Print Culture in New York: The Essence of the Benevolent Empire from 1816 to 1837

by

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Abstract

Print Culture in New York: The Essence of the Benevolent Empire from 1816 to 1837 is a story that places technological and organizational business innovations at the center of the American evangelical print culture of the "Benevolent Empire" during the Early Republic. After about 1815, during the "market revolution" (western expansion, eastern urbanization, and boom in trade and manufacturing), the business of benevolence boomed in religious publishing that inspired American merchants and prominent businessmen to consolidate hundreds of missionary, Bible, and tract societies. The consolidation process resulted in the creation of national benevolent societies that produced the first wave of mass media. In New York City, the new communications center of the nation, the headquarters of the Benevolent Empire, was built by a new class of wealthy businessmen and American merchants who were diverse in their economic activities and humanitarian work. *Print Culture in New York* is a story about the corporate moral character and savvy business fortitude of the benevolent elite who constructed national benevolent societies to produce the first wave of mass media that was part of a global Bible, tract, and mission movement. Defying the literary market by distributing pamphlets, Bibles, and religious literature at cost or often for free, the national charity publishers administrated a national distribution network that promoted conversion from sin and translated benevolent action into moral reform in local and regional communities.

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Introduction

During the 1820s, the two largest national charity publishing companies- the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society- believed they possessed the economic resources and technological savviness to launch the first wave of mass media that is referred to by scholars as the General Supply (1829-1831). *Print Culture in New York* is a story of the national charity publishers producing mass media, which meant they would produce a universal circulation of publications by placing print into the hands of every man, woman, and child in America. For the ABS, the first general supply meant they would distribute Bibles to everyone in the nation within two years, and for the ATS, the first general supply meant they would place a tract into the hands of every city resident each month through a systematic monthly distribution plan. These national charity publishers developed formal constitutions and governing boards of managers and executives to oversee the systematic operations of their institutions. Not boggled down with bureaucracy, particularly during the first two decades of operations (the first generation of cohorts), they effectively applied new technology, particularly stereotyping, that became the most important technological advancement for Bible and tract work. In the 1820s and 1830s, the other important technological innovations besides the use of stereotype plates that became paramount to their systematic production and distribution were steam-powered printing, machine papermaking, and in-house binding. The charity publishers connected print technology to organizational business strategies that pressed small and large auxiliaries (the auxiliary network) to systematically distribute nationally. *Print Culture in New York* is a story of the corporate operations that were bent on implementing new machinery, utilizing materials, and growing the volunteer labor of local and state auxiliaries by centralizing their distribution from New York. It

is a story of the unfolding of systematic corporate organizational management that, following the corporate structure, grew the auxiliaries into a national systematic circulation network.

Chapter One: Background of the Benevolent Empire

Developing national benevolence with a sense of urgency for Christianizing the nation presented formidable difficulties in early Antebellum American culture. By late 1810s, New York City in its quest to produce urban citizenship became the nation's commercial, intellectual, and communications capital of the nation. It was the home of patrician New York's elite men such as John Pintard and DeWitt Clinton who had ambitious plans for administrating national institutional strategies for philanthropy from Manhattan. These benevolent men, along with names like John Jay (1745-1829) and Henry Rutgers (1745-1830) worked to establish national philanthropy associated with the antebellum Benevolent Empire of America (benevolent evangelical republic) by consolidating a wide range of voluntary labors from across the northeastern parts of the United States. They worked to formulate national institutions in the Empire City that created the headquarters of the evangelical benevolent republic.

Stemming from the Anglican church in England in the eighteenth century, evangelical Protestantism in America proliferated in the evangelical dominations of the Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians between 1776 and the Civil War. These leading evangelical denominations, especially the Methodist and Baptist, fused evangelism with organizationalism during the American state-by-state disestablishment movement between 1776 and 1833, which produced the rapid expansion of new churches. As church membership and financial contributions became voluntary during the disestablishment period, these leading denominations used revivals and organizational strategies for mass conversion that caused rapid church growth and revealed an American zeal for organized churches and religious associations. Out of this religious voluntary phenomenon, there was a proliferation of hundreds of missionary,

Bible, and religious tract societies during the first decades of the nineteenth century creating the institutional Protestant borders of what became known as the Benevolent Empire.[1] The consolidation of hundreds of missionary, Bible, and tract societies led to the establishment of the headquarters of the benevolent evangelical republic in New York City, which launched ambitious plans for reforming American vision. There still seems to be no consensus for how precisely the benevolent evangelical republic impacted the American vision from Empire City, the commercial and cultural center of the nation, though we do know the great national charity publishing societies significantly impacted the Empire City by forging ideas for nationalism during the growing tensions over ethical and moral standards for a new nation.

The growth of the vast networking of voluntary societies described by historians as the Benevolent Empire produced a popular brand of evangelical benevolence. According to Mary F. Cordato of the American Bible Society, historical accounts of the institutions associated with

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[1] For discussion on the Benevolent Empire see Peter J. Wosh, *Spreading The Word: The Bible Business In Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 1-6; For historiography on revivalism in early nineteenth century New York see Rachel Cope, "From Smouldering Fires To Revitalizing Showers: A Historiographical Overview Of Revivalism In Nineteenth-Century New York," *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 1, no 4 (2012): 25-49; For intellectual history on revivalism in early nineteenth century New York see Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social And Intellectual History Of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 1-103; For ideas of evangelical reform see John R. Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); For ideas on evangelical reform including the urban foundations of New York evangelicalism see Richard Lee Rodgers, "The Urban Threshold and the Second Great Awakening in New York State," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 49, no 4 (December, 2010): 694-709. For concepts of benevolence at the center of the great national voluntary interdenominational movement of societies in New York see Clifford S. Griffin's "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815 to 1860." For the growth of the voluntary system in America see Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840 to 1940," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no 4 (Spring, 1999): 511-557; For disestablishment interacting with volunteerism see Carl H. Esbeck and Jonathan J. Hartog, *Disestablishment and Religious Dissent: Church-State Relations in the New American States, 1776-1833* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2019), 3-24; In tracing revivals and evangelicalism in America see Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); For a history of evangelical America from 1800 to 1860 to Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity In The United States And Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 219-242; For evangelical thought and history in Britain and America see Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1978), 1-84; See also for roots of British evangelicalism M. G. Jones, *Hannah Moore*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 80-81; Also, for the history of British evangelicalism and story of early evangelical reform see Ford K. Brown, *Fathers Of The Victorians: The Age Of Wilberforce* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 2-9, 104-105;

America's Benevolent Empire can be found in two key publications: Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States* and Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837*.[2] As clergy began taking a back role in the rapidly growing network of voluntary societies, wealthy businessmen known for their benevolent work and connections to the transatlantic trade began to dictate the vision of the Benevolent Empire. According to Charles Sellers, in the 1810s in New York City emerged a new class of wealthy businessmen and cutting edge American merchants who associated with the religious revivals of the Second Great Awakening offered new corporate structures and appealing styled agencies for evangelism that greatly differed in comparison to the traditional clergy styled societies. Businessmen in New York during the 1810s were increasingly becoming no longer single designation merchants as they have been in the previous decades rather they were involved with a diversity of economic involvements. Sellers argues with clerical leadership playing a back role in the Benevolent Empire that prominent businessmen and American merchants who were diverse in their economic activities consolidated the new American evangelical print movement and organized various philanthropies and benevolent organizations that enabled a greater range of humanitarian work to prosper within the urban context of the growing market society of New York City.[3]

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[2] Mary F. Cordato, "ABS Historical Working Papers Series The Relationship of the American Bible Society to its Auxiliaries," New York: American Bible Society, (1993), 22; Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1960); Charles J. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

[3] Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 369-372. For discussion on early antebellum business elite in New York City see Joseph R. Frese and Jacob Judd, *An Emerging Independent American Economy, 1815-1875* (New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1980), 161-174; For the rise of a status society that dominated class barriers in Antebellum New York City see Edward Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, And Equality in the Era of the Common Man," *The American Historical Review* 76, no 4 (October, 1971): 989-1034. For businessmen and benevolent goals associated with the Benevolent Empire in New York, see John L. Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence: Revival Religion and American Voting Behavior* New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979),

Elite New York patricians and wealthy businessmen who founded the largest religious print societies dominated New York City's public institutional life. They connected sophisticated formal constitutions and print technology to their organizational networking of auxiliaries for distribution of mass media. The largest religious print societies with headquarters in New York City were the American Bible Society (ABS), the American Tract Society (ATS). The third largest religious publishing company, American Sunday School Union (ASSU) was headquartered in Philadelphia though their annual meetings were held in New York City. These three great national religious publishing societies believed an evangelical mass media would bring moral order, redemption from sins, and a vision for reframing America. Various institutional historiographic framework demonstrates these great nationalizing heavily subsidized religious publishing societies pioneered numerous aspects of American publishing (cheap stereotyping, steam-powered printing, and mechanized papermaking) and created new national distribution channels through price competition that launched an assault on secular literature.

From 1812 to 1815, missionary Samuel J. Mills, a graduate of Andover Seminary, was sent on extensive tours of the western and southern parts of the United States to lecture and consult with the country's leading Bible and missionary societies on how to supply the nation with Bibles and tracts.[4] After six thousand miles of traveling, Mills and his assistant Daniel Smith, observed the moral and spiritual condition of the country and discussed his detailed sketches with numerous bible society managers. According to their missionary reporting, along

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especially pages 37-67; See also for the rise of the mass media of the Benevolent Empire, David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," *Journalism Monographs* no 88 (May, 1984): 1-39.

[4] For Samuel Mills extended tours of the West in the years 1812 to 1815, see Gardiner D. D. Spring, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills: Late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States And Agent of the American Colonization Society* (New York: Evangelical Missionary Society, 1820), 57-94; See also Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity In The United States And Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 185-187; David Paul Nord, *Faith In Reading: Religious Publishing And The Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 4-8.

with the leading financial supporters of the Benevolent Empire, such as the Tappan brothers of New York City (Arthur and Lewis Tappan were originally from Boston), they decided the future of America could not rely upon independent missionary and Bible societies for the home missions expanding across the American frontier. They believed the efforts of the state and local societies could not meet the future demands of the United States, and their reports formed a series of letters published in Jedidiah Morse's The *Panoplist*.[5] The editor Revered Lyman Beecher commented that, "The operations of a hundred small Bible Societies without any common center of action are numberless and inevitable. Unless we have a National Bible Society, the Bible cannot be distributed throughout this country as it ought to be distributed."[6]

By 1814, Elias Boudinot (the first president of the ABS), a signer of the Declaration of Independence and president for one year of the Continental Congress began calling for a national Bible institution. He believed that the First National Bank had become a success, so it was time to form a national Bible society that would lead in the printing and distribution of the Bible.[7] Boudinot argued that a national centralized distributorship would be more efficiently and cost-effectively to supply the local societies in a particular region. He also believed, the evangelical print culture needed efficient mass production to compete against Deism and Enlightenment

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[5] Rebecca Bromley, "The Spread of the Bible Societies, 1810-1816, ABS Historical Essay 8," New York, ABS Department of Archives, (1863), 1-10; *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* 11 (1816), 90-92.

[6] *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine 11* (1816), 92; Also see Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc. of Lyman Beecher*, 1865; See also moral conditions and moral reform of the nation, Lyman Beecher, *A Reformation of Morals Practicable and Indispensable*, 1814.

[7] Elias Boudinot, *An answer to the objections of the managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society* (Burlington, NJ: David Allinson, 1815); Elias Boudinot to William Jay, Burlington, April 4, 1816, 44-45; Also see Eric M. North, "The Formation of the American Bible Society, 1816, Historical Essay 11," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1963); Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1-37; Also, on the need for Bibles in New York City and Philadelphia from 1777 to 1816 see Frederick V. Mills Sr., "Samuel Davies, George Whitefield, John Rodgers, and the Legacy of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge Among the Poor in North America, 1750 to 1816," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 87, no 2 (June, 2018): 142-158.

literature, especially Thomas Paine's *Age Of Reasoning*, which had been sold inexpensively at a cent and a half each at public auction in Philadelphia.[8] After the reporting of Mill's second missionary tour was published in the *Panoplist*, John Caldwell, the secretary of the New York Bible Society, agreed, along with Elias Boudinot, to host a meeting in New York City that would promote the mobilizing of a national Bible society as part of an international movement in Great Britain, Poland, Prussia, Netherlands, and Germany.[9] Despite some opposition from local and state Bible societies, the majority of Bible society delegates from across the nation agreed to Samuel Mills reports for an immediate increase in Bible production. Sixty delegates for a national Bible society met in New York City on May 8, 1816, announcing a consolidation and coordination of the local societies. They also announced the adoption of a constitution and the election of thirty-six managers to operate the national American Bible Society.[10] The *Panoplist* in 1816 announced that the British and Foreign Bible Society was encouraged with the formation of national societies in numerous countries, especially the national Bible society in New York City.[11]

By the mid-1820s the ATS and the ASSU would follow in the same footsteps of the ABS in consolidating and organizing societies that would use its corporate structuring to centralize the auxiliary system. The ABS became the blueprint model for producing the mass media that forged

[8] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 9-10; Gutjahr, *An American Bible*, 18-19.

[9] John Fea, *The Bible Cause: A History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 16-17.

[10] Tom Glynn, *Reading Publics: New York City's Public Libraries, 1754-1911* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 102-107; American Bible Society, *Catalogue of the Editions of the Holy Scriptures in Various Languages, and Other Biblical Works, in the Library of the American Bible Society* (New York: Daniel Fanshaw, 1837), 26-27.

[11] *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine 11* (1816), 86-92.

a brand of evangelical social order in the context of an urbanizing New York City.[12] The largest national religious publishing companies systematically organized corporate efficiency. They systematically created efficient corporate operations that promoted new printing technology that they connected to organized distribution. They implemented modern printing and distribution techniques to create a mass media business in New York City, the communication center of America. According to David Paul Nord, evangelical Protestants with missionary impulses were the first mass media publishers in the early nineteenth century that centralized their printing work in New York City, the communications metropole of America. Nord argues soon after the news of the Treaty of Ghent ended the War of 1812, New York City became the communications nexus of America and the central site for religious publishing that increasingly fed the growing populous.[13] Focusing on the market revolution during the grand climax of the revivals penetrating New York and western Pennsylvania from 1820 to 1834, this history argues that religious elites and leaders of reform built national institutions of the Benevolent Empire that, applying modern printing and distribution techniques, produced a systematically organized evangelical brand of mass communications.

As traditional ways of doing business mixed with new technologies and capital in New York innovative ways of doing business became central to the operations of the religious publishing companies. Many of the leading reformers and religious elites such as the Tappan brothers who were wealthy American businessmen involved with commerce and innovation that invested capital in new print technologies. This dissertation reveals that the print culture of Benevolent Empire's produced the first wave of mass media by connecting new print

[12] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 1-3.

[13] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 65-66; 76-77.

technologies and corporate strategies to a network of auxiliaries that produced a Christian ethos in American culture. Where past interpretations of the Benevolent Empire have focused on theology, Puritan ideology, intellectual ideology, denominationalism, republicanism, or liberalism, this dissertation focuses on the innovations in modern printing and distribution that implemented the auxiliary system to produce a mass media from New York that penetrated social and cultural trends in the evolution of the new nation. It focuses on the emergence of the national religious printing societies innovating in print technology and distribution networking during a pivotal time of radical changes in antebellum reform. It dissects how mass media during the market and reading revolutions that intersected with transportation networks and modern public civic advancements, especially the Erie Canal.[14] It expresses how the religious elites and leaders of reform used their evangelical print culture to create new social trends that interacted with cultural formations and trends for reading and education that forged a level of Christian national identity during the early nineteenth century. Paul C. Gutjahr explains that scholars have often overlooked how the rise of mass media and technological improvements in the 1820s have interacted with literacy and education. He explains technological improvements traditionally coincided with the complex growing trends in literacy and these radical changes in literacy and education took place outside of the classroom during the surge of mass media in the 1820s.[15]

Crucial to the urbanizing culture of early nineteenth-century New York City, evangelical religious revivals were a central component to the networking of the nationalizing religious

[14] Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 369-372; Gutjahr, *An American Bible*, 1-7; Also see Mark Noll on Protestant and evangelical mobilization during the early nineteenth century in his book, *A History of Christianity In The United States And Canada*, 165-244.

[15] Gutjahr, *An American Bible*, 118-119.

publishing societies in New York City.[16] Paul E. Johnson has argued that the rapid spread of evangelical religion in the revivals of Rochester reflected in the business of salvation deep social and economic changes in the working and business classes.[17] Johnson argues that the revivals in Rochester and New York City taught Christians to unite in dignified ways using Methodist revival techniques that promoted the task of converting the world for the glory of God.[18] As New York City grew in industry and business, benevolent leaders of reform and religious elites created a benevolent business in religious publishing that initially focused on the appetite of the working and middle classes before they eventually targeted all classes and all groups. Clifford S. Griffin argues that mass media promotion between 1816 and 1861 radiated the idea of benevolence as the highest Christian virtue that evangelical Protestants used in their religious societies to convert the nation to God.[19] As Mark A. Noll points out, early antebellum America was evangelical because the convictions of the Protestant revivalist, who were the domineering group of American society, produced a popular transmitting mass communications that significantly extended across the nation evangelical Protestant culture.[20]According to Noll, pioneers of Protestant mass media transformed the rules in printing by combining print

[16] Donald H. Parkerson, "The Structure of New York Society: Basic Themes in Nineteenth Century Social History," *Fenimore Art Museum* 65, no 2 (April 1984): 159-187.

[17] Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeepers Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 1-61.

[18] Johnson, *A Shopkeepers Millennium*, 1-12; Paul E. Johnson & Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1-11.

[19] Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815 to 1860," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 44, no 3 (December, 1957): 423-444.

[20] Noll, *A History of Christianity In The United States And Canada*, 169-190; Also see Protestant revivals during the Great Awakening by Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: A Brief History With Documents*. New York: Bedford St. Martins, 2008), 1-36.

technology with voluntary societies embedded in evangelical revivalism that intersected with the currents of commerce in an urbanizing American life.[21]

The promotion of evangelical Protestant print culture from the evangelical's headquarters in New York City was targeted at all classes and groups especially the "working man" and the middle-class family life.[22] The restructuring of urban life through the advancement of a growing specialized commerce in New York City reflected the promotion of public identity linked especially to the revivals of the evangelical culture was found in the rise of the working man in New York City in the 1820s. In her study on early nineteenth-century missions in New York City, Carroll Smith Rosenberg showed that wealthy merchants often encouraged their workers to take time off work in the morning to participate in the Charles Finney revivals.[23] Where the context of New York City has been looked upon primarily through the means of the advancement of commerce, scholars such as Mary P. Ryan have connected the widening markets and early industrial capitalism in New York to the revivals promoting evangelical Christian culture in the broadening channels of American identity. Ryan has demonstrated that in the early nineteenth century in Oneida County, New York, family ideology changed in the entangling of economics with evangelism and revivalism that produced the making of the modern family life, especially the middle-class family.[24] She argues that revivals paralleled trade routes that spreading through the contours of regional economic networks promoted a transformation in the

[21] Noll, 227-233.

[22] Parkerson, "The Structure of New York Society," 159-187; Also see Donald H. Parkerson, "How Mobile Were Nineteenth Century Americans," *Historical Methods* 15 (Summer, 1982): 99-109; Mary P. Ryan *Cradle Of The Middle Class: The Family In Oneida County, New York, 1790- 1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-17.

[23] Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-187*0 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 1-43.

[24] Ryan, *Cradle Of The Middle Class*, 1-17; For more on revival cycles and church growth in America see Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, 47-49.

family life during the transition of the revival cycles from 1813-1838.[25] She discovered that the major source for spreading evangelical communication from Oneida County across the state of New York was publishing and distributing books, tracts, and magazines, including most importantly the *Utica Christian Magazine* and the *Western Recorder*.

Benevolent elites connected progress and trade routes with their benevolent causes that penetrated the rural and urbanizing spaces that became central to the history of New York State and New York City's public life. This dissertation is a story of how the benevolent elite reformers of the largest religious publishing societies in New York City produced a flow of mass media that influenced their urban society and restructured American identity. Their mass media interacting with the revivals and ideas of Christian stewardship produced an attitude towards social change that became evident in an urbanizing New York City.[26] Great leaders of reform and religious elites many of which were wealthy benevolent patrician New Yorkers represented the largest nationalizing religious voluntary societies in Manhattan. By nationalizing in New York, they thrived in the expanding commercial and financial trade routes that intertwined with the new popular canal systems and turnpikes. They combined the canals system and distribution economies to the cheapening of print production. By the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, New York State had become the most populous state and the most important state for producing and expanding American commerce and promoting Protestant religious order and national

[25] Ryan, 60-104.

[26] Ryan*, Cradle Of The Middle Class,* 1-59; Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism And Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 1-37; Cross, *The Burned Over District*, 1-103; Rodgers, "The Urban Threshold and the Second Great Awakening in New York State," 694-709; Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence,*1-67; Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 46-88; Thomas Bender, *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975.

politics.[27] Scholars have connected the evangelical revivals to politics, immigration, urbanization, societal values, and social structuring that responded to the cultural movements connected to the Grand Canal system.[28] The completion of the Erie Canal opened national markets to the benevolent elite business men that produced inexpensive print during a print revolution. Thomas Bender, Charles Sellers, and Whitney R. Cross have well documented how the beginning of the Erie Canal attributed directly to American publishers in the New York commerce that interacted with reform and new social patterns, especially along the canal cities experiencing the Second Great Awakening.[29] The upstate New York revivals in the first decades of the nineteenth century promoted evangelical Christian benevolent ideas and values that influencing new processes of social change flourished during the construction and completion of the Erie Canal that was used to distribute new surges in evangelical mass media.[30]

The growing concern for shaping American society became evident with greater quantity and diversity of printed materials in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The evangelicals realized New York had become the center of class structure, public culture, and of the expansion

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[27] Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 278-279; Evan Cornog, *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769-1828* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 10; David G. Hackett, *The Rude Hand of Innovation: Religious and Social Order in Albany, New York, 1652-1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 156-157; Noll, 174-186; Cross, *The Burned Over District,* 78-109.

[28] Johnson, *A Shopkeepers Millennium*, 15-17; Parkerson, "The Structure of New York Society," 159-187; Ronald E. Shaw, *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792-1854* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), 219-279; Roger E. Carp, "The Limits of Reform: Labor and Discipline on the Erie Canal," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10, no 2 (Summer, 1990): 191-219; Bender, *New York Intellect*, 57.

[29] Shaw, *Erie Water West*, 220-221; Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 40-43, 216-217; Cross, 78-109; Bender, *New York Intellect*, 56-57, 61.

[30] Cross, 14-29, 102-107; Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 227-307; Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence*, 2, 36-37, 60-61; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 186-188; For Christian publications see Jon Butler, *Awash In A Sea Of Faith: Christianizing The American People*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

of American commerce for the print culture they wanted to develop. They creatively established their major printing houses in Manhattan that produced the perfect location to combined their pioneering efforts in publishing with technology, manufacturing, and efficient print distribution networks. The three largest publishing houses were the American Bible Society (ABS), the American Tract Society (ATS), and the American Sunday School Union (ASSU). In 1816, the establishment of Boudinot's American Bible Society, the largest and oldest of the Benevolent Empire, became bent on publishing and distributing Bibles and New Testaments. The ABS became the head of all benevolent institutions in America and the foundation on which all other large religious institutions of the Benevolent Empire rested. The second largest of the religious bodies of the Benevolent Empire was the establishment in 1825 of the American Tract Society, whose primary concern was to distribute tracts and books, and unlike the ABS, it focused more on religious reform. The American Sunday School Union, established in 1824, focused on establishing Sunday schools, producing small libraries, pioneering publishing strategies and print technologies, that catered to the audience of the working class and children.[31] The ASSU was also unique from the ABS and ATS because it was founded primarily by clergy who were mainly Presbyterian.

The three largest societies with interlocking directorates pioneered in their nationalizing of an evangelical Protestant print culture by modernizing publishing operations and distribution strategies. They systemized corporate efficiency in mass communications that connected their work in urbanizing Manhattan to the growing local rural places and regional towns and cities across the United States. The ABS, ATS, and ASSU were drawn to New York City based on the city's transformation into the great metropolis that provided the nation's leading technical,

[31] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 61-88.

informational, and financial services. While the ATS and ABS were headquartered in Manhattan, the ASSU was formed in Philadelphia though the annual meetings and strength of its auxiliaries were in New York City. They received generous pledge money from wealthy businessmen and urban professionals in New York City, where they could afford to be benevolent.[32] The early benevolent founders and early managers of these societies desired to achieve the most efficient circulation of their products with the main goal of saving souls. They promoted business models based on the New England Tract Society and the Philadelphia Bible Society that, by the mid-1820s, had evolved on a grand scale. Their supply of the market connected the work of local auxiliaries to a nationalizing subculture of evangelical networking that produced the mass media for the "swelling Benevolent Empire."[33] The ABS and the ATS depended upon the voluntary system adopted from Britain that embedded in extensive communication networking in New York interacted with support from New England societies. The ABS and ATS formulated an efficient systemized corporate efficiency that depended upon creating constant and direct printing and distribution in the growth and prosperity of New York. According to Whitney R. Cross, by the end of the 1820s, the ABS had published hundreds of thousands of Bibles which were more volumes than any other book publisher in the United States, and the ATS had printed the vast majority of all tracts issued across the country and millions of other items, such as almanacs, books, and pamphlets.[34] In 1825, the ASSU, during its first full year of production,

[32] American Bible Society, *Seventh Annual Report*, 1827; Lewis Tappan, *The Life of Arthur Tappan* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871), 74-75.

[33] Sellers, 216; Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media," 21-23.

[34] R. Laurence Moore, *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 17-19; Cross, 25.

published over 200 various books, pamphlets, and periodicals that amounted to about 14 million pages.[35]

The spread of evangelical print culture in New York City during the first decades of the nineteenth century was connected to the evangelical reform efforts and print culture in Britain. Evangelical religious societies and philanthropist social aims in the 1790s in Britain intertwined revivals with reform and education. Philanthropists and state order agencies paved much ground for moral and self-improvement in reading that intertwined reform with movement towards literacy that became revived in the mid-1790s with Sunday schools.[36] Hannah More and newspaper proprietor Robert Raikes saw the need to educate the poor, children, and the working classes. They used the publication and distribution of tracts to reach the lower class in industrial towns connected to London's publishing trade. More and Raikes founded the Sunday school movement that soon spread to New York City, where the first Sunday school was established on Murray Street in 1814. More and Raikes mass-produced *Cheap Repository Tracts* to spread moral and religious messages.[37] In England, More's diaries reveal that her work with religious reformers and printers in Bath and London promoted a revolution in a print culture in which her *Tracts* interrupted the publishing market on both sides of the Atlantic.[38]

By 1798, over seven million tracts had been distributed to adults and children that promoted the Sunday school movement and reduced the competitiveness of the secular chapbook

[35] American Sunday School Union, *First Annual Report*, 1825; Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 81-82.

[36] John Feather, *A History of British Printing* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 109.

[37] Feather, *A History of British Printing*, 110-111.

[38] Hannah More to J. Newtown, 1794, *Memoirs of the Life Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah Moore*, ed. William Roberts (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1836), vol 1; 455-458.

to a few providences in Scotland by the early 1820s.[39] The *Tracts* sold largely to the middle classes aimed at education reform and the reform of the poor in the context of combatting the French and English Enlightenment publications, particularly Painite and Jacobin literature during the early 1790s.[40] The Sunday school movement and its print culture gave rise in 1799 to the Religious Tract Society (RTS), which continued to print new religious literature and reprint the tracts of Hannah More throughout the nineteenth century, that demonstrated the existence of a new publishing market that was both commercial and non-commercial on both sides of the Atlantic.[41] From 1820 to 1830, the ATS and the ASSU published millions of Hannah Moore tracts preprinted from British and religious societies. More's *Tracts* reaped vast financial rewards that encouraged the development of evangelical religious publications and commercial publishers on both sides of the Atlantic to become involved in the publication of tracts, which primarily promoted Christian principles sold mainly to the growing middle-class consumers.[42]

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge produced tracts long before Hannah More became essential to the rise in literacy. The tract movement boomed in the early nineteenth century, enticing commercial publishers and religious societies to become involved that forged new publishing market trends. Commercial publishers in London became involved with tracts that initially contributed a good deal to the self-improvement and general education of

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[39] Susan Pederson, "Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England." *Journal of British Studies* 25, no 1 (January 1986): 84-113; Ford K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 123-155.

[40] Katherine Barber Fromm, *Images of Women in Eighteenth-Century English Chapbooks: From Banal Bickering to Fragile Females* (Ames: Iowa State University, 2000), 119-121.

[41] Feather, *A History of British Printing*, 110-111.

[42] Isabel Rivers, "The First Evangelical Tract Society." *The Historical Journal* 50, no 1 (2007): 1-2; Mark S. Schantz, "Religious Tracts, Evangelical Reform, and the Market Revolution in Antebellum America." *Journal of the Early Republic* 17, no 3 (Autumn, 1997): 425-426; John Feather, *A History of British Printing* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 110-111.

the working classes. Christian tracts promoted Biblical stories and principles aimed at saving souls and improving society. They were widely used with missionary work on both sides of the Atlantic and achieved the status of popular classic books that promoted evangelical aims, reaching and converting a wide audience.[43] As tract production surged in the first decades of the nineteenth century it became the glue in the revivals of New York. Religious tract production surged in the market culture of New York that systematically connected innovation in printing and publishing to the systematic distribution of an urbanizing population.

The tract movement was essential to the international movement for missions that intersected with the reading and print revolution that began in New York City. By the beginning of the Civil War in 1860, the ATS alone reported that they had published over 5.2 billion pages of printed materials.[44] In New York City, the tract movement became major contributors to the mass media that coincided with the proliferation of religious print in the commercial city in the world.[45] In addition to the Bible, tracts became accepted as truth-telling evangelical print in just less that one generation during the expanding print revolution. According to Charles Sellers, tracts illustrate better than any other form of print the evangelical doctrines that became a class thrust in the print revolution that drove secular literature off the market.[46] Tract societies sprang

[43] Cynthia S. Hamilton, "Spreading The Word: The American Tract Society, The Dairyman's Daughter, and Mass Publishing," *Book History* 14, no 14 (2011): 25-57; American Tract Society, *Annual Reports* (New York: 1829), 25; Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from The Original Returns of the Eight Census Under the Direction of the secretary of the Interior* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1864), iv.

[44] Sonia Hazard, "The Touch of the Word: Evangelical Cultures of Print in Antebellum American," ProQuest Dissertation. Durham: Duke University, 2017.

[45] Schantz, "Religious Tracts, Evangelical Reform, and the Market Revolution in Antebellum America," 425-428.

[46] Sellers, 369.

up in American seaboard cities as mass readership became enthralled with cheap print that intertwined benevolence and voluntary societies that intensified beyond evangelism.

Leaders of reform and religious elites focused on nationalizing their voluntary societies more concretely and efficiently from New York City the cultural, financial, commercial and new communications capital of the nation. In New York City the communication networking could reach more ports and it was where the money was pouring in. In was the city where communications and trade could most efficiently spread through the canals and across the nation. New York City became the site of technological innovation and distributed economies that interacted with intellectual culture and social trends. New York City became the seat of operations for a variety of economic involvement and public institutions raging from institutions of the Benevolent Empire to intellectual societies and art academies that were intended to reflect European capitals. For the largest religious publishing societies of the Benevolent Empire it became their corporate center for large scale printing and distribution of evangelical literature. Five other large religious societies nationalized with the promotion of mass media in New York City. They were the American Seamen's Friend Society, the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath, the American Peace Society, the American Home Missionary Society, and the American Education Society.[47] These national societies engaged in a variety of religious, social, and civic work that helped define the city's intellectual and moral character.[48] They were designed to extend the local characteristics of benevolence and

[47] Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence*, 60-61; J. L. Myers, *The Agency System of the Antislavery Movement, 1832-1837, and its Antecedents in other Benevolent and Reform Societies* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960), 35.

[48] Hammond, 60-61.

intellectual progress into New York City's public life.[49] Of the two largest religious publishing institutions, the ABS required that two-thirds of its managers reside in New York City to extend forms of localism and community that would mix with ideas of Christian fraternity throughout the city.[50] The ABS early managers stressed the importance of localism and community at the center of the popular national and international vision for spreading mass communications that significantly shaped popular ideas and family beliefs from the post Revolution period to the Civil War.[51]

By the mid-1820s, New York City's Benevolent Empire was the largest producer in the nation of religious reform and evangelical print culture, especially of books (Bibles and Testaments included), magazines, almanacs, and tracts.[52] The Benevolent Empire connected print culture primarily to an urbanizing America that was growing in new ideas for republic life and social structuring. It linked Christian life to America's growing network of Protestant agencies and auxiliaries that deeply influenced the culture of the United States. The ABS published books and literature and even founded libraries such as the Biblical Library (established by ABS in 1817) that linked the characteristics of benevolence and Christian education to institutional life and civic progress. Evangelicals have a rich tradition of intertwining religion, reform, and education in public places such as religious revival camp meetings where they entangled Christian ideas for reform with community and developments with social action. In New York City, evangelical elite reformers connected active benevolence to new ideas for municipal

[49] Tom Glynn, *Reading Publics: New York City's Public Libraries, 1754-1911* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 102-107.

[50] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 106-107.

[51] Noll, 227-228.

[52] Cross, 25; Paul C. Gutjahr, *Bestsellers in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Anthem Press, 2006), 85-86.

government and public policy that promoted a sense of righteousness and justice in the education and relief targeted for the working and middle classes.[53] According to Christine Stansell, during and after the War of 1812, leading urban religious elites in New York City highly involved with promoting and organizing evangelical active benevolence like Thomas Eddy, Ezra Stiles Ely, and De Witt Clinton battled to connect public policy to municipal relief that resulted in ongoing debates about social relief for the poor and improving class relations.[54] Eddy, Ely, and Clinton were elite benevolent reformers leading New York City in an urbanizing vision that connected new ideas for active moral reform with benevolent aims of progress.[55]

Connecting leading reformers and religious elites to business and entrepreneurship is evident in numerous scholars' work. Paul E. Johnson, Charles Sellers, and Sean Wilentz argue that religious and social tensions are connected to the rise of capitalism and a variety of public reforms that underscore the orientation of Charles G. Finney reformers.[56] At a time when New Yorkers were dreaming of a way to expand the water transportation from the Hudson to the Great Lakes, the Mayor of New York City, De Witt Clinton, an early manager of the ABS (also Governor of New York and a United States Senator), persuaded a Republican New York Legislature to finance the Erie Canal Project at the cost of about $7,000,000.[57] De Witt Clinton's good friend Thomas Eddy who was also an early manager of the ABS, was responsible for the six-man board of canal commissioners established in 1810, which five of the six men were future

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[53] Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 1-43; Stansell, *City of Women*: *Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986), 30-33.

[54] Stansell, 30-34.

[55] Stansell, 30-34.

[56] Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in 19th Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1-8; Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 202-236.

[57] Sellers, 42-43.

ABS managers (De Witt Clinton, Thomas Eddy, Stephan Van Rensselaer, Robert Troup, and William Bayard).[58] The Erie Canal project was the optimistic vision of the founding fathers, who wanted to improve the navigation of the Mohawk and expand the New York canals in developing an inland water empire.[59] The vision of the New York expansionists for the canal project after the War of 1812 became reinvigorated by Clinton's petition that was sent to legislation in 1816 by the canal commissioners (including John Pintard, the founder of the Biblical Library in 1817 and early manager of the ABS) which most of them lived in New York City and were the dominate stockholders of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company. Pintard commented on how the Erie Canal marked civic progress and improved the moral character of New York City that revealed their enterprise of improvement mixed economic, cultural, social and philanthropic purposes.[60] They saw no divisions between banking and commerce and the charity schools and benevolent work that they created. The Erie Canal was a truly public work in which the board of canal commissioners, dominated by leading benevolent men of the Empire City, promoted concepts of public service and with the good business of active benevolence. Clinton's big ditch project generated a transportation revolution that intertwining with New York City's print and reading revolution, advanced new civic ideas for an urban future.[61] These benevolent businessmen and urban professionals reveal that the Erie Canal project connected New York's transportation to civic advancement and that active benevolence

[58] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 46.

[59] Shaw, *Erie Water West*, 26.

[60] Dorthy C. Barck, ed., *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816-1833* (4 vols., New York, 1937-1940), 198-199; Wosh, 44.

[61] Sellers, 42-43; 369-370.

that was fueled by the revivals in the "burnt-over" district in western and central New York led by evangelists Charles Grandson Finney.

During the early 1800s, due to the fires of revival during the Second Great Awakening in central and western New York, the regions became known as the "burn over" district.[62] In 1826, the American Home Missionary Society (AHMS) headquartered in New York City sent 120 of its 169 ministers to the "burnt-over" district armed with hundreds of thousands of tracts, books, and Bibles to counter freemasons, communalism, and Universalism.[63] As the Erie Canal began to open in Utica in 1820 along the Finger Lakes to Rochester by 1823, capitalist imperatives, missions, and benevolent goals intertwined along trade routes connecting the revivals of Charles G. Finney to the Empire City.[64] According to Ronald E Shaw, the canal system brought to western New York a second wave of Yankee migrants who belonged to an established stage of the economy and were engulfed in the religious influences of the "burn over" district.[65] Professor Cross has suggested that 1825 was a significant year that solidified the revivals of the Second Great Awakening in western and central New York to the publishing and book trade of the Benevolent Empire in New York City. Finney had been ordained in the revivals of 1824 in Utica in Jefferson County, and those strong evangelical celebrations over De Witt Clintons ditch in Utica connected the revivalism by the water highways to Albany and the Empire City. According to Sellers, the Erie Canal had connected evangelical interest from Utica on the Upper Mohawk across the waters of Buffalo and down the Grand Canal to the Empire City, which became

[62] Cross, 3-4; Ryan, *Cradle Of The Middle Class,* 11-14.

[63] Sellers, 218.

[64] Ryan, 60-61.

[65] Shaw, 220.

evident in missions and print culture radiating from the headquarters of the Benevolent Empire.[66] By the mid-1820s, the evangelical revivalism in upstate New York had fully joined the new national efforts toward the nationalization of voluntary association, which print culture of the benevolent evangelical republic launched the goal of putting Christian literature into the homes of every family across the nation. The Benevolent Empire or the Benevolent Evangelical Republic promoted reform through its print culture, particularly the publication of Bibles and tracts, which was the leading part of a larger global cultural movement.[67] The paid cost of framing evangelical aims in promoting a workable American identity became evident in the crowning achievement of the institutionalization of the Benevolent Empire that revealed the Empire City was fully committed to religious, social, civic, and moral goals.[68]

The American Anti-Slavery Society was a central arm of the Benevolent Empire despite the fact that evangelical Protestants were widely divided on issues of slavery. The AASS promoted public strategies of reform that intertwined the revivals with print culture. Finney thought people should focus on revivals instead of abolition that gave way to many anti-slavery societies, though by the mid-1830s, evangelical print culture revealed that the movement towards abolition was central to the thrust of benevolence in New York City and cities in upstate New York. According to Trish Loughran, the print culture of the age of nation-building in the early 1800s centered significantly around the material framework for the anti-slavery movement, which used the pamphlet to promote gradual and immediate abolition.[69] Leaders of the Benevolent Empire such as Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison were principal founders

[66] Sellers, 218.

[67] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 107.

[68] Moore, *Selling God*, 86-89.

[69] Loughran, *The Republic in Print*, 310.

of the new AASS that headquartered in New York City in 1833. The Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society was founded two years later, in 1835. To name a few, the Tappan brothers, William Lloyd Garrison, and the Grimke sisters (Sarah and Angelina Grimke) were at the forefront of the anti-slavery movement that demanded racial equality and justice. According to Gerda Lerner, the Tappan brothers at the forefront of the New York anti-slavery movement made consistent generous contributions as the chief financial supporters of the movement.[70] The Tappan brothers contributed large sums to agencies such as the ATS, ABS, ASSU, and the AASS though education, temperance, and abolition were their greatest concerns. Arthur Tappan, the president of the AASS, had a more conservative position towards immediate abolition than Garrison that was crucial to winning over both businessmen and clergy in the community. Of the four great national religious publishing societies of the Benevolent Empire, the ABS was the only one that remained silent on the issue of abolition. Leading women reformers such as Sarah and Angelina Grimke and Lucretia Mott also played a significant role in the early anti-slavery movement in New York which can be traced back to the anti-slavery activities of female Bible societies in Great Britain.[71] These women were major contributors to advancing the women's movement that linked the women's cause to the antislavery cause. The Grimke sisters fashioned a defense for women's rights in the anti-slavery cause, using feminist thought and coherent Bible arguments. Angelina used her letters to Catherine Beecher to fashion her defense of women's

[70] Gerda Lerner, *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers For Women's Rights and Abolition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 102; Lewis Tappan, *The Life of Arthur Tappan* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland, Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969), 432-433; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "God and Dun and Bradstreet," *The Business History Review* 40, no 4 (Winter, 1966): 432-450; Margret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life Of Lucretia Mott: The Gentle Quaker Who Fought To End Slavery And Win Equality for Women* (New York: Walker and Company, 1980), 72-75.

[71] Lori D. Ginzberg, *Untidy Origins: A Story Of Woman's Rights In Antebellum New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 7-9, 104; Bacon, *Valiant* Friend, 42, 49, 72-75.

rights in the anti-slavery cause, which she connected to the expanding women's domain that shaped a new ideology for female virtue which remained for several generations.[72]

According to Benedict Anderson, from 1500 to about 1800, an accumulation of technology in a range of areas, from shipbuilding and navigation to the book industry, was mediated through print capitalism that created communities and ideas for nations.[73] The Benevolent Empire produced national religious publishing companies that successfully launched mass media which had never been witnessed before in America. It also produced accessibility of mass media for all classes and groups which had never been accomplished in America. These great religious publishing institutions stressed the reading of Bibles, Christian books, and tracts which became the threshold for popular evangelical print culture that competed against secular forces in New York and across America. David Henkin shares that New York, the city of print during the antebellum tells it's story most profoundly in reading and writing.[74] This first surge of mass media during the general supply (1829 to 1831) connected benevolent interests and missions to the reading and literacy movements. It stirred cultural market meddling in a rapidly urbanizing New York City and penetrated across the state, creating permeating currents of cultural and social trends for nationalism.

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[72] Lerner, *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina*, *xix*; Catherine A. Brekus, *Female Preaching in America: Strangers and Pilgrims, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 151-153, 278-279.

[73] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2016), 187-188.

[74] David M. Henkin, *City Reading: Written Word And Public Spaces In Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

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Chapter Two: The Benevolent Empire Pioneering in American Publishing

As the Benevolent Empire broadened to include a wider range of humanitarian reforms, the largest of these societies administrated a nationalizing organization of print culture at the thrust of their philanthropy and benevolence in New York. The early managers and executive committees at the two largest religious publishing societies, the American Bible Society (ABS) and the American Tract Society (ATS), dreamed of promoting mass communications. These American charity publishers created formal constitutions containing articles that stated their primary purpose was to establish sophisticated endeavors for circulating Scripture and tracts throughout the United States and all parts of the missionary world. They created governing boards that created policies for accomplishing these endeavors. The original corporate design was first to structure the cooperation of voluntary associations, mainly tract societies, to efficiently accomplish the creation of mass-circulation publishing. After organizing the seat of operations with respect to the cooperation of the local, regional, and national networking of auxiliaries, they deployed methods for pioneering many aspects of American publishing, including modernizing production, nationalizing distribution, the use of stereotype plates, steam-powered printing, steam powered papermaking, and in-house binding. Their modes of corporate structuring were modeled after evangelical voluntary organizations such as the Society for Propagating the Gospel among Indians and Others in North America (SPGNA), founded in Massachusetts in 1787, the British and Foreign Society (BFBS), founded in London in 1804, and the Religious Tract Society (RTS) founded in London in 1799. After the ABS and the ATS established their seat of operations, their primary goal was to strengthen their operations' power and increasingly execute efficient plans for furnishing the nation and the missionary world with

Scripture and tracts. They launched their corporate models to centralize the working good of the American auxiliary system that they fused to the pioneering of the multifarious aspects of American publishing. Peter J. Wosh has argued that these nationalizing institutions between the 1820s and the 1830s pioneered numerous aspects of American publishing, including the creation of new versatile corporate strategies, innovations in print technology, and organization of efficient national distribution channels that characterized their "transformation from the traditional moral reform agency to national nonprofit corporate bureaucracy."[1]

The early managers and executive committees of the ABS and ATS in New York formulated a savvy corporate model that was distinctively different from rising modern business enterprises during the rise of managerial capitalism. As large enterprises were replacing small, traditional family firms, the ABS and the ATS built their modernizing corporate institutions upon a growing volunteer system that defied the rhetoric of the early nineteenth century. Their objective was to build a national bureaucratic corporate enterprise that harnessed the auxiliary system for the sole purpose of distributing cheap Bibles and tracts. The early managers and executive committees at the ABS and ATS, who relied upon their personal wealth and individual achievements in business for their salaries, were committed to funding the not-for-profit

[1] Peter J. Wosh, *Spreading The Word: The Bible Business In Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 1-3; Peter J. Wosh, "Bibles, Benevolence, and Bureaucracy: The Changing Nature of Nineteenth Century Religious Records," *The American Archivist* 52, no 2 (Spring, 1989): 166-178; see also Creighton Lacy, *The Word-Carrying Giant: The Growth of the American Bible Society* (South Pasadena: Carey Library, 1977); For a study on the institutional structures, missionary enterprises, and book publishing in London in the early nineteenth century see Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing And The British And Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-163; For operations of popular religious publishing in the first decades of the nineteenth century in London see Aileen Fyfe, "The Religious Tract Society," in James H. Murphy (ed.), The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume IV: 1800-1891 (Oxford Academics: Online Edition, 2015); For articles of the constitution, see American Bible Society, *First Annual Report* (1817), 9-25 and for growing the strength of the ABS institution see the American Bible Society, *Second Annual Report* (1818), 9-27; See, also Alfred D. Jr., Chandler. *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American* Business (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 1-3; For more on the structure of voluntarism providing organizational models between the 1820 to the 1860 in New York, see Gregory H. Singleton, "Protestant Voluntary Organizations and the Shaping of Victorian America," American Quarterly, 27, no 5 (December, 1975): 549-550.

organizations. After procuring funds to launch these national institutions, they combined commercial and non-commercial business practices that coalesced with their brand of religious volunteerism that remained flexible to external socioeconomic developments throughout the nineteenth century. They administrated a form of corporate voluntaristic framework that was bent on efficient printing and systematic distribution. According to David Paul Nord, the two most important nationalizing religious publishing houses to model on the ABS in the 1820s were the ATS and the American Sunday School Union (ASSU).[2] Where boards of managers operated the ABS and ASSU, the ATS was operated by executive committees, though all governing boards and committees for these religious publishing houses directed policy towards aggressively expanding mass media. In his book, *The Bible Cause: A History of the American Bible Society*, John Fea argued that the ABS pioneered in American publishing in the early nineteenth century, including innovations in producing and distributing printed materials that promoted a Christian benevolent movement in the nation. Fea connects the establishment of the Constitution of the ABS in May of 1816 in New York City to the broader evangelical Bible cause movement that reveals how the evangelical print culture promoted the Christianizing of the American public during the early nineteenth century. He argues that the early managers and founders of the ABS promoted an innovative publishing and distributing system that fused the interdenominational Christianizing movement in America with the denominational movement

[2] David Paul Nord, *Faith In Reading: Religious Publishing And The Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 76-82; Elizabeth Twaddell, "The American Tract Society, 1814-1860." *Church History* 15, no 1 (1946): 116-132; Lawrence Thompson, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of the American Tract Society from 1825 to 1850," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 35 (1941): 81-114. See also American Tract Society, *The Address of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society to the Christian Public: together with a brief account of the formation of the Society, Its Constitution, and Officers* (New York: Fanshaw, 1825); *Constitution of the American Tract Society*, New York, 1825.

that spread religious education and moral reform across the northern parts of the United States.[3] This chapter will focus on the ATS and ABS working out the seat of operations as pioneers of American print culture. It will detail how they pioneered with steam-powered printing, newly perfected stereotyping, machine papermaking technology, and techniques with in-house binding. It will also describe how the production and distribution of ABS and the ATS launched the first general supply between 1829 and 1831 to reform the nation, revealing the development and efficiency of their corporate model as two leading national publishing institutions.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, New York City became the geographic center of commerce, banking, transportation networks, and technology that intersected with urbanization, education, and religious reform.[4] The revival years between 1814 and 1838 of the Second Great Awakening helped reveal how the evangelical zeal swarming across the eastern half of the Yankee belt advanced evangelical mission and charity auxiliaries along the routes of the contours of trade and transportation networking.[5] Though the early managers and executive

[3] John Fea, *The Bible Cause: A History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 6-29; 51-54; Mary F. Cordato, "ABS Historical Working Papers Series: The Relationship of the American Bible Society to its Auxiliaries," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1991); 1-4; American Bible Society, *Annual Reports*, New York, 1818-1820; American Bible Society, *Board of Manager Minutes*, New York, 1818-1820.

[4] Robert. G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York: Northeastern, 1939), 1-67; Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 1-27; Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism And Social Reform American Protestantism On The Eve Of The Civil War* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), 1-62; Sean Wilentz, *Chantz Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 1-112; Mark S. Schantz, "Religious Tracts, Evangelical Reform, and the Market Revolution in Antebellum America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17, no 3 (Autumn, 1997): 425-466; Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-187*0 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 1-42; Donald H. Parkerson, "The Structure of New York Society: Basic Themes in Nineteenth Century Social History," *Fenimore Art Museum* 65, no 2 (April 1984): 159-187.

[5] See economic changes in America interacting with the zeal of evangelical revivalism by Mary P. Ryan in her book, *Cradle Of The Middle Class: The Family In Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-17, 52-54, 60-83, Also for more on how the revivals of Finney interacted with the economy and the Erie Canal in New York see Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 1-36; And Nancy A. Hewitt *Women's Activism And Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984),

committees of the ATS and ABS were not thoroughly concise in their calculations of advancing religious excitements, Mary P. Ryan and Paul E. Johnson have well-argued how the evangelical revivals of Charles G. Finney produced sophisticated benevolent auxiliaries that followed regional economic networking throughout New York. They have well argued that the revivals throughout the 1820s and the 1830s affirmed a religious excitement and moral unity that interacted with the market in the fastest growing populations in New York. In reference to Finney's work, Lyman Beecher observed in the 1820s how the systematic itineration of pastors and ministers was spreading the powerful revivals that penetrated prosperous towns in central New York that followed the contours of trade along the Erie Canal system. By the early 1820s, New York City was importing about one-fourth of the nation's imports, rivaling the great ports of Philadelphia, Boston, and Charleston. When the Erie Canal opened in 1825, New York, the greatest metropolis center of the world, revealed during that year that it had opened the door to over 500 new mercantile businesses.[6] Central to promoting economic growth was the auction system of the 1820s in New York City, which significantly increased the mass distribution of goods to the interior that intensified after the opening of the Erie Canal.[7] The auction system

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17-37, 51-55; Also, for revivals interacting with the economy in New York, see David G. Hackett, *The Rude Hand of Innovation: Religion and Social Order in Albany, New York, 1652-1836.* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1991), 1-7, 123-157; And Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1950), 55-56, 74-76; Also for more on revivals years and cycles in New York see Richard Lee Rodgers, "The Urban Threshold and the Second Great Awakening in New York State, 1825-1835," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 49, no 4 (December, 2010): 694-709; And Richard Cardwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865*. United Kingdom: Paternoster, 2006; Scott S. Rohrer, *Wandering Souls: Protestant Migrations in America, 1630-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 1-7, 240-247; Lyman Beecher. *Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc. of Lyman Beecher* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1865), 89-108.

[6] Albion, *The Rise of New York Port*," 10-14; Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 1-27.

[7] Ira Cohen, "The Auction System in the Port of New York, 1817-1837," *The Business History Review*, 45, no 4 (Winter, 1971): 504-506; Ronald E. Shaw, *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792-1854* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), 250-251; 260-278.

gave way to new forms of credit that steadily grew the handling of American trade, especially international trade that continued to attract New York American merchants and wealthy businessmen. New York, the great leader in commercial supremacy, built canals in every direction to expand the continuing water transportation of commodities along the Grand Canal, which bonanza in the transportation revolution influenced the ABS and ATS to centralize the processes of printing and distributing within the growing port's booming mercantile economy. They believed the linking between the New York commodity market and transportation system made the most logical and economic sense for meeting the demand of the nation with tracts and Bibles.[8]

New York was the place with money, and the pockets of the benevolent donors in New York City were more full than those in Boston.[9] In the early 1820s, the ABS was able with ease to raise $22,500 for the New Astor House, and the generous donations of four men that totaled $20,000 resulted in the American Tract Society of Boston to merge with the New York Tract Society that became known as the American Tract Society (ATS).[10] In addition to the ATS, the ABS, and ASSU, the largest New York organizations included the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Home Missionary Society (1826), the American Education Society (1815), Observance of the Christian Sabbath (1828) the New York City Temperance Society (1828) and the American Anti-Slavery Society (1833) were all supported by the same benevolent donors and businessmen. According to John L. Hammond, the same group of wealthy evangelical elites appeared on the rosters of the directorates over and

[8] David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," *Journalism Monographs* no 88 (May 1984): 1-18.

[9] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 22.

[10] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 22; American Bible Society, *Seventh Annual Report*, 1823, 8; American Tract Society, *First Annual Report*, 1826, 18.

over again, including Stephen van Rensselaer, William Jay, Gerrit Smith, and most of all Tappan.[11] William and Arthur Tappan were the chief financial supporters of the Benevolent Empire. Arthur was known in New York as the most generous contributor to benevolent and philanthropy societies until their mercantile business on Wall Street was struck by the depression of 1837.[12] These elite evangelical benevolent donors promoted the emergence of several nationalizing societies, particularly the ATS and the ABS, whose primary business was to publish and distribute literature in conjunction with the growing national auxiliary of Protestant networking that organized for religious, civic, and political goals.

Most of the early managers and executive committees of the ABS and the ATS had lived through the American Revolution and believed they were qualified to guide America's political, social, and economic future. Most of them were wealthy and respectable Christians who drew no distinction between private and public affairs and preserved their traditional values in business while living at the forefront of expansive commercial capitalism. According to Peter J. Wosh, fifty-seven businessmen between the years 1816 and 1835 sat on the Board of early managers of the ABS, and though only one-quarter were documented as growing up in New York City, they directed the ABS to reflect the institutional and intellectual nature of the elite lifestyle of New York City.[13] The managers and founders, professional men with higher social status, nurtured their benevolent enterprises to influence urbanization in New York City "likely more than any other community."[14] The founders and early managers of the ABS missed no opportunity to

[11] Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence*, 60-62.

[12] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "God and Dun & Bradstreet, 1841-1851," *The Business History Review* 40, no 4 (Winter, 1966): 433; See also Lewis Tappan, *The Life of Arthur Tappan*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871.

[13] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 37-40.

[14] M. J. Heale, "From City Fathers to Social Critics: Humanitarianism and Government in New York, 1790 to 1860," *The Journal of American History* 63, no 1 (June, 1976): 21-24.

thrust forth their benevolent enterprises into the center of public life with distinction. They were committed to efficiency, innovation, and precision in their business values, which they viewed would be expressed at the highest level in society by integrating industrial technology with their benevolent enterprises. The early managers and executive committees of the ABS and ATS were considered by themselves more than qualified to print and distribute mass media to direct public life and Christianize the American experience.

In the 1820s, rapid technological innovation in print inspired the early managers and executive committees at the ABS and ATS. The New England ports had been occupied in navigation technology that, after the war of 1812, steam technology began to focus once again on commodities. In 1814, the steam-powered loom began to shape the success of cotton manufacturing in the northeast, and those leading the way in mill technology were involved with print technology. In 1816, the first officers at the ABS contracted with inventors and businessmen as administrators were slowly added over the years. They networked with innovators at the forefront of technology, ingenuity, and trending business practices. Thomas Eddy (ABS manager) and mayor of New York City DeWitt Clinton (vice-president of the ABS) worked with inventor Robert Fulton and his financial business partner Robert Livingston, who were involved with steam technology. Clinton had helped Fulton and Livingston gain a twenty-year navigation contract on the Hudson River which other close associates at the ABS and ATS.[15] Livingston, Fulton, Eddy, and Clinton owned stock in the inland lock navigation

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[15] Evan Cornog, *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769-1828* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 60-61; Dorothie De Bear Bobbe, *De Witt Clinton* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1933), 138-139; Cynthia Owen Philip, *Robert Fulton* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1985), 213-216; For a list of directors of the inland lock navigation companies see Shaw, *Erie Water* West, 16-21; David Hosack, *Memoir of De Witt Clinton: with an appendix containing numerous documents, illustrative of the principal events in his life*. New York: J. Seymour, 1826), 94-95, 406-407; Samuel L. Knapp, *The Life of Thomas Eddy*. New York: Conner & Cook, 1834; American Bible Society, *Second Annual Report*, 1818, 11; For more listing of directors with the ABS and inland lock navigation companies, see also Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 46-47.

companies and were on the Board of canal commissioners for the Erie Canal project, along with key figures and officers at the ABS and the ATS who pioneered in the canal movement in Europe and America, especially the New York canals and the canal construction of the Mohawk. These men embarked on numerous trading and banking ventures and were some of the most prominent merchants, landowners, and bankers in New York who backed the combination of steam technology with inland navigation technology.

Livingston, Fulton, and Clinton were at the forefront of steam-powered machinery, particularly steamship propulsion and mechanical shaping, which steamboat technology began operation on the Hudson in 1807.[16] These men specialized in theories of steam-powered machinery and mechanical shaping that significantly impacted decision-making for acquiring innovation in print technology at the ABS and ATS. William W. Woolsey (Treasure at the ABS) and the ATS President John Tappan (his brothers William and Arthur Tappan), working with Clinton, Eddy and Robert Troup, were responsible for staying at the forefront of the most advanced innovations and efficient methods in printing. According to ABS records, John Tappan and William Woolsey were likely most responsible for recruiting Daniel Fanshaw in 1817, one of the most established printers in New York City who contracted with both the ABS and ATS. Fanshaw handled both societies printing work (ABS printer from 1817-1844 and ATS printer from 1825-1844), which business relations resulted in acquiring the latest improvements with Daniel Treadwell's stream-powered bed and platen press.[17] Fanshaw, a printer, businessman, and

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[16] Andrea Sutcliffe, *Steam: The Untold Story of America's Great Invention* (New York, 2004), 161-169; "New York The Birthplace of Ocean Steam Navigation," *Scientific American* 73, no 25 (December 21, 1895): 386; See, also Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 33-34.

[17] Margret T. Hills, "ABS Historical Essay #18, Part II: The Production and Supply of Scriptures, 1816-1820," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1966): 11-13; David Paul Nord, *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790 to 1840*. vol 2. ed. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 221-224.

inventor, installed the first steam presses in a New York office and became the best customer of Treadwell's steam-powered presses.[18] Treadwell and Fanshaw had a close working relationship, and the two pioneered in the most advanced print technology available from Boston to New York. Treadwell engaged in navigation technology, military technology, and powered printing and created the first efficient steam-powered press whose plate mechanism was harnessed to a horse. Treadwell received his honorary Master's Degree from Harvard University in 1829 and lectured as the Rumford Professor at Harvard on engineering and practical mechanics, focusing on the steam engine.[19]

Treadwell and Fanshaw had a close working relationship, and the two pioneered in the most advanced print technology available from New York to England. They combined the construction of the presses with the steam engines and other machinery needed to make them efficient in operation for bookwork. Inspired by the cylinder presses he examined in England, Treadwell decided to make modifications that used the platen instead of the cylinder for the impressions he believed would be more efficient for bookwork. Treadwell began constructing his machine to print by horsepower, that was a refinement of his ideas of the Napier Press. He produced a more efficient and popular working steam-powered press that he completed in about a year. All the operations were automated except the supplying and removing of the sheets, which final constructions completed in 1821 were not patented until 1826. The construction of the frame was connected to the main center shaft, that was coupled to the moving power below

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[18] Ralph Green, "Early American Power Printing Presses," *Studies in Bibliography* 4, no 1 (1951): 143-153; Also see J. Luther Ringwalt, *American Encyclopedia of Printing* (Philadelphia: Menamin & Ringwalt, 1871), 360; Nord, *A History of the Book in America*," 221-224.

[19] Morrill Wyman, "Memoir of Daniel Treadwell," *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Science* 11, no 6 (1888): 367, 325-524.

the floor. The center of the main shaft connected the toggle joint to the platen that presses the platen upon the types. In Treadwell's memoirs, he explains,

> "The platen is counterbalanced and drawn upward and kept pressed against the toggle-joint by a lever and weight above the top beam connected with the platen by the dotted line. The bed or carriage on which are the stone and types is moved back and forth under the platen on railways resting on the plank… when moved downward the clutch locks with the corresponding cog-wheel, and winds up the strap, drawing the forms of types under the platen, where it remains stationary long enough to get the impression and is then drawn by the other strap from beneath the platen, to repeat the operation."[20]

Fanshaw wrote a letter to Treadwell in 1825 stating, "your presses work well, and you are the admiration of all who see them."[21] Fanshaw continued to purchase presses from Treadwell, and they formed a life-long relationship that greatly benefited the ABS and ATS. Treadwell created numerous types of inventions that became automatic machines that significantly added to the production and improvement of manufacturing, including machines for spinning hemp and making wrought iron nails. He also patented inventions for military purposes relating to the construction of a cannon and one involving the recoil of guns registered in the name of Thomas Aspinwall, brother of Thomas Aspinwall (early manager at the ABS) whose daughter Susan married Lewis Tappan.[22] According to Paul C. Gutjahr, the steam-powered presses by Treadwell in the 1820s and by the Adams brothers (Seth and Isaac Adams) in the 1830s had a profound effect on the explosive growth in the American publishing industry, which no new design would

[20] Wyman, "Memoir of Daniel Treadwell," 340-342.

[21] Wyman, "Memoir of Daniel Treadwell," 346.

[22] Wyman, "Memoir of Daniel Treadwell," 422; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, And Class In The Nineteenth-Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 28; Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 41.

become more efficient for fifty years until the economic cylinder presses became available in the 1880s.[23]

Fanshaw, who specialized in the religious book market in New York, developed the latest improvements with the Treadwell presses that drastically expanded the print production for both the ABS and the ATS. He oversaw all printing operations for the ABS and the ATS, including stereotyping, papermaking, and in-house binding, until both societies bought him out in 1844 and 1845.[24] Fanshaw, an expert with mechanical printing and automatic machines, was good with developing the efficiency of the presses and the evolving binding machinery production. The Under Fanshaw's expertise in printing operations, the ABS and ATS were innovators of techniques with in-house mechanical binding, which was contracted to firms through the Committees on printing and binding. The ABS decided that after experimenting for the first two years with various binders across the city and out of state, in 1818, they contracted with a binder named Charles Starr, who worked at their first location at 20 Slote Lane and remained with the ABS when they moved to the building at 73 Nassau Street in 1822. At the ABS, Starr competed with other printers and binderies in negotiations of rent and binding prices on all Testaments and Bibles for renewing his contract every year. In 1828, Starr proposed a five-year contract with a sliding scale to the ABS Committee based on the volume of the previous year's approved work. According to ABS records, all of the binding work manufactured by Starr was bound in sheep or calf until 1828 a small undocumented percentage of New Testaments became bound in red cloth

[23] Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 12-13; For a history of cylinder presses in America see Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America, With A Biography Of Printers In Two Volumes* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874), 37.

[24] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 22-23; Daniel Fanshaw, "American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking, Containing a History of These Arts in Europe and America, with Definitions of Technical Terms and Biographical Sketches (New York: Howard Lockward, 1894); Eric M. North, "ABS Historical Essay #18: The Production and Supply of Scriptures Part I, 1816-1820," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1963); 5-6, 44.

that were likely sold at a 20 percent discount for Sabbath Schools.[25] It was further reported in the fifteenth *Annual Report* of the ABS in 1830 that there were at least sixty-one females and twenty-six men employed in the bindery of the ABS and thirty-one females employed in the bindery of the ATS.[26] By 1841, the ABS offered thirty various binding styles to their English Bibles and seven to the New Testaments, and by 1850, they offered a total of sixty-eight binding styles to Bible formats and Testaments.[27]

In addition to the in-house binderies that grew to become two of the largest in New York, the most radical shift in the growth of the early nineteenth-century American print industry is attributed to the innovation in the technological process of stereotyping. According to Jeffrey Makala, stereotyping marks the first significant advancement in printing technologies since moveable type was crowned with perfection in the fifteenth century and has received little attention from bibliographers, historians of technology, textual critics, and literary historians.[28] Introduced from England in 1812 to the United States, stereotype printing first replaced standing type, offering publishers a more efficient way to print large volumes without resetting the standing type for each printing. Stereotyping reduced errors and improved efficiency, drove down costs, and allowed publishers to publish a wider variety of publications. In the mid-1810s, stereotype printing was seen as the future in the publishing market, for the three main stereotypers operating in New York City who were competing for business. The firm of D. &. G.

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[25] Hills, "ABS Historical Essay #18 Part II," 27, 49-51, 54.

[26] Hills, "ABS Historical Essay #18 Part II," 55; American Bible Society, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, 1830, 149.

[27] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 22.

[28] Jeffrey Makala, "The Early History of Stereotyping in the United States: Mathew Carey and the Quarto Bible Marketplace," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 109, no 4 (December, 2015): 461-463; Michael P. Winship, "Printing With Plates in the Nineteenth Century," *Printing History* 5, no 2 (1983):15-26; Thomas, *The History of Printing in* America, 33; Rollo Silver, *The American Printer, 1787-1825* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1967), 91.

Bruce on the corner of Wall and Pearl Streets in New York was the most popular of the early firms pioneering in type and printing machinery and the first to publish a New Testament from "plates stereotyped in America."[29] Fanshaw, the leading entrepreneur in New York City of the new power presses, had worked for the Bruce firm, that made him an expert in stereotyping before he signed with the ABS in 1817. The Bruce firm produced the essential qualities of type for stereotyping, which made them the first in America to invent a planing-machine that smoothed the plates to a more effective height for production. By 1816, these revolutionary changes in how type was set became woven into interest with the largest Bible societies, especially the New York Bible Society (NYBS) and the ABS.[30] In the opening paragraphs of the first published *Annual Report* of the ABS in 1817, it states, "The Managers, in entering on the duties of the responsible office, felt that their first exertions ought to be directed towards the procurement of well-executed stereotype plates, for the accommodation of large districts of the American Continent."[31] The ABS managers, in search of their first set of plates, discovered they could acquire new plates for the lowest bid in New York from the Bruce firm. The ABS requested three official proposals from the most respected stereotype establishments in the city and awarded their contract for their first three sets of plates to the Bruce firm in August of 1816.[32] The Bruce firm delivered on their first set of plates, though taking responsibility for the accuracy of the plates for the society managers quickly became too large of a task.

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[29] *American Historical Magazine*, vol 4 (January 1909), 306-307; Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 67.

[30] American Bible Society, *Minutes of the Board of Managers* 1816, July 3 to Aug 17; North, "ABS Historical Essay #18," 1-2.

[31] American Bible Society, *First Annual Report*, 1817, 10.

[32] *American Historical Magazine*, vol 4 (January 1909), 306-307; Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 67; North, "ABS Historical Essay #18," 1-2.

The ABS managers decided to expand operations by establishing a Standing Committee that would oversee printing and binding, the maintaining of the plates, property management, and the work of purchasing paper.[33] In 1817, the ABS hired their first agent to oversee the new expanding operations as new administrative positions opened an internal hierarchy bent on their commitment to efficiency, productivity, and integration of industrial technology. No other city could match New York City's location, which had the best access to trade, technology, and foreign supplies, including the import of foreign paper from France used by the ABS.[34] Improved type for stereotyping was the key to high-level Bible production that the ABS quickly demonstrated by issuing on fine French paper their first 10,000 Bibles by the end of December in 1816. The accuracy of the plates and the introduction of mechanical printing managed by Fanshaw were the focus in the early pioneering of the ABS print technology, along with in-house binding and machine papermaking that was calibrated with the technological changes in the printing type and the printing press.

The first papermaking machine in America was put into operation by Thomas Gilpin of Delaware as the race towards full mechanization and inventiveness propelled the American papermaking industry. As the development of the papermaking industry spread across America, according to the census of 1820, it is estimated that there were approximately 103 papermills in the United States.[35] The technological progress in the mechanical order of the papermaking machine and the improvement of stereotyping printing plates significantly impacted the Bible

[33] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 17; North, "ABS Historical Essay #18," 2-4.

[34] North, "ABS Historical Essay #18," 11-12; Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 66.

[35] John Munsell, *Chronology Of The Origin And Progress of Paper and Papermaking* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1876), 70; John W. Maxsom, "Papermaking in America from Art to Industry, 1690 to 1860," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 25 no 2 (April, 1968): 116-129.

societies in New York throughout the 1810s.[36] Machine papermaking was a slow and costly craft, which is why the ABS initially bought their paper from France. Nicholas-Louis Robert developed the first papermaking machine in France in the late 1790s, which the Fourdrinier brothers in London later took over. Improvements of the Fourdrinier machine spread across Europe, and was considered the most important machine in the innovation of papermaking during the early nineteenth century. Before the Fourdrinier machine was constructed in America in 1829, Henry Barclay imported the first one to New York in 1826.[37] As the ABS continued to report shortages of paper supplies and seizures by revenue officers in 1819, the Standing Committee and Fanshaw became increasingly disturbed by the idleness of the presses and the reduction in binding work.[38] To help correct these paper shortages at the ABS, the Standing Committee placed larger orders of paper, which supplies would last longer than a year depending on the budget and production rates. While they were expanding operations, including increasing presses from eight to twelve in 1819, the ABS began buying paper from domestic sources and developed contracts with four manufacturers, including Amos Hubbard, who was the first to build a Fourdrinier papermaking machine in America.[39] Hubbard had a mill in Norwich, Connecticut, and became the largest supplier of paper to the ABS in the 1820s. He worked closely with Daniel Fanshaw, who produced new innovative methods of handling the high-quality paper produced by Hubbard. Besides occasional weather delays and issues with mildew

[36] Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 213-215.

[37] Maxsom, "Papermaking in America from Art to Industry," 116-129.

[38] North, "ABS Historical Essay #18," 13.

[39] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 70.

on the paper, the Standing Committee was pleased with the quality of the paper reams and the price of Hubbard's paper.[40]

The early managers and executive committees at the ABS and ATS were committed from the beginning to actively incorporating innovations and modernizing corporate efficiency in the business of printing mass media.[41] They connected innovation and ideas on developing the technical expertise to their corporate strategy that focused on unchanging values and well-defined goals that lay entrenched in a wide variety of benevolent reforms and civic improvements.[42] They shared their common ideas to express their organizational life that defined their nature of institutionalization that merged during the rise of managerial capitalism. They created corporate strategies to unfold their brand of expanding voluntaristic business structure that produced a new realm for efficiency in printing and distributing. They coordinated a mode of flexible operation that provided a new organizational model of business in the emergence of a corporate society.[43] Their corporate strategy produced an expanding corporate vehicle led by elites and operated by the middle classes, revealing how the religious world of volunteerism forever entangled in the cultural and structural continuities mixing in the corporate society.[44]

By the mid-1820s, the ABS and the ATS had become world leaders in connecting systematic corporate efficiency to new technologies in printing and distributing mass media. According to Nord, the watchwords "systematic organization" appears over and over in both of

[40] Hills, "ABS Historical Essay #18 Part II," 48-49.

[41] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media," 16.

[42] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 4-5; Thomas Bender, Peter D. Hall, Thomas L. Haskell and Paul H. Mattingly, "Institutionalization and Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *History of the Education Quarterly*, 20, no 4 (Winter, 1980): 449-51.

[43] Gregory H. Singleton, "Protestant Voluntary Organizations and the Shaping of Victorian America," *American Quarterly*, 27, no 5 (December, 1975): 549-550.

[44] Singleton, "Protestant Voluntary Organizations and the Shaping of Victorian America," 558-559.

the society's literatures as they connected print technology to a unified voluntary system of printing and distribution.[45] Both publishing companies' production and supply of tracts and scriptures had drastically expanded under the leadership of their officers and head printer, Fanshaw. He printed Bibles, tracts, books, magazines, and almanacs from the hundreds of stereotype plates acquired over the years by the two religious publishing houses. In 1827 and 1828, expanding production for both religious societies from his multiple locations at 144 and 15 Nassau Street, Fanshaw submitted multiple proposals for new contracts that included new machines that launched the two societies into their peak years of highest production from 1828 to 1833.[46] Fanshaw had developed multiple rows of power presses at the Nassau Street locations and boasted of sixteen power presses and twenty hand presses by 1829 in the ABS Bible House in New York, which Robert Hoe of New York had likely built under a franchise contract with Treadwell.[47]

According to Nord, data demonstrates that the early adoption of steam-powered printing technology and the technological process of stereotyping launched both the ATS and the ABS into a heightened peak of production between 1829 and 1831 that made the creation of media possible. Nord explains that data suggest that the early managers and committees of both societies fused systematic corporate efficiency to technology that quickly helped to reduce cost in about 1829, that collided with the systematic urban reform movement to plant tracts and bibles

[45] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media," 20.

[46] Hills, "ABS Historical Essay #18 Part II," 12-15.

[47] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 76; Hills, "ABS Historical Essay #18," 19-20, 43-45; Fea, *The Bible Cause*, 30-31. Nord claims the ABS has sixteen power presses in 1829 at the Bible House in 1829 whereas Fea claims there were only eight power presses in 1829 at the Bible House. In the ASB Historical Essay #18 on page 20, it states that the ABS had eight power presses in April 1829 and in August 1829 added eight more power presses for a total of sixteen. The sixteen power presses are confirmed again on page 60.

in New York City.[48] The 1829 grand vision to supply the city with mass media was an attempt to Christianize the Empire City through an evangelistic effort built on systematic changing and expanding roles in mass distributing. The city tract and bible societies working with the ATS and ABS during 1827 had launched new agreements in launching systematic distribution in New York City as part of a worldwide crusade for missions.[49] The benevolent leadership at the ABS and ATS hoped to mass evangelize the city by systematically developing a distribution plan that synced with the ward committees and district distributors. The plan was successful, as the data shows for the ATS *Annual Reports* in March of 1829 that 28, 383 families accepted Christian literature and that by 1831, over five million pages had been distributed to the city's 36,000 families.[50] Both societies had formed new organization in mass systematic distributing during the peak of production, revealing the impact of their precision and efficiency in producing mass media.

The early promotion of print technology interlocking with the mode of operation dependent upon the volunteer energies of local auxiliaries revealed the increasing bureaucratic business engineering of Protestant institutionalization.[51] The ABS and ATS combined early exponents of volunteerism to the local auxiliaries along with a systematic corporate institutional model that produced the great age of the evangelical publishing of the Benevolent Empire. The *Annual Reports* of both the ABS and the ATS suggest that the total number of production figures during the first general supply (1829-1831) were estimates of the first mass media and

[48] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media," 20.

[49] Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 77-78.

[50] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media," 26.

[51] Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, *A History of the Book in America, Volume 2: An Extensive Republic Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 246.

distribution missions campaign, which extended concepts of evangelicalism into the social and cultural developments of the Empire City, forged ideas for nationalism.

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Chapter Three: Auxiliaries of the ABS and ATS of the Benevolent Empire

In the mid-1820s, during a transitional time of expanding the systematic corporate efficiency of the nationalizing publishing houses, the managers and executives at both the ATS and ABS became increasingly focused on the success of the stereotype plates, the power of their presses, and most importantly, the distribution of publications by their auxiliaries. They connected their corporate structure to their technology foundation for producing mass media which they linked to the auxiliaries at the local and state levels. At first they developed the local auxiliaries and branches in New York, which they connected across the nation networking transforming their traditional moral reform agencies into becoming national religious publishing companies. They built their unified system of auxiliaries that, expanding from New York, promoted a similar unity of vision for the efficient organization of every kind of benevolence, mission, and Bible work. Both societies centralized production by the systematic organization of the divisions of labor of local branches and auxiliaries in New York. They structured the organization of the auxiliary and branch system to interact with the modern printing and distribution techniques that produced systematic corporate efficiency.[1]

Inherited from England in the 1780s, the auxiliary and branch system began as an evangelical movement towards national reform in England through the work mainly of distinguished Anglicans William Wilberforce, Charles Simeon, and Hannah More during the early years of Princess Victoria. The auxiliary and branch system was promoted by the intermarriage of evangelical families that focused on all evangelical undertakings, both patriotic and benevolent in every nature. The structure of the auxiliary society system was designed to

[1] Eric M North. "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1964): 1-3; David Paul Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," *Journalism Monographs* no 88 (May 1984): 14-15.

support a parent society and all associations and branches that formulated support of all new auxiliaries and the parent auxiliary that became the popular trend for spreading reform.[2] This English-inherited auxiliary and branch system adopted by the ABS and ATS in New York became the focus of corporate structuring for centralizing the operations of the Society's system of organization.[3] The ABS and ATS wrote in their Constitutions that all things of importance related to the operations of the Society can be traced back to the voluntary work of auxiliaries and branches. The ABS stated in a condensed statement of the objective in distributing scripture that the primary goal of the Society was its operations to "facilitate and procure a more systematic arrangement of the labors of Auxiliaries and Branches."[4]

The history of the auxiliary system in the United States is embedded with the growth of the religious voluntary phenomenon that flourished in the revivals of the Great Awakenings during and after the War of Independence.[5] In the early republic, religion was primarily a communal volunteer system that worked by the principle of voluntary action to establish the faith of believers in God and the virtue of the republic without assistance of government. The spreading of religious volunteerism interacting with the American state-by-state disestablishments between 1776 and 1833 movement reveals important aspects of how religious

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[2] Ford K. Brown. *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 246-247.

[3] Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians*, 70-72, 89, 246-260.

[4] American Bible Society, *An abstract of the American Bible Society: containing an account of its principles and operations and the manner of organizing and conducting auxiliary and branch Bible societies* (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1830), 25.

[5] Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840 to 1940," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no 4 (Spring, 1999): 511-557. See also for the volunteer religious system and religious group membership interacting with political parties and voting behavior in New York during the 1820s to the 1840s John L. Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence: Revival Religion and American Voting Behavior*, 20-23, 27-28, and 60-67. For the rise of the voluntarist church structure in New York, see Richard Cardwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865*: 3-4, 68-69.

believers connected the American auxiliary system to the surge of voluntary societies and a variety of institutional structures.[6] According to Carl H. Esbeck and Jonathan J. Hartog, the American disestablishment movement between 1776 and 1833 coalescing with the principle of religious voluntarism was primarily promoted by religious people with biblical motives rather than out of rationalism or secularism.[7] Disestablishment, like voluntaryism, promoted a level of freedom to practice religion wholly apart from government interference. It challenged religious authority, which for Protestant Christians gave way to the first surge of common man Christianity in America that fueled the nationalizing auxiliary system during the early nineteenth century.[8] The new freedom of religious and civil ideas increasingly popular with denominations and religious societies challenged the religious heirchary system and legal traditions. By the 1810s, the voluntary principle working in accord with disestablishment inspired a new set of religious and political beliefs that flourished in the revival community network interacting with the growing developmental web of the American auxiliary system.[9]

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[6] Carl H. Esbeck, "Governance and the Religion Question: Voluntaryism, Disestablishment, and America's Church-State Proposition," *Journal of Church and State*, 48, no 2 (Spring, 2006): 303-326; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 379-84.

[7] Carl H. Esbeck and Jonathan J. Hartog, *Disestablishment and Religious Dissent: Church-State Relations in the New American States, 1776-1833* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2019), 3-24; Nicholas P. Miller, "Theology and Disestablishment in Colonial America: Insights from a Quaker, a Puritan, and a Baptist," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 19 no 1-2 (2008): 137-138; Anthony Gill, *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 60-113.

[8] Philip Hamburger, *Liberal Suppression: Section 501 (c) (3) and the Taxation of Speech* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2018), 40-41, 47-70; Nathan O. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 17-47; Jonathan J. Den Hartog, *Patriotism and Piety: Federalist Politics and Religious Struggle in the New American Nation* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015), 93-115, 201-206; Esbeck and Hartog, *Disestablishment and Religious Dissent*, 14-18.

[9] Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence*, 1-19; Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 174-175, 280-281; Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity In The United States And Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 219-244.

The disestablishment movement allowed religious voluntarism to promote a new brand of Protestant cultural dominance in the expansion of civil and religious liberty. By the mid-1820s, both the ABS and the ATS decided to systematically organize and expand the auxiliary system which they did by hosting meetings and writing articles regarding setting aside doctrinal and denominational differences. The leaders of both societies agreed to publish conservative literature and that the Bible would be published without note or comment to avoid offense. They agreed to put differences aside to make the nation their missionary marketplace in their promotion of evangelical mass media. After setting differences aside, the leadership at both societies agreed to focus the restructuring of the auxiliaries and branches beginning first with New York. The ATS announced that it planned to put tracts in every household across America through its auxiliary system, while simultaneously, the ABS announced that it aimed to put a Bible into the home of every family across America through its auxiliary system.[10] Their vison for promoting mass media was to slice print competition by giving families easy accessibility and to provide every household in the United States with free or cheap print that would likely make the written text and evangelical publications the most important in the home.[11] According

[10] For details on the auxiliaries and the ABS and the ATS, see the American Bible Society, *An abstract of the American Bible Society: containing an account of its principles and operations and the manner of organizing and conducting auxiliary and branch Bible societies*. New York: D. Fanshaw, 1830; American Bible Society, *First Annual Report*, 1817, 10-19; Eric M. North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1964):1-60; Eric M. North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1831-1840, Part III," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1964):1-182; Margret T. Hills, "ABS Historical Essay #18: The Production and Supply of Scriptures, 1816-1820, Part II," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1966): 18-58; American Tract Society, *First Annual Report*, 1826, 3-13; American Tract Society, *The Address of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society to the Christian Public: together with a brief account of the formation of the Society, Its Constitution, and Officers*. New York: D. Fanshaw, 1825; American Tract Society, *Abstract of Minutes of a Meeting Held in the City of New York*, New York, May 11, 1825. *ATS Officers Elected*, New York, May 11, 1825, 18-26; Also on the ABS and ATS auxiliary system see Schantz, "Religious Tracts, Evangelical Reform, and the Market Revolution in Antebellum America," 426; Lawrence Thompson, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of the American Tract Society from 1825 to 1850," 81-114; David Paul Nord, *Faith In Reading: Religious Publishing And The Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 71-76, 83-95.

[11] Gutjahr, *An American Bible*, 19.

to Nord, the ATS and ABS fulfilled the mandate of nationalizing their religious institutions to distribute mass communication in sync of with transportation logistics that was systematical dependent upon their Auxiliaries.[12]

Beginning in 1816, the first Board of Managers at the ABS implemented a policy on best distinguishing between Bible Societies, Auxiliaries, and members of the nationalizing Institution.[13] Initially, the early Board of the ABS representing the Bible Societies and Auxiliaries in New York conceived of establishing a set cost price on all Bibles in exchange for a presented set of stereotype plates. The negotiations for exchange worked, so the ABS continued to supply the purchase of Bibles and Testaments to its members and several of its Auxiliaries at the same price as Auxiliary Societies. They established prices with the local Auxiliaries as a first step in their organization methods and established a sophisticated credit system, especially with respect to donations that offered initiatives to the multiplication of the Auxiliaries. The early manager's banking and business expertise characterized aspects of the ABS credit structure, in which budgeting and effective planning began to strengthen the Auxiliary system that started first in the Bible Societies and Auxiliaries in New York. They connected innovations in production and distribution to the growth of Auxiliaries that stimulated operations of sales based on an innovative credit system that issued forms of "credit terms."[14]

By 1825, the ABS and the ATS, as a central part of executing their systematic corporate strategies, decided that strengthening the local auxiliary system would be the key to systematic distribution. They worked with the local auxiliary system that coalesced with other distributors,

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[12] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 71-72, 79-80.

[13] American Bible Society, *First Annual Report*, 1816, 11-12.

[14] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1831-1840, Part III," 2.

such as the Young Men's Auxiliary Tract Society and the Religious Tract Society. The leaders of these boards that formed the New York City Tract Society in 1827 were many of the same leading philanthropists as the early managers and executive committees at the ABS and ATS, such as Thomas Stokes, Arthur Tappan, and Gardiner Spring.[15] The officers at these large New York tract societies maintained close ties with the ABS and ATS and became auxiliary societies of the national groups. For example, the New York City Tract Society became an auxiliary to the ATS with a goal to mass distribute tracts and assist in early city mission groups such as Charles Finney's, the American Female Guardian Society. The national organizations united in religious enthusiasm with early city mission groups from the 1790s, such as the New York Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children and the New York Dispensary, to assist in providing literature for education and relief for the poor and needy. The ATS and ABS work together with a variety of tracts, Bibles, and charitable societies to intensify the city missions movement and expand the mass distribution of religious tracts and Bibles throughout New York City. The mass coalition of printing low-cost Christian literature was deeply embedded with the city missions movement, revealing an extensive network of auxiliary and branches. In New York City throughout the 1820s, Carroll Smith Rosenberg explains that the local and national organizations were a product of the evangelical movement of revivals that intensified the auxiliary system and worked together in distribution and missions in urban and rural places. Rosenberg explains that they collaborated with benevolent causes and charitable mission efforts in the city and

[15] Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-187*0 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 77-78.

distributed literature to the poor and needy, lower and middle classes in primarily public spaces such as waterfront places, parks, and markets.[16]

In an effort to strengthen their local auxiliary system for the systematic distribution of literature, the New York Religious Tract Society became the New York City Tract Society in February 19, 1827. During the same meeting to reassemble to form to a new organization it also became an auxiliary of the American Tract Society and was likely the most essential factor in organizing the auxiliary systems of the two national societies (ABS and ATS). The focus of the New York City Tract Society was to improve the spiritual conditions of all classes and to devote kindness and charity, especially to the city's poor. As the city conditions continued to expand with urbanization, including crime, irreligion, and city slums, the New York Tract Society promoted moral reforms of the urban consciousness with its auxiliaries' growing volunteer work base. The New York City Tract Society reassembled the auxiliaries of the New York Religious Tract Society, which found themselves in competition for auxiliaries and financial support. By the evening of February 19, 1827, the leaders of the New York City Tract Society had organized as an auxiliary of the American Tract Society.

Once the New York Tract Society became an auxiliary to the ATS, the hundreds of volunteer workers divided the city into about 500 hundred districts. Both societies understood well that developing a structure for centralizing the auxiliary societies to reach their national goals required ongoing consideration of New York's most significant social and religious problems. Stepping beyond interdenominational cooperation to create a national organization meant developing a corporate plan connected to the material and spiritual needs of all classes and groups in New York City. According to Rosenberg, the origins of the New York Tract Society can

[16] Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 1-9; David M. Henkin, *City Reading: Written Word And Public Spaces In Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 1-25, 33.

be traced to 1812, when the Religious Tract Society was established. It initially aimed to distribute tracts and Bibles across the state and throughout the country. Rosenberg explains the Religious Tract Society's membership became the leader of all New York Bible, mission, and Sunday School societies that became patterns of organizing auxiliaries on a national level. The society's vision also included religious goals connected to New York City's leading revivalists, such as Philip Milledoler, Gardiner Spring, Arthur Tappan, and Leonard Bleecker.[17] The Religious Tract Society was instrumental in establishing a national network for the auxiliary system that reached a membership of all classes in the city that would stretch across the nation. The Religious Tract Society produced large auxiliaries, including female auxiliaries, that were established across the nation, stretching from Rhode Island to New Orleans. During this transitional time of reaching all classes, the Religious Tract Society became the New York City Tract Society, which focused on systematically intensifying the formation of auxiliary tract societies. The city's momentum for producing a massive network of auxiliaries intensified the distribution of tracts, Bibles, and Christian literatures across the city, state, and nation, producing a vision for launching a general supply across that nation in 1829.[18]

The officers at the ABS and ATS decided that promoting unity and mutual dependency upon an efficient, rapidly spreading auxiliary system would centralize their organization's vision for placing tracts and Bibles in the hands of every resident first in New York City and then across the state and throughout the nation. In promoting mass media, they first transformed what tended to be a scattered and somewhat divided local auxiliary system in Manhattan and across New York, into auxiliaries subsidiary that would centralize their nationalizing organization. They first

[17] Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 70-73.

[18] Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 70-77; Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," *Journalism Monographs* no 88 (May 1984): 20.

transformed the aims and methods of the local auxiliaries in New York City by expanding and organizing a communication network that offered suggestions and guidelines in monthly newsletters and magazines that they distributed to the various branches. The ATS promoted their monthly *American Tract Magazine*, which contained guidelines and data on branch societies from the national office, whereas the ABS published similar suggestions and guidelines in their newsletter called *Monthly Extracts*.[19] Both societies sold inexpensively or gave away their monthly advertising through distributors or agents to hundreds of branch or auxiliary societies, which centralized distribution from New York, targeting specific areas and regions throughout the country. The two societies filled communication networks with correspondence that established how local auxiliaries should operate and be organized in order to centralize the vision of establishing efficient, systematic distribution.

At the ABS, between 1821 and 1830, the first Board of Managers formulated a business model for corporate bureaucracy that promoted the concept of a concentrated auxiliary system within the establishment of their Constitution. James Milnor, the ABS Secretary, said during the annual meeting in the spring of 1829:

> "And so those stereotype plates, giving so much facility to the art of printing, and those power presses, multiplying with such unexampled rapidity impressions of the sacred pages, to produce their expected results, must be supplied, and for these means, the occupants of these plates and presses must be dependent on their auxiliaries."[20]

During these years, they created the concept of the auxiliary system to express the Constitutional concerns for concentrated action of the auxiliary system that focused on replicating new organizations to produce more auxiliaries. The early managers aimed to bring a

[19] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 21.

[20] James Milnor, speech text in *Monthly Extracts of the American Bible Society* 17 (May, 1829), 239.

uniting vision to the growing auxiliary system with the grand goal of placing a Bible in every household. The first Board of Managers determined to write the policy that directed the auxiliary's dependency within each state to establish branches of intensive local activities that would purchase scripture at discounted rates from the ABS to support their district. The auxiliaries in each branch of local activity in each state were to first and foremost focus on distributing scriptures and turn over all surplus funds received through donations or sales to the parent ABS society within each district.[21] In the published *Fourteenth Annual Report* of the ABS in 1829, it states,

> "That this whole land, including every state, and Territory, and Village, and Dwelling, is to possess the Word of God, and that soon, your Board cannot for a moment of question; and they are happy in the belief that such is the feeling of almost every Auxiliary and friend of the Society."[22]

In developing a corporate structure for centralizing the auxiliary societies for efficient distribution, the first ABS Board of Managers between 1821 and 1830 increasingly each year added policies for variations of establishing the auxiliary system that defined their version of evangelical mass media. The ABS board promoted the work of selling and distributing Bibles based on the grand structures of the organization that supported the cause that the local and state auxiliaries must all work together or all may fail. They aimed to impress upon the local and state auxiliaries the importance of establishing permanent operations by reinforcing efficient voluntary cooperation within their respective boundaries that prioritized the distribution of literatures and scripture to households, local churches, immigrant neighborhoods, poor houses, prisons, hospitals, Sunday Schools, and Sabbath Schools. The ATS and ABS also published editions in

[21] Eric M. North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1964): 5-6.

[22] American Bible Society, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, 1829, 45.

various languages for the immigrants and the growing overseas network of auxiliaries. Women played a huge role in the growth of these benevolent institutions that leaped across social barriers to eradicate the sins of the nation, bring moral reform, and elevate the weak, poor, and brokenhearted.[23] As Mary P. Ryan, Nancy F. Cott, and Ann Douglas have argued, many middle and upper-class women were deeply committed in antebellum America to the extensive network of evangelical and benevolent societies that proliferated between 1800 and 1840.[24] According to Keith Meddler, American Protestant Women involved with religious revivals gave meaning and definition to the sisterhood that evolved in a significant surge of thousands of religious and benevolent societies.[25] Women had been involved at the ABS since its conception in 1816, and their role and accomplishments significantly added to the increase of missionary and Bible work in the large cities and small towns, especially across the northern parts of the United States. Women in the domestic missionary force at the ABS and ATS grew increasingly until the Civil War, when it shifted towards new nondenominational agencies in foreign mission fields. According to ABS records, more than sixteen female Bible societies existed prior to 1816, and six of those societies became official auxiliaries for the ABS during the first year of its conception.[26] Mary F. Cordato states that during the first twenty years of the existence of ABS,

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[23] Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, And Class In The Nineteenth-Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 17.

[24] Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle Of The Middle Class: The Family In Oneida County, New York, 1790- 1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 11-15; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 19-62; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1977), 5-13, 60-74; See also for women involved with revivals and benevolent societies in New York, Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism And Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.

[25] Melder, Keith. *The Beginnings of Sisterhood: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States, 1800-1840* (New York: Schocken, 1977), 39-48.

[26] Mary F. Cordato, "ABS Historical Working Papers Series: Women's Involvement In The Bible Cause, 1816 To The Present," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1993); 8-9.

more than eighty-two female Bible societies worked to expand the national Bible cause, of which thirty-seven of those female auxiliaries were located in New York, New Jersey, and New England.[27] Female Tract Societies also were the strength of the auxiliary system in New York City that stretched across the nation in the 1830s. The Female Tract Society of Providence, Rhode Island, focused on urban laboring classes that were also popular in New York City, which became patterns for expanding the reach of the auxiliary system to all class systems in urbanizing spaces.[28]

The early managers experimented with various corporate policies on how the National Institution would interact with the officers and managers of the local and state auxiliary societies as the auxiliary system expanded and satisfied most of the early managers' expectations. During the formulative years of developing policy for the auxiliaries at the ABS, the managers decided the best way to work with the local and state auxiliary officers was to centralize the auxiliary network from New York. They created a policy that maintained power in New York without taking power away from the local auxiliaries by empowering the local managers to take collaborative action and to spend their money as they saw fit. The early managers at the ABS refined the centralization of authority from New York and organized the growth of the number of

[27] Cordato, "ABS Historical Working Papers Series: Women's Involvement In The Bible Cause," 8-9; American Bible Society, *First Annual Report*, 1817, 25-26; North, "ABS Historical Essay #18: The Production and Supply of Scriptures, 1816-1820, Part I," 1. See also for women at the ABS Wosh, *Spreading the Word*, 18, 166, 234 and women at the ATS Thompson, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of the American Tract Society from 1825 to 1850," 114; For female organizations and female auxiliaries in the early nineteenth century in New York see Keith Melder, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence In Early 19th-Century America." *New York History* 48, no 3 (July, 1967): 231-254; Rachel Cope, "From Smouldering Fires To Revitalizing Showers: A Historiographical Overview Of Revivalism In Nineteenth-Century New York," *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 1, no 4 (2012): 25-49; Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 56-60, 74-76, 97-124, 194-203; Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American* History (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 1-2, 16-22, 26-27; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle Of The Middle Class*, 52-54; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986), xi-xiv, 68-69. See also education for women intertwining with revivals contributing to benevolent and missionary societies by Melder, *The Beginnings of Sisterhood*, 14-21, 36-37.

[28] Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 74.

societies contributing to the ABS by empowering the local and state auxiliaries to spend as they saw fit on the local branch level and to unite together in effective economic means on all levels for controlling mass distribution.[29]

The early managers of the ABS structured an organized system of volunteers and hired paid traveling agents (also known as colporteurs) to co-labor in centralizing the alignment of the auxiliary system on the local and state levels flowing from New York. In developing policies for auxiliaries, the added work of agents in the field was a slow process that initially began in the summer of 1820 with the goal of having them interact with the nature of spreading Bible work in a way that maintained power in New York without taking power away from the local auxiliaries. Policy stipulated at the ABS that the ongoing primary concept of the agent's role was to support the auxiliaries in efficiently distributing their literature and contributing to the national moral character of the United States.[30] As they were slowly added to the field to work with the officers and managers of the local auxiliary institution, agents were required to diffuse the nature of Bible societies, solicit donations and subscriptions, restore any languishing Auxiliaries and start new Auxiliaries, report to the Board of the National Institution, and expand the distribution system within reasonable efforts that supported relationships and the Bible Cause on the local and state level."[31]

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[29] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 16-23.

[30] For more on the ATS traveling agents, see the *Colporteur Reports to the American Tract Society, 1841-1846*. (Newark: ATS, 1940) and for the ABS traveling agents, see Eric M. North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 3-14, 47-59; And the American Bible Society, *Minutes of Meetings of Auxiliary Society Committee,* New York, 1819, ABS Archives; Also for more on agents at the ATS and ABS see David Paul Nord, "Religious Reading And Readers In Antebellum America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 15, no 2 (Summer, 1995): 241-242 and Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 15-16. See also Thompson, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of the American Tract Society from 1825 to 1850," 81-83, and for ABS agents in New York, see Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 70-73, 191-192.

[31] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 79; John Fea, *The Bible Cause: A History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 22-23, 32-33.

The expansion of the auxiliary system interacted with the growth of the agent system in what became known as the agency system. Most states had a state Bible auxiliary affiliated with the national society, whereas the local town-based auxiliaries were known as branch societies supported by local managers. Gradually, throughout the 1820s, managers at the ABS increased the number of agents that grew the agency system each year to excite the new zeal and activity of the ongoing formation and expansion of more auxiliaries that united branch societies with a county auxiliary. The agents, a missionary and book salesman hybrid, traveled hundreds of miles and some thousands of miles across the United States, many of whom lived alone or with their families in sparsely settled territories across the frontier. According to Peter J. Wosh, the agent's tenure was short-lived, and between 1820 and 1830, the ABS employed 40 agents, of which fifty-eight percent lasted less than a year.[32] Their ultimate goal was to collect funds, support the auxiliary system, multiply the number of members in local auxiliaries, and evaluate the country's moral condition. With a warm "personal application," the agent's aim was to extend the efficiency in the distribution of scripture and to extend the reproduction of more auxiliaries within “respective spheres of operation.”[33] The agent was to systematically implement the ABS managers' developing policies and methods for establishing new auxiliaries and strengthening the local auxiliaries in the transforming nature of Bible work.[34] The agent was directed to mark all distribution and sales and make close observations of any key occurrence that may be useful

[32] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 71.

[33] American Bible Society, *Minutes of Meetings of Auxiliary Society Committee,* New York, 1819, ABS Archives; American Bible Society, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1828, 30.

[34] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 70.

in relation to the Bible cause, which copies of their findings were reported back to New York every month and published in monthly abstracts.[35]

In 1825, in Monroe County, New York, Josiah Bissell was the first ABS agent to undertake sophisticated surveys for evaluating the local families destitute of the scripture in a county.[36] Annual Reports in the mid-1820s started specifying different counties and whole states that were destitute of scripture. Upon investigation, several counties in New York were reported by agents in the *Annual Report* of 1827 to each have an average of about four hundred families that were destitute of Bibles. As a result of the increase of letters and reports of destitute families without Bibles in the northeast and south, along with the needs of the rapidly developing frontier areas of the Mississippi Valley, the ABS announced in 1828 its first significant increase of field agents, bringing the total to 12, and the ATS reported an increase to over a dozen or more agents.[37] The new efforts to meet the general needs of the increasing population, along with the expansion of auxiliaries and the addition of field agents, collided with the eastern cities tract societies' new programs to reach all neglected classes systematically. The increasing merger between auxiliaries and distributing committees in New York to convert and morally improve all classes and groups interacted with the goal to supply every family in America with a bible in what became known as the launching of the "first general supply."[38]

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[35] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 47-48.

[36] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 79.

[37] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 15-16; American Bible Society, *Seventh Annual Report*, 1823, 20-21, 73-74; American Bible Society, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1828, 30-31; American Tract Society, *Fifth Annual Report*, 1830, 35-37.

[38] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 15; Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 18-20.

Systematically meeting the nation's needs with scripture and tracts stems back to the system of district visiting promoted by the British evangelicals that resulted in 1828 in the formation of the General Society for Promoting District Visiting.[39] Meeting the nation's needs required implementing a district visiting system based on the growing populations and urbanizing developments across the nation. In New York, Arthur Tappan, one of the managers of the City Tract Society, ordered in 1829 a new structure for systematically distributing tracts to the city's wards that seemed to reflect the system of the British evangelicals. Tappan proposed that every week with the implementation of evidence in reporting there should be a general systematic distribution of tracts to the tens of thousands of people in the city population. He ordered attention to "the friends of Tracts and especially of all the Society's Auxiliaries" that the organization of the whole city be divided into smaller districts for the purpose of distributing tracts to every person in the population. He proposed the implementation of a card to be placed in the hands of every distributor that contained detailed instructions for the best procedure for distributing tracts in a specific district. According to Rosenberg, the proximity of the dates between the English and New York societies and the close relationship between Tappan and his British evangelical friends suggest the system of district visiting was likely inherited by British influence.[41] Beginning around 1829, a systematic distribution plan of district visiting to reach all families was adopted in New York and implemented by the Auxiliary societies and other national evangelical societies who also applied these systematic distribution principles to counties. On February 4, 1829, Alexander Proudfit, a theologian and missionary, wrote a letter to 72 Nassau Street proposing that now the auxiliary system had become centralized, they could systematically

[39] Brown, Ford K. *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 239-241.

[41] Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 80.

expand the supply to every family in the nation.[42] Proudfit had used data from surveys to supply every family in Washington County, New York, with Bibles, which effective systematic distribution also became a growing trend in county places in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in 1829. Intertwining with the Charles Grandison Finney revivals in New York, the auxiliary system at the ABS and ATS had become centralized, and it had adopted new corporate measures on how to effectively distribute scriptures and tracts in rural counties and urban district places that launched the first general supply of mass media. Crucial to the systematic distribution of the auxiliary system were the cycles of revivals spreading in waves across New York, including places like Utica and Rochester, that intertwined with the great Finney revivals in the fall and winter in New York City of 1829.[43]

In May of 1829, at the annual meeting of the ABS in New York, James Milnor, speaking on behalf of the early managers, announced a resolution that stated the strength of the auxiliaries had produced the Society's ability to supply Holy Scriptures to all destitute families in the country especially where there was "poverty, ignorance, and inaccessibility."[44] The proposal by Milnor easily passed based on the data of the monthly extracts that confirmed the increasing surge in auxiliary activity in eleven states. In the monthly extracts for July of 1829, the ABS records indicate that fifty delegates from the eleven states gathered with the officers, board members, and delegates to rejoice in the Presbyterian Church on Wall Street, the "Society's

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[42] Fea, *The Bible Cause*, 40.

[43] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social And Intellectual History Of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 151-154; Richard Lee Rodgers, "The Urban Threshold and the Second Great Awakening in New York State, 1825-1835," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 49, no 4 (December, 2010): 696-698; Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeepers Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 3-14, 18-19; Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City*, 98.

[44] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 71.

House."[45] They celebrated even with strangers that had filled the streets surrounding the church that day on the publicly agreed upon endeavor to supply all the destitute families in the United States with Holy Scriptures within the space of two years as furnished by benevolent individuals and Auxiliaries and implemented by the Board of Managers.[46] The resolution was confirmed and seconded by Rev Dr. Lyman Beecher, and a lengthy speech was made by Milnor that claimed the endeavor would only be made possible through the full "efficient cooperation of our Auxiliaries and the Christian charity of our fellow citizens."[47] After the speech, the managers implemented a plan to carry out the endeavor by first alerting the public by distributing 10,000 pamphlets and forming an influx of meetings in New York that would engage with the auxiliaries in their districts for raising funds and distributing literature.[48] By organizing the auxiliaries that launched the general supply, both the ABS and the ATS pushed their machines to the limits and focused continually on implementing systematic surveys and distribution strategies to supply all the families in the country with Bibles and tracts. According to Nord, the ATS had a different approach to the ABS version of the grand vision of the general supply in that they focused on making Tappan's plan for systematic distribution in New York City the pattern for launching mass media in other cities.[49] Where the ABS focused on launching the general supply in eleven states, the ATS focused on launching their vision of general supply in New York City by implementing systematic distribution programs in the approximate 500 city districts. The ATS believed that other large cities in several states would pick up on the New York City district

[45] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 71-72; American Bible Society, *Minutes of Meetings of Auxiliary Society Committee 17* (May 1829), 236-242.

[46] American Bible Society, *Minutes of Meetings of Auxiliary Society Committee 17* (May 1829), 236-242.

[47] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 90-93.

[48] North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part II," 90-93.

[49] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 18-21.

distribution programs, which they did by 1831, including Charleston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Nord explains that once the national office of the ATS was a success in district distribution in New York City, the society pressed heavily upon its auxiliaries and branches for mass systematic distribution in large cities and rural places that extended their brand of evangelical print culture across the nation.[50]

By the early 1830s, the ATS and ABS created hundreds of auxiliary societies and branch offices across the country to distribute their literature. Both societies viewed the general supply as a great success that also contained failures based on weather problems, quickly outdated surveys, and population growth. In the fall of 1831, the two publishing giants admitted that millions of Americans still did not have Bibles and tracts, while the peaks of production continued throughout the 1830s until the eve of the Panic of 1837, which temporarily slowed down production and distribution. In the three years between 1829 and 1831, the ATS corporate documents show that they printed a total of about 234 800,00 pages, and the ABS printed just over a million volumes of Bibles and New Testaments.[51] For both the ATS and the ABS, the general supply was the culmination of years of pioneering in print technology, innovation in distribution systems, and centralizing an auxiliary system that expanded in a global mission field, connecting popular Protestant ideas with millennialism. By 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society and numerous other societies including secular publishing companies began adopting the techniques of printing, national distribution, and organizational business methods of the ABS and ATS. Mass distribution of bibles and tracts at the heart of the whole religious enterprise of

[50] Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 18-21.

[51] Cross, *The Burned Over District*, 25; Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 20-22; and see the American Bible Society, *Annual Reports, 1830-1833* and the American Tract Society, *Annual Reports*, 1830-1833.

publishing revealed the realization that the rise of mass media was possible and that it would have profound effects in the religious and political realms. In the American working and middle-classes, the distribution of bibles and tracts interacted with a mass media movement that profoundly impacted religious and political realms, including in the mid 1830s the abolition tract wars of the ATS and AASU.[52]

The ABS and ATS nationalized their institutes with an existing network of auxiliaries and branches that they supported and expanded with business methods and tactics that gradually expanded their enterprises within a complex web of American modernity and urbanizing forces. The ATS and the ABS modernized production and distribution during a surge in voluntary association that coalescing with revivals produced a great outpouring of evangelical movements to reform the nation. In states where evangelicals had fallen short in supplying bibles to every destitute family, the ATS responded to those regions by focusing tract distribution that helped assist in the solution of spiritual improvement. The leadership at the ATS and ABS pioneered many aspects of American publishing by focusing on sharing their structure and resources with each other and other social institutions while adapting to the social and economic changes of the time. They furthered the older Federalist plan of Elias Boudinot, William Jay, and Alexander Hamilton (The founders of the ABS and ATS were primarily nationalists with strong ties to Federalists) to build and strengthen national institutions with a national auxiliary and branch system that would become a worldwide network in the forging of American national identity.[53] They endeavored to mass distribute literature and make an unpopular message about sinners

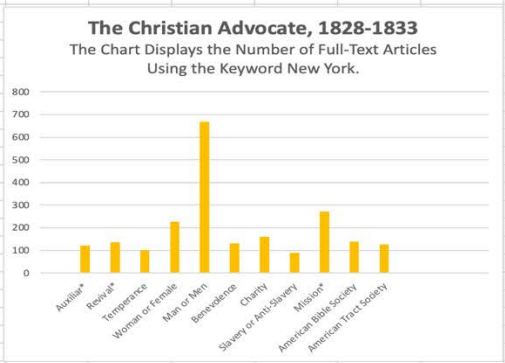
[52] Cynthia S Hamilton, "Spreading The Word: The American Tract Society, The Dairyman's Daughter, and Mass Publishing," *Book History* 14, no 14 (2011): 25-57; John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 110-111; Nord, "The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media, 1815 to 1835," 23; Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 120.

[53] Fea, *The Bible Cause*, 23.

popular to all classes and groups that interacted with social trends connected to the New York revivals. The mission of the ATS and the ABS was the conversion of the sinner through the message of the hope of Christ Jesus, which they believed would produce virtuous citizens and improve the moral condition of the nation. The *Christian Advocate and Journal, and Zion's Herald*, was one of the two largest weekly journals in the nation that claimed a circulation of 25,000. Utilizing ProQuest, the research revealed the greatest number of full-text articles in the context of New York for the years 1828 to 1833 were the keywords charity (160 articles), ABS (139) ATS (127), women (226) and missions (272). At the center of the Protestant Christian evangelical vision for the print culture of the Benevolent Empire, evidence suggests that missions, women, and charity were the most popular topics propogated for those six years by the ATS and the ABS.

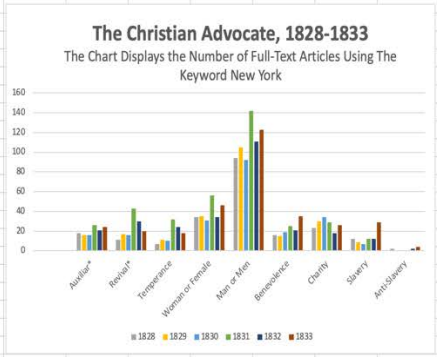
Graph 1.1 Metadata Produced on ProQuest for the *Christian Advocate*, 1828-1833

The Christian Advocate	Six Full Years- January 1828 to December 1833
Auxiliar*	121
Revival*	137
Temperance	102
Woman or Female	226
Man or Men	667
Benevolence	131
Charity	160
Slavery or Anti-Slavery	89
Mission*	272
American Bible Society	139
American Tract Society	127



Graph 1.2 Metadata Produced on ProQuest for the *Christian Advocate*, 1828-1833

The Christian Advocate	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	
Auxiliar*	18	16	16	26	21	24	Total 121
Revival*	11	17	16	43	30	20	Total 137
Temperance	7	11	10	32	24	18	Total 102
Woman or Female	34	35	31	56	34	46	Total 226
Man or Men	94	105	92	142	111	123	Total 667
Benevolence	16	15	19	25	21	35	Total 131
Charity	23	30	34	29	18	26	Total 160
Slavery	12	9	7	12	12	29	Total 81
Anti-Slavery	2	0	0	0	2	4	Total 08
Mission*	41	38	42	57	44	50	Total 272
American Bible Society	17	16	28	31	20	27	Total 139
American Tract Society	16	20	20	27	16	28	Total 127



The early managers and executive committees of the ABS and ATS paid attention to the details of the benevolent business of missions and took full advantage of the late eighteenth-century merchant world, giving way to the rise of American merchant capitalism. The Anglo-American leaders of the Benevolent Empire connected their organizational innovations and technology to a nationalizing auxiliary system that interacted with the domineering power of New York's trade and transportation networking. The weekly trading of hundreds of shares and the establishment of the nation's first credit reference bureau on Wall Street by the ABS early manager, Arthur Tappan, exemplifies the Anglo-American business expertise and pioneering strategies that infiltrated the corporate structures of the ABS and the ATS. The early managers and executive committees at the ABS and ATS promoted an Anglo-American nature of merchant capitalism and business expertise within the auxiliary system that reflected the first benevolent enterprise of mass media. According to Peter Wosh, the founders and early managers at the ABS combined an Anglo-American world of business with their benevolence and intellectual life that

characterized every aspect of their Constitution.[53] The leadership at the ABS and ATS applied their business experience and their money to an auxiliary system that launched the traditional moral reform agencies into becoming nationalizing benevolent publishing enterprises.

[53] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 40.

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Chapter 4: Linking the Benevolent Empire To Early Antebellum Reform And Education

John Baird, DeWitt Clinton, and John Pintard were three of the most significant patrician New York figures who connected social and religious reform to education and literacy in the second half of the eighteenth century in an urbanizing New York City. Their work in building the city's first hospital, transforming Kings College, revitalizing the New York Society Library (1772), and their role in founding the New York Historical Society offers a glimpse into how reform and philanthropy were embedded in city culture and institutional life.[1] In commercial cities like New York, these social and cultural forces flowed with the currents of discovery, technological advances, and intellectual developments that interacted with progress and values of learning and education. By 1820, New York had become the intellectual and commercial center of the nation, and it had experienced an intellectual and communications revolution that had expanded in the emergence of a national market. These revolutions were essential for unfolding its first great age of evangelical mass media that connected the new innovations in the power of print to influences and reform, which transformed the cultural landscape of early nineteenth-century America. At the center of the evangelical print culture and its surrounding reform movement, the lives of New York's elite benevolent patricians are pivotal for understanding how missions and benevolence penetrated intellectual and learned culture in early nineteenth-century New York City.[2]

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[1] Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 14-27, 54, 60-62; Thomas Bender, *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), 25-36.

[2] See motivations of the elite religious reformers in the rise and decline framework of the Benevolent Empire suggested by Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States* and Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837*; See also Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Bender, *New York Intellect*, 66-88.

Peter J. Wosh and John Fea have well documented the power of evangelical print culture and voluntary associations interacting with intellectual and institutional life in New York City. Wosh and Fea connected elite patrician New Yorkers to reform movements and the institutional life in New York in the context of the evangelical republic. They linked the elite patrician founders and early managers of the American Bible Society (ABS) to their private businesses, ethical and moral standards, philanthropy work, and commitment to the Bible Cause during the early parts of the nineteenth century.[3] They argue that the ABS founders were primarily conservative Christians known for their moral values, business success, promotion of institutional life, philanthropic work, and involvement with benevolent societies.[4] These benevolent-minded men were part of a small circle that often connected to the same extended family, which interlocked with the managers and founders of religious and learned institutions.[5] The benevolent elite linked the benevolent evangelical republic to the building of a "republican government" in early republican New York City.[6] They linked their benevolent evangelical

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[3] Peter J. Wosh, *Spreading The Word: The Bible Business In Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 43-45; John Fea, *The Bible Cause: A History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 19-21.

[4] There is a wide range of historical sources on the history of the benevolent elites and elite reformers in antebellum New York City. For an extensive list of the early managers of the American Bible Society, see Peter J. Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 38-40; see also Lyman Horace Weeks, *Prominent Families in New York* (New York: Historical Company, 1898); and Walter Barret, *The Old Merchants of New York City*, *5 vols* (New York: G. W. Carleton, 1866).

[5] Tom Glynn, *Reading Publics: New York City Public Libraries, 1754-1911* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015),107; See Brook Hindle, "The Underside of the Learned Society in New York, 1754-1854," in Alexander Oleson and Sanborn C. Brown, eds., *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), 101.

[6] American Bible Society, *Second Annual Report*, New York, 1818, 26.

republic to an "increasing" and "great and growing republic."[7] They defined their benevolence with a geographic scope that aligned with local, national, and international efforts.[8]

The American Bible Society (ABS) and American Tract Society (ATS) were part of a global Bible and tract movement that linked their business organizational and mass media goals to non-commercial national and international markets.[9] R. Laurence Moore and Nathan Hatch have documented the religious origins of evangelical mass media expanding in national and international markets in the early parts of the nineteenth century in America.[10] Tom Glynn has documented how large religious institutions such as the ABS produced a geographical scope of benevolence on a national and international level, though the borders of the benevolent evangelical republic were "never precisely fixed."[11] Organized and operated by elite benevolent men, the national charity publishers in New York engaged with growing national and international markets primarily non-commercial markets as they furthered revivals and

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[7] American Bible Society, *Fourth Annual Report*, New York, 1820, 141; American Bible Society, *Fifth Annual Report*, New York, 1821, 132; American Bible Society, *Eighth Annual Report*, New York, 1824, 75.

[8] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 107.

[9] Aileen Frye, "Commerce and Philanthropy: The Religious Tract Society and the Business of Publishing," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 9, no 2 (2004):164-188; Frye has argued some large benevolent societies are non-profit, and some are limited liability to make distinctions between commercial and non-commercial publishing markets. For example, the Religious Tract Society in Great Britain was a limited liability corporation whereas the American Tract Society was non for profit. Scholars like David Paul Nord have argued that charity publishers engaging with both commercial and non-commercial markets went against the currents of the commercial markets because they sold products and gave their products away. See David Paul Nord, *Faith In Reading: Religious Publishing And The Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 6-7; Also for commercial markets for benevolent publishers, see John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*. New York: Routledge, 2006), 108-112; Also, for more on commercial differences between the RTS and ATS, see Joel Bridges Henderson, "Blessed are the dead Which Die in the Lord: The Influence of the American Tract Society on the Historical Evolution of American Literary Sentimentalism," The Aquila Digital Community Dissertation (Hattiesburg: The University of Southern Mississippi, 2009), 29-31, 35-36.

[10] R. Laurence Moore, *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 40-77; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 125-161; See also the American Tract Society and American Sunday School Union capturing economies by Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 76-79.

[11] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 107.

missionary movements at home and abroad and battled over social and cultural trends that were a part of a national and international war against secular forces. Though national charity publishers targeted primarily non-commercial markets, their products competed against commercial products. David Paul Nord has argued that charity publishers such as ATS and ABS in the first three decades of the nineteenth century used mass marketing techniques to promote competitive and cheap print for "universal circulation" of their religious publications.[12] The ABS, ATS, and ASSU promoted a millennial vision for ushering in the Glory of God while launching their version of a general supply for universal circulation between 1829 and 1831. For the ABS, the first general supply produced over a million Bibles, and for the ATS, they produced at least five million pages annually, which means five pages for every American. The first general supply for the ASSU meant they produced a half million books, which they placed in over 4,200 new Sunday schools across the Mississippi Valley. According to Nord, the overlapping first general supply projects of the ABS, ATS, and ASSU demonstrated by the early 1830s that the enormous power of evangelical print culture had successfully produced the first great wave of mass media in America.[13]

The first general supply that was successful in production somewhat failed in distribution because the auxiliary system failed to reach many regions and states, especially in the West. Despite some of the auxiliaries' shortcomings in distribution, the general supply was a success on the production side, revealing the impressive popularity with religious and social topics such as millennialism, evangelism, revivalism, charity, benevolence, women's roles, slavery and anti-

[12] David Paul Nord, *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790 to 1840*. vol 2. ed. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 238.

[13] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 238-246.

slavery, moral reform, and moral standards. During the general supply, slavery and anti-slavery had become increasingly popular religious and secular topics as suffrage expanded and the traditional caucus system for electing presidential candidates fell apart.[14] The first general supply launched during the first major rise of religious and secular printed materials proved that the large national religious companies had dominated print production over the secular newspapers and magazines. The ABS and ATS engaged in a national and international readership during the first general supply, whereas American newspapers in large cities like Boston and New York were not competitive in a national market yet and struggled to have a national readership during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The secular newspapers were slower to apply the technology of printing and the purchase of the expensive steam presses. The secular newspapers also had a long history of promoting quarrels, sedition, and fractions over politics and religion in the currents of complex socio-economic developments.[15] In New York and Boston, several successful mercantile papers, such as the *Daily Advertisers* and *Commercial Advertisers*, were able to afford the first power presses and catered to a wider readership, including elite readership. Yet most newspapers in the country remained uncompetitive and faced increased competition until about the late 1830s.[16]

The largest religious publishing societies, especially during the first general supply, offer the story of how evangelical mass media impacted New York City's culture and the broader identity of the growing republic. The first general supply occurred when religious and secular print became a complex vehicle for promoting public debate, opinion, information, education, and entertainment. Moore argues that the ATS and ABS in New York City pioneered by

[14] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 399.

[15] Nord, *Communities of Journalism*, 11-16, 80-84, 160.

[16] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 404.

combining commercial culture with mass communications during the early nineteenth century. They promoted high moral values in targeting societies culture and promoted literary qualities, especially tracts that offered forms of education and pictures for marketing purposes. Moore suggests the ATS spread their messages throughout New York and to the unsettled populations across the nation by targeting large reading audiences that fed rapidly growing rural and urban populations for the first time. He claims the ATS made a cheap print that offered truthful and authentic narratives of instruction for broad reading audiences, whereas novels and secular newspapers promoted a form of reading that was contrary to Protestant beliefs. The Protestants viewed secular reading as the corruption of morals and a departing from the truth.[17] For the business of benevolent print culture, elite benevolent executives of the ATS believed mass media needed to promote reading and instruction. It needed to investigate the truth and stimulate the mind with the knowledge of solid instruction as opposed to engaging with the dreamy extravagance of romantic work promoted by novels, which they viewed as "vicious literature."[18] The corporate policies of the ATS promoted simple and practical Christian instruction that targeted all classes, especially the lower classes, in their educational messages for the public. In 1825, the Address of the Executive Committee of the ATS stated:

> "Our method of instruction is peculiarly calculated for the poor and is especially demanded by the poor of an extended population. It is a method by which the blessings of a religious education may, to no inconsiderable degree be extended to the lower ranks of society with peculiar facility, and which, as a practical system, is already entitled to the claims of successful experiment… the man of low attainment in science, the mother, the child, the obscure in the meanest conditions, can give away a Tract, perhaps, accompany it with a word of advice or admonition, with as much promise of success as Missionary or Apostle."[19]

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[17] Moore, *Selling God*, 17-20, 76.

[18] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 117.

[19] *The Address of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society to the Christian Public*, 1825, 5.

The promotion of reading cheap tracts, Bibles, and truthful literature during and after the general supply revealed an age of reform that promoted the first movement of social and educational reform. Whether reading cheap tracts or Christian literature, it was encouraged to be slow, digestive, and reflective in the print culture battle against the quick reading of cheap and seductive secular publications.[20] The national charity publishers promoting a popular Christian message needed to be accompanied with prayer and meditation. They promoted stillness from their busy lives, ideas of holiness and godliness, and moral standards of a community that they optimistically linked to the public in print culture. They promoted the value of reading pure messages, including the production of millions of devotional books filled with the classic works of English Puritanism. In the 1950s social historians such as Clifford S. Griffin and other historians created what became known as the social control thesis that argued the leading reformers of the benevolent evangelical republic influenced society with tactics of control and anger fueled by fear.[21] Other historians of social formation in New York City in the 1820s view the benevolent elite as optimistic in their promotion of mass media during the rise of the common man and working man in a growing class culture.[22] They focus on the efforts of elite reformers such as John Pintard and DeWitt Clinton, pioneers of faith, intellect, progress, and moral standards who aimed to improve economic, social, and cultural conditions. In evaluating the founding documents that runs throughout the ABS and ATS corporate policies, the optimistic vision for reforming the nation with the knowledge of the gospel of the kingdom of God does not

[20] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 7-8.

[21] Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815 to 1860," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 44, no 3 (December, 1957): 423-444.

[22] Bender, *New York Intellect*, 65-68.

validate a social control thesis.[23] There is persistent optimism in their board meeting minutes and annual reports for mass distributing a message of the knowledge of faith, hope, and salvation. The ATS, in their opening Address of the Executive Committee, documented that their priority was to form and frame the Society with the chief objective to "diffuse a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of sinners, and to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality by the circulation of Religious Tracts."[24] The ATS and ABS stated from their first public meetings in churches to their first address that their vision was to improve the moral character of humanity by extending their promotion of the godliness, holiness, and salvation of the Lord Jesus Christ in society. With the utmost honor and respect for the glorious gospel of Christ and regard for improving humanity, elite benevolent reformers in New York seized the opportunity to impart a moral standard of righteousness in society by distributing cheap literature, tracts, and Bibles, which they did so with thankfulness in a "delightful manner unanimously."[25]

During the general supply, the largest benevolent societies in New York City produced popular Christian literature for evangelism and educational purposes. The ATS and the ABS shared their vision, resources, and personnel to redeem and improve society, with an extensive focus on promoting reading and education. They extended their print culture and forms of active benevolence to transform society, which they mixed with a variety of philanthropies and

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[23] Glynn, *Reading Publics*,102-103; Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 76-79.

[24] American Tract Society, *The Address of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society to the Christian Public: together with a brief account of the formation of the Society, Its Constitution, and Officers*. New York: D. Fanshaw, 1825, 3.

[25] American Tract Society, *The Address of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society to the Christian Public*, 3-21; American Bible Society, *An abstract of the American Bible Society: containing an account of its principles and operations and of the manner organizing and conducting auxiliary and branch Bible societies*. New York: D. Fanshaw, 1830, 1-3. American Bible Society, *The First Annual Report Of The Board Of Managers Of The American Bible Society, With An Appendix, Containing Extracts of Correspondence*. New York: J. Seymour, 1817, 1-25.

benevolent public service endeavors.[26] The early managers and executives at the ABS and ATS embraced a wide variety of benevolent endeavors and philanthropy work that promoted effective public services. They believed education was key to saving souls and that evangelical print culture could educate the masses and promote moral standards in a growing intellectual society. They had a consensual vision to produce popular Christian information to combat the growing secular forces and the "satanic press."[27] They thrusted forth their Christian message to reflect a Christian republic in New York during a most critical time in the history of mass media in antebellum America.[28]

By the early 1830s, over one thousand auxiliaries of the ABS and ATS were connected to thousands of various kinds of philanthropy groups.[29] Despite the urbanizing problems in New York City, the benevolent evangelical republic was radiating in religious enthusiasm and benevolent activism of all kinds. Fueled by the steady production of the printing press, the benevolent men and women of the evangelical republic believed in the variety of religious enterprises and that books, tracts, and Bibles could change the world and "usher in the glory of the latter day of Zion."[30] During the first general supply, the ATS demonstrated that the systematic monthly distribution plan in New York City was highly effective because it reached every ward. Nord and Sellers showed that by 1833, millions of Bibles, tracts, and religious

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[26] Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 82-107; Peter J. Wosh, *Spreading The Word: The Bible Business In Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 4; John L. Hammond, *The Politics of Benevolence: Revival Religion and American Voting Behavior* (New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979), 63-65.

[27] R. S. Cook, *Home Evangelization: Views of the Wants and Prospects of Our Country, Based on the Facts and Relations of Colportage* (New York: American Tract Society, 1849), 41.

[28] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 7.

[29] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 80; Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 370.

[30] William Cogswell, *The Harbinger of the Millennium* (Boston: Pierce and Parker, 1833), 298.

publications had been distributed in the surge of a millennial print for national conversion that had cleverly been promoted from the auxiliary system in New York City.[31] The corporate business model set forth by the ABS and ATS had fused a popular print culture to a network of auxiliaries. They had successfully connected evangelism and popular publishing to educational trends in a sea of philanthropy and religious endeavors in public life. New York City had become the battleground for connecting the mass media to education trends and popular ideas for American social thought. Thomas Bender has argued that the Christian evangelical world in the 1820s in New York City brilliantly connected benevolent institutions to various public institutions and civic advancements that rapidly intertwined with intellectual ideas and social trends. Bender explains that the urban life of New York City after 1820 was led by benevolent elites such as John Pintard and DeWitt Clinton who characterized progress of the nation within the moral standards of a benevolent republic that penetrated intellectual and social trends of the city's culture.[32]

DeWitt Clinton, Thomas Eddy, John Pintard, and dozens of elite New York patricians working with a range of reformers, from Isabella Graham to Divie Bethune, believed New York's evangelical world had successfully extended mass media into the city's growing social and intellectual culture.[33] The benevolent elites of New York believed at the center of their adopted world of British volunteerism that evangelical print culture had produced patterns of instruction that echoed a Protestant ethnic. They believed education should include reading, writing, and arithmetic and comprehending the knowledge of Scripture to cure ignorance and confront crimes

[31] Sellers, 216; Nord, Faith in Reading, 28, 39-40.

[32] Bender, *New York Intellect:* 65-68.

[33] Cornog, *The Birth of Empire*, 4-6, 68-69; Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-187*0 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 50-51; Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 13.

and vices.[34] In December 1809, in his *Address on Monitorial Education*, Governor Clinton stated, "Ignorance is the cause as well as the effect of bad governments, and without the cultivation of our rational powers, we can entertain no just ideas of the obligations of morality or the excellences of religion."[35] The national religious publishing societies of New York recognized that "the problem with America was ignorance religious and otherwise, and knowledge was the cure."[36]

In arguing for the innovation and educational advancements in New York City, Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright said a city like New York is "the grand point and focus of wisdom."[37] During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, New York City became a global center for a wide range of intellectual, educational, literary, scientific, civic, and humanitarian institutions, and evangelical ideas permeated the center of those institutional discussions. According to Bender, no one could speak more about the history of intellectual, governmental, and learned institutional culture in New York than DeWitt Clinton.[38] Clinton was a prolific politician and philanthropist. He was deeply immersed in politics for a generation while simultaneously promoting intellectual life, civic advancement, charitable causes, and active benevolence. Clinton was a New York state senator (1798-1802, 1806-1811) and mayor of New York City (for ten terms between 1803-1815). He served as Lt. Governor (1811-1813) and governor of the state of New York (1817-1822 and 1824-1828). In addition to his political success, Clinton served on the Erie Board Canal Commission (1810-1824). He governed benevolent and charitable boards

[34] *Address on Monitorial Education Governor DeWitt Clinton, 1809*.

[35] *Address on Monitorial Education Governor DeWitt Clinton, 1809*.

[36] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 81.

[37] Bender, *New York Intellect*, 94.

[38] Bender, *New York Intellect*, 67.

such as the African Free School, the New York Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Orphan Asylum Society, Charity Schools, and the New York Society for Free Schools. He was elected vice-president of the ABS on June 5, 1818, and continued to serve on the board until his death on February 11, 1828.[39] He also sat on the board of cultural, intellectual, and financial boards, including Regents of Columbia College, the American Academy of Fine Arts (president), the New York Historical Society (vice-president), and the Literature and Philosophical Society.[40]

Clinton stated in his journal that his success was in "the efforts of talent, and genius, and perseverance in the promotion of education, the diffusion of benevolence, and the increase of wealth and prosperity."[41] Clinton argued in a series of papers that the government's primary role was to provide education for the entire population and that education needed to reflect a virtuous society and exalt the country's nature.[42] Clinton stated in his journal that the "first duty of a state is to render it's citizens virtuous by intellectual instruction and moral discipline, by enlightening their minds, purifying their heart, and teaching them their rights and their obligation."[43] During the early 1800s, Mayor Clinton of New York City had began working on improving elementary education that would reach all children especially those who were poor and not connected to any religious society. In his essay "*Free Schools*" Clinton asserted that education should promote equality and virtue and help all citizens gain knowledge for a stable and peaceable society. Unlike charity schools that catered to particular religious sects, he saw that the children

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[39] Margret R. Townsend, "ABS Historical Essay # 102-B Biographical Data on the Vice-Presidents of the American Bible Society," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1967), 92.

[40] Margret R. Townsend, "ABS Historical Essay # 102-C Biographical Data on the Managers of the American Bible Society," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1968), 66-67.

[41] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 37.

[42] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 127, 169.

[43] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 18.

who were in most need of instruction in the city were not connected to a religion. In 1805, Clinton established the New York Free School Society and remained its president until his death in 1828. The Free School Society instituted in the city of New York by Clinton first opened in May 1806 on Bancker Street in lower Manhattan. The school admitted poor white children without distinction of circumstance or religious background, and it was funded by private charity and public money (known as the common school fund).

Without a system of instruction or a teacher, Clinton, in his memoirs, insisted on implementing the Lancastrian Monitorial System of Education into the school, which was popular in education reform in Great Britain in the late 1790s. The Lancaster system required the comprehension of "reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures."[44] The system of Lancaster divided the school into classes that did not group students together by age. The system required advanced students to teach the less advanced students. It appointed a monitor who was responsible for the students learning in basic and advanced skills. The monitor was also responsible for the morals, sound order, and cleanliness of the classroom. Clinton was fascinated with how the Lancaster system taught reading in groups of companies of ten that remained vigilant and focused on instruction. Clinton observed that the system of Lancaster was teaching boys who did not even know the alphabet "to read and write in two months."[45] The Lancaster system at the Free School became a model for public and Catholic and denominational religious charity schools. John Pintard stated on November 1820, that there were several Free Schools in New York City that were religious and public which educated "nearly 4000 children annually" which was about equal to the annual number of children educated in the

[44] *Address on Monitorial Education Governor DeWitt Clinton, 1809*.

[45] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 165.

various Sunday Schools.[46] The Lancastrian system was a popular movement that was implemented into the system of common schools that created the system of public school instruction in New York. The Lancastrian movement that focused more on pedagogical method than schools books remained popular until about the 1840s when reformer Horace Mann decided to emphasize more on teacher instruction rather than advanced pupil instruction in the new movement of "publicly financed schooling."[47]

Promoting the common school system was highly successful, and Clinton used the primary education system to create a public school system that flourished across New York. In 1822, Clinton stated that "the common schools have flourished beyond all former example, and our higher institutions, the seats of literature and science, continue to maintain respectable character."[48] Clinton argued in his speech that the principles of the Lancasterian system helped children learn faster and instilled moral soundness. Clinton argued that common schools promoted free and accessible education for all children and youth between the ages of four and fifteen in the city of New York. They also prepared young men for the "Lancasterian seminaries in New York."[49] In a speech in 1825, Clinton declared that 400,000 children had been taught in the common schools or charity schools in the city of New York, and not one student had committed a crime.[50] Clinton believed the Lancasterian system (monitorial plan) taught sound

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[46] John Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza Pintard,* 4 vols. (New York: New York Historical Society, 1940), 350.

[47] David Paul Nord, *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790 to 1840*. vol 2. ed. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 312-313.

[48] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 157.

[49] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 157.

[50] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 158.

instruction, the purity of morals, and the essence of perfect discipline that he planned to spread from Niagara Falls to New Orleans. As public schools became increasingly more popular than academies by the 1820s in New York City, Clinton argued in his journal that the "creation of the public schools" needed to be linked to the "creation of a network of libraries."[51]

During these decades of complex school reform in secondary education in New York, the promotion of alternative libraries became popular in competing with social and circulating libraries. It is estimated that between 1790 and 1840, over 2,100 public libraries were formed primarily by voluntary associations in communities across America, and New York contained the most in the nation.[52] The Sunday School Union had also established over 2,000 of its version of charitable libraries across America, with a focus on the northeastern parts of America and the Mississippi Valley. For Clinton, libraries were as essential as schools and were places to promote knowledge, enjoyment, high moral standards, and useful reading. Clinton worked closely with John Pintard, a benevolent reformer who was also a Trustee of the New York Free School. Pintard and Clinton had a passion for building schools and promoting libraries. Pintard, like Clinton, was also on the board of directors at the ABS. He was the recording secretary of the ABS, and in January 1817, he was elected to oversee the establishment of the ABS Library. The Biblical Library was established the same year that benevolent reformer Jessey Torrey from New York was announcing the establishment of charitable libraries that would compete with social libraries.[53] 1817 was also the year that the Quaker benevolent reformer Robert Vaux in Philadelphia launched their proposal for charitable libraries and versions of free libraries.[54]

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[51] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 284.

[52] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 273-282.

[53] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 281.

[54] Haynes McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), xvi.

Pintard was a natural candidate for overseeing and establishing the Biblical Library. He viewed the Bible as the most important book in his life and the ABS and its Biblical Library as the most important benevolent institution in the early republic.[55] Pintard served as the recording secretary (1817-1832), and vice president (1833-1844) of the A.B.S. Pintard had actively worked with Clinton for decades in establishing an array of humanitarian and civic endeavors and was the recording secretary for the City Hotel meeting on the reviving of the canal enterprise in 1815. Pintard was active in an extraordinarily diverse multitude of the city's cultural, social, economic, political, and intellectual organizations. He played a central role in the influential elite patrician culture in New York and was the leading voice in extending the characteristics of benevolence and reform into New York City culture. He was a co-founder of the American Academy of Arts, a co-founder of the General Theological Seminary, a founder of the New York Historical Society, a founder of the New York Institution of Learned and Scientific Establishments, founder of the Sailors' Snug Harbor, a curator of the Literary and Philosophical Society, trustee of the Free School Society and promoter of Sunday Schools, and secretary of the Chamber of Commerce.[56]

Pintard was deeply immersed in an array of humanitarian and civic endeavors, though he was especially interested in building libraries.[57] He was instrumental in establishing several libraries in New York, including the ABS Biblical Library, the New York Society Library, the Mercantile Library Association, the General Theological Seminary Library, and the many

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[55] Lorraine A. Coons, "ABS Historical Working Papers Series: The American Bible Society's Library," (New York: ABS Department of Archives, 1991), 3-4.

[56] Joseph A. Scoville, *The Old Merchants of New York, 5 vols.* (New York: Worthington Company, 1889), 344-355; Bender, *New York Intellect:* 35; JPintard, *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza* Pintard," ix-xviii; DeWitt Clinton and John Pintard, "Letters Albany, [NY] to John Pintard, New York, [NY], 1817-1818." 1817. Special Collections. Available at the Newberry Library.

[57] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 104-106; Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza Pintard,* 107.

libraries of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism and the Society for the reformation of Juvenile Delinquents.[58] Pintard's favorite library was the Biblical Library, which he viewed "as a child of my own and accumulates beyond my expectations."[59] Pintard made important early decisions in developing the first collection, transporting important volumes from out-of-state donations to the ABS Library, and assisting in preparing accurate translations of the Bible. Throughout his life, Pintard actively pioneered the Bible and Library causes with his personal acquaintances and social and religious circles in New York and across the United States.

The Biblical Library provided access to education for all students and people, especially the poor and the immigrants. According to ABS historical working papers,

> "The Library's primary responsibility was to provide access to copies of various Scriptures for consultation by the staff, as well as to collect grammars, glossaries, dictionaries, lexicons, and other material pertinent to the Bible. Secondly, the Managers hoped to establish a museum for exhibiting the culmination of current and past Bible work… Finally, the Managers designed their library as a research tool for students of the Bible."[60]

It was unique in that it contained a remarkable collection of Bibles in dozens of languages that catered to a growing global community in New York City. The collection reflects the Protestant values that were essential components of the Federal New York transitioning to the republic culture of New York City. The Biblical Library was seated in the center of the community of the working class and poor immigrants on Nassau Street that it could cater to a wide variety of readers and purposes, especially those who could not afford to buy a Bible. It did not contain the word library on the front door during its first year of operation to set itself apart from other libraries, elite civic institutions, or private philanthropies that required membership fees or

[58] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 105-106.

[59] Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza Pintard*, 89; See also Coons, "ABS Historical Working Papers Series," 4.

[60] Coons, "ABS Historical Working Papers Series," 1-2.

payment to check out books. The Biblical Library at first only contained Bibles, lexicons, concordances, and bibliographical works, though the Scripture collected expanded greatly in the Society's early years. The Biblical Library would accumulate by 1837 a total of eighty-five languages and expand its catalog to a total of 531 titles, demonstrating its initial priority for reaching a wide variety of purposes and readers.[61] As the ABS focused on more scriptural translations for overseas distribution after 1837, the library catalog exceeded one thousand volumes. The Biblical Library after 1837 added various languages to its library including Gaelic, German, Welsh, and French in its home missionary quest to immigrants and non-English speaking readers in New York. By 1897, the Biblical Library contained over five thousand three hundred volumes and transferred four-thousand to the Lenox Library of the New York Public Library. Tom Glynn argues that the Biblical Library, throughout the nineteenth century, promoted evangelical values that became critical to the culture and other libraries in New York City.[62] The Biblical Library continued to thrive throughout the twentieth century, and today, it remains a public relations tool for revealing the history of the values of the evangelical culture and the Bible movement.

According to Tom Glynn, New York's elite patricians John Pintard and DeWitt Clinton saw no distinction between benevolence, philanthropies, commerce, and government in their advancement of civic and cultural life.[63] Pintard and Clinton were active in an extraordinary diverse array of civic and humanitarian works and became most influential in shaping how benevolent institutions and reform interacted with civic and intellectual culture in New York

[61] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 106-107.

[62] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 117.

[63] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 104-106.

during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[64] They reveal how New York's benevolent elites influenced various kinds of institutional public life, ranging from civic public projects and advancements in commerce to publishing companies, libraries, and learned sciences.[65] At least until the 1837 commercial crisis, their work connected Protestant values to all groups and classes. They connected Protestant values and promoted a common Christian social consensus that became critical to the culture of New York City, especially the elite institutional life. Their lifelong promotion of the ABS and the Biblical Library interacted with an array of benevolent movements, reform, city missions, and reading revolutions in New York and throughout the United States. Their benevolent and humanitarian efforts penetrated the heart of American culture in New York City, though, by the panic of 1837, there started to become a recognizable disconnect for a unified urban elite center.[66] In 1837, the city became overwhelmed with Irish immigrants and by 1840s the city became divided with American Catholics due to the Potato famine. In the 1840s, neighborhoods and businesses continued to shift uptown, and the wealthy carried their benevolent and social institutions with them.[67] Even downtown churches began to abandon and rebuild elaborate churches near the Athenian Quarters in midtown Manhattan, the first home of the city's upper class and most all of the city's great institutional monuments of private and public philanthropy. The movement of businesses and neighborhoods uptown generated a serious social and moral crisis that interacted with the depression of 1837. According to Walter Barret, after 1837, the great commercial storm caused by a short harvest in

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[64] *Collections of the New York Historical Society, For The Year 1821, Volume III*. New York: E. Bliss and E. White, 270-274.

[65] Bender, *New York Intellect*, 60-61, 66-73.

[66] Bender, *New York Intellect* 74; Wosh, *Spreading the Word*, 28-31.

[67] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 28.

England drained the precious metals in America, which rapidly changed the values in America. The deficit in the English Bank rippled its effects across Wall Street, proving that "bread ruled and not money."[68]

The 1837 depression left many benevolent elites bankrupt, including Author Tappan, the chief financial supporter of the Benevolent Empire. The ATS and ABS would continue to thrive throughout the nineteenth century, though, by the time of the depression, volunteerism was already becoming a relic, and a new generation of New York's religious leadership began to focus on preventing future disasters. They began focusing on banking and reinventing institutional life to cater to the growing middle classes rather than directing city missions and benevolent causes to reach the poor immigrants and working classes in promoting a common Christian consensus, especially in lower Manhattan.[69] According to Tom Glynn, by the late 1830s, the optimism at the ABS had greatly dimensioned, and the vision lacked perpetuity in faith in the once unifying values for promoting a social consensual institutional life due to increasing demographic diversions and denominational diversity.[70]

The ABS and the ATS, along with the benevolent patrician fathers of the city, had promoted a consensual vision in society by providing the tools of Christian literature and Christian education to all groups and people that they might forge a common civic identity. In New York City for example, all 500 districts that were governed by 14 wards (each had a chairperson and committee) had successfully been systematically evangelized by distributers of the ATS with tracts and literature. By the end of the first year of the general supply, in March

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[68] Barret, *The Old Merchants of New York City*. *vol 5,* 35.

[69] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 29.

[70] Glynn, *Reading Publics*, 117.

1830, data shows that all 28,771 family units in the Empire City had been visited and that only 388 families declined tracts and Bibles. By 1833, the ATS had over 700 regular distributers in the city evangelizing also at the markets, wharves, hospitals and public institutions.[71] By the end of the first general supply in 1831 data demonstrates that the ABS and ATS had successfully distributed tracts and Bibles to over 90 percent of the state of New York.[72] The charity publishers and its benevolent leadership of both men and women had successfully completed an efficient effort in systematic distribution in the city and across the state and was somewhat successful in reaching the majority of the nation with tracts and Bibles. In the Empire City, they had promoted a consensual vision for forging a common Christian social consensus by educating people with the hope that all classes and groups of people would agree on a unified republican culture. The Biblical Library, part of the library movement (commercial circulating libraries and social libraries), demonstrated in its early missionary goals the promotion of reading for all groups and people that they might view learned culture through a Christian perspective. As the upper class continued to become more diverse and branch to more neighborhoods in mid-town above Chambers and Murray Streets in the late 1830s, the unifying vision to promote a Christian common cause dwindled. The ABS and its Biblical Library had optimistically promoted a connection of the Christianization of the common man through education and reading though rapid urbanization and division among classes and religious groups proved insurmountable challenges for forging "a common civic consensus."[73] The benevolent vision of an inclusive culture founded upon the vision of a greater common good in Christian culture had lost hope in

[71] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 85.

[72] Cross, *The Burned Over District*, 226-227.

[73] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 33.

promoting a renewed vision in a rapidly urbanizing society by about the mid-1830s. The majority of the leading men that once promoted the vision of the Benevolent Empire had died and the new cohort of managers and executives who dominated a learned culture by the early 1840s focused their efforts on constructing private education and private libraries that catered to their own satisfactions widely inspired by scientific advancements. Even the ABS moved its headquarters along with its Biblical Library in 1853 to the Athenian Quarters away from the center of the working classes and poor immigrants in lower Manhattan on Nassau Street. The essence of the Benevolent Empire would continue to transpire in New York and across the nation during the 1840s though the benevolent vision for extending a print culture that would forge a common Christian consensus failed to satisfy the diversity and advancements in learned culture. Further the withdrawal of religious leadership in lower Manhattan during the 1840s left the poor immigrants and working classes targets of the widespread of novels and newspapers while the elite promoted their ideas of sophisticated reading (learned libraries, scholarly books, and scientific publications) for what they believed a learned culture should represent. By the early 1850s, fragmented with divisions and strife and dominated by secular and liberal culture, the evangelical benevolent republic had failed to promote a dominant common Christian consensus in society, though it had significantly impacted the culture of the Empire City and the state of New York by forging ideas for nationalism through its popular brand of evangelical benevolence. It had significantly marked the period with evangelical ideas for reforming American life and it continued to thrive in society and produce mass media throughout the nineteenth century.

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Conclusion:

This scholarship argued the evangelical print culture of the Benevolent Empire successfully impacted the Empire City by forging ideas for nationalism during the growing tensions over ethical and moral standards for a new national. In what historians have labeled the market revolution for this period, it evaluated how the religious publishing companies pioneered many aspects of American publishing and successfully instituted variations of the agent and auxiliary system. It also argued how New York's elite wove benevolent interests with various public institutional life and educational trends. It examined how the nature of the evangelical print culture interacting with benevolence and reform supported conservative and innovative possibilities that eradicated change in society. Motivated widely by millennium tendencies and the campaign for saving souls that stressed ideas for piety during the early antebellum, the story of evangelical printing and distribution cultivated with benevolent interest and reform created ideas for nationalism by promoting the interests of regional history and its relation to national culture. Benevolence and reform had always been fashionably intertwined with missions and evangelism that supported the prevalence of the religious ideas and principles of Christianity. Since the days of William Wilberforce and Hannah Moore benevolence and reform have been viewed as the connection between Christianity and true religion.[1] They were intended to express active forms of Christianity that became popular in the mission work that entangled with new ideas for active benevolence, especially in addressing urban problems in the late 1780s during the establishment of early missions in New York City.[2] The first official city mission in New

[1] Ford K. Brown, *Fathers Of The Victorians: The Age Of Wilberforce* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 104-105, 152-154.

[2] Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-187*0 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 1-3.

York was the New York City Tract Society which in 1827 became an auxiliary to the ATS. This first city mission mass distributed tracts that began to characterize the nature between evangelical print culture and benevolent intentions to promote reform.[3] In Boston in the 1810s, there were similar parallels between missions and evangelical print culture. Tract and bible societies such as the New England Tract Society in 1814 demonstrated how missions and the transformative power of evangelical print culture produced an organizational vision to reform rural and urban spaces.[4]

As religious enthusiasm increased across the state of New York since the Great Revival of 1800 the desire for the distribution of the word grew with organization. Tracts and Bible distribution surged in hundreds of towns across the state between the late 1820s and mid-1830s. In central and western New York figures indicate that over ninety percent of all families in central and western New York had received Bibles by the first year of the general supply in 1829.[5] The ATS and ABS had reached into virtually every area of society dependent upon the auxiliaries to systematically deliver scripture and evangelical publications to needy souls. By the time the ABS and ATS produced the first general supply that was reliant upon systematic surveys and organized distribution a sophisticated mode of corporate operations had become established. Despite some disappointments, the continual formation of new Auxiliaries and Branch Societies created a remarkable national business that was efficiently transacting in publication and distribution. The first general supply launching from New York across the Mississippi Valley into

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[3] Peter J. Wosh, *Spreading The Word: The Bible Business In Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 1-2.

[4] David Paul Nord, *A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790 to 1840*. vol 2. ed. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 226-227.

[5] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District: The Social And Intellectual History Of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 126-127.

the American West produced impressive numbers for the first systematic distribution of mass media. By 1831, the ATS claimed to have published and distributed over five million pages per year that targeted children and adults. By 1829 the ASSU had circulated and distributed over five million copies of books and established in New York 2,500 schools with an estimated 76,000 pupils.[6] By 1833, the ASSU had established over 5,000 schools in the West and filled their over 2,000 libraries in the East with over 500,000 volumes for all readership, especially boys and girls.[7] They circulated a national print culture containing educational messages that filled spiritual and monetary needs. In propagating their mission and message, most families could not afford a book and most schools did not provide books for children until states began passing education reform laws. The charity publishers filled a crucial gap during a surge in literacy by providing free books and tracts and literacy training for the next generation. The ASSU even used their libraries to supply books for local children that provided the most literacy training for children in America until common schools became increasingly popular in the 1820s, especially in the northern parts of the United States.

Elite leaders of the Benevolent Empire such as DeWitt Clinton and John Pintard arguably caused a cultural revolution in their work of helping extend the evangelical print into a growing institutional American life. They were pioneers in the advancement of a new American society that intended to become a model for the rest of the world.[8] Clinton and Pintard wrestled though with how to promote Protestant values and moral ideas in a growing institutional life in New York that also rejected those Christian principles. The design of their goal was to connect the

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[6] Cross, *The Burned Over District*, 126-127.

[7] American Sunday School Union, *Ninth Annual Report*, 1833, 10.

[8] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 176.

broad readership of the evangelical print culture that contained biblical knowledge and educational messages to the needs and trends of a competitive market growing with secularism. They ponder on how to protect the growing populations of civil society in comparison to the European model for society that had failed (a metropolis with a national university leading in all learning). DeWitt Clinton argued repeatedly in December 1809 in his *Address on Monitorial Education* that the institutions of Europe failed to educate all of its youth and that a virtuous nation should promote a morally sound education that possesses the excellence of the Christian religion for all the people.[9] Initially, the underlining goal of evangelical mass media was to instruct in religious training and moral instruction that society would be influenced to believe in God and "abide by the power of God's Word."[10] Clinton stated in his memoirs "Monitorial education, Sunday schools, and Bible societies are the great levelers of society which must raise public opinion to its proper elevation."[11] Clinton viewed the publications of the ABS offered biblical knowledge and educational messages that lifted the consciousness of American society to its proper position for the better fulfillment of divine order. Clinton argued that Christian values and morals elevated the character of mankind and complemented "his social relations."[12] Even Pintard argued the Christian duty should be vigilant and strenuous in its work that "abundantly manifested in this city as well as elsewhere."[13] They viewed Christianity needed to vigorously infiltrate all facets of society, especially in education and learning that society might

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[9] *Address on Monitorial Education Governor DeWitt Clinton, 1809*.

[10] American Bible Society, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1828, 61.

[11] Dewitt Clinton and William W. Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849), 37.

[12] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 128.

[13] John Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza Pintard,* 4 vols. (New York: New York Historical Society, 1940), 281.

be exposed to the principles and values promoted through the Word of God. For Clinton and Pintard the broader implications of the evangelical print culture penetrating society meant more than promoting the popular evangelical press, it meant society would fail if it did not possess the values, principles, and ethical standards promoted in the Word of God.

When the American Bible Society launched its first general supply, certainly, DeWitt Clinton and John Pintard saw themselves as forging a rapidly modernizing and institutionalizing republican culture. As cultural improvers when the growing ethnic and religious backgrounds were becoming increasingly diverse, Pintard and Clinton looked for ways to promote Christianity, elevate the concepts of public life, and unite the early republican New York. They sought conservatively to improve a growing diverse culture when learned societies and institutions even themselves were mostly free of association or representation of any religious persuasion.[14] Clinton and Pintard sought to promote the idea of becoming a virtuous city that struggled with sin without injuring public moral. Pintard in his memoirs protested of how to improve the city's morals when the lotteries that mitigated "evils" in society were directly drawn upon as a main resource by the Grand Canal Commissioners. Pintard and Clinton who were stockholders and board members of the Western Inland Lock Navigation saw the "Lotteries" as destructive to society and the character of the Managers of the Grand Canal Commissions.[15] The state revenues from the lotteries used by the Grand Canal Commissioners was viewed by the benevolent elite men as injurious to society and a "corrupted method of finance."[16] Despite direct involvement with state legislation that approved of gambling which funded their civil projects in

[14] Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 60-61.

[15] John Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza Pintard,* 4 vols. (New York: New York Historical Society, 1940), 157.

[16] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 72.

a "city that struggled with its vices," Pintard and Clinton dedicated their lives to improving civil advancement and promoting the ideology for a "polished city" especially among the humbler classes.[17]

David Nord discusses when the charity publishers of the evangelical benevolent republic battled against the secular commercial culture what propagated their message?[18] How did the ABS and ATS successfully promote their unchanging values in a world mixing with diverse learners and communities moving in multiple directions and possessing an array of interests and ideas.[19]The ATS aimed to capture the reader's attention and instruct in a marketplace of ideas. They aligned their advanced printing facilities with corporate policies that connected Christian principles with high moral values. As the new corporate structure became established, the focus on production and marketing along with the move to stereotype printing in 1828 and new printing presses by 1829 gave way to the first general supply. I argued the ABS which produced their new corporate model applied later by the ATS and ASSU, possessed a "pecuniary character."[20] The character of their corporate structuring allowed flexibility to create policies as needed to perpetually establish the advancement of auxiliaries and their branches. The steady increase in distribution in the ABS Annual Reports throughout the 1820s reveals the steady growth of the auxiliaries conformed to the systematic writing of policy systematically that concentrated the power of efficient printing and distribution.

The ABS and ATS created new versatile corporate strategies that helped pioneer many aspects of American publishing. Fascinated with their developing bureaucratic business model

[17] Pintard, *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza Pintard,* 157.

[18] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 238.

[19] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 13.

[20] American Bible Society, *Fourth Annual Report*, 1820, 33.

for spreading mass media, the ABS and ATS demonstrated consistent innovative practices and steady expansion that were essential in becoming a national corporate bureaucracy. These religious publishers that were connected by the benevolent elite to a variety of public institutions and reform organizations interexchanged principles of systematic benevolence with basic business practices that made their contribution to society a story that translates from moral missionary agency to bureaucratic corporate reform. These great national religious publishing societies operated with innovative business practices that bent the rules of main current capitalism, particularly with their use of voluntary labor in marketing their benevolent print culture to resist modernity. They flowed both with and against the economic currents because they maintained a cheap and competitive print and uniquely they sold and gave away Bibles and tracts. They used the commercial and non-commercial currents of the market to give gifts and produce profits. They also sold at cost to produce what the annual reports call "permanency."[21] Nord claims the ABS and ATS deployed efficient innovative business strategies to propagate more than a religious message rather they aimed to foster an intense religious experience that embraced the market revolution.[22]

Where the evangelical print culture of western and central New York targeted the middle classes according to the book *Cradle Of The Middle Class* by Mary P. Ryan, the mass media of charity publishers in New York City targeted the common man with an emphasis on the youth. During a period marked by contests over moral and ethical standards and concepts of intellect and learned culture, the ABS stated in the Annual Report of its twelfth anniversary during the beginning of the first general supply in 1929, "that the Society view with grateful satisfaction the

[21] David Paul Nord, *Faith In Reading: Religious Publishing And The Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 55; American Bible Society, *Fourth Annual Report*, 1820, 11.

[22] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 246; Nord, *Faith In* Reading, 149.

efforts of the present day, to imbue the minds of the young with a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures.[23] The ABS and the ATS in collaboration with the ASSU continually made efforts to supply the youth and children with the word, especially Bibles and testaments. During the 1830s, the ABS supplied the ASSU and even denominational Sunday schools such as the Methodist Episcopal Church. The corporate change to supply denominational Sunday schools demonstrated the growing concern for educating the children and youth with the word. For the charity publishers, they believed the word would purify public sentiment and improve moral standards which must be promoted especially among the children and youth. In 1835 the ABS announced in their Annual Reports "Resolved that the friends of the Bible throughout the Country of every religious denomination, be respectfully invited to cooperate in furnishing as soon as practicable a copy of the Bible or New Testament to every child in the United States under fifteen years of age."[24] They believed whatever would possess the mind of the youth would characterize the morals and values of the nation. With science still widely unexplored they encouraged the youth to seek a pure education and attain high moral standards distinguishable in the principles of Christianity that could be used for the betterment of the country's welfare. Pintard and Clinton dedicated their lives to consistently looking for ways to peacefully connect benevolent causes to education and intellectual trends for the next generation of youth. Clinton and Pintard throughout their memoirs and letters constantly refer to an education that exposes the youth to the word and prepares as many as possible to enter the ministry that society might continue to rise and "be hailed by future ages."[25]

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[23] American Bible Society, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1828, 10.

[24] Eric M. North, "ABS Historical Essay #14: Distribution In The United States, 1821-1830, Part III," New York: ABS Department of Archives, (1964): 141.

[25] Clinton and Campbell, *Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton*, 49.

The ABS and ATS demonstrated national organization, a concentration of bureaucratic power, and the potential of mass communication in their quest to reform the nation. During the 1830s with the rise of temperance and antislavery the evangelical publishing style began to lose its focus on religion and transfer its energy to social reform. After 1835 the organizational innovation of the charity publishers began to phase out along with their corporate unity. The ABS and ATS continued to prosper after 1840 though their mode of operation became valuable for reform organization and shifted with a new phase of bureaucratic business organization for printing and distribution based on salaried agents and paid employees rather than the efforts of voluntary labor.[26] The financial panic in 1837 also paid its toll on the economy and marked a new era of managers and executives at the ABS and ATS. By 1837 about half of the early managers and executives at the ABS and ATS had died and were replaced with a new generation of leadership. According to Peter J. Wosh, the new generation of leadership at the ABS after 1837 worked longer at their private business and possessed different business experiences than their patrician predecessors.[27] Specialization characterized their work and they attended less to public interest revealing a shift in new values that had been essential to New York's elite patricians, who founded the ABS and ATS. The new leadership focused on the institutionalization in the new growing capitalist economy that during the financial panic of 1837 shifted the unifying values of the previous generation of New York benevolent elites. The panic of 1837 created a real estate crisis and a broken labor system that interacted with the religious and social turmoil. Instead of focusing on missions and the poor, the churches and religious societies began to divide as the wealthy abandoned their older chapels moving uptown which

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[26] Nord, *Faith In Reading*, 97.

[27] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 51.

further promoted social and moral turmoil in the city. Seymour J. Mandelbaum argues during the 1830s that both Protestants and Catholics had abandoned their old churches in lower Manhattan to reconstruct new elaborate edifices to cater to the new and fine houses growing around the "Washington Square District."[28] By 1837, the city's wealthy and middle classes were moving uptown and creating new residential neighborhoods and business centers. The benevolent elite began focusing on improving the market conditions and were less concerned with the poor families in lower Manhattan. The social, cultural, and economic conditions growing in the complexities of a dangerous class system reveal an ending of the first chapter of the great age of evangelical mass publication as the Benevolent Empire ended by 1840. With a complexity of society changes towards the end of the market revolution, the ABS and the ATS did find ways to prosper though they redefined themselves with support for reform. While the ATS became deeply involved in specific reform efforts such as anti-slavery the ABS remained neutral to specific reform efforts so that it could insulate itself from attacks and the failures that plagued reform agencies.[29] As the Benevolent Empire continued to divide and crumble by 1840, the story of the great age of evangelical mass communication continued to flourish under new leadership that applied a new mode of operation for establishing reform organizations and interdenominational efforts connected to increasingly bureaucratic processes of institutionalization.[30]

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[28] Seymour J. Mandelbaum, *Boss Tweed's New York* (New York: Wiley, 1965), 29-31.

[29] Wosh, *Spreading The Word*, 34.

[30] Nord, *A History of the Book in America*, 246.

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