticisms of America and American temperance. 18

A tyrant's grasp is there,
And countless millions wear
Its fiery chain
Beneath its dread control
It treads the deathless soul....

Isaac F. Shepard, "National Temperance Ode"-Temperance Song

Protestant temperance advocates far outnumbered those of the Catholic faith but many Catholics supported the antebellum temperance cause. Their numbers would grow greatly after the Civil War. Active before the outbreak of war in 1861, the Catholic Temperance Society of Corning in western New York displayed certain qualities which would be viewed as characteristic of American Catholic temperance reform by students of temperance. 19 The Corning Catholic temperance society members were closely bound to their Irish background and their Catholic faith. The society ensured it would be identified as Irish when members voted on February 10 1861 to replace the "rosettes" on recently purchased temperance regalia. Instead, they would wear "Green Scarfs," even though buying those items would incur additional cost. Two weeks later, the temperance

groups met with the parish Library Society to determine the best means of celebrating “Patrick’s Day” in March. During summer of that year, fourteen society members “on bended knees recited the words of the Pledge,” which was “solemnly administered” by Father P. Colgan in reaffirmation of their promise to totally abstain from all alcoholic beverages. In common with many other temperance societies, the group also welcomed new members and listened to addresses written by fellow members on such topics as “King Alcohol.”²⁰ Antebellum Irish Catholic families in America could share commitment to temperance reform, as did many of their Protestant neighbors. When James Sweeney affixed his name to the pledge of the New York Catholic Temperance Association on November 19 1841, he promised to “avoid intemperance, and should it be necessary in order to attain this object to abstain *totally* from all intoxicating liquors, I do hereby pledge myself to abstain from every one of them.” Sweeney further agreed “by my advice and example [to] induce others to do the same.” Such guidance may have influenced his relative Neil James Sweeney to follow his example, as Neil signed the same pledge in March 1844.²¹ American Catholic churches in the nineteenth century conducted parish missions, or retreats, in order to generate religious enthusiasm and moral reform among Catholics. As with Protestant revivals, parish missions promoted religious emotionalism and moral reformation, as well as evangelicalism. Catholics who attended such retreats were encouraged to develop and adhere to a personal code of conduct, which placed special emphasis on moral purity and temperance. The total abstinence pledge was urged upon mission goers, and many were signed.²² Hundreds of thousands of Irish Catholics in America took the total abstinence pledge during Father Theobald Mathew’s tour of twenty-five states, including New York, from 1849 to 1851.

Mathew (1790-1856) was known throughout the world as the “Apostle of Temperance” for his successful temperance efforts in Ireland. Whether they pledged during Mathew’s tour or at other times, many Irish American Catholics joined the temperance crusade to refute the negative stereotype of so-called “Drunken Paddy.” A temperate life also promised economic gain and social advancement, Catholic temperance reformers contended. ²³

Many Americans knew of Mathew’s spectacular success in spreading temperance in Ireland and he was well received during his 1849-1851 visit. He was admitted to the floor of the United States Senate while in session after Sen. Henry Foote of Mississippi, among others, addressed his colleagues to recommend that the body grant Mathew the privilege. Foote cited the good work accomplished by Mathew in Ireland and the need for such efforts among the Irish in America in his address to the Senate. ²⁴ In the Hudson River Valley, many residents were aware of Mathew’s activities from accounts published in local newspapers in the early 1840s. The *Kinderhook Sentinel* informed its readers in May 1842 that, prior to Irish temperance reform, “when whiskey reigned triumphant, Ireland was the nursery of the English army.” That same army now found recruitment in Ireland difficult due to Mathew’s advancements among Ireland’s inebriates, according to the paper. Later, a favorable report on an 1843 Dublin rally called in honor of the Irish priest was reprinted in the *Kinderhook* weekly. While Mathew was in the United States in 1849, the *Columbia Republican* in Hudson carried a notice that he administered the total abstinence pledge to four thousand persons in Boston, “chiefly his own countrymen.” ²⁵

As the *Columbia Republican* indicated, while in America the Irish priest was successful in persuading many thousands of primarily foreign-born Irish Catholics to adopt total abstinence. Immigrant German Catholics, however, responded coolly to total alcohol abstinence because, among other reasons, their beer halls provided many Germans with opportunities to socialize. Since many more Germans than Irish migrated to America as families, the Sunday afternoon free musical concerts offered by many beer halls attracted and retained their allegiance. The issue caused dissension among antebellum Catholics, which continued when temperance efforts and attempts at alcohol prohibition were taken up again in the 1870s. Antebellum American Catholic Church leaders sought to adapt to selected so-called American ways, including support of temperance but not of legally coercive prohibition, in order to blunt the virulent anti-Catholicism exhibited by many nativist Protestants. Such persons were convinced that their opportunity to share in the millennial kingdom of God was threatened by the Catholic Church and worked to ensure its destruction. 26

The antebellum Irish population in Poughkeepsie derived primarily from the large influx after the famines in Ireland beginning in 1846. When the new immigrants arrived in Poughkeepsie, however, they found the small but active St. Peter's Church, which had been established in the mid-1830s. The church formed its Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society shortly after the Civil War ended. By the early 1870s, that temperance society surpassed the Protestant one in numbers and community recognition. With expanding economic security and social capacities, the Irish parishioners at St. Peter's enjoyed the time and security to take formal action against intemperance. 27

Earlier antebellum Irish temperance efforts in New York were noted. In 1828, the

Rochester Society for the Promotion of Temperance, an affiliate of the newly established American Temperance Society, was formed. The priest assigned to Rochester's Catholic chapel was among the founding members, as were the ministers of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches. ²⁸ East of Rochester, the Utica Catholic Total Abstinence Society marched in the 1840 Thanksgiving Day parade with the Utica City Total Abstinence Association and the Youth Abstinence Societies. The mostly immigrant Catholic church was well established in Utica by the 1840s. In 1855, Utica boasted of twenty-eight different churches, and the Catholic church was the largest among them. Once established in Utica, Catholics participated in and sometimes led that city's moral and social reformation efforts. ²⁹ The pattern was repeated in Poughkeepsie in the 1870s.

In the Hudson River Valley, the antebellum course of temperance reform was charted in the reports issued from the local temperance societies and agents. The agent of the New York City temperance paper, the *Crystal Fount*, had been invited to Rockland County in 1843 to help start a temperance society in Ramapo. In March, the intrepid agent traveled by boat up the Hudson River through floating ice to Piermont. From there, he went by railroad the thirteen miles to Monsey, and then by sleigh to the West Hempstead Church in Ramapo for afternoon and evening temperance meetings. Thirteen pledges were signed at the West Hempstead Church that day. The temperance agent had better success in Goshen when he secured fifty new total abstinence pledges. ³⁰

His army is decreasing, and soon there'll be but few,
Who to oppose the temperance cause on Alchy's smiles get blue.

"A Parody on 'Uncle Sam's Farm'" - Temperance Song

Cairo hosted a Greene County temperance meeting, led by Benjamin Stainsby, the county's temperance agent, in January 1843. A sleighload of Washingtonians had set out in the winter snow, stopping at a tavern on "Whisky Hill" which had reverted to selling alcohol after a time as a temperance house with the hope of reconverting the owner to the temperance cause. The group then met other temperance fellows at the Samuel L. Hayes Temperance Hotel in Cairo, and they then proceeded to the Presbyterian Church for the meeting. The event was opened with prayers, women presented banners to the society, and the Cairo choir and Hudson Washingtonians sang temperance songs. After the speeches, the 130 men and women retired to the hotel for a dinner. Not one single speech was heard during the repast, the report noted, and after the meal the meeting resumed at the church. A large group assembled there, in spite of a snowstorm, for more prayers, speeches and pledges. Because he felt that temperance people needed to know their enemies, as well as their allies, Stainsby asked that all total abstainers identify themselves by standing. This request was overruled by Cairo's "leading temperance men," to the displeasure of the county agent. To Stainsby, those persons present who were not identified as total abstainers were the foes of temperance reform. Stainsby also complained that even after a "great deal of lecturing," Greene County was without a county temperance society (although one would form soon) nor possessed a temperance headquarters. Such shortcomings existed despite the fact that, in 1842, the Greene County Poor House held thirty more inmates than in the previous year. He compared this situation to Columbia County, which housed a county society along with their headquarters at Davis Hall in Hudson, and the office of the *Columbia Washingtonian*.

Because of such temperance activities, pauperism in Columbia County had declined and had cost county taxpayers \$1,500 less in 1842 than the year before, averred Stainsby. 31

Across the Hudson River in Columbia County, the temperance society of Valatie reported rapid progress among the intemperate. "Many of the hardest cases" took the total abstinence pledge in 1843. The society boasted of crowded meetings in the local churches and of their juvenile auxiliary's formation. Considered as an even greater accomplishment, the "rumsellers" of the area were angry that their business had fallen off since the society was formed. One well-known grocery, Squire's Corner, became a "temperance store" after a rum burning "ceremony." Thompson's "Rum Hole" tavern was converted to a "cold water" house because the proprietor Thompson had "come out like a man." Thompson was fully converted and gave two temperance speeches and hosted a temperance dinner the same week as his changeover. At a crowded meeting held at the Methodist Church, Thompson spoke with passion, relating tales from his bartending days. He declared his establishment a temperance house and invited his customers to sign the total abstinence pledge. A dozen young men followed his suggestion that evening. Notwithstanding Thompson's conversion, Valatie reported that within its boundaries were two taverns and two "rum groceries." To further the cause, the Valatie society requested that the Hudson chapter send temperance musician Prof. Hubbard to them, as they had no temperance music. Temperance music was a key component of the reform movement in an era when music was a more participatory undertaking. No movement could attract or hold adherents without it. 32

Antebellum women formed their own temperance reform societies in the Hudson River Valley to secure themselves and their neighbors against the threat of intemperance.

A group of temperance-minded women from Hudson and Athens, towns across the Hudson River from each other, met on a Friday evening in March 1843. As members of the Martha Washington Benevolent Total Abstinence Society, they gathered in a private home in Hudson to sing and talk about temperance. ³³ Such societies were the women's components of the Washington Temperance Societies and fulfilled a specific purpose. Their constitutions called for the women to aid families of the reformed and to lead others to take a total abstinence pledge. The Hudson women were encouraged in their work by an "experience talk" offered by a reformed drunkard who spoke to them in 1843. In furtherance of their mission, Martha Washingtonians visited families suffering from intemperance and reported on their needs to the society. ³⁴ Those families who were "deemed proper objects of charity" received assistance from the women's temperance societies. "Temperance relief [was] afforded to those who were disposed to reform," according to an 1842 report which appeared in Lorenzo Dow Johnson's New York City temperance newspaper, *The Olive Plant. And Ladies Temperance Advocate*. ³⁵ Another contemporary report of Martha Washingtonianism cited its two-fold mission: to "prevent the ravages of intemperance among their own sex" and to provide relief. It was stated that the women rendered their "charities, not to give relief merely, but to improve the life of the person they aid." "Instead of taking them from home to reform them, they would reach them at home, and thereby make home what it should be," the report's author continued. ³⁶

In an attempt to assist a young girl, the Martha Washingtonians of Hudson visited a fourteen-year-old then being held in prison for prostitution. The women secured the names of the men who had used her as a prostitute in her aunt's house. However, after

her aunt was arrested for prostitution, the frightened girl recanted her story. The female temperance society was unable to assist the girl without her cooperation. 37 In other instances, the Hudson Martha Washington Society reported that they had been able to help others affected by intemperance. Most frequently, it was the drunkard husband and father who had degraded the family. However, the Martha Washingtonians stood ready to assist women drunkards as well.

Organized on July 26 1841, Hudson's Martha Washington Society had as its "first directress" Mrs. Warren Rockwell, wife of the editor of the *Columbia Washingtonian*. There were twenty-five women on the executive committee of the organization. The Martha Washingtons received donations of clothing from eighty-six families and distributed nearly seven hundred items that first year. They were most proud of the help given to a Hudson woman whose family had suffered from her husband's intemperance. After all, to help the families of inebriates was their mission. The second annual report of the society noted that they comprised more than two hundred dues paying constitutional members in 1843. Two hundred women had taken the total abstinence pledge during the year. Over a hundred items of clothing had been collected and ninety-nine of those had been distributed to families in need due to intemperance. The women also gave out eighty yards of calico and muslin for sewing into clothes, four pair of shoes and "some hats." The visiting committee continued to contact families of both intemperate and reformed men throughout the year to assess their needs. 38

The money he once felt so proud to bestow
On home and its comforts, in days that are fled,

For rum, in the ale house, now weekly must go,
While his children are naked and starving for bread.

Archibald Scott, "The Wife's Lament"-Temperance Song

In Athens, the first annual report of the Martha Washingtonians indicated that fifty-nine members had distributed thirty-six pieces of clothing. The Athens society had on hand another thirty-eight clothing items and two quilts. The Martha Washington women performed valuable services when they gathered clothing and money for the needy women and children in their communities. The *Columbia Washingtonian* praised the work of the women and called upon them to publish reports of their good deeds. 39

The third annual report of the Hudson women's society recognized that the women had collected a total of \$195.47 for the relief of families impoverished by drunkenness. They had distributed some nine hundred "mostly new" clothing pieces, twenty pairs of shoes and boots, and eighty yards of calico had been collected in the three years that the group had existed. Although the Martha Washington Society had added 30 new members during 1844, in all of the 200 members, there were "but a few who take an active part." Two years later, the Hudson society announced that it had gathered twenty-one new pledges, many of the women had been destitute because of intemperance but were now in "relieved circumstances." The society continued to hold regular meetings, but some of the former most active members had left the city. During 1846, with only \$11.98 left in their coffer, the women distributed over two hundred pieces of clothing and a 118 yards of fabric for sewing. 40 Clearly, the year had been a busy one for the Martha Washingtons and coincided with the beginning of the mass migrations to the United States which were spurred on by famine and political unrest in Europe.

At the next year's annual meeting, the Hudson women declared that they had established "several kindred associations" in the county, which "circumscribed their work." They continued to hold meetings in 1847, but with poor attendance, and received fewer requests for assistance. The women were "almost discouraged at the little that has been accomplished." Yet, they continued to receive articles of clothing which were soon distributed. 41

To secure donated clothes for their benevolent work, the Martha Washingtonians advertised in the *Columbia Washingtonian*. "Remember the Poor" articles appeared during the winter months, along with requests for readers to "Be liberal to the Martha Washingtons." The women of the region also held a number of "Social Fairs" to raise money to support the needy. The *Columbia Washingtonian* published a "Card of Thanks" to the ladies who responded to an appeal to organize and operate a temperance fair in Hudson which raised \$330 in 1843. The Mellenville Martha Washington Society held a "Ladies Fair" at the Reformed Dutch Church, which offered music, temperance speeches, dinner and "fancy articles" for sale. The Austerlitz Presbyterian Church hosted an 1846 temperance meeting and another "Ladies Fair" that included a "substantial board in readiness in a bower near the Church prepared by the ladies." Communal efforts at temperance relief were not confined to adults, a group of "Young Misses" planned a "Temperance Juvenile Fair" in 1843 to be held on two consecutive days at Davis Hall in Hudson. 42 Hudson River Valley temperance fairs brought the temperance community together and advertised their reform message to the other inhabitants of the area. In addition, temperance women had the opportunity to practice skills needed to prepare and conduct such fund raising efforts, 43 and the chance to teach those skills to the younger

generation. The fairs conducted by the temperance community served to support their charitable works, as well as providing an occasion for social interaction among the community. Temperance fairs in the Hudson River Valley added another dimension to the regional culture of temperance reform.

Temperance work for women meant more than raising money and distributing clothing to the needy. A furtherance of the temperance mission to spread the total abstinence vow continued to be important to women in the antebellum Hudson River Valley. Women held a special place in temperance reform. "Young Ladies, here is work for you, men can spurn men! but you they dare not," exhorted a speaker at an 1844 temperance meeting in Hudson. The thought was that women could save men in their "noble and gentle way." The Valatie Temperance Society warned young women to take a "temperance husband," or no husband at all. A temperance tale in the *Columbia Washingtonian*, entitled "Domestic Happiness," served to reinforce the concept that only a temperate marriage partner would guarantee the safety and happiness of a married woman. In the story, a long suffering and silent wife of a drunkard husband finds that he has squandered all of her money; her family is shamed and her children are uneducated and dressed in rags. Such suffering of a wife married to an intemperate man was to serve as a warning to all women, for they had the most to fear from intemperance. ⁴⁴ Drunken husbands had long been considered a threat to a woman's health and fortune in the Hudson River Valley. An earlier address delivered in 1830 before the Young Men's Temperance Society in Troy warned women to consider only a temperance man for a husband, in order to insure against the ills which could befall the wife of an inebriate. ⁴⁵

If he's with alcohol concern'd
Indignant be his offer spurn'd.

F. M. Adlington, "Don't Marry a Drinker"-Temperance Song

Women were also called upon to change social practice in the name of temperance, and that change would extend the culture of temperance reform in the Hudson River Valley. The antebellum practice of calling on friends and neighbors on New Year's Day traditionally included the drinking of alcoholic beverages in honor of the new year with friends and family. Temperance reformers were urged to dispense with such drinks when they welcomed callers in their homes. The *Columbia Washingtonian* published this exhortation on December 29 1842: "We hope the ladies of this city, who have not united with the benevolent in their warfare against Alcohol, will not offer the cup to their visitors on New Year's Day." The appeal apparently worked, as the paper reported that the day had "passed off very quietly." Traditional calls were made but the reporter had "not heard of a single glass of strong drink being offered by any of our ladies." In 1844, it was reported that the New Year's Day calls were both enjoyable and abundant without the traditional wine, or even a wine glass in sight. The reporter concluded the lack of alcoholic beverages existed without "any apology" from the hosts. Yet, the appeal to refrain from alcoholic beverages during the holiday visits continued to be needed. Readers were admonished in 1845 that the "seasons of usual hilarity and good cheer, " Christmas and New Year's Day, still offered special temptations which all must guard against, particularly women. 46

The presumed power of feminine influence and ability to affect social behavior in

such a manner was the basis of Louisa May Alcott's story of temperance reform, *Silver Pitchers*. As the story opens, three middle class popular young women are upset at learning that the beverages at a recent "sociable" were adulterated with alcohol by several male members of their social set. Fearing the young men will become inebriates, the girls plot retaliation against the culprits in order to "institute a new order of things...." "[F]or girls, matters are coming to a pass, when it is our *duty* to do something... We can't preach and pray it in streets and bar-rooms, but we may at home, and in our own little world...." The girls plan to "use our youth, our beauty, our influence... help them to be good, and brave and true." The "little society of three" refuses to attend an upcoming "informal sociable." "If they complain, as of course they will, we can say their own misconduct made it necessary... and give the young men a lesson... make them the sort of men we can both love and trust." Tippling brothers and fathers also warranted the young women's virtuous intervention. The plan succeeded, the boys are saved and the girls are so persuasive that the whole town converted to temperance. 47

Come, Gentle daughters of our land!
A mission waits your care;
Come join the faithful Temp'rance band,
Their toils and triumphs share.

William Scott, "Females Invited"-Temperance Song

An 1842 article in the *Columbia Washingtonian* entitled, "Female Exertion" recognized that women "actively and zealously" worked for Washingtonian temperance reform. Unfortunately, according to the newspaper, too few women were engaged in the important work. The *Columbia Washingtonian* asserted that the influence of women was

extensive and there were many opportunities for them to exercise this influence within "their special sphere." However, the author of the article wished to state clearly that he did not advocate "woman preaching." "We would not have our fair countrywomen...lose all regard for sex and propriety, not have them parade in the streets, pledge in hand, thrusting it beneath every nose." However, male reformers averred that in her own immediate circle, "the mild and persuasive influence of woman was impossible to resist." It was made clear, however, that to use influence was not "transcending the sphere of woman's duty and detracting from her dignity." Rather, it meant using those traits which are her "brightest." To reclaim a fellow being from this state, "she would be only fulfilling her high destiny and the duties incumbent upon her...ministering with a kind and sympathetic hand...." 48

"Mothers, daughters, sisters, wives, we entreat you to throw your gentle influence around society, to hold it back from the enchanted cup of death," read a New York State Temperance Society circular. The society "proposed to place this circular in the hands of every family in the Union," and distributed nearly four hundred thousand pieces. 49 A twenty-one lecture series given in 1847 by the president of Union College in Schenectady continued the theme of a woman's place and duty in temperance reform. One lecturer, in particular, spoke to the moral influence of women, especially upon their children. Women possessed a "soft, persuasive, colloquial eloquence" that was exercised in "some hallowed retirement...controlling influence over the hard, cold heart of man....," the lecturer asserted. However, Eliphat Nott of Union College, author of the lectures, would not urge women to public advocacy, even in furtherance of the moral imperative for temperance. Rather, he considered that women must work in their own "heaven-

approved theatre of action," which was not in the public realm. ⁵⁰ While delivering an address to "Female Washingtonians and Other Temperance Societies" at the Congregational Church in Utica, New York in 1842, the speaker granted that woman was the "arbitress of manners." But, "usages of society" restricted them to the private arena where much good work could be done, according to the lecturer. ⁵¹ An 1846 lecture to Martha Washingtons ordered women to "Go forth under the lily-white banner of temperance." Women would fulfill their patriotic duty in temperance work. The nation stood in need of public-spirited women who would save the republic from harm as Queen Esther of the Old Testament had saved the Persian Jews from annihilation (Esther, 1-10), declared the lecturer. ⁵² The Greene County Temperance Society thanked its women members for just such involvement in 1845. The women had been most effective in the realm of moral suasion and stood "first, and foremost, in all our temperance movements," their society declaimed. ⁵³ Under the title, "Influence," the *Olive Plant* temperance newspaper published an 1841 article penned by a female contributor. "Women know they have influence," she wrote, but added that such power could be used only in the private "social circle." ⁵⁴ It was women's public advocacy of temperance principles that caused the *Hudson Weekly Star* to criticize the 1853 World Temperance Convention held in New York City. The paper's editor stated that "The affair seems to have been too much mixed up with Women's Rights and Bloomerism to be looked up to [by] the sensible and solid portion of the temperance community." "Masculine women" had created this situation by involving themselves in policy issues at the convention, the paper asserted. It would be best if women remained out of the public sphere of temperance work. ⁵⁵

Not all antebellum female reformers in New York heeded such admonishments, however. Sometimes, religious experiences or beliefs led women to reject such presumed male authority. Women such as Lucretia Mott, Amelia Bloomer and Antoinette Brown were determined to engage in so-called worldly arenas and fight for temperance, the end of slavery and women's rights beyond the proscribed "social circle." Invited to attend the 1852 New York Sons of Temperance convocation in Albany, the women were not permitted to address the gathering. Consequently, the first New York State Women's Temperance Convention was held in Rochester later that year.⁵⁶ The comparative elasticity of public and private spheres in New York's rural areas and small towns added to the variation of women's responses to authoritarian precepts often promulgated by men. Women and men necessarily expected and experienced contact that was more personal and cooperative in the countryside. Even in larger urban areas, complete segregation of women into the domestic sphere was an ideal not necessarily met. Female exclusion from the public realm remained a cultural goal for much of the northern middle class, however.⁵⁷ Temperance women in the Hudson River Valley were reminded to confine their activities and influence to their domestic "theatre of action."

Women involved in the temperance reform movement in the Hudson River Valley were able to engage in activities that combined both moral and social elements in the antebellum temperance culture. One such event was described in an 1842 issue of the *Crystal Fount*, a weekly temperance paper published in New York City. The Lady Washington Total Abstinence Society of that city traveled up the Hudson River on the steamboat "Fairchild" along with delegations from most of the other Martha Washington Societies in New York City. The women were accompanied on their excursion by fire

fighting companies whose male members adhered to the temperance principle. When the party landed at their destination in Yonkers, they were met at the dock by the Yonkers Total Abstinence Society. Carrying their respective banners and wearing engraved and beribboned badges, which could be purchased in Hudson for twelve and one-half cents, the various temperance groups proceeded together to the "Grove." The pastor of the Yonkers Methodist Episcopal Church opened the temperance meeting with a prayer and a speech, was followed by the singing of temperance odes. James M. Brown, the Yonkers temperance singer, performed a selection entitled "Progress of Intemperance" for the gathering. The assembly then repaired to the local temperance house for dinner. After the meal, the crowd reassembled for further addresses on temperance, which were followed by a "Temperance Flag," as sung by Brown. Next, the women sang a number of their favorite temperance songs. At the close of the day, the Yonkers Total Abstinence Society and a musical band escorted the guests back to the wharf for their return ride home. 58 Thus, the Martha Washington societies were able to enjoy a pleasant outing in the country, with like-minded company, while supporting the cause of temperance.

With banner and with badge we come,
 An army true and strong,
 To fight against the hosts of Rum
 And this shall be our song:
 Cold Water Army is our name.

Aaron Burt Grosh, "Cold Water Army"-Temperance Song

The newly developed affinity of some firefighters for temperance was recognized by the temperance community. On 1842 excursion up the Hudson River, New York

City's Hose Company Number Thirty-Three was welcomed in Hudson. That city's citizens and firemen had gathered and then marched in procession to meet the visitors on the dock. The visitors were escorted to Hudson Engine Company Number One where "refreshments without alcohol had been liberally provided." The New York firemen were presented with a silver trumpet by the Hudson Common Council for "the noble stand they had taken" in pledging to abstain from alcoholic beverages, according to the report in the *Crystal Fount*. Such firemen stood in opposition to traditional practice. Antebellum fire companies typically included a fire steward whose principal duty was supply the firemen with alcoholic beverages as they fought the frequent fires of the era. 59

Shortly after their warm reception in Hudson, that same New York City fire company participated in a temperance "pic-nic" in New Rochelle, which also was enjoyed by a number of Martha Washington societies. On a "raw, cold and cloudy" day in September 1842, the Washington Temperance Guards, as well as the New York City Hose Company Number Thirty-Three, escorted the temperance women to the grove in New Rochelle. Four hundred persons were seated in the grove for the temperance addresses that day. The president of the New Rochelle Temperance Society spoke and temperance songs were performed by the Martha Washington societies, followed by dinner set out on long tables under the trees. At the end of the day, the New Rochelle societies marched with their guests back to the boat for the return trip home. 60 Women sought the company of like-minded friends and neighbors, and enjoyed the social benefits of temperance work.

Women had much to gain from temperance reform and the various activities of the reform movement in the Hudson River Valley. Temperance advocates believed that a

temperate society would afford women security against the dangerous excesses of inebriates. Women and their children would be safer from harm and degradation when temperance reform succeeded, and many women in the region did much to further that goal. Meanwhile, women also worked hard to alleviate the present sufferings of families caused by intemperance.

Another segment of the population in the Hudson River Valley was attracted to temperance reform “to convince the world by uniform propriety of conduct, industry and economy, that we are worthy of esteem and patronage....” ⁶¹ In antebellum nineteenth century America, many free African Americans accepted the conventional definitions of middle class morality. Idleness, drunkenness, gambling, prostitution, public displays of loud and boorish behavior, as well as sexual activity without benefit of marriage and its consequences were not acceptable conduct. Such so-called immoral and irresponsible activities, which they observed among so many free northern blacks, offended and embarrassed middle class African Americans. They feared that public expression of such baseness could only drag them all down and reinforce already existing white prejudice and cement discriminatory practices. Therefore, to those who accepted the concept that racial elevation could lead to an end to discrimination, moral regeneration and education were as necessary to an African American advancement as the end of slavery was to the thinking of abolitionists. ⁶²

Before thy throne, we boast the name
Of Freemen: --God, thy frown is just.
Immortals, break your bonds of shame!
Arise, inebriates, from the dust!

Lucius Sargent, “Hymn”-Temperance Hymn

Slavery did not end in New York until 1827 and restrictions of already limited social and civil rights in the state followed manumission. A succinct, but bitter, account of the discrimination suffered by ordinary blacks in their daily lives was offered by Rev. Hosea Easton, who formed his conclusions while traveling throughout New York as a religious missionary to fellow African Americans. "Malignant prejudice is a principle which calls into action the worst passions of the human heart....The colored population are the injured party." ⁶³ "Our oppressors have divested us of many valuable blessings and facilities for improvement and elevation; but, thank heaven, they have not yet been able to take from us the privilege of being honest, industrious, sober and intelligent." Those words were written in 1848 by Frederick Douglass, who was strongly committed to temperance reform, as well as to abolishing slavery. ⁶⁴ In the Hudson River Valley, certain African Americans practiced such personal sobriety and worked toward converting others of their race to the cause of temperance reform. "All who are friendly to the moral improvement of the colored population are respectfully invited to attend," read an announcement for an upcoming "Colored Temperance Society" meeting in 1842. The notice had been placed by society secretary Jacob Schemerhorn in the *Kinderhook Sentinel*. An African American clergyman named Morton would address the African Total Abstinence Society of Kinderhook at a meeting on a Thursday evening in August at the Kinderhook Brick Church. Another African American temperance society met the same month in the grove in nearby Stuyvesant Falls. Several reformers addressed those who were assembled at the out of doors meeting held that Sunday afternoon in 1842, according to the Kinderhook paper. Open-air meeting locations, such as groves, were popular throughout the era. The First Colored American Congregation Grove Company

in Rye Neck, Westchester County operated such a meeting ground. The many temperance events and camp meetings held at the Rye Neck grove attracted thousands of African Americans from Westchester, New York City and Connecticut to the grove throughout the 1850s. ⁶⁵

Spencertown, Columbia County was home to fifty-one African Americans and a temperance society in 1843, according to the *Columbia Washingtonian*. Of the fifty-one inhabitants, eight were "professors of religion," who had for some time sustained their own religious meetings, nine subscribed to a temperance newspaper, and 40 percent had pledged to abstain totally from alcohol. An entreaty for Spencertown members read, "let us show ourselves worthy of universal emancipation," and no longer to be depicted as "willing slaves of Intemperance." African Americans had "long labored under disgrace of being idle, dishonest...all the wrongs and deprivations we have suffered, will not justify intemperance," continued the appeal to join the Spencertown Colored Total Abstinence Society. Those worthy sentiments demonstrate that Spencertown temperance advocates endorsed antebellum African American personal and communal reforms, which sought to end intemperance and slavery. The existence of two Hudson temperance societies, "among our colored population," was noticed in the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The paper also received word of a tea party given at Davis Hall by the Hudson African American community to benefit the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Later that year, the newspaper announced an upcoming "Colored People's Temperance Convention" in Spencertown for September 1843. The Kinderhook Colored Choir was included on the entertainment roster for the convention. ⁶⁶ Such moral activities allowed black temperance supporters to interact socially with their peers while working for reform in

the Hudson River Valley.

An African American temperance convention was held on July 5 1843 in Hudson and attracted an audience from the entire Hudson River Valley. According to the convention announcement, delegations from African American temperance societies in the Hudson Valley were expected to come from Troy, Schenectady, Lanisberg, Albany, Cocksackie, Catskill, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, Rhinebeck, Red Hook, Hudson, Kinderhook, as well as from other localities in Westchester and Putnam counties and New-York City, along with "others unknown" from Massachusetts and Connecticut. The convention's goal was to perform substantial temperance work among African Americans in the region. It is likely that among those attendees were some of the same New Yorkers who participated in state and national efforts to advance the moral and social status of African Americans and end slavery.

A large crowd was expected at the convention because of the easy steamboat and railroad access to Hudson. More than sixteen black societies traveled to the city on the appointed day, bringing their banners, badges and music. With the arrival of each society, it was escorted to the public square where a procession was formed and then marched to the meeting place to hear temperance addresses. After the speeches, the conventioners gathered in Davis Hall, amply decorated with all of the societies' banners, for refreshments and dinner. The group reconvened in the evening for another meeting, held in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. That church had recently published an appeal to readers of the *Columbia Washingtonian* for monetary assistance in helping to defray the cost of a newly purchased building. The church had bought a building valued at \$225 with a down payment of \$28 and sought assistance in paying the mortgage. The

African Americans in Hudson supported both a juvenile temperance society and a Sunday school at the city's Colored School. The temperance society was described as being "small but not tiny," according to the 1843 report of the Hudson Sunday School Union. The Colored School in Hudson educated fifty children with a staff of eleven teachers and a library containing 150 books. ⁶⁷

African Americans who attended the Hudson temperance convention were described by the *Columbia Washingtonian* as "Orderly, well dressed, well behaved, and as our positions [in the viewing stand] gave us a view of their faces as they passed, we unhesitatingly say that more intelligent countenances than they exhibited we have seldom seen. Their general deportment through the day was manly and dignified, yet unassuming and modest - altogether such as to do them credit." ⁶⁸

African Americans in the Hudson River Valley in the 1840s were meeting to join together for the purpose of temperance reform within their community. At an 1843 meeting of the Hudson Colored Temperance Society, a "colored gentleman" from New Jersey addressed those assembled. Intemperance had degraded African American society, so declared the speaker who "insisted that their own vice had been the chief cause of their wretched state." While intemperance would hold all African Americans down, temperance would raise them up to a respectable level. ⁶⁹

An antebellum African American culture of temperance reform, a system of shared values and public gestures, existed in the Hudson River Valley. African American temperance advocates also enjoyed social companionship when they came together for a temperance "Celebration" to affirm their commitment to total abstinence. The fete, advertised in the *Columbia Washingtonian*, was held at the Methodist Church in

Coxsackie, across the Hudson River from Columbia County in the fall of 1843. The charitable efforts of the temperance movement were also evident among the African American population in the Hudson River Valley. A wintertime 1844 temperance "Fair" was planned in Hudson's Davis Hall to raise money for the assistance of the "temperate colored poor this winter." Included in the attractions of the fair were the offerings of cake and ice cream. At the event, the African American temperance society raised seventy dollars to support their benevolent work. Another Colored People's Temperance Fair was sponsored by the Gerrit Smith Temperance Society of Hudson in January 1844. (African Americans honored New York temperance reformer Gerrit Smith's efforts to advance their social status and abolish slavery by so naming their society.) The announcement declared that the society would use the proceeds solely for the relief of the "Temperance colored poor" during the winter. White ladies and gentlemen and "colored friends from city and country" were invited to attend the fair and partake of the cake, ice cream and the "delicacies of the season." Yet another wintertime 1844 fair was held on a February evening at Davis Hall in Hudson to raise funds to help pay off the printing debts of the Gerrit Smith Temperance Society, which may have been incurred by the previous benefits. The ladies of the society again promised "a nice meat Supper, cakes, ice cream and seasonal 'dainties'." 70 Davis Hall was once again the site of an 1845 fair, which earned nearly forty dollars for the benefit of Rev. John N. Glouster. Such occasions, as these fairs, provided the African American community with opportunities for socialization along with directly supporting temperance reform.

The 1843 convention of African American temperance societies from around the state and New England had proved so successful and popular, that another such affair

was planned for September 1844. The event was again publicized in the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The newspaper also reported on the proceedings of the convention for its readers. Among the conventioners there were "a large proportion of females in the respectable looking procession, where are the men, are they so addicted or are the public displays so frequent (among all groups) that men can't afford to give up time to go, thought must be given to this by planners, all not just 'colored friends'." 71 African American women in the Hudson River Valley openly supported the temperance movement by attending such convocations, and by performing acts of charity among the needy. Such activities also provided opportunities for companionship among like-minded women in the region.

Again in 1845, a large African American temperance society conference was held in Hudson. "[T]housands" attended and the fourth such convention was deemed a success by the Columbia County temperance newspaper, which reported the event. The block-long procession contained a number of temperance reformers carrying their society banners who were accompanied by musicians. The African Americans who turned out were "intelligent...well clad, and most evidently well fed," according to the *Columbia Washingtonian*. The parade stopped at the Hudson Court House and, from its steps, the assembly was addressed by so many temperance speakers and dignitaries that they were scheduled "every twelve minutes or so." The newly elected president of the gathered African American temperance societies, Rev. Henry Highland Garnet of Troy's African American Presbyterian Church, also spoke to the crowd. Garnet was dedicated to temperance reform and to the abolition of slavery, and an important African American the Hudson River Valley, the state and the nation. In the evening, another large meeting

was held in Hudson's City Hall. Decorum was the byword of the event's proceedings, although one intoxicated man happened upon the gathering. That incident notwithstanding, the temperance convention had elevated "our colored people," the *Columbia Washingtonian* recorded. The newspaper declared the event "A Grand Affair" and reported that not one "unmanly act[was seen], or hear[d] an improper word...In truth we saw but one reeling chap during the day, and he was more than *three-fourths white*."⁷²

Come sign the temperance pledge, sign it right away,
For if you do but keep it, you need not fear alarm
But you will soon be rich enough to buy a handsome farm

"A Parody on 'Uncle Sam's Farm'-Temperance Song

A notice of the Colored People's Temperance Convention appeared again in the temperance newspaper in 1847. The July mass gathering in Hudson of the Delavan (Colored People's) Temperance Societies was attended by "goodly numbers." (The group was named for Edward C. Delavan, a wealthy white Albany temperance advocate and abolitionist.) The convention attendees marched together accompanied by music to the Court House yard. The *Columbia Washingtonian* declared that there existed "much respectability in this movement." Respectable was the byword for the Kingston Colored Temperance Society. The county temperance agent reported in March 1845 that the three month old organization claimed forty members. A "Kingston gentleman" informed the agent that Kingston's African Americans generally conducted themselves well and were "becoming respected in their station." Respectability on the part of the Hudson River Valley's African Americans was encouraged by the larger white temperance community.

An 1846 article appearing in the Hudson temperance paper encouraged African Americans to save money to purchase farms and to leave the large cities for country towns. Rural life was a "strong inducement to industry and frugality," which, the newspaper stated, were laudable qualities for all. ⁷³ African American and white antebellum reformers promoted agriculture as an opportunity for free northern African Americans to escape urban poverty, gain economic and social independence, refute white racist charges and perhaps to qualify to vote in New York, which required that black men own property valued at \$250 in order to be enfranchised. ⁷⁴

African Americans encouraged their friends and neighbors to work toward temperance reform. "We as a people can never raise ourselves to eminence until we free ourselves from being 'slaves' to alcohol, once intemperance is conquered slavery will soon be abolished in the U. S." So read a report of an 1842 Colored People's Temperance Convention as reprinted by the *Columbia Washingtonian* from the *Albany Morning Star*. Abstinence, sobriety and probity among the free African Americans would lead to respectability, and possibly to abolition of the enslavement of all African Americans. Honorable qualities among African Americans in the Hudson River Valley were recognized when the Delavan Colored Temperance Union of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut announced its 1843 convention to be held in Kinderhook. The *Columbia Washingtonian* declared that as "no white man has been able to shame Kinderhook we hope the colored can." ⁷⁵

The same 1843 issue of the temperance paper reported that an African American man of Kinderhook had addressed the Hudson Colored Temperance Society. Now a total abstainer, he told the group that he was thirty years old, with a wife and two children. He

had been free from infancy, but brought down by drink. While recently imprisoned for a petty crime, he had been visited in jail by Mr. Pell of Hudson's African American Gerrit Smith Temperance Society. After the visit, Mr. Pell secured permission of the authorities to take the prisoner to a temperance meeting. At that meeting, the speaker accepted the temperance message, signed the total abstinence pledge and joined the temperance society. To the Gerrit Smith members, and the larger white world, the story proved the point that African Americans could be raised from dishonor to respectable status through temperance reform. 76

The African American Gerrit Smith Temperance Society notified the community on another occasion that their temperance message had triumphed. The society met, as was their custom, on a Thursday evening in March 1843 for an "unusually large and interesting meeting." After the prayers which always opened their meetings were delivered, "spirited songs" were sung, and temperance addresses by various persons followed. During one address, a society officer reported that on the previous day nine African Americans from Barrytown in Dutchess County had traveled to Hudson solely to sign the total abstinence pledge and join the temperance society. They were strangers but found a community, a "colored temperance family," the speaker declared. Such a "family" offered the esteem of the community to those African Americans who would join. Those who comprised the "colored temperance family" were drawn from the 1,653 African Americans in Columbia County in 1840, 55 percent of whom were women. 77

"It is a singular fact that the great temperance movement which revolutionized this city [Hudson] commenced its activity among our colored people," announced the *Columbia Washingtonian* in January 1843. This development was further evidence of the

honorable status of temperance-minded African Americans. Since temperance reform had occurred among Hudson's African Americans, two "notorious" places were closed and a temperance society formed. As to that newly formed society, it reported that "to make out a complete list of Officers, we were compelled to give some of them to *females*." A visiting committee of women was organized to meet with every African American family and to place the pledge in every home. Hudson has "a colored population as orderly, genteel and *pious* as any other city," averred the temperance newspaper.

In recording the rise and progress of temperance reform among the Hudson African American community, the same article stated that before June 1841 no temperance society had existed. However, every Sunday evening, Rev. Ward Stafford, a white minister, had preached the gospel to "our neglected race." The total abstinence pledge was circulated among them and sixty persons had signed it. Wanting further self "improvement," the pledged teetotal African Americans formed a temperance society on June 15 1841 with the assistance of the white ministers and women who had addressed them. As a society, they met weekly and heard a temperance speaker at most meetings. After a visiting committee was named, it called on all African American families to acquaint them with the principles of total abstinence. Of the 217 persons who had signed their abstinence pledge, only a few relapsed, even though most of them formerly drank, declared the paper. "[T]he change in the character of our people must be evident" to all. Since the temperance reformation, Hudson African Americans had experienced a religious revival and "a large number converted and joined with a new colored people's church." "Thank God" for the temperance reform, which elevated them in the "moral,

intellectual and social world," declared the *Columbia Washingtonian* in 1843. ⁷⁸

All free African Americans were urged to participate in antebellum reform efforts. Moral purity, economy, temperance and other middle class ideals were proselytized in African American churches, schools, newspapers and organizations. Women especially were called upon to support private and public social reforms, such as temperance, however. Intemperance was seen as a particular economic and social menace to their communities and, therefore, temperance reform became a mainstay of black, as well as white women's reform efforts. Women were thought to possess moral superiority and were called upon to exercise that quality. "Everywhere throughout the circle of her intercourse, her influence is felt...gentle, silent, and unseen; yet pervading and efficient." ⁷⁹ To ensure their future well being, young African American women were advised to avoid the company of men who drank and gambled. Such men were not desirable husbands, according to antebellum African American middle class sensibilities. ⁸⁰ When women failed to heed the warning, their own moral and physical security, and that of their children could not be protected. Only personal, family and racial degradation could follow such ill matches, as Frances Ellen Watkins Harper poignantly described in her cautionary temperance tale, "Two Offers." The story, which appeared in the short-lived but influential *The Anglo-African Magazine* in 1859, tells of two young women who make different choices regarding marriage. One of them marries the promising young man who is courting her, only to find out later about his ruinous drunken ways. The other young woman remains single rather than chance such a future, and dedicates her life to community temperance reform and education. ⁸¹

In the fall of 1842, a separate African American women's temperance society was formed in Hudson "to aid the reformed in their struggles" against alcohol. The women raised money to assist those among them who needed help. Winter was especially hard on the poor, and the Female Gerrit Smith Temperance Society hosted a "Temperance Jubilee" so that they could conduct their "winter campaign" of charity in 1843. The event was held on a January 1843 evening and the hall was decorated with paintings and banners. In attendance were 150 African Americans from Hudson and the surrounding area, "all neatly, and some even elegantly dressed." The fund-raising affair was called to order, prayers were offered by a minister who also gave an "appropriate address." Then the president of the men's society, "a dark good-looking man," also addressed the gathering. All who attended signed the total abstinence pledge. The speeches and pledges were followed by a supper offered "in handsome style." The festivities lasted until midnight. Some of "our most respectable [white] citizens ...were delighted with the entertainment, and the improved condition of our colored population," the newspaper reported. 82

An 1844 African American temperance convention in Catskill was witnessed by the noted diarist, Andrew Haswell Green of New York City. Twenty-four years old at the time, Green traveled up the Hudson River, in hopes of spending several days at Catskill's renowned Mountain House. That hotel being full, Green found lodging at the temperance hotel in Catskill, according to his journal. While in Catskill, Green happened upon a "colored Temperance convention" in progress, a "great collection of Black there was." Interested, he went to their meeting, which was held in the woods near the North River, but found "Nothing very remarkable in the way of speaking." After his brief stay

in Catskill, Green continued up the Hudson to Albany, where he heard the Hutchinson Family, as well as other temperance singers at a church concert. ⁸³ While it is unknown whether the Catskill temperance hotel admitted African American guests, Albany did provide them with a hotel run on the total abstinence principle. It was managed by Stephen Myers, an inveterate African American temperance advocate and influential voice among Hudson River Valley blacks. Myers ran a short-lived Albany temperance paper for African Americans in the late 1830s. He then founded and edited the *Northern Star and Freeman's Journal*, 1842-1849, and went on to publish the *Telegraph and Temperance Journal* from 1851 to 1855. In addition to Albany, there were temperance boarding houses and hotels for blacks in Boston and New York City. ⁸⁴

Involvement with temperance reform had begun early among certain parts of the Hudson River Valley African American community. Slavery ended in New York in 1827, and in 1833, delegates from the region attended the "Third Annual Convention for the Free People of Colour in the United States." African American men from Poughkeepsie, Newburgh, Troy, Catskill, and Hudson: traveled to Philadelphia for the "Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Color." The conventioners gathered to discuss temperance reform because they felt themselves "pressed with weightier responsibilities...what we are to be is peculiarly suspended upon our moral and intellectual qualities...." Even though they could state that it was not the case that "intemperance abounds more among us, than among others....," any sign of intemperance among African Americans provided the apologists for chattel slavery with supposed support. The condition of free northern blacks was depicted as depraved, while southern slaves enjoyed the protection of slavery, or so believed those who favored slavery. It was

to counter that perversion of reality that African American men traveled from the Hudson Valley to Philadelphia in 1833. They argued that, since intemperance contributed to the perception of "African inferiority," it must be avoided. The Hudson River Valley delegates were proud to report at Philadelphia that African American temperance societies were active in Albany, Catskill, Poughkeepsie, Newburgh, Newtown and Troy. In fact, six of the nineteen recorded black temperance societies in the northern states at the time were located in the region. ⁸⁵

Another recommendation for living by the principle of temperance among African Americans was provided when a Hudson newspaper reported on a certain African American visitor to that city in 1853. Reported as being one hundred and four years old, a "hale and hearty" Joseph Robinson had traveled unassisted to Hudson from his home in nearby Germantown. When questioned, Robinson attributed his longevity and stamina to the fact that he had been a "temperance man all his days." ⁸⁶ Through temperance, Hudson Valley African Americans could hope for improved social status and stability and, perhaps, a long and healthy life.

There were other ways that temperance reform benefited those who lived in the Hudson River Valley. Such advantage was demonstrated in 1842 by the report that emanated from a religious camp meeting held in Sing-Sing. On the occasion of the camp meeting, the Sing-Sing Washington Total Abstinence Society transferred its regularly scheduled meeting to the campgrounds. The temperance advocates presented several rousing temperance addresses there and, as a result, added names to the temperance pledge. Rev. Herman Bangs, who was in charge of the religious event, praised the work of the Washingtonians and credited the Sing-Sing temperance organization with the

“good order which has prevailed” at the grounds. The presence of the temperance reformers had prevented a repeat of prior disruptions of the camp meeting, which “on former occasions, [had] been frequently molested by disorderly, intoxicated persons....”⁸⁷

God of our Fathers! Thee we praise!
Thy goodness prompts our grateful ways;
At thy command the waves of sin
Recede, and virtue smiles again.

Order of Exercises, Marlboro Chapel-Temperance Hymn

Intemperance was the evil that Hudson River Valley temperance reformers sought to eradicate from their communities. In the small towns and farming communities, as well as in the church congregations which dotted the region, individual intemperance was more easily observed than in large cities. Thus, intervention in such behavior could be more personal and Hudson Valley churches fought intemperance among their congregations. In May 1792, the 112 member Church of Christ in Putnam County’s Frederickstown withdrew “the hand of fellowship” from David Dingee “for covenant breaking for his immoral conduct in gaming for liker [liquor] at sunday [*sic*] times.” James Russell was also accused of “drinking to excess” several times during the late 1790s and early 1800s. Each time, he was visited by fellow congregants, confessed his fault and promised to mend his intemperate ways. Russell was finally shunned by his church in 1803. This action was not based on his drunken relapses, however. He had joined the Freemasons and, apparently, refused to withdraw from that organization which his church opposed. The Frederickstown Church of Christ would not approve of

Freemasonry membership for twenty more years. During those decades, other church members were charged with drunkenness and visited by appointed committees. If visiting committees went away unsatisfied, church trials ensued with witnesses called to testify. If judged guilty of intemperance, such persons were rejected by the church. Not all of the accused participated in church interventions, however. Michael Sloat was dismissed for “neglecting to hear the Church” in 1810. By June 1827, “discipline was too much neglected” among the 220 member of the Frederickstown Church of Christ, although 3 men were called upon for imputed inebriation during that month. From 1790 through 1827, the Frederickstown Church of Christ blamed members for “drinking to excess.” 88

By 1830, the ecclesiastical bodies of the Reformed Dutch, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist and other Protestant churches had passed resolutions in support of abstinence from “ardent spirits” and drunkenness. The Mt. Carmel Baptist Church in Carmel, Putnam County adopted Articles of Covenant in 1835 which outlined the formal process it would follow in case of “difficulty, offence, or transgression,” such as intemperance, within the congregation. Written complaint against a fellow church member would be submitted to the church clerk, read aloud to the congregation and referred to an investigating committee. If necessary, the church conducted a trial before dismissing a guilty member. Accusations of wrongdoing against congregants were often based on “common fame,” or commonly known violations of the church’s moral code. Most antebellum church disciplinary investigations began with such a charge, especially when men were accused of inebriation. Intemperance, illegal sale of alcohol and direct efforts to reform behavior are woven through four incidents that occurred in Valatie in

Columbia County, during the late 1830s and early 1840s. The Sessional Records of the Valatie Presbyterian Church, which had seventy-three women and twenty-eight men as members at the time, provide details of those events. (A Presbyterian session comprises the presiding minister and the ruling elders of the church.) In February 1839, Anthony I. Pulver, a church member and church elder, was charged by the church's ruling body, the session, with selling intoxicating liquors without a license and to persons of intemperate habits. Further, it was said that Elder Pulver kept a "disorderly house," where these offenses took place. When he was brought before the session to answer the charges, Pulver freely admitted that he sold ardent spirits without a license. However, he denied that he sold to inebriates or that he kept a disorderly house. He challenged the session to offer proof of the two disputed charges. Pulver went on to explain that he planned to erect a building to serve as a tavern in the spring and to obtain a license to sell alcoholic drinks there. (Licenses to sell alcoholic beverages were granted May 1 through April 31 each year by the local Excise Board.) In his defense, Pulver testified that he considered himself justified in selling unlicensed drinks because his health did not permit him to pursue his former occupation as a shoemaker, and his family was large and needed support. Furthermore, Pulver declared that "several prominent men," in addition to himself, considered that Valatie needed a public house and that it was in the best interest of the village for him to provide that service. The church session did not agree with Elder Pulver's positions and hoped that he would return to the "path of duty."

Pulver did not do as the church had desired and was called again in March 1839 to answer for his continued illegal actions. When he appeared before them, the session expunged the two charges, one of which Pulver had challenged, keeping a disorderly

house and allowing gambling on the premises. However, at the second interview, he admitted to selling to intoxicated persons and selling without the required excise license. Pulver apologized to the session for his actions but refused to refrain from selling intoxicating beverages. He stated that he did not sell any at the present time, but also that he could not say what he might do in the future. He was removed from the list of elders of the church.

The case, however, continued to concern the session of the Valatie Presbyterian Church into April 1839. Anthony I. Pulver had a change of heart, confessed "promptly and freely" to his transgressions, and declared his intention to avoid future similar offenses. For this new and more desirable position, Pulver was restored to his former standing as an elder and the session congratulated itself for the "moderation and forbearance" it had shown in the matter. Yet, within a year Elder Pulver was called again to the session. He stood accused in February 1840 of selling intoxicating beverages illegally and contrary to his earlier express promise to the church, thereby "grieving your brethren." But this time Pulver refused to appear and a second citation was served upon him for his actions that were "aggravated" by allowing liquor to be drunk in his house in violation of state law. Pulver failed to appear at the next sessional meeting, as called. The session then designated another elder to manage Pulver's defense and tried him in absentia in April 1840. Two of Pulver's neighbors were asked to verify the charges against Pulver and both testified that they were on "friendly terms" with the defendant. The witnesses described the building Pulver had erected as a "grocery," where he sold cheese, crackers, oyster soup, and boiled eggs, as well as staple goods. One of the witnesses declared that Pulver's neighbors considered that it was "a shame and disgrace to

keep such an establishment." The house was the "common resort of intemperate persons" from several miles around, according to the testimony. Further, the witness stated that Pulver kept the bar open to a late hour on Saturday nights, often until one o'clock Sunday morning. Pulver also made it a habit to sell drinks on the Sabbath, according to his neighbor. At this point, the trial was adjourned without a disposition. When the church trial resumed several days later, Pulver appeared before the session to plead guilty to the charges lodged against him. He admitted that he had not secured a license to sell alcohol, despite his promise to do so the year before. Pulver stated that he had no wish to produce any evidence in the case and asked that the session dispose of the case post-haste. The session complied with his request and unanimously voted to suspend Pulver from all church privileges until such time as he would "furnish satisfactory evidence of sincere contrition for past offenses and a firm determination to lead a holy life." The decision was announced "with affection and the expression of hope" that Pulver would comply with the law and the desires of the church. 89

The case of Anthony I. Pulver in the Valatie Presbyterian Church records touches upon several themes related to Hudson Valley temperance. Pulver was guilty of selling alcohol without the necessary license, a situation that vexed temperance advocates, as well as his church. For without the license, there was little control of sales. If the law permitted sale of alcohol, the temperance community wanted the sales regulated and excise license fees used to defray some of the costs associated with intemperance in their midst, such as the operation of poor houses. Pulver had turned to selling drinks from his house in order to support his family, as he could no longer make shoes. He built the small grocery and sold single drinks to laborers who could not afford the larger more

economical quantities purchased elsewhere by middle class drinkers. The Pulver grocery was described as the "common resort" of persons who came from miles away to drink at Pulver's shop, thus it fulfilled a need for recreation in the neighborhood. Pulver was conflicted about his role in selling illegal drinks, as his statements to the church session indicate. Every penny counted for Pulver, he needed money to support his family and excise licenses cost \$125. It seemed that he could sell drinks and face objection only from his church and some of his neighbors, so he continued to do so. Although Pulver denied that he kept an unruly house, the demeanor of those persons who drank at Pulver's concerned the neighbors, who also testified that Pulver stayed open late and on Sundays. Temperance reformers often complained of the unruliness of those around them who drank and sought to control the behavior of their neighbors. Drinking led to intemperance, noise and crime, the reformers contended. Elimination of drinking could solve those problems, and so the temperance advocates worked to that end.

The intractability of intemperate habits is demonstrated by two other cases from the records of the Valatie Presbyterian Church Session Records. In June 1841, a committee of two session members was appointed to call upon church member Charles Snyder to caution him about his intemperance. At the time, Snyder was already "under censure" by the session for his drinking behavior. The committee found Snyder "deeply sensible of his sins" and he expressed "a desire to return to duty." Before he could do so, however, the session required that Snyder make a public confession of his guilt to the church. Snyder complied with the demand that he publicly confess and was returned to the fold. Nevertheless, within six months, the session had to issue Snyder a citation to appear before it to answer the charge of "repeated instances of intemperance." Snyder

did not appear at that session, and consequently, he was dismissed from the church. 90

The third Valatie Presbyterian Church incident occurred in August 1842 when church member Henry D. Longworthy was accused of "recent intoxication" and called before the church session to explain. Longworthy answered the summons and declared himself "fully sensible of the greatness of his sin" and repentant. In January 1844, the session had reason to call Longworthy again. At that session, Longworthy stated that he had been before that body "several times" for his intemperance. While he had confessed his guilt each time, Longworthy had "uniformly returned to his former sinful course" each time, the session asserted. "As a last effort," the church body cited him to appear for the multiple offenses. When he answered the summons, once again Longworthy was remorseful and "promised amendments." Longworthy told the governing board that he had recently signed the total abstinence pledge and truly intended to reform. The session suspended any action on the case in order to see how Longworthy "would adhere to his present resolutions." Additionally, the session determined to pray in his behalf. Seven months later, the Longworthy situation was again discussed at a session meeting of the Valatie Presbyterian Church. At that time, the session decided that it had "previously used every reasonable effort" to reclaim him but failed to do so. As a consequence, Longworthy was "cut off" from the church by its governing body. Even though he had sworn to abstain from all intoxicants, Longworthy was unable to curb his drinking, and was counted among the persons lost to the temperance crusade. 91

Temperance played a part in another case brought before the Valatie Presbyterian Church session. In 1844, an unmarried female church member stood charged with the sin of fornication. The woman so charged denied the accusation and the case hinged upon

the word of the woman's landlord, who had accused her. The landlord swore that one night he had seen a man enter the woman's room and that the man had remained there throughout the night. Several witnesses were called to testify as to their knowledge in the case; among them was the woman's near neighbor, a Mr. Arthur. Arthur told the church governing body that he indeed had observed a man entering the room of the accused, one night between midnight and one o'clock in the morning. According to his testimony, the witness was able to see the man clearly in the bright moonlight as he entered the woman's room, just across the way from his house. Arthur also stated that he was certain of the date and time in question. As Arthur explained to the session, that same evening he had held a temperance meeting at his house, which lasted to a late hour. As the temperance meeting ended, Arthur stood outside his door with his fellow temperance advocates and observed the man enter the room. The Presbyterian Church session deemed Arthur creditable and expelled the woman from their church as a result of her behavior. 92

In the 1840s, another aspect of the nineteenth century antebellum temperance movement contributed to the burgeoning culture of temperance reform. Fraternal organizations whose members were devoted to their mutual benefit, as well as to temperance reform, were formed frequently as offshoots of the Washington Total Abstinence Societies of the era. With names such as the Sons, Daughters and Cadets of Temperance, the Order of Good Templars, the Rechabites and Daughters of Rechab, the Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria, those new organizations were modeled on secret Protestant fraternities, such as the Free Masons. Secret rituals and methods of recognizing members, as well as hierarchical degrees of membership characterized the new fraternal temperance reform organizations. The new organizations expanded the

social and emotional attractions of temperance advocacy using initiation rites, passwords, regalia, mottoes and honorific titles. The rituals reinforced allegiance to total abstinence from alcohol and to the reform cause, as well as providing temperance advocates with another social venue. Since drunkenness was “peculiarly a social evil,” social and fraternal activities were enlisted in the battle against intemperance. ⁹³ After “Universal Temperance Reformation,” the second object of the Sons of Temperance was “Brotherhood in Love, Purity and Fidelity.” To ensure that brotherhood, the Sons of Temperance required that “all subjects of political and religious controversy are excluded...a fraternal spirit is continually exhibited in the charges, odes, ceremonies, and rules of the Order, and is insisted on as essential to its harmony, happiness and success.” ⁹⁴

Don't talk about your whisky, To aggravate a man
Who signed the temperance pledge, boy.
And resolute I'll stand; The bowl defy untill [*sic*] I die.
To drink I'll never bend the knee. No blush or shame to mar the name,
Son of Temperance, S-O-T.

Edward Harrigan, “Sons of Temperance”-Temperance Song

Ritual practices were central to the fraternal experience; they drew members to societies and kept them there. Mottoes, rites and regalia were especially important in attracting male members. Such rituals also transmitted the antebellum culture of temperance reform in the Hudson River Valley. The original Sons of Temperance modeled their constitution on those of the Freemasons and Odd Fellows when they organized in 1842. The Sons adopted simpler initiation rites to satisfy the anti-Masons

among them, however. More elaborate fraternal ceremonies appeared in the 1850s when the society desired greater ritual and many anti-Masonic tempers had cooled. When the Independent Order of Good Templars was founded in 1851, its early meetings were dominated by debates over the style of rituals in the organization. Restrained ceremonies were chosen, but certain Good Templars remained unsatisfied. In 1858, a faction wanting more ostentatious initiations and frustrated by the national leadership's reluctance offered one hundred dollars for the best submission of an elaborate initiation rite, and threatened to splinter the Good Templars if it was not adopted. The revisionists again lost the argument, but wrested control of the national organization several years later. Elaborate ritual-laden fraternal activities were firmly in place by the mid-1860s. 95

The fraternal groups which developed in the 1840s and 1850s formalized a number of the social reasons that temperance advocates of the Hudson River Valley joined the more open temperance societies. However, with exclusivity and secrecy, those new groups existed quite differently from solely temperance reform-minded organizations, such as the Washingtonians and county temperance societies. Advancement of the cause of temperance remained central in the new societies, indeed the Rechabites were named for the abstinent Old Testament elder Rechab whose family and followers drank no wine (Jeremiah 35). When these secret societies first began to form in the Hudson Valley, the monitor of temperance activity in the region, the *Columbia Washingtonian*, questioned the need for such groups. In fact, the newspaper expressed "regret" that just such societies were forming among the regional temperance community in 1843. "No Secrets to Keep" and no secret handshakes were needed to effect temperance reform, declared the temperance paper. However, just a few years later

the editorial stance of the paper toward secret societies changed. Regional temperance leaders, and some of the men behind the *Columbia Washingtonian*, such as John Stanton Gould and Warren Rockwell in the late 1840s, not only joined the secret societies, but also became officers. In 1847, Warren Rockwell, editor of the *Columbia Washingtonian* and a Son of Temperance, declared that if secret societies were to do "their proper work," the need for them would cease to exist. "It is said the Sons and Daughters of Temperance withdraw from Washingtonians," but it was not true, according to Rockwell. The secret organizations furnished additional energy for temperance reform, the *Columbia Washingtonian* noted in 1847, defending the secret mutual benefit temperance societies. As to the secrecy, the paper later offered a disingenuous opinion: the Sons and Daughters of Temperance and the Rechabites and Daughters of Rechab were not "secret societies" because they did not meet or act in secret. But, as does any family, the groups had their "own secrets." Those secrets, however, served simply as a means to distinguish true members from impostors. Even more implausibly, the temperance newspaper stated that because the secret password changed quarterly, it was secret only for a few months; the fact that one secret password was replaced by another was not mentioned. 96

The secret fraternal organizations served particular purposes for those temperance advocates who joined them. Temperance reform remained a motivating force and total abstinence a condition of membership, but those needs already were filled by existing county temperance societies, Washingtonians and Martha Washingtons. Frequently, Hudson Valley temperance advocates belonged to both kinds of organizations, the open and the closed. The closed groups provided an exclusivity of membership that required an invitation and recommendation of a new member along with a contribution to the

communal welfare fund. The more egalitarian and open temperance societies required only the total abstinence pledge for simple membership; and the pledge and payment of dues for constitutional membership. Leading Hudson River Valley temperance advocates, such as John Stanton Gould and Warren Rockwell, continued their membership and stewardship of the Hudson Washington Total Abstinence Society. They continued filling such positions while the two became members, and then officers, of the Hudson chapter of the Sons of Temperance. The regional temperance paper of the Hudson Washingtonians, the *Columbia Washingtonian*, reported on the existence of the new societies and announced their meetings, but with little more information forthcoming. The new organizations also served a mutual benefit function in an era lacking governmental support for families that had fallen on hard times, save for the County Poor House. Membership in the new closed temperance fraternal societies allowed a family devoted to the advancement of temperance reform to also maintain a mutual fund as insurance against bad times. Members who moved or traveled received a "travelling card," along with a "travelling password," for assistance from other fraternal temperance chapters of the governing organization. A special assessment was levied on all members in order to support the widows and orphans fund for surviving family members in case of the death of a breadwinner.⁹⁷ Clearly, these mutual aid fraternal organizations fulfilled a need perceived by the members for financial security, as well as social comradeship among temperance-minded advocates.

In letters written to his daughter in the 1860s, John Stanton Gould recorded the local impetus for the formation of the Sons of Temperance and the Rechabites. The 1844 political season convinced some local temperance leaders that reform efforts needed

strengthening. As the reformers saw it, the political campaigns drew attention away from temperance reform and "at political gatherings there is always an abundance of free liquor" to tempt even abstainers. Reformed men "dallied with the tempter and fell to rise no more." Washingtonianism was most "efficient in rousing enthusiasm" but inefficient for discipline and sustained action, Gould wrote. The two "secret societies" were needed to "furnish steady fuel for the fire" and "throw those safeguards round the drunkard which were needed to protect his weakness." ⁹⁸ The fraternity of the Sons was to serve as the "proper restraining influence" which was needed to bolster the total abstinence pledge for its members and redeem the alcoholic. ⁹⁹ "The Order demands that every candidate shall sustain a good moral character—yet makes allowances for the errors of the inebriate. This it does in the spirit of its great object." ¹⁰⁰

"A stronger moral and social power was needed, and a deep family interest must become awakened" to affect temperance reform, so stated a Son of Temperance in 1846. With "Love, Purity, Fidelity" as their motto, the Sons of Temperance promised a refuge from the "lower prejudices of sect, and party, and cast[e]." Their "innocent forms and secret passwords" were necessary to protect against "the imposition of the unprincipled," and the order pledged secrecy about its members and internal matters. The names of proposed "unworthy" candidates and of members who spoke against them would not be revealed outside of the group. Also to be kept private were any instances of members in need of charity and any lapses from the total abstinence pledge. Together, the "patriot" Sons constituted a "mightier moral and social power to persuade men to the abandonment of the destroying appetite" because "Legal enactments...can never govern or destroy a base and perverted appetite." Should any "tempted brother" fall, the Sons promised to

band together in "brotherly love and sympathy" and to "forget and forgive" the trespass. "We save him if possible, but if he must go, it is ours to follow him with blessings instead of curses." 101

The Sons of Temperance also joined together to secure the "power to form and actually to *create a public opinion*" rather than merely to express their sentiments about temperance. In an address to a state Sons of Temperance convention in 1849, the speaker declared to the assembled "Patriots" that men in America would not and "*should not* submit to coercion." Instead the Sons "desire[d] to *convince men of error* before we ask their cooperation in our good work." 102 By 1850, the Sons of Temperance claimed 300,000 members in all the states and territories of the union, as well as Canada, Mexico, and the British Isles. 103

Reports made by Sons of Temperance divisions in the Hudson River Valley to the state organization exist, and they provide a glimpse into the purpose and function of that association. Hudson Division No. 22 of the Sons of Temperance was formed in 1844. In 1848, Warren Rockwell was regional Deputy Grand Worthy Patron, as well as editor of the *Columbia Washingtonian*. That year he reported on activities by several chapters in the area. Hudson's chapter was advancing as well as the "stability of temperance reformation" allowed and had added a Cadet section for young men. Furthermore, Hudson Division No. 22 was "quite influential" in the city of Hudson, according to Rockwell. His 1848 report on Columbia County's Stockport chapter indicated that chapter's way was not as smooth. Sewell Division No. 77 in Stockport had been "almost annihilated [*sic*] some year or two since by a calamitous conflagration of the extensive Calico Printing establishment," which had employed most of the "brothers" and also

furnished them with a hall for their meetings. The rebuilt factory was "converted to another species of manufactures, and of course employed another set of men. The members of the Division were thus scattered abroad." The Stockport division subsequently applied for a change of venue to Stuyvesant Falls. The matter was referred to Deputy Grand Worthy Patron Rockwell, who approved the change, "in consequence of my acquaintance with the localities and other circumstances." The *Columbia Washingtonian* also noted that the Stockport temperance society, which at one time had held two meetings each week, was reorganized after the loss of a large portion of its members with the failure of the print works. In Stuyvesant Falls, Sewall Division No. 77 prospered, and so it was able to build a meeting hall and publicly dedicate it on July 4 1848. 104

Division No. 128 of the Sons of Temperance in Mellenville "progressed in its usual manner alternatively in the fogs of difficulty. It is an important and interesting division, and contains some of the noblest specimens of moral wealth in the Order," Rockwell reported. The chapter included "some rather restless spirits who seem to be deeply anxious that all things should go right, that are only satisfied when their own wisdom guides the course, controls the speed and directs every movement of the Division." A fraternal official for that group of men must possess "a fair 'sprinkling' of patience and perseverance" in order to be effective, Rockwell averred. In his report, Rockwell also wrote of his "strong attachment" to the men and vowed to "look in upon them." Sons of Temperance Central Division No. 221 in Chatham had "suspended action" on account of some "severe trials" and had elected no officers, even though Rockwell had spoken to them about their plans. "[T]hey seem disposed to remain as they

are until after the haying season and short evenings are past....I think it very doubtful they will succeed," Rockwell reported to the state division of the Sons of Temperance in 1848. The "peculiar location" of the Germantown Division No. 309 would prevent rapid growth of that Sons of Temperance chapter, in the opinion of the Deputy Grand Worthy Patron. However, "steady progress because of the character of founders and townspeople" was expected. ¹⁰⁵ Rockwell also sought to foster juvenile Cadets of Temperance, like the one in Hudson. To that end, he circulated a resolution encouraging the formation of the junior groups among all Sons of Temperance chapters in New York. ¹⁰⁶ Warren Rockwell was more frank about the status and problems confronting the Sons of Temperance divisions within his purview than were most of the regional reports of 1848. On an overall view, it seemed that the situation and prospects for the Sons of Temperance in Columbia County were promising in June 1848.

The same could not be said for Good Intention Division No. 281 in Westchester County's Town of Greenburgh in 1849. That division circulated a printed appeal for money to other Sons of Temperance chapters in the area, including Long Island. The groups sought to finance the construction of a meeting hall on land which had been donated to the division for that purpose. Until they had secured the needed funding and built the lodge, the Greenburgh Sons of Temperance would continue to meet at the home of one of the members. Contributions were respectfully solicited because the chapter comprised "28 contributing members, a majority of whom are poor men, depending on their daily labor for a livelihood." In response to the appeal, the Montauk Division No. 132 sent the Greenburgh temperance men two dollars, which had been donated by various members of that Long Island chapter.

When members of any division of the Sons of Temperance did gather together in brotherhood to advance the cause of temperance reform, as well as participate in mutual aid activities, they outfitted themselves in the order's regalia, such as chest banners or ribbons. One division recorded, in 1846, that it had paid a seamstress \$9.93 to make fifty-one "regalias" (arm bands and banners worn diagonally across the chest from shoulder to waist) and work on the "officers regalia." The groups then spent \$22.37 on proper Sons of Temperance medals to be worn at meetings and ceremonies, along with their fraternal regalia. In addition to those expenditures, the chapter also purchased twelve yards of white linen for \$5.50, twelve yards of bleached cotton cloth at \$1.20 and various lengths of blue satin ribbon and skeins of "tidy cotton" to decorate their meeting hall. 107 The Sons of Temperance signified and solidified the position which they held in their community by decorating themselves and their meeting hall in ceremonial fashion.

The culture of temperance expanded when the Sons and Daughters of Temperance, Rechabites and Daughters of Rechab divisions were formed in the Hudson River Valley in the early to mid-1840s, joining the already existing Washingtonian and county temperance societies. Fluidity existed among those various temperance societies in the region, as individuals and families often claimed membership in several organizations at the same time. Families joined the sex- and age-segregated ranks of the fraternal mutual aid organizations as they did the Washingtonians and Martha Washingtons and their juvenile auxiliaries. The Sons of Temperance met throughout the Hudson River Valley in Coxsackie, Catskill, Athens, Catskill, Stockport, Valatie, Mellenville and Hudson in the 1840s. In January 1847, Hudson's temperance hall was full of Washingtonians, Sons of Temperance and Daughters of Temperance, as they all

met together on a Sunday evening. Four hundred persons marched together at a Sons of Temperance celebration in Catskill in the summer of 1847. Hudson also boasted of active chapters of Rechabites and Daughters of Rechab in 1845. Hudson's Lady Rechabites Temperance Society was billed in the *Columbia Washingtonian* as a new organization of Lady Washingtonians, which welcomed the women of the city to join. The Sons of Temperance recorded their notice and encouragement of the Lady Rechabites in the same issue of the temperance paper. The United Daughters of Rechab presented a bible to the male Rechabite division in Hudson at the end of 1846. Several months earlier, the Mellenville Sons of Temperance likewise had received a bible from their corresponding chapter of Daughters of Temperance. 108 The meetings of regional fraternal organizations were posted in the *Columbia Washingtonian* during the mid-1840s, along with the meetings of the Washington Total Abstinence Societies, the county temperance societies and the female and juvenile auxiliaries. Temperance reform minded advocates in the Hudson River Valley had many options for joining the reform movement, and so the culture of temperance reform was sustained.

The fraternal organization, the Order of the Temples of Honor, grew out of the Sons of Temperance in 1845 and chapters were active in the Hudson River Valley. Founded in New York City, the Temple was formed in order to strengthen the fraternal relations of brotherhood in temperance, according to the founders who were said to be prominent members of the Sons of Temperance. The Temple was to be not only a mutual benefit society, but also a "morally and intellectually progressive" system of attacking intemperance. "Intemperance is a social vice" and reformation of inebriates a "difficult matter," declared the Temple of Honor. "Innumerable violations" of the abstinence

pledges of other organizations stood as proof of the Temple's position on reformation of alcoholics. More than the "mere pledge" was required to "change, remodel and reeducate" the reformed alcoholic. He must also be "in the society of the virtuous" where he could be taught the moral lessons necessary for sustained sobriety. The order sought to provide the reformed alcoholic with a positive substitute for the social interaction of drinking practices by taking him into the Temple of Honor.

More than the Sons of Temperance, the Temples were steeped in secret ritual and "hierarchical degrees culminating in the Social Degree, the 'crowning grace' " of the organization. The Temples also recognized and welcomed women into the Social Degree; "woman, whose province here to fore has been to 'suffer and wait' can join." Families whose members were in the Temples were said to be united as "one great family." Once a member of the Temple, all men in good standing and "all ladies of good moral character" were eligible for acceptance into the Social Degree. Their highest order, the Social Degree would provide the alcohol-free social activities required by the reformed and desired by the abstinent. The Temples were also practical, declaring that the presence of women, the "educator[s] of our race," in the Social Degree would also attract "young and middleaged" men to the Temple. There, all would join in virtuous fellowship. The Order of the Temple of Honor sought, but was refused, official recognition as a suborganization of the Sons of Temperance. Even without the acknowledgement of the Sons, the Temple deemed itself an "unofficial" branch and required all members to also belong to the Sons of Temperance. By 1847, all but three states had Temples of Honor where the reformed and reformers could enjoy fraternal social interaction, as well as mutual benefit. 109

The Independent Order of Good Templars was organized in 1851 in response to what was said to be the “ultra conservatism” of the Sons of Temperance. Where others, including the Sons of Temperance, considered intemperance to be simply “an evil,” the Good Templars saw a “heinous sin against God.” Many of the other temperance reform efforts of the era appealed to the fears and self-interests of the drinker and nondrinker in order to encourage abstinence, according to the Good Templars. Instead, the Good Templars sought to affect “moral nature” and taught that abstinence from intoxicants was a “duty to the Creator.” To foster performance of that duty, the Good Templars sought to “gratify social cravings” of the intemperate, who were “often drawn to the saloon and grocery by their social charms.” Wholesome activities and the “genial companionship” of the Good Templars were offered instead. The organization also felt strongly about the place and function of women members. Women were admitted to full and equal membership in the Order of the Good Templars and each lodge was expected to elect a female officer. 110

The appeal of the Washingtonian Total Abstinence temperance societies began to wane. An 1847 article in the *Columbia Washingtonian* complained that the Hudson Washingtonian meetings were “very poorly attended.” “Every Man Bring His Man” and the “good old days of early Washingtonianism” would be revived, exhorted the temperance paper. A few weeks later, it appeared that ground had been regained, but then several subsequent meetings had to be adjourned because so few members were present. Afterward, only sporadic Washingtonian meetings were recorded in the paper. Shortly afterward, a new temperance society was formed in Hudson, the Washington Temperance Fund League, which met at the Sons of Temperance Hall. The Hudson

Washingtonians had become the Washington Temperance League, with a call for "more personal action" in the cause of temperance and one hundred constitutional members.

With the fusion or transformation of the new society, enough members could be collected for Sunday evening meetings to resume. The new mutual aid temperance society billed itself as the "Washington Society in connection with the Temperance Fund League."

Soon a New York State Temperance Fund League was formed to oversee the local chapters. But in just a few months, so few members of the Hudson Washington Temperance Fund League attended the meetings that the society ceased to exist. Another group was soon formed to replace the defunct League, the Hudson City Temperance Society, which was to meet monthly rather than weekly to try to sustain interest. In 1849, the *Columbia Washingtonian* published a "Recall to Activism."¹¹¹ It appeared that, in Hudson at least, temperance fervor outside of fraternal organizations began to subside in the late 1840s.

Temperance advocates who joined the new fraternal mutual benefit organizations reaffirmed their commitment to reform and the culture of temperance reform. More elaborate rituals attracted members who found solace in such formal, but non-public, expressions of their purpose. Mutual benefit schemes and opportunities to socialize offered additional benefits to temperance advocates seeking personal security and community among like-minded individuals. Temperance activism in the Hudson River Valley changed, but it continued.

NOTES

Chapter Five

1. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 27 March; 6, 13, 27 February; 22, 29 May 1845.

2. For the commercial and social importance of colonial taverns, see Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); and David Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), discusses the revolutionary political foment which grew in seaport taverns. Rorabaugh, *Alcoholic Republic*, 27-28, cites the importance of taverns as community meeting places. Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 21-23, considers churches and taverns "a central focus of community life" in a society without specialized institutions. Beginning in the 1820s, New York City's working class taverns were weather-protected leisure spots and informal labor exchanges, as well as sources of credit and loans for their patrons where alcohol was the "centerpiece," according to Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 53. For an examination of the social significance of working class taverns, see Jon Kingsdale, "The 'Poor Man's Club': Social Functions of the Urban Working-Class Saloon," *American Quarterly* 25 (1973): 472-489; and Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). David S. Shields, "The Demonization of the Tavern," in *Serpent in the Cup*, 10-21, traced the origins, class differences, political influences and evolution of English taverns, which were served as the model for colonial American taverns.

3. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 218-219; Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 106-115; Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 3; Madelon Powers, "Decay From Within: The Inevitable Doom of the American Saloon," in *Drinking Behavior and Belief in Modern History*, ed. Susanna Barrows and Robin Room (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1991), 113-114; and idem, *Faces Along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Saloon, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Duis and Powers examined the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saloon, but their findings are applicable to the antebellum era, see Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*.

4. Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 298, 304.
5. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 26 June, 6 February 1845.
6. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1845.
7. *Ibid.*, 6 April 1843; 15 January 1845; 21 June 1849; 14 October 1851.
8. *Ibid.*, 18 August 1842.
9. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 21, 28 September 1843; Rorabaugh, *Alcoholic Republic*, 20.
10. *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 27 January 1842.
11. Westchester County Temperance Society, Record Book, 1836, 5, 8; 14 April 1834.
12. Greene County Poor House Book, 1849-1852. New York State Historical Association. 1-21.
13. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 21 July 1842; 11 July 1844.
14. *Columbian Republican*, 27 December 1853.
15. Samuel Chipman, *Report of an Examination of Poor-Houses, Jails, etc. in the State of New-York and in the Counties of Berkshire Massachusetts; Litchfield, Connecticut; and Bennington, Vermont, etc. Addressed to Aristarchus Champion, Esq. of Rochester, N. Y. Published by the Executive Committee of the New York State Temperance Society* 3d. ed. (Albany, N. Y.: Hoffman and White Printers, 1835), 19-20, 22, 27-28, 49-50, 53-54, 58, 68-69, 72-73.
16. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 26 May 1842.
17. *Ibid.*, 8 May 1845; 21 March 1844; 30 January 1856.
18. *Ibid.*, 30 May, 26 December 1844; 12 October 1842; 15 June 1843; 14 May 1846; 21 March 1844.
19. Edith Jeffrey, "Reform, Renewal, and Vindication: Irish Immigrants and the Catholic Total Abstinence Movement in Antebellum Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 112, no. 3 (1988): 407-431; and John F. Quinn, "Father Mathew's Disciples: American Catholic Support for Temperance, 1840-1920," *Church History* 65, no. 4 (1996): 624-640.

20. Minutes of the Catholic Temperance Society, Corning, New York, 1861. Corning-Painted Post, New York Historical Society. 10, 24, February; 26 May, 16 June 1861.

21. Temperance pledge filled in by James Sweeney 19 Nov. 1841; Temperance pledge filled in by Neil James Sweeney, 28 of March, 1844. Printed Ephemera Collection; Portfolio 119, Folder 11. Library of Congress.

22. Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830- 1900* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), xvi, 1-5, 10-22, 91-112. One of the best-known parish mission preachers in America was Father Clarence Walworth (1820-1900), who began his missionary career in the 1840s. Reared as a Protestant in Rochester, New York, Walworth was a student at Union College in Albany when his religious beliefs were reawakened upon attending a Charles G. Finney revival in 1842. Walworth, however, converted to Roman Catholicism during his post-graduation travels in Europe and was ordained a priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Also known as the Redemptorists, the order was founded in 1732 in Italy to preach missions to flagging Catholics. It became one of the three most active preaching religious orders in the United States during the nineteenth century. Interestingly, Finney and Walworth met again in England and Finney recorded that the two men enjoyed "a pleasant interview...[just as] if we had both been Protestants. He said nothing of his peculiar views, but only that he was laboring among the Roman Catholics to promote revivals of religion." Charles G. Finney, *Memoirs* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1876), 367-368; quoted in Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism*, xv.

23. Quinn, "Father Mathew's Disciples," 625; Jeffrey, "Reform, Renewal and Vindication," 425-427; and Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 297-305. Born into the minor Catholic Irish gentry, Theobald Mathew was ordained a Franciscan Capuchin priest at age twenty-five. He was assigned to the order's charitable mission in the city of Cork, where he witnessed first hand the sufferings brought on by drunkenness. Mathew personally adopted the principle of total abstinence, and in 1838 founded the Cork Total Abstinence Society. His new mission took him throughout Ireland, and millions flocked to hear him and take the total abstinence pledge. Reportedly, Mathew converted five million persons in Ireland. By 1844, the consumption of alcoholic beverages in Ireland declined by 50 percent, which was largely credited to the charismatic priest. The noted American abolitionist Frederick Douglass was on a speaking trip to the British Isles in 1845 when he heard Mathew speak in Cork. One thousand people pledged themselves to total abstinence at that temperance rally, Douglass recorded. Long a dedicated and active temperance worker, Douglass signed the total abstinence pledge during a private meeting at Mathew's home. Frederick Douglass, "To Wm. L. Garrison from Cork Oct 28 1845," in *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* vol. 5, Supplementary Volume, 1844-1860, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 6-9. Initially supportive of abolitionism, Mathew changed his mind when he felt that the sentiment interfered with his primary mission. Colm Kerrigan, "Irish Temperance and United States Anti-Slavery: Father Mathew and the Abolitionists," *History Workshop Journal* 31 (1991): 105-119. Mathew preached in England in 1843 and came to America in 1849,

where despite failing health he spread his temperance message for two years in twenty-five states, including New York. Unable to continue due to illness, he returned to Ireland and remained relatively inactive until his death in 1856. Idem, *Father Mathew and the Irish Temperance Movement: 1838-1849* (Cork, Ire.: Cork University Press, 1992) examines the life and works of Theobald Mathew.

24. Henry S. Foote, *Rev. Theobald Mathew. Remarks of Hon. H. S. Foote, of Mississippi in the Senate, December 10, 1849, On the Resolution to Permit the Rev. Theobald Mathew to Sit Within the Bar of the Senate* (1849), 3-6.

25. *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 19 May 1842; 16 March 1843; *Columbia Republican*, 7 August, 1849.

26. For discussion of ethnic differences among antebellum American Catholic attitudes to total abstinence and legal prohibition of alcohol, see Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 297-309.

27. Griffen and Griffen, *Natives and Newcomers*, 24-31. It was only after many of Poughkeepsie's antebellum Irish immigrants and their children advanced after the Civil War beyond the ordinary casual labor performed in the early years that their position in the community improved.

28. Johnson, *Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 80, 183 n. 1.

29. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 123, 148-149, 183, 212. By 1845, 40 percent of Utica's residents were identified as being foreign-born and, tellingly, 60 percent of the heads of city households were immigrants. Most of those immigrants were Irish and German Catholics.

30. *Crystal Fount*, 8 March 1843.

31. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 6 January 1843.

32. Ibid., 23 February 1843; 15 May 1845.

33. Ibid., 23 March 1843; See Ruth M. Alexander, "'We Are Engaged as a Band of Sisters': Class and Domesticity in the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, 1840-1850," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 3 (1988): 763-785 for the purpose and efforts of the Martha Washingtonians.

34. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 18 May, 8 June 1843.

35. *Olive Plant and Ladies Temperance Advocate*, 20 April 1842.

36. Lorenzo Dow Johnson, *Martha Washingtonianism, or A History of the Ladies Temperance Benevolent Societies* (New York: Saxton and Miles, 1843), 10, 29, 32, 33.

37. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 20, 27 July 1843. Larry Whiteaker, *Seduction, Prostitution, and Moral Reform in New York, 1830-1860* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), ix, xi-xiii, 25-26, 46-49, 98-99, 141-143, examines the existence of prostitution as the sole means of support for many women.
38. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 4 August 1842; 3 August 1843.
39. *Ibid.*, 6 July, 7 December 1843; 23 May 1844.
40. *Ibid.*, 1 August 1844; 3 September 1846.
41. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 12 August 1847.
42. *Ibid.*, 26 September, 7 November 1844; 5, 12, 19, February 1846; 9 February, 24 August 1843; 20 August 1846; 23 March 1843.
43. Carolyn J. Lawes, *Women and Reform in a North Eastern Community, 1815-1860* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 45-81; Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army*, 122, 124.
44. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 11 January 1844; 15 May 1845.
45. Charles M. Baker, *An Address Delivered in the City of Troy* (Troy, N. Y.: Adancourt Printers, 1830), 9.
46. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 29 December 1842; 6, 11 January 1843; 11 December 1845.
47. Lousia May Alcott, *Silver Pitchers: And Independence, A Centennial Love Story* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1876), 5, 18-23, 33.
48. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 25 August 1842. For a discussion of the moral influence of women, see Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 11-35.
49. *National Circular Of the several State Temperance Societies, to the Citizens of the United States*. (New York, 185?).
50. Nott, *Lectures on Temperance*, 272.
51. Thomas H. Flandreau, *Address: Delivered at a Meeting of the Female Washingtonian and Other Temperance Societies of the City of Utica, May 9, 1842* (Utica: Woodland and Donaldson Printers, 1842), 8.
52. *A Lecture Delivered by Request, Before the Martha Washington Society of Woonsocket, R. I. By Rev. James M. Davis* (Woonsocket: S. S. Foss, 1846), 15.

53. Greene County Temperance Society, Records, 29 November 1845.

54. *Olive Plant and Ladies Temperance Advocate*, 14 July 1841.

55. *Hudson Weekly Star*, 8 September 1853.

56. See Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women*, 13-38. Mattingly examines the reaction of some antebellum New York women's reaction to male attempts to quell their voices. The temperance women in Mattingly's study were not conservative but confident reformers. Nancy A. Hewitt in "The Perimeters of Woman's Power in American Religion," in *The Evangelical Tradition in America*, ed. Leonard I. Sweet (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1997): 238-242, identified Rochester, New York women who refused to comply with attempts to constrain their reform activities. Such women were Quakers or "female Finneyites" who internalized evangelical revivalism's rejection of existing religious authority and social structure.

57. Lawes, *Women and Reform*, 1-3, 5, 45-48, 190-191 n.5. Mary Gray Osterund, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991) discusses the differences between rural and urban women lives.

58. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 30 June 1842; *Crystal Fount*, 10 August 1842.

59. *Crystal Fount*, 14 September 1842. Herbert Asbury, *Ye Olde Fire Laddies* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), 107-109; Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 307-309.

60. *Crystal Fount*, 22 September, 1842.

61. *Freedom's Journal*, 23 March, 1827.

62. For discussion of white prejudice and discrimination toward African Americans, see Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1969); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolutions, 1770-1823* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975); idem, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967); Litwak, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); and Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America 1800-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). Antebellum abolition and moral reformation movements among African Americans are covered in Cooper, "Elevating the Race, 607-608, 610-612, 619. Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, 93-101, also discusses the relationship between temperance and abolition. African American reform organizations were characterized by their fluidity and continuity, and a meeting of abolitionists might easily turn into a temperance society meeting when the members had finished their abolition discussion, according to C. Ripley, Roy E. Finkenbine, et al, ed., *The Black Abolitionists Papers. The United States, 1830-1846*. vol. 3 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 25.

Further discussion of African American temperance and African American reform can be found in the Essays on Sources.

63. Hosea Easton, *A Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the U. States; And the Prejudice Exercised Toward Them* (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1837), 35-36. African American life in the antebellum Hudson River Valley and environs is examined in Edythe Quinn Caro, *"The Hills" in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The History of a Rural Afro-American Community in Westchester County, New York* (Valhalla, N.Y.: Westchester Historical Society, 1988); and A. J. Williams-Meyers, *Long Hammering, Essays on the Forging of an African American Presence in the Hudson River Valley to the Early Twentieth Century* (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1994). Other studies which focus on New York are: Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770-1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991); Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and New Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); and Anthony Gronowicz, *Race Class and Politics: New York City Before the Civil War* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998). The free black communities of the north are treated in James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1993); Leon F. Litwak, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); and Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North: African Americans in Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1665-1865* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1977).

64. *North Star*, 14 July 1848; quoted in Cooper, "Elevating the Race," 609.

65. *Kinderhook Sentinel*, 11 August 1842; Edythe Quinn Caro, "'The Hills'," 52.

66. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 31 August, 2 February, 24 August 1843.

67. *Ibid.*, 20 April; 1, 29 June 1843.

68. *Ibid.*, 13 July 1843.

69. *Ibid.*, 21 September 1843.

70. *Ibid.*, 28 September 1843; 11, 25 January; 12 February 1844.

71. *Ibid.*, 12 September 1844.

72. *Ibid.*, 10 July 1845. Contributions of African American Hudson River Valley reformers, including Henry Highland Garnet, to the antebellum black convention movement can be found in Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker, ed. *Proceedings of the Black State Conventions, 1840-1865* vol. 2. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), 95-96; and Williams-Meyers, *Long Hammering*, 122-123.

73. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 24 June, 15 July 1847; 6 March 1845; 30 July 1846.

74. *Minutes of the State Convention of Colored Citizens, Held at Albany, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of August, 1840, for the Purpose of Considering Their Political Condition* (New York: Piercy and Reed, printers, 1840). Wealthy white abolitionist and staunch temperance man, Gerrit Smith offered a total of 140,000 acres of farmland to 3,000 African American New Yorkers in 1846 if they met Smith's requirement that they be temperate and moral men and women. "An Address to the Three Thousand Colored Citizens of New-York, Who are the owners of one hundred and twenty thousand acres of land, in the State of New York, given to them by Gerrit Smith, Esq. Of Peterboro" (New York, 1846).

75. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 30 June 1842; 16 March 1843.

76. *Ibid.*, 16 March 1843.

77. *Ibid.*, 23 March 1843; *Columbia Republican*, 8 June 1841.

78. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 6 January 1843.

79. *Colored American*, 21 November 1840.

80. Horton, *Free People of Color*, 40-45, 104-106, 112.

81. Frances Ellen Watkins [Harper], "Two Offers" *The Anglo-African Magazine* 1 (September, 1859): 288-291, 1 (October, 1859): 311-313 (Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968). Harper's temperance work is the first known short story written by an African American woman. Carla L. Peterson, *"Doers of the Word": African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830-1880)* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 171-173.

82. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 6 January 1843. For the vital part African American women played in such work, see Anne M. Boylan, "Benevolence and Antislavery Activity Among African American Women in New York and Boston, 1820-1840," in *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum New York*, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 119-137; and James Oliver Horton, "Freedom's Yoke: Gender Conventions Among Antebellum Free Blacks," *Feminist Studies* 12, no. 1 (1986): 64-65. Boylan, "Benevolence and Antislavery," 134-135, argues that free African American women were subordinate to men in black reform movements and often objected to the assumed superiority of men. The community reform activism of free African American women evolved into strategies for promoting social change, according to Gayle T. Tate, "Political Consciousness and Resistance Among Black Antebellum Women," *Women and Politics* 13, no. 1 (1993): 67-89.

83. Andrew Haswell Green, Diary. New-York Historical Society. 5 July 1844. Andrew Haswell Green (1820-1903) was a fledgling attorney in Samuel J. Tilden's New York City law firm when he witnessed the African-American temperance gathering. He later became Tilden's law partner and encouraged Tilden to fund the consolidation of the Astor and Lenox libraries, which created the New York Public Library in 1895. Green was involved in numerous New York City civic affairs until his death in 1903. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 4 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), 535-536.

84. Ripley, Finkenbine, et al., ed., *Black Abolitionist Papers* vol. 3, 378-379; *Colored American*, 9 July 1837; 17 July 1838.

85. *Minutes and Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Color in these United States, Held by Adjournment in the City of Philadelphia, From the 3rd to the 13th of June, inclusive, 1833* (New York: 1833; Reprint in *Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions, 1830-1864*, ed. Howard Holman Bell, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 8, 10, 14-15, 17-19; and Yacovone, "Transformation of the Black Temperance Movement," 15-19.

86. *Hudson Weekly Star*, 8 September 1853.

87. *Crystal Fount*, 7 September 1842.

88. Records of the Church of Christ in Frederickstown, 1790-1827. Putnam County Historical Society. 3 December 1791; 11 May 1792; 18 March 1797; 23 November 1799; 13, 27 September 1800; 22 April 1803; 23 August, 18 October, 1 November 1806; 14 August 1810; 13 December 1817; 9, 23 October 1819; 14, 28 April, 29 September, 13 October 1821; 16 March 1822; 3 June 1826; 6 January, 2, 30 June 1827; and Curtis D. Johnson, *Islands of Holiness*, 90. For another example of antebellum church disciplinary charges and investigations in New York, see Glenn C. Altschuler and Jan M. Saltzgeber, *Revivalism, Social Conscience, and Community in the Burned-Over District: The Trial of Rhoda Bement* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983).

89. Records of the Carmel Baptist Church, Putnam County, New York, Mt. Carmel Baptist Church. Putnam County Historical Society. 18 April 1835; 23 November 1839; and Valatie Presbyterian Church Records, 1835-1848, Town of Kinderhook, New York, Sessional Records. Columbia County Historical Society. 16 February, 23 March; 6, 18 April 1839; 15 February, 26 March; 3, 8 April 1840.

90. Valatie Presbyterian Church Records, 14 June, 7 December 1841.

91. *Ibid.*, 15 August 1842; 31 January, 31 July 1844.

92. *Ibid.*, 31 July 1844.

93. *Blue Book for the Use of the Subordinate Divisions of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (Cincinnati: C. Clark, 1853), 21, quoted in Tyrell, *Sobering Up*, 212.

94. Sons of Temperance, *Circular. To the Friends of Temperance in the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1847), 1.

95. Lynn Demurral, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1939* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 32-42; cited in Mark C. Cranes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), 33-42; idem, *Secret Ritual*, 7, 9.

96. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 10 August, 19 October 1843; 19 September 1844; 27 May, 16 September 1847; 28 June 1849.

97. Sons of Temperance. Montauk Division No 132, Sag Harbor Records. New-York Historical Society. 1 April 1847; 24 June 1848.

98. Gould, Letter CXLVII, 28 April 1867.

99. *An Address on the Rise and Progress of the Order of the Sons of Temperance in Mobile, on Friday Night, January 5, 1849. W. G. C. Clark of New York* (Mobile, Ala.: Job Printing Office, *Daily Advertiser*, 1849), 4-6.

100. Sons of Temperance, *Circular*, 2.

101. Uriah Clark, *Oration Delivered Before Niagara Division, No. 109, of the Sons of Temperance, as a Public Celebration at the Congregational Church, Lockport, N. Y. Fourth of July, 1846* (Lockport, N. Y.: Stevens and Humphrey, 1846), 6, 7, 9, 11, 13.

102. Augustin S. Wingfield, *An Address Delivered Before the State Temperance Convention, at Marietta, Ga. On the 28th day of June, 1849* (Marietta, Ga.: Hunt and Campbell Publ., 1949), 15, 17, 21.

103. Orlando Lund, *The Order of the Sons of Temperance; Its Origin, History, Secrets, Objections, Designs, Influences* 10th ed. (Syracuse, N. Y., 1850), 14.

104. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 18 January 1844; 13 April 1848; Sons of Temperance. Miscellaneous Records. Olin Library, Cornell University. Report of Hudson Division No. 22, 15 June 1848.

105. Sons of Temperance, Miscellaneous Records, Report of Hudson Division No. 22, 15 June 1848.

106. Sons of Temperance. Montauk Division No 132, Sag Harbor Records. 1 September 1848.

107. *Ibid.*, 8 September 1849; 11 June 1846.

108. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 2, 9 October 1845; 16 October 1846; 14 January, 22 July, 19 August 1847; 28 August 1845; 15 October, 3 December 1846.

109. *The Temple of Honor; Its Origin, History and Objects, and Claims Upon Temperance Men. Prepared in Accordance with a resolution of the National Temple of Honor* (Nashville, Tenn.: June, 1851), 1-2, 4-5.

110. *The Independent Order of Good Templars, Its Principals and Objects. Good Templar Tract, No. 3* (Boston, 1866), 1, 4.

111. *Columbia Washingtonian*, 23, 30 June; 14, 27 August; 2, 9, 14, 23, 30 September; 28 October; 18 November 1847; 20 January, 16 March 1848; 27 December 1849.

CONCLUSION

Antebellum Americans frequently joined with each other for the common good, for common goals and for socialization. Civic groups, mutual aid societies, fraternal and social organizations attracted many members in the years following the establishment of the republic to the eve of the Civil War. With the commonweal, or good, of the American republic considered to be the concern and responsibility of all Americans, it became commonplace to join with neighbors, colleagues and kin as a means to achieve a laudable goal. The free association of persons within the republic was an important and valued legacy of the colonial and revolutionary years. Republicanism, as evinced by association and language, was evident as Americans tied their own interests to the health and well-being of the nation.

America and Americans significantly changed their cultural patterns between 1783 and the 1860s. It was in this period that important national trends directly affected the Hudson River Valley of New York as major social, cultural, economic and political developments reverberated throughout the Valley's towns and countryside. Valley residents participated in the prominent cultural and religious events of the antebellum era, including the sweeping "isms" of the day: evangelicalism, revivalism and perfectionism. Along with such religious movements came organized attempts at moral and social reforms.

These issues called for deliberation and possible action. Hudson River Valley residents joined political, religious, benevolent, educational and social organizations

which shared goals and strategies, as well as members. In joining these groups, Valley residents were in step with the great numbers of antebellum men and women, young and old, who created associations to advance their definition of the common good.

Intemperance was seemingly endemic in the early American republic and the effort to stop it was large and long-lasting. Indeed, the temperance crusade was the largest of the antebellum reform movements and attracted thousands of ordinary men and women to the cause. So too in the Hudson River Valley many residents joined the movement to end intemperance, and their myriad reform efforts were personal and immediate as temperance supporters often knew their allies, and their enemies, by name. In their fight against drunkenness, temperance advocates in the region formed a community of like-minded individuals. The temperance community developed its own culture of reform which was evident in a language steeped in republican ideals and in public as well as private activities and rituals. The world they fashioned reinforced and reaffirmed individual and communal decisions to eschew all alcoholic beverages. According to William James, only deliberate consideration allows such a free choice, which then must be maintained in the face of contradictory impulses and circumstances. The evidence demonstrates that temperate Valley residents fashioned a vibrant alcohol-free social world for themselves and their families which sustained their commitment and their efforts to eliminate intemperance in their region. The formation and nurturance of that milieu was their most important accomplishment.

Temperance reform in the Hudson River Valley both created and was fostered by the *Columbia Washingtonian*, which weekly published notices and reports of the many and varied temperance activities taking place in the area. Temperance advocates

throughout the region took part in frequent temperance meetings, parades, orations, conventions, fairs, picnics, musical entertainments, theatrical presentations, and excursions. They often traveled back and forth among the region's towns, villages and hamlets joining compatriots in temperance labor and celebration. Such moral social activities and entertainments attracted and bound people to the cause, and to the temperance community the Hudson River Valley.

Many times, families in the Valley joined the temperance crusade in a variety of temperance societies. In addition to the adult male-dominated town, village, county and Washingtonian societies, there were sex-segregated groups for females, children and adolescents. Juvenile societies provided young temperance workers with approved activities, and fostered total abstinence and reform culture in the next generation. Women of all ages were called upon to wield their presumed particular and superior "moral influence" in the name of temperance reform, within the proscribed feminine sphere. They were to persuade family members and others to adopt total abstinence for the moral, social and economic security of the family and the community. Benevolent women organized in order to assist the reformed drinker's family with needed food, clothing, and housing, as well as to otherwise advance the temperance cause. For many in the antebellum free African American communities throughout the Hudson River Valley, temperance reform offered a particular benefit. Total abstinence from intoxicating drink would assist in their attempts at "racial elevation." If they could but prove by their industry and sobriety that blacks were not inherently degraded, white Americans would sensibly end their injurious discrimination in the North and chattel slavery in the South, they believed. In addition, organized temperance activities offered

them the same purposeful moral social intercourse enjoyed by white advocates, and such ventures were reported and endorsed by the *Columbia Washingtonian*.

Temperance advocates in the Hudson River Valley used a variety of means to persuade others of the benefits of reform and extend the culture of reform. Music enlivened temperance activities, attracted adherents and advanced the cause of temperance. The region produced several popular temperance musicians who performed regularly throughout the region. Many temperance society functions included music, which enriched the temperance culture among advocates. Temperance talks were another important means of influencing others to the temperance pledge. Such lecturers spread the temperance message as they spoke in schools, meeting halls and groves throughout the region. A number of professional antebellum temperance performers were familiar visitors to the Hudson Valley region over a number of years. Their frequent area appearances fostered temperance, and fulfilled the middle class requirement that entertainments be of a moral nature. Temperance fiction was another major aspect of the reform message and culture. Such works appeared in newspapers, popular temperance yearbooks and almanacs, which included poetry, music, and fiction with temperance themes, and were successfully transformed for the stage where they enjoyed long runs. In addition, several noted antebellum writers supplied the reading temperance community with literate temperance tales. Temperance music, fiction and theatrical productions were popular and moral antebellum entertainments enjoyed throughout the region. A totally abstinent way of life and the desire of temperance people to move among like-minded individuals led to the establishment of temperance stores, hotels and even steamboats to serve the travelling and local temperance community in the Hudson River

Valley. Such activities, media and venues served to extend temperance and reinforce the region's culture of temperance reform.

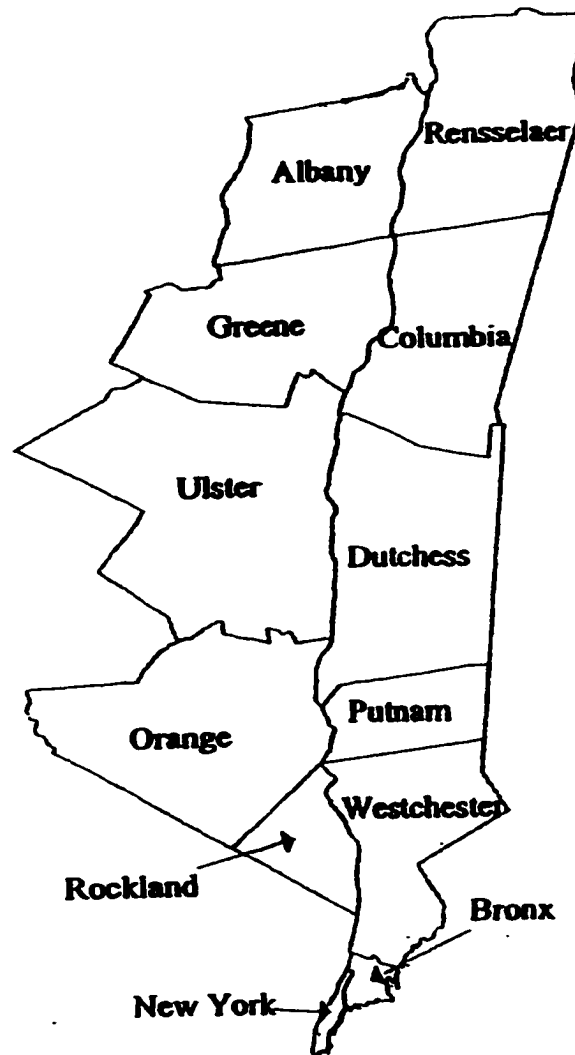
The antebellum temperance movement was contextual and disagreements existed among committed advocates, and those tensions were evident in the Valley. The argument over the place of organized religion and the clergy within temperance reform erupted during the Washingtonian era. Some Washingtonians chafed under the attempts of the clergy to dominate temperance reform. At the same time, a number of clergymen objected to relinquishing control of the crusade to reforming alcoholics and others, whom they considered unworthy of such work. A number of Valley churches forbade intemperance, and some disapproved of their congregants selling alcoholic beverages, with or without the requisite license. Many Valley residents resisted the efforts of their neighbors to limit or control their drinking. Such persons rejected temperance principles and expressed their displeasure at such efforts by speaking out and sabotaging temperance events. Even more disturbing to those who favored total abstinence for all, many in the Hudson River Valley continued to illegally sell and consume alcoholic drinks, sometimes intemperately. When they could, temperance advocates took legal action against such persons. When those undesirable behaviors continued despite years of labor, temperance reformers turned to political activism to prevent the offending practices and protect their communities. In order to support their call for universal total abstinence, temperance workers cited the poverty, tragedies, and crimes which they attributed to drunkenness.

Faced with continued resistance and a waning fervor for reform, many in the Valley temperance community closed ranks and joined fraternal temperance

organizations, such as the Sons and the Daughters of Temperance, in the late 1840s. Such organizations assured that concern, social support and economic assistance for recovering alcoholics and their families, as well as the temperance movement survived. Formation of those societies provided members with continued temperance-focused social activities in the company of temperate friends and neighbors, and kept alive the culture of temperance reform in the Hudson River Valley.

APPENDIX 1

MAP OF THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY, NEW YORK



APPENDIX 2

CITED

CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY

Albany County: Albany, Lanisberg

Columbia County: Austerlitz, Brainard Bridge, Canaan, Chatham, Chatham Four Corners, Claverack, Clermont, Concord, Copake, Federal Stores, Gallatin, Germantown, Ghent, Green River, Greenport, Harlemlville, Hillsdale, Hudson, Johnstown, Kinderhook, Livingston, Malden Bridge, Mellenville, New Lebanon, New Lebanon Springs, Spencertown, Stockport, Stuyvesant, Stuyvesant Falls, Tagkhanic, Valatie

Dutchess County: Barnegatt, Barrytown, Franklindale, Heustonville, Hyde Park, Jackson Corners, La Grange, Lower Red Hook, Manchester, Mechanicsville, Milan, Pine Plains, Pleasant Valley, Poughkeepsie, Red Hook, Rhinebeck, Tivoli

Greene County: Acra, Athens, Baltimore, Cairo, Catskill, Centreville, Coeyman, Cocksackie, Durham, Freehold, Gayhead, Greatville, Kiskatom, Leeds, Lexington, New Baltimore, Oakhill, Osberville, Prattsville, Windham Centre

Orange County: Goshen, Middletown, New Windsor, Newburgh, West Point

Putnam County: Carmel, Cold Spring, Kent, Patterson, Phillipstown, Putnam Valley, South East

Rensselaer: Nassau, Rensselaerville, Troy

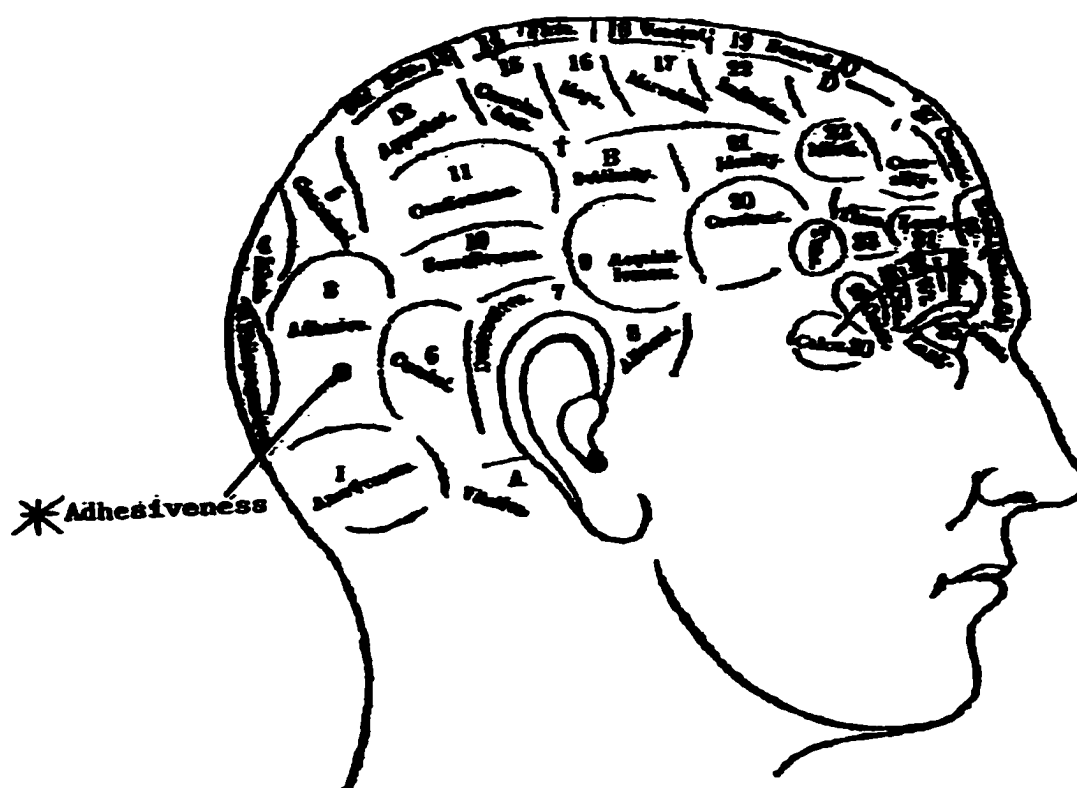
Rockland County: Monsey, Piermont, Ramapo

Schenectady County: Schenectady

Ulster County: Esopus, Greenville, High Falls, Kingston, New Paltz, Rondout, Saugerties, Woodstock, Yankeeetown

Westchester County: Bedford, Greenburgh, Mt. Pleasant, New Rochelle, Rye neck, Sing-Sing (Ossining), South Salem, Tarrytown, White Plains, Yonkers

APPENDIX 3

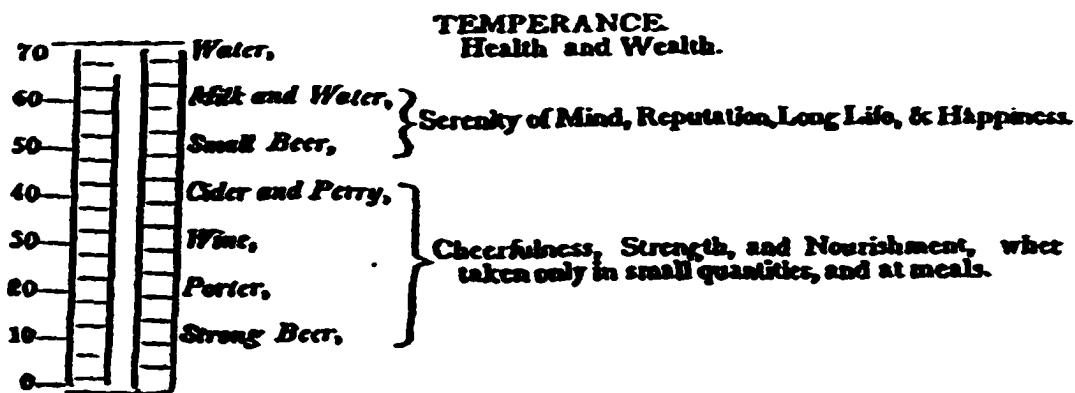
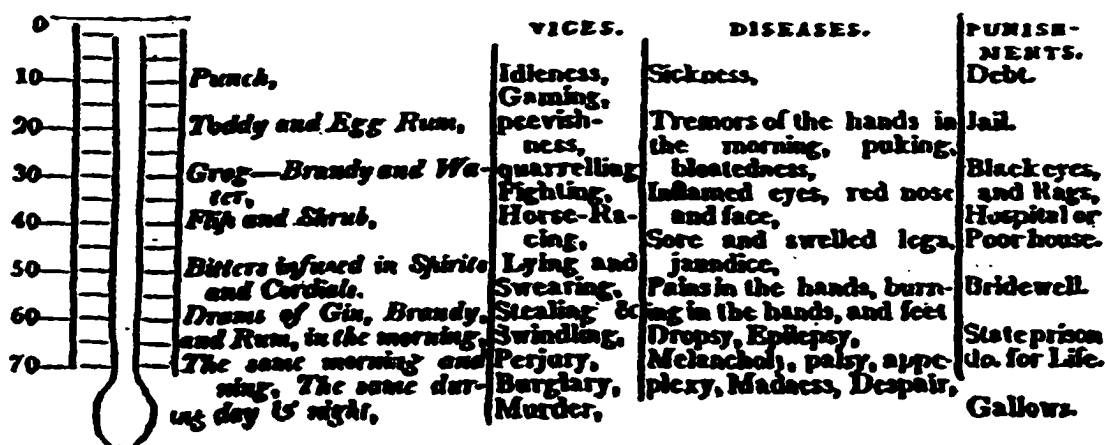
PHRENOLOGICAL CHART: O. S. FOWLER AND
L. N. FOWLER, 1838

APPENDIX 4

MORAL THERMOMETER: DR. BENJAMIN RUSH, 1790

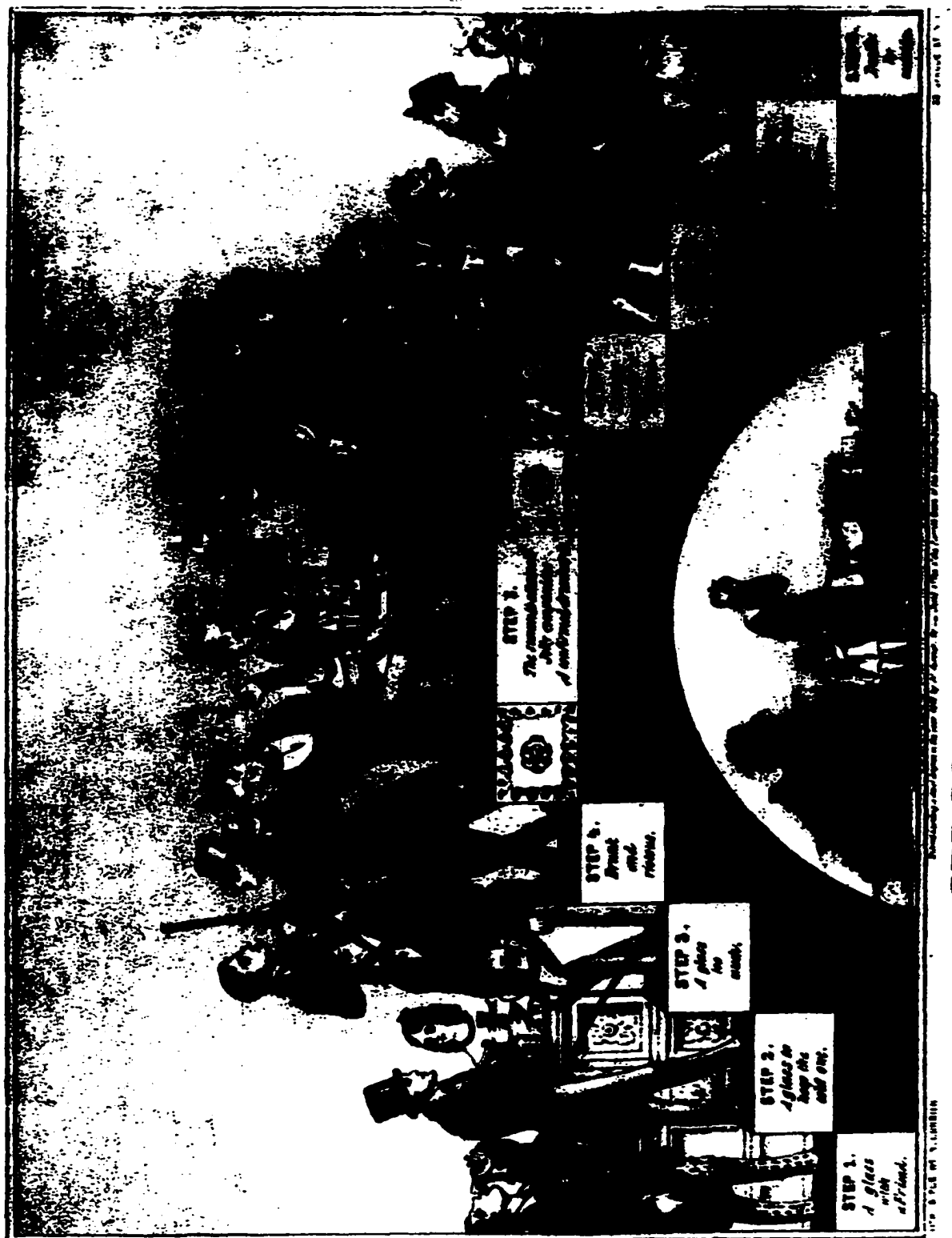
A MORAL AND PHYSICAL THERMOMETER.

A scale of the progress of Temperance and Intemperance.—Liquors with effects in their usual order.

**INTEMPERANCE.**

APPENDIX 5

"A DRUNKARDS PROGRESS": NATHANIEL CURRIER, 1846



AN ESSAY ON SOURCES: TEMPERANCE

Full citations of works discussed can be found in the Bibliography. John Allen Krout generated a twentieth century interest in temperance studies in 1925 with *The Origins of Prohibition*, which traced the evolution of the temperance crusade. Since he focused on twentieth century national prohibition, Krout regarded earlier temperance movements as merely steps leading to this end. In "The Genesis and Development of the Early Temperance Movement in New York State," he outlined the origins of New York's antebellum temperance movement, which began with the 1808 formation of the state's first temperance society in Moreau, Saratoga County. (It may have also been the first such organization in the nation.) Krout concentrated on clerical and elite leadership, but did include Washingtonianism, the popular 1840s movement begun by reformed alcoholics who refused elite leadership. John Joseph Coffey studied organized political efforts to achieve legal prohibition of alcohol sales in New York from the antebellum era to prohibition in "A Political History of the Temperance Movement in New York State, 1808-1920."

Joseph R. Gusfield's *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* carries the movement to twentieth century national prohibition. A sociologist, Gusfield used status anxiety studies popular at the time to determine that anxious middle class reformers turned to political means in order to achieve control of emerging dissonant groups. In such efforts, temperance and prohibition were dominant methods by which reformers sought to regulate themselves, their neighbors, miscreants

and immigrants. *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933* by Thomas R. Pegram provides a simplified overview of the nineteenth and twentieth American temperance movements which ended with the repeal of prohibition.

In *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition*, William J. Rorabaugh presented useful material relating to the kinds and quantity of alcoholic beverages Americans consumed, and in what surroundings. His work provided scholars with a starting point in assessing American drinking patterns, and supported the theory that temperance was a reaction to traditional voluminous alcoholic consumption. Rorabaugh linked temperance reformation to the Second Great Awakening and the emergence of the market economy, which elicited responses to the perceived need to strengthen the social and moral order among many Americans. Using the 1840s drastic decline in alcohol consumption documented by Rorabaugh, Mark Thornton examines an unintended consequence of temperance reformation in his article entitled "Alcohol Consumption and the Standard of Living in Antebellum America." He relates the late nineteenth century decrease of the American standard of living to the successes of the antebellum temperance movement. American birthrates, adult height and length of life declined as widespread dietary use of high calorie alcoholic beverages gave way to religiously inspired abstinence and caloric deficits.

Ian R. Tyrell, studying the nation's process of *Sobering Up: Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800-1860*, produced a useful analysis of northeastern urban antebellum and postbellum temperance movements in New York City and Worcester, Massachusetts. Tyrell and Gusfield credit temperance reformers' organizational skills and the resurgence of class politics as significant factors in the

success of the temperance movements. Jed Dannenbaum studied Cincinnati's temperance movement from the 1840s to the emergence of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the 1870s in *Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washingtonian Revival to the WCTU*. He averred that "moral suasion" was soon replaced by stronger and more strident social, legal and political coercion efforts to rid Cincinnati of drunkenness by temperance advocates searching for order and stability in an era of swift capitalist transformation. James R. Rohrer disagreed with the Dannenbaum and Tyrell premise that the early attempts of northern elites in the 1810s began the temperance movement in America. In "The Origins of the Temperance Movement: A Reinterpretation," Rohrer instead credited ordinary evangelical Protestants. Their first purpose was not reformation of others, but the adoption of total abstinence as a way to bind themselves to God. Rohrer asserted that there were two temperance movements. The urban gentry searching for control comprised one segment. The other one grew from personal commitments to total abstinence in small rural communities influenced by revivalism to the broader, more important effort to purify America and create a virtuous republic. Another study which follows American temperance efforts through to prohibition can be found in Jack S. Blocker's *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, in which he described five phases of temperance activism. The first occurred when antebellum middle class reformers attempted to persuade their fellow citizens to total abstinence. When those efforts failed to produce a teetotal society, reformers emphasized legal coercion during the second phase. The remaining cycles began in the 1870s and ended with national prohibition. Blocker credited involvement of

middle class women in the temperance crusades for the development of organizational skills that would prove important to female suffrage efforts.

Joyce Appleby's "The Personal Roots of the First American Temperance Movement" located the beginnings of the antebellum temperance movement in the last years of the eighteenth and first years of the nineteenth centuries, as young Americans reacted to their newly won freedoms. Many children of the revolutionary generation searched for ways to approximate their parents' contribution to the republic. To live virtuously and exclude self-indulgence from their personal lives proved attractive to many such Americans, and those individual renunciations translated into crusades to save America from itself. Appleby cites traditionally high rates of alcohol consumption, market development, and perceived declines in traditional order and personal behavior as factors which led many to the antebellum nineteenth century temperance movement. In "Sons of the Fathers: Temperance Reformers and the Legacy of the American Revolution," William Breitenbach also traced temperance to the reaction of nineteenth century sons to their revolutionary age fathers. He examined antebellum temperance literature, which was often written by that second generation. Breitenbach found that much of it focused on drunken paternal brutality towards male children and blameless wastrel sons, whose sins were truly those of the fathers. Temperance reform and the temperance literature it generated exemplify attempts of some antebellum men to repudiate the fathers who subjected them to alcohol induced violence, according to Breitenbach. Whatever other objections might be raised to this thesis, it does not account for the wide and crucial involvement of female children of the revolutionary generation in temperance reform. Glenn Seth Wallach also evaluated intergenerational relations

between revolutionary age fathers and sons in his dissertation “Obedient Sons: Youth and Generational Consciousness in American Culture.” He found that generational correlation to temperance and other antebellum reform movements resides in the sons’ positive reaction to paternal authority and status. As the younger generation sought to make its own contribution to the republic, many chose to pursue personal and communal virtue in Wallach’s view.

Laura A. Schmidt returned to the antebellum religious conditions to find the roots of temperance. In “ ‘A Battle Not Man’s But God’s’: Origins of the American Temperance Crusade in the Struggle for Religious Authority,” she argued that emphasis on the lay middle class social and cultural actions fail to provide full treatment of the issue. Instead, antebellum temperance was initiated by apprehensive Protestant clerics, who attempted to hold back the growing secularism and independence they perceived among their congregations. At the same time, that clergy strove to maintain a place in the American public arena for their religious ideals. Evangelized Protestants embraced the concept of the perfectibility of the individual and the nation. As they sought that virtuous status, temperance advocates combined religious and republican concepts in their crusade to end drunkenness and formed a civic religion

Two studies focus on temperance efforts in New York, which served as an important locus of reformation crusades before the Civil War. Emil C. Vigilante’s dissertation, “The Temperance Reform in New York State, 1829-1851,” examined the efforts of two organizations directed by urban elites. He found that the American Temperance Society and the New York City based American Temperance Union worked to control the drinking behaviors of fellow New Yorkers. An organizational history of

the Schenectady Temperance Society was provided by Carol Saperstein in “The Antebellum Total Abstinence Movement at the Local Level: A Case Study of Schenectady, New York.” She found that the Schenectady temperance reformers adopted a call for total abstinence as a strategic concession to the irresistible appeal drink held for weak persons.

Ruth M. Alexander made a valuable contribution to antebellum temperance studies with “‘We Are Engaged as a Band of Sisters’: Class and Domesticity in the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, 1840-1850.” Alexander discussed the benevolent work of New York City Martha Washington Societies, which were middle class female temperance organizations active in the 1840s. The temperance women assisted needy women and their children who had been degraded by their own or, more frequently, by their husband’s alcohol abuse. Alexander discovered that the Martha Washingtonians were able to do so because they combined their efforts at sewing circles and in seeking funds from male temperance societies. Barbara Leslie Epstein took a different approach when she explored the effects of nineteenth century religious revivals on New England women who became temperance advocates. In *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America*, Epstein described how those women capitalized on the power they derived from their evangelical religious convictions and organized in order to seek control over men’s destructive drinking.

In *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality Politics and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*, Lori D. Ginzberg studied middle and upper class northeastern women who formed moral reformation societies, including ones for

temperance. She reported that the women considered themselves to be the moral center of their families and their communities, and took up public action in the 1850s as they encountered the limits of moral example in the fight against intemperance. Ian R. Tyrell's important study of the temperance movement, *Sobering Up*, found women's temperance activism to be vital to the life and success of the cause. Additionally, Tyrell's "Women and Temperance in Antebellum America, 1830-1860" credited women's temperance work, more than their other reform efforts, for the development of organizational and political skills, which would later serve to secure the enactment of prohibition and equal electoral suffrage in the twentieth century. Carol Mattingly uses written evidence of nineteenth century women's involvement in temperance reform to demonstrate that women were deliberate in their work. She posits that, rather than being reactive and powerless, many antebellum women were confident in their ability to persuade. They made purposeful and effective choices about the best way to elicit support for their temperance advocacy. Mattingly analyzed temperance women's recorded speeches, organizational records and fiction in *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric*.

The majority of temperance studies have concentrated on northern and mid-western advocates and activities. In "'Drinks He to His Own Undoing': Temperance in the Deep South," Douglas W. Carlson provides a corrective view of the antebellum South. Carlson found that significant numbers of southerners participated in temperance reform. From the 1840s forward, their efforts were virtually identical to the larger movement. An interesting perspective on antebellum temperance reform culture can be found in Paul E. Reckner and Stephen A. Brighton article "'Free From All Vicious

Habits': Archeological Perspectives on Class Conflict and the Rhetoric of Temperance."

The authors' analysis of documents and archaeological materials gathered from northern urban temperance households revealed a dissonance with class and ethnic implications.

Middle class reformers in New York City and Lowell, Massachusetts demanded total abstinence of the working class, the poor and immigrants, while continuing to drink moderately themselves. Those findings point to the need to explore the drinking practices of nominal temperance advocates who voiced concern about the drinking habits of their neighbors.

Studies of antebellum New York have been valuable in exploring the position of temperance in a number of movements and developments. In *Chants Democratic, New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850*, Sean Wilentz charted the emergence of an antebellum working class sensibility and visibility in New York City. Temperance reform served as a working class voice, as did republicanism and political activism, he explained. Mary P. Ryan included temperance and abstinence in her study of western upstate Oneida County, especially Utica and its environs, in *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. According to Ryan, several cultural agents, including organized religion and temperance reform, combined to create a middle class in Oneida County. The temperance movement was closely associated with the Second Great Awakening, 1800-1840s, which greatly affected western New York. Paul E. Johnson's *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* found that evangelical revivalism sparked formation of a middle class in the 1830s, and that middle class aspirants engaged in the temperance crusade as one means to secure status. In *Women's Activism and Social Change:*

Rochester, New York, 1822-1872, Nancy A. Hewitt found three strains of reform among Rochester's activist women: benevolence, perfectionism and ultraism. In determining and segregating the different interests exhibited among Rochester's female crusaders, Hewitt discovered that women of different classes could coalesce around the same issues; the type of reform was more important to the women than any interclass sympathy.

Another group of antebellum Americans worked to eradicate intemperance in their communities. Free blacks in northern communities adopted temperance reform for personal and religious reasons, as well as concern for "racial elevation." Benjamin Quarles's 1969 study of *Black Abolitionists* placed antebellum African American temperance reform within abolitionism. Ending black intemperance would serve to advance the abolition of southern chattel slavery by proving that blacks were not inherently degraded. Abolitionists were usually temperance advocates also, but they focused on ending slavery. Denise Herd in "The Paradox of Temperance: Blacks and the Alcohol Question in Nineteenth Century America" also described the antebellum African American temperance reform movement as an outgrowth of abolitionism. In "Elevating the Race: The Social Thought of Black Leaders, 1827-50," Frederick Cooper disagrees about the prominence of temperance in antebellum black life. Temperance reform was prominent because intemperance undermined the community. There were far more free black moral and social reform societies than black anti-slavery societies and abolitionists, Cooper contends. Donald Yacovone sees temperance as a component of the larger antebellum black struggle for freedom and self-sufficiency in "The Transformation of the Black Temperance Movement, 1827-1854: An Interpretation." C. Peter Ripley, et al, ed.,

The Black Abolitionist Papers, The United States, 1830-1846 comment on the closely interwoven relationships of the abolition and temperance movements and participants.

For William Pease and Jane Pease, *They Who Would Be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom*, temperance reform was a concern of the African American middle class because intemperance wasted money and threatened eternal salvation. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton in *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North* found that temperance and other moral reforms reflected the upwardly mobile values of middle class black society. In "Benevolence and Antislavery Activity Among African American Women in New York and Boston, 1820-1840," Anne M. Boylan examined the work of antebellum black women reformers. African American women were not afforded the presumption of moral superiority that white women received. Black women reformers, therefore, demanded moral behavior of their fellow reform society members, and limited their benevolence to the poor who were of good character, in order to assure a reputation of morality. Such African American women believed that so-called proper behavior by black women was crucial to self-improvement and "racial elevation" efforts, Boylan found.

AN ESSAY ON SOURCES: RELIGION, REVIVALS AND REFORMS

Works discussed are fully cited in the Bibliography. America was profoundly changed by the experience of the Second Great Awakening, which was manifested by evangelical Protestant revivals occurring from 1800 through the 1840s. Most antebellum Americans did not belong to an organized religion, although, most antebellum church members were Protestants. Many antebellum social and moral reform efforts were prompted by evangelical thinking, but not all reformers were evangelized Protestants, or even Protestant. Both reformers and Protestant evangelicals shared a heartfelt belief that change was possible and desirable, and consciously chose to turn that belief into action. Antebellum reform crusades, perhaps born to some extent out of the Second Great Awakening, were undertaken by thousands of individuals who felt impelled by a variety of motivations to improve their social and economic environs, as well as bring changes to the American republic.

It would be a mistake to conflate Protestant evangelism and antebellum reform efforts, but it is difficult to consider such activities without a review of that religious expression. Antebellum Protestantism, evangelical revivalism and reform movements are so intertwined that it may prove difficult to tease out the specific religious and philanthropic influences which produced so much antebellum activity. The historical literature, which delved into aspects of religious revivalism and reform, has grappled with

the issue as to whether reform efforts were strictly an outgrowth of a religious reawakening or whether it developed simultaneously with the religious experience.

William G. McLoughlin in *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* provides a systematic and sociological overview of five American religious awakenings during nearly four centuries. According to McLoughlin, an awakening is defined as a period of cultural revitalization, which begins at a point where there exists a generalized crisis of beliefs and values. The revitalization extends over a generation and produces a profound social reordering which takes place in several stages. During such awakenings, revivals occur as part of the Protestant ritual when evangelists carry God's gospel to large gatherings of people, wherein conversions occur flowing from the message of salvation and spiritual rebirth heard during such revivals. According to McLoughlin, while revivals alter individuals, awakenings alter a society's worldview. During the antebellum Second Great Awakening, Protestant revivals drew thousands to evangelical churches, to voluntary benevolent and reform associations, and to the temperance crusade.

Paul K. Conkin's *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost* cites the 1800-1801 central Kentucky Cane Ridge Scotch-Irish Presbyterian Communion Service as the first revival which developed into mass camp meetings and revelatory conversions. Thus began the Second Great Awakening and its series of revivals, which would introduce a new religious ideology to antebellum America.

A broad overview of the effects those revivals had on the antebellum era is available in Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History From the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War*. Tyler connected the

democratic evangelicalism of the Second Great Awakening to the development of American democracy; and revivalism, republicanism and general humanitarian impulses are credited for antebellum reform movements, including the temperance crusade.

In his study, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America*, Paul K. Conkin found that Protestant evangelicalism dominated American religion from the era of the early republic to the 1830s, when immigrant German and Irish Catholic churches began to counterbalance such evangelism. During those decades, however, most Americans belonged to no organized religion, and the majority of Protestants were not evangelized. The evangelical belief system, nonetheless, largely controlled discussions of social issues and was able to prevail on such concerns as temperance and Sabbatarianism, Conkin points out. The fact that evangelical Protestants tended to favor lay leadership contributed to their ability to form interdenominational consensus and mobilize on social issues. That capacity to cooperate with the other socially minded forces extended to Catholics and to non-evangelical Protestants during the important temperance crusade, according to Conkin.

Whitney R. Cross's pioneering study, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850*, examined western New York's antebellum religious fervor, which led many participants to reform movements. Revivalism and reformation crusades spread throughout New York's western agricultural region as that area approached agrarian maturity in the 1820s and 1830s, especially after the completion of the Erie Canal. In the region's recently developed manufacturing centers, such as Rochester, Utica and Lockport, Protestant evangelical religious emotionalism or "enthusiasm" helped give rise to several reform

crusades. The revitalized New Yorkers developed Bible Societies to distribute God's Scriptures and established Sunday schools in order to instill evangelical Protestant values in the young. They promoted prohibition of Sunday labor, commerce, and mail delivery, and fought for temperance in their attempt to combat the religious, social and economic evils of drunkenness. Once the evangelical temperance movement adopted the "ultraist" total abstinence principle in 1836, it lost 40 percent of the statewide temperance society's membership. When temperance ceased to be a religious reform after 1840, many reformers abandoned moral suasion for legal coercion, according to Cross. Additionally, evangelism's "extravagances and sensationalism" helped contribute to the split among reformers and major reform movements suffered intellectual divisions which ended their effectiveness.

Refuting Whitney Cross's contention that revivalism and reform waned after 1840, Timothy L. Smith, in *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*, emphasized the urban evangelical basis of reform movements. Smith asserted that revival measures and perfectionism grew from 1840 to 1865 in all major Protestant denominations. Previously a rural phenomenon, the potent core of the last twenty-five years of revivalist evangelicalism was located in urban areas. That was true especially in northern cities, such as New York, where lay beliefs and practices superseded the rural pattern of clerical domination, and where evangelical religion seemed to attract displaced and lonely city dwellers. Evangelicalism centered on free will, upon the ability of each Christian to choose virtue over sin, and on the concept of individual perfectibility based on free will. The search for personal and communal holiness led evangelicals to play an integral role in reform movements and fostered

formation of interdenominational “benevolent enterprises” for reform, which became a tenet of national faith.

In *The Rude Hand of Innovation, Religion and Social Order in Albany, 1652-1836*, David G. Hackett explored the breakup of traditional Calvinism among Protestant denominations in Albany, New York and found a religious cultural system which informed much of life in that commercial city on the Hudson River. Hackett cites the importance of religious influences on antebellum life and credited Manichean evangelism’s crucial role in temperance reform, as do Richard Carwardine and Robert Abzug. During the late 1820s and 1830s, evangelical revivals changed Albany’s churches, and congregants, as they adopted a new evangelical moral emphasis on personal virtue and a belief in the ability to affect one’s own salvation. Albany’s revivals fostered the city’s moral reform crusades and its commercial enterprise.

Entrepreneurial, professional and artisanal members, the rising middle class, replaced traditional elite church and community leaders. In a millennially inspired fight for good over evil in Albany, evangelicals worked to assure that Albany was free of drunkenness and that its children were educated. Members of Albany’s working class also advocated temperance as a means of self-improvement, even as they rejected evangelical-led reform movements as threats to their independence. By the late 1830s, Albany was so imbued with evangelism, moral reformation and the concepts of individual rights, education, and economic growth that such attributes were considered Albany’s natural state, according to Hackett.

Jama Lazerow, *Religion and the Working Class in Antebellum America*, studied Lowell, Massachusetts and found that antebellum reform movements centered on

evangelical Protestantism included labor reform among other efforts to overcome evil. The central authority of the Bible in evangelized Protestant thought served as the basis for workers to seek an improved relations between master and worker, thereby, leading to better working conditions. The focus on individual acceptance of salvation also reinforced the workers' belief that their concerns were equal to those of middle class reformers, according to Lazerow. Like their Albany counterparts, laborers in Lowell supported temperance reform as evangelized Protestants.

Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s*, considered two different responses to antebellum social and economic tensions present at the same time in the region studied by Whitney Cross, the area of New York which Charles G. Finney characterized as "burnt." The Millerite millennialists and Oneida Community utopianists of western New York shared a transplanted rural New England heritage, but developed opposing reformation strategies to deal with their worlds. Each group sought to prove that there existed a moral order and that their righteousness would be vindicated, Barkun concluded. The purpose of millennialist activity was to change the world before it ended, while utopianists constructed their new communities in an attempt to separate from the same world. Millennialists reached out as far as they could, including into the region's growing urban centers, in their attempts to change man's sinfulness before the imminent destruction of the world. Utopianists, on the other hand, recognized that such evil was cause for retreat into their own structured and controlled communities.

Paul E. Johnson, in *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837*, concentrated his study of antebellum Protestantism in

Rochester, located in western New York. When Charles G. Finney preached there in 1830 he evoked a religious response to rising uneasiness within the entrepreneurial portion of Rochester's population. Johnson identified the responsive group as the emergent middle class of that city who accepted the moral imperative of revivalism and worked to evangelize Rochester. The religious revival gave voice to their earnest confidence in their own ability to lead sinless lives, and to convince their workers, through benevolence, to do the same. Social and moral reform was the expression of evangelical religious conviction, and it created the desired effect when many of Rochester's working class joined evangelical crusades, including temperance reform.

In *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*, Mary P. Ryan studied families during the era of Protestant revivalism in Utica and its environs, comprising Oneida County. Oneida County is located in western New York, which exhibited so much antebellum religious fervor. The important part Utica's women, especially evangelical mothers, played in the revivalist waves is documented in church, voluntary and reform society records, especially those of temperance and mothers' societies. A portion of Utica's residents exhibited great creativity in reordering their families and their world, according to Ryan. During that reordering process, a middle class developed in Utica, comprised of families of artisans, shopkeepers and professionals.

Robert H. Abzug's *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and Religious Imagination* focused on the lives of a number of antebellum New England, western New York and Ohio evangelical reformers, ignoring non-reformist evangelicals and non-evangelical reformers. An influential minority of uncompromising leaders such as

Lyman Beecher, Charles G. Finney, William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, as well as Angelina Grimke's husband, Theodore Dwight Weld, provided ample material for study. Those evangelical reformers did not act from humanitarian impulse, but from pietism, according to Abzug, who rejects social control as a motive for antebellum reform. Because of their individual views of how the world should be ordered, according to their own cosmologies, reformers were convinced that they could affect the virtuous republic. Their America would be based on holiness, self-improvement and morality, which were considered necessary to the advent of the millennium. Using Max Weber's term, religious virtuosos, Abzug describes "an informal holy order," which sought to sanctify America against intemperance, slavery, and Sabbath-breaking, among other sins. Religious virtuosos made their crusades more than quests for secular social order, they worked to establish a millennially-focused sacred ordered world, but remained separate from the mass of ordinary regular reformers. For cosmological antebellum reformers, temperance provided a sacred ritual; the form of the temperance pledge became a "sacred invocation." Temperance ritualism reinforced reformers' sense that they were making sacred a secular world and temperance crusades became virtual religions themselves, according to Abzug.

Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, found that the process of cultural democratization was central to development of American Christianity when, from 1780 to 1830, popular religious movements were led by young committed dynamic leaders. Hatch points to egalitarianism and religious populism as the hallmarks of the Second Great Awakening, which empowered ordinary Protestants to claim a salvation not predetermined or filtered through clergy. Persuasive evangelical leaders

consciously chose democratic impulses and vocabulary, using music and print materials, as well as in calling for reforms in the class structure to make their messages attractive. By 1840, however, the early democratic impulses of Protestant evangelicalism, which had often capitalized on its own marginalism, became a search for social respectability and political influence. From 1840 to 1860, American Protestantism was part of larger reformist cultural trend to discipline and consolidate American culture.

In Redeeming America: Evangelicals and the Road to the Civil War, Curtis D.

Johnson presents an accessible and useful synthesis of antebellum evangelical Protestantism. Johnson identified five core evangelical beliefs from three Protestant perspectives, which he described as white formalist, white antiformalist, and African American. The evangelical belief system required acceptance of the scriptural basis of faith, a second birth as part of an evangelical conversion necessary to salvation, belief in the perfectibility of humankind, and advocacy of reform efforts along with belief of the return of Christ to earth. Johnson's description of the different Protestant groupings is useful in understanding antebellum evangelism and reform, although such descriptions are necessarily incomplete because the Protestant sects were not completely evangelized, as he points out.

Geography influenced the degrees of formalism adopted by the three antebellum evangelical groupings. Formalists were most frequently located in the North, and even northern Baptists and Methodists tended to a formalism renounced by their western and southern co-religionists. Over time, however, formalism crept into the African American and antiformalist evangelical sects. Johnson also explores the dominance of Protestant evangelicalism in antebellum nineteenth century America. Johnson credits that

advantage to the post-revolutionary disestablishment of religion, which allowed sects to compete equally for religious Americans, and the fact that evangelicalism appealed to many members of a heterogeneous American population. The choice to join a church was an individual democratic decision and evangelicalism filled a religious vacuum after the Revolution by claiming to be genuinely and democratically American and, at the same time, recruiting members vigorously. Each of the three evangelical groups described by Johnson appealed to members according to their different approaches to core Protestant beliefs.

One-fifth of evangelicals, mostly northeastern upper-middle class Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and English speaking Reformed church members are classified as formalists. As formalists, those persons stressed orderly worship and an educated ministry, and were often involved in politics, sometimes in leadership positions. They also belonged to the network of voluntary associations, which sought to order a disorderly world and create a self-disciplined righteous republic. Formalists were most successful in the North's growing market society with forward-looking, inner-directed and disciplined men and women. Women, whose lost place in the family economy was exchanged for the moral center of family, were the backbone of formalist evangelism. As women expanded their moral authority, they especially were concerned that economically and physically threatening behavior be curbed, such as intemperance.

Antiformalists comprised three-fifths of evangelical congregants and, generally, were middle-low class Methodists, Baptists and Disciples of Christ, and most numerous in the South and West. They preferred an emotional personal unmediated faith and often

were deeply suspicious of formalist evangelical attempts to convert the nation because of their strongly held belief that only individual second birth conversions could lead to a Christian republic. Johnson described antiformalists as often less involved in a commercialized economy, and reliant upon their evangelical republican ideals of equality and self-government. Those republican ideals sometimes led them to reject formalist reform movements, such as temperance and Sabbatarianism, as elitist attempts to control the common person. Widening antebellum white male suffrage politically empowered antiformalists to help resist elite-led coercive reform. Antiformalists also opposed protective tariffs and internal improvement taxes, which disproportionately benefited the commercial class and hurt the poor, southerners and westerners. They were successful because their message mirrored the democratic impulse present in those areas where they were strongest.

African American evangelists represented the remaining one-fifth of evangelical congregants and comprised mainly enslaved and free Methodists and Baptists. As African Americans, even free blacks in northern free states, they were socially, economically and politically impotent. Understandably, blacks sought a personal evangelical religion which could offer earthly solace, sustain them until God freed them into a promised heavenly paradise, and where they would be valued as God's faithful. Of course, they opposed slaveholding. They subscribed to spiritual autonomy in a nation which could be cleansed of sin only when slavery and racial injustice ended. Free and enslaved African Americans gravitated to the Methodist and Baptist churches because those sects were perceived as democratic and had criticized slavery in the early antebellum era. Additionally, both churches encouraged lay leadership and recognized

nontraditional religious practices, so that incorporation of African customs was acceptable.

In Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860, Curtis D. Johnson used church records to examine various formalist and antiformalist Protestant denominational trends in antebellum rural Cortland County in western New York. In the study of antebellum evangelicalism, Johnson's rural focus is a necessary addition to those studies which concentrated on western New York urban centers, such as Rochester (Paul E. Johnson) and Utica (Mary P. Ryan). However, like Paul E. Johnson and Ryan, Curtis D. Johnson found a strong relationship between revivalism, evangelicalism and temperance, among other reforms. Antebellum evangelical Protestants remained in the minority in Cortland County, as they were throughout America; a group set apart from the rest of society. Therefore, Johnson refrained from using evangelicals as a template for the rest of society, as had Mary P. Ryan. Religious ideology, which generated a strongly held confidence in personal and communal perfectibility, was the primary reason rural Protestants committed themselves to revivalism and evangelicalism. Johnson, however, found that such perfectionism did not lead all rural evangelicals to ultraism. Evangelical ultraists believed that their individual holiness was insufficient to prepare for Christ's return to earth and, therefore, sought to apply their definition of Christian conduct to all. Women in Cortland County were especially attracted to revivalism and became stalwarts of rural evangelicalism. By the 1850s, however, Cortland County's evangelical congregations gave way to more organized, elite male dominated churches as material concerns replaced religious ones and the earlier attractions to revivalism were

not as strong. A market dominated socially controlled ideology supplanted personal religious interactions with God and neighbors.

Richard J. Carwardine's *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* presents an extensively researched exploration of the influential relationship of Protestantism to antebellum political culture. Indicating the importance of the topic, Carwardine identified evangelical Protestantism as antebellum America's predominate subculture. However, he found "no single evangelical community...[rather] a series of overlapping circles or 'connexions' of believers which did not conform in any straightforward way to denominational labels" among the major northeastern evangelical Protestants: Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists (100-102). Evangelized Christians took to heart the concept of the perfectibility of humankind, which was ignited by the revivals of the 1820s and 1830s, and it propelled them into reform crusades, especially temperance and abolitionism. That perfectionist outlook and their informed evangelical political choices and affiliations brought a moral urgency to local and national political discussions. Since evangelicals favored conscience over compromise and demanded communal as well as individual moral correction, their strident moral stance assured that their moral reform crusades would not be politically ignored, although there was no monolithic evangelical vote.

During the 1830s and 1840s, considering themselves engaged in a struggle for good over evil, northern evangelicals looked to the Whig and Democratic parties to further their aims. Unwittingly, perhaps, they contributed to the polarization of the two parties. When those major parties were unable to produce the changes sought by organized evangelicals, many of them moved to various third parties, fostered the

Republican Party, and hardened the sectionalism of the 1850s. The penultimate sectionalism of the Civil War was encouraged by strategic antebellum Protestant evangelical political activism in pursuit of their goals, according to Carwardine. A major factor in evangelical political affiliation and action was the anti-Catholic stance of many antebellum Protestants. Growing Catholic immigration of the 1830s and 1840s and the negative stereotype of the immigrants' alleged immoderate drinking habits threatened the nation's virtue and, therefore, any chance for Christ's earthly return, in the view of many evangelical Protestants. Additionally, such drunkenness strained tax-supported public resources, such as pauper relief and prisons, according to evangelical common wisdom. Such beliefs contributed to the evangelicals' vigorous 1840s temperance movement, in which intemperance was attacked with interdenominational fervor and demands for total abstinence. When moral suasion failed to put a stop to drinking, those temperance advocates learned to apply political pressure through public opinion and direct activism in their search for stronger controls over alcohol consumption. Evangelical reformers gave their support to whichever political party accommodated their demands and, in their concern for national virtue, evangelical reformers focused on the need for a sober electorate. Although denied the vote but claiming moral preeminence, many evangelical women wrote and circulated petitions and assisted in political campaigns and, thereby, exhibited their political capabilities.

A different sense of antebellum evangelical political involvement is described in Michael F. Holt's *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War*. Holt explains that the unique political Whig culture was formed from three strains of thought: republicanism, Scottish Common Sense philosophy

and evangelical Protestantism. Evangelical Protestants insisted on individual freedom of conscience, which they understood to mean that no person or organization should broker or interfere with an individual's relationship or allegiance to Christ. That tenet led evangelicals to be suspicious of secret orders, such as the Masons, and so-called ritualistic priest-led and alcohol-drinking Catholics, because both the priests and drink got between man and God. Such threats to republican virtue must be vanquished, many evangelical Protestants believed and took up political activism in their fight. The Whig Party attracted many of those evangelicals who blended religion with their desire for secular moral reforms, including temperance. Holt explains that the diversity of the northern population complicated political affiliations, and Whigs could not necessarily count on evangelical Protestant votes. Many evangelicals firmly believed in the separation of their religious and secular worlds and refused to join political or reform organizations.

In *Children of Wrath: New School Calvinism and Antebellum Reform*, Leo P. Hirrel focused on the theological basis of antebellum Protestant reform movements and on a disproportionately influential segment of antebellum Protestantism known as New School Calvinists. A number of Presbyterian and Congregationalist Calvinists adopted the so-called New School or New Haven theology, which developed in the 1820s under the influence of the leading Yale College theologian, Timothy Dwight. Advocacy of New School thought would split the two major Calvinist denominations when more than 40 percent of Presbyterians favored New School tenets over the traditional Old School in 1837. At the time, more Congregationalists also chose the newer Calvinist beliefs.

Hirrel examined the careers of New School Calvinism's six leading activist ministers: Dwight-trained life-long friends, Nathaniel William Taylor and Lyman Beecher; Albert Barnes; George B. Cheever; George Duffield and Moses Stuart. The six clergymen disseminated their New School theories through organized reform and benevolent activities, including religious presses and tract societies, as well as by means of their sermons. According to Hirrel, the ministers and their followers were so effective that antebellum reform efforts were dominated by New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists, in spite of pretensions of interdenominational cooperation. New School Calvinists particularly rejected the more populist approach Methodists and Baptists used in their reform activities.

As presented by Hirrel, the newer strain of American Calvinism revised the traditional Calvinist faith in theocentric salvation of Christians, which was the conviction that one's redemption depended solely upon God's will. New School theology accepted the conventional Calvinist belief in the innate depravity of humankind, but added the assurance that an individual Christian could know God's purpose and accept salvation by living a virtuous life, or reject it with sinfulness. New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists continued to use the traditional Calvinist vocabulary of innate depravity and God's will, while at the same time, they rejected the inevitability of sin. Hirrel posits that the New School adherents were able to influence the direction and efforts of antebellum Protestant reform because they were unwilling to compromise on their convictions or their theologically driven reform efforts, or benevolent activities, as identified by Hirrel. A firm belief in an earthly system of sin and evil, which threatened their own true faith and goodness, molded New School reform efforts and added to their

intransigence. Such oppositional thinking fostered New School Calvinism's rabid anti-Catholic bias, which Hirrel classified as a New School strategic reform effort. He acknowledged, however, that his designation would not find ready acceptance among many antebellum reform scholars.

New School faith in the power of truth informed all of their reform efforts, but none more so than the temperance movement. According to Hirrel, consistency of purpose, especially their demand for total abstinence, allowed New School participants to dominate antebellum temperance reform. Just as New School theology divided 1820s-1830s Calvinism, New School insistence upon total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages, including communion wine, rather than permit moderate drinking caused the 1836 schism in the Protestant temperance movement. Robert Abzug found that the idealistic theological bent of some reformers, including Lyman Beecher who led the fight for total abstinence, undermined the unity and strength of antebellum Protestant reform movements. The 1836 fight over the direction of temperance reform appears to be a good example of such an outcome; the New York State Temperance Society lost 40 percent of its membership when Beecher won the argument. Hirrel describes how New School reform crusaders relied upon their numerous and widely circulated religious and reform publications, appeals to American republicanism and political activism in their fight against evil. He also points out that Curtis D. Johnson recognized the importance of formalist New England and New York Presbyterians and Congregationalists to antebellum reform movements.

Hirrel credits the Second Great Awakening for demonstrating the diversity which existed among and within antebellum Protestant denominations. Unlike most other

scholars, Hirrel eschews the terms “evangelical” and “evangelism” as being too loosely defined and mutable for his examination of changes in antebellum Calvinist thought. Regarding revivalism, Hirrel reports that New School Calvinists supported revivalism, but only to a certain degree, despite the fact that several New School leaders including Beecher, Barnes and Duffield conducted revivals. Although he was a New School Calvinist, some New School followers criticized Charles G. Finney for his firebrand approach to saving sinners. Interestingly, many Old School Calvinists did not oppose the concept of revivalism, only the emotionally charged enthusiasms described by Whitney R. Cross. New School Calvinism was strong in central and western New York. The 1837 separation of Presbyterian Calvinism into New and Old Schools occurred when New School theologians resisted traditional Calvinists’ calls for their return to theological orthodoxy. The New Schoolers had gathered at the pro-New Haven Auburn Theological Seminary in New York’s Finger Lakes region in order to plan their resistance to such demands. After the schism, the Auburn school continued to promulgate New School thought as it trained Presbyterian clergy to serve in central western New York. Some of those same ministers would work in the areas studied by Cross, Paul D. Johnson and Mary P. Ryan.

In this useful survey of American religious history, *Religion and American Culture*, George M. Marsden credited the Age of Democratic Revivals for the genesis of antebellum reform movements, such as the fight against drunkenness and slavery. By combining republicanism, millennialism, perfectionism and Protestant dominance, Americans would purify and advance their nation and civilization, evangelicals believed. That conviction led evangelical men and women into the public arena and made them

stalwarts of the northern Whig Party which, from its inception in the 1830s until its demise in the 1850s, claimed a strong Anglo-Protestant moral agenda for itself.

Kathryn Theresa Long examined the last antebellum revival in *The Revival of 1857-1858: Interpreting American Religious Awakening*. The late antebellum revival differed from earlier ones in two important ways, as described by Long. Although national in scope, the 1857 event was strongest in urban areas, especially New York City, and occurred as sectional tensions increased. Additionally, clerical influence and the presence and participation of women, so important in earlier revivals, was purposefully discouraged by the so-called businessman's revival. All-male prayer meetings were held during business lunch hours and reflected the consonance between Protestantism and the commercial world, for both sought reforms, such as the newly formed Young Men's Christian Association. Such economic efficiency ensured that the so-called masculine millennium was well publicized and promoted in the secular, as well as in the religiously oriented circulars, pamphlets and newspapers.

Many antebellum African Americans who lived in the free states of the North were active in a number of reform efforts in their communities. Faced with white prejudices and discriminations in the free states and chattel slavery in southern states, those free blacks sought to improve their moral, social and political status. Religion played a large part in the personal and public lives of nineteenth century African Americans. Antebellum African Americans often looked to their churches to fulfill social and economic wants, as well as spiritual needs. C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, and Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America: Evangelicals and the Road to the Civil War*, discuss the importance

of religion to free antebellum African Americans. Religion and church activities were central to black communal life and support and churches often fostered moral and social reforms, including the temperance movement.

Leon F. Litwak, *North of Slavery, The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, and James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color Inside the African American Community*, demonstrate that free African Americans forged supportive communities in the face of white opposition. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton examine the social and economic characteristics of such antebellum free northern black communities in their recent study, *In Hope of Liberty, Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860*. Although in the minority among their race, many antebellum free middle class African Americans aspired to social respectability, humanistic reform, and racial elevation that would end the white repression and slavery.

The African American convention movement of the 1830s-1850s was instrumental in defining the need for and the means of reform among free African American communities. To such reformers, abolition and temperance were important concerns. Antebellum black conventions are the subject of several publications by Howard Holman Bell. He edited the important *Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions, 1830-1864* and examined those conventions in "National Negro Conventions of the Middle 1840's: Moral Suasion vs. Political Action" and *Survey of the Negro Convention Movement, 1830-1861*. In "Elevating the Race: The Social Thought of Black Leaders, 1827-50," Frederick Cooper traced changes in African American reform strategies. He found that the focus shifted from racial elevation by example to demand for civil rights among antebellum black leaders dedicated to ending

white bias and discriminatory practices. A. J. Williams-Meyers, *Long Hammering, Essays on the Forging of an African American Presence in the Hudson River Valley to the Early Twentieth Century*, notes the involvement of Hudson River Valley African Americans in the antebellum convention movement. In *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*, Leon F. Litwak concludes that the black conventions enabled African Americans to develop necessary organizational and political skills. Harry Reed's *Platform for Change, The Formation of the Northern Free Black Community, 1775-1865* describes the reformist nature of the black convention movement, which fostered self-help educational and moral reforms.

Anne M. Boylan, "Benevolence and Antislavery Activity Among African American Women in New York and Boston, 1820-1840, " found that African American women reformers shared many of the goals and activities of white female reformers. However, black women struggled against both gender and racial restrictions in their attempts to improve their lives and their communities. Gayle T. Tate, "Political Consciousness and Resistance Among Black Antebellum Women," proposes that the community reform activism of antebellum African American women fit with their central economic role in the community.

Abolition and temperance movements engaged the attention and efforts of many antebellum African American reformers. However, Ripley, Finkenbine, et al., ed., *Black Abolitionist Papers, The United States, 1830-1846*, determined that the antebellum pursuit of moral and, thereby social, advancements among free American blacks failed in its primary purpose. The larger white society remained unconvinced that blacks, free or slave, were capable of accepting the responsibilities of freedom.

American Catholic churches in the nineteenth century conducted parish missions or retreats in order to generate religious enthusiasm and moral reform among Catholics, as described by Jay P. Dolan in *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830-1900*. As with Protestant revivals, parish missions promoted religious emotionalism and moral reformation, as well as evangelicalism. Catholics who attended such retreats were encouraged to develop and adhere to a personal code of conduct, which placed special emphasis on moral purity and temperance. The total abstinence pledge was urged upon mission goers, and many were signed at such revivalistic events. Parish mission efforts took place throughout Catholic America and helped to shape the American Catholic Church by promoting doctrinal uniformity and unifying Catholics, as well as reinforcing purity and piety. Although such retreats began in the 1820s, they were most numerous from 1850-1890. Catholic America struggled during the antebellum years. Few priests and only four churches served the thirty-five thousand Catholics living in New York City in 1830, and “endless thousands of neglected souls” could be found scattered throughout the rest of the state with out benefit of the church. The Catholic population in America doubled to 300,000 between 1815 and 1840, and grew by 300 percent during the next ten years, reaching 900,000 in 1850. To meet the growing demand, European priests and nuns were sent to America to serve as nurses, teachers and parish priests to a largely immigrant Catholic population throughout the nineteenth century. In addition, many members of European religious orders of mission preachers migrated to America. Those preaching orders had been established to conduct revivals in order to strengthen the faith of Catholics. A trained itinerant Catholic ministry began to travel a missionary circuit in America among scattered groups of believers in order to preach a succession of faith

reviving sermons. By 1829, itinerant missionaries were an established feature of American Catholicism, found where ever Catholics could be assembled. Such revivalist religious exercises, which often lasted for a full week before the priest moved on to the next Catholic settlement, were known as Catholic parish missions, or retreats. Mission sermons were designed to convince listeners of the immediate necessity of affirming their Catholic faith in God and his redemptive powers. As with Protestant revivals, parish missions promoted religious emotionalism and moral reformation, as well as evangelicalism. Revivalist priests pointed to participation in the sacraments, especially confession and communion, as the means of establishing individual purity and achieving salvation. American Catholics who attended such retreats were encouraged to develop and adhere to a personal code of conduct, which placed special emphasis on moral purity and temperance. The total abstinence pledge was urged upon mission goers. Drunkenness especially threatened the stability of the Catholic family, but more importantly, it diminished one's ability to think or act rationally before God. "It is the only sin which deprives God of his power to forgive," declared a nineteenth century Catholic mission preacher.

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