

GREATER NEW ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Greater New England may be defined as the region in which people of New England birth and ancestry lived in such numbers as to make them the most considerable single stock therein.

The purpose of this paper is to outline the results of some of my own researches and to correlate some special studies of others which cast light upon the significance of the historical movements which accompanied the extension of the New England element in the first half of the nineteenth century especially into New York and parts of the North Central states.

This involves consideration: (1) of the revolutionary changes which, in the parent section, accompanied the spread of its people, and (2) of the social, economic, and political aspects of the regions thus colonized in the West. Only the first part of the subject will be discussed in the present paper.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in the generation between 1830 and 1860 New England's life was revolutionized, partly by the play of the forces which accompanied the age of steam production, the factory system, and the railroads, and partly by the outflow of her population to other regions, and the inflow of new peoples. These factors of migration are closely related, partly as cause and partly as effects of the new economic conditions.

Let us first attempt an estimate of the volume of the New England emigrants. By the census of 1850 it appears that there were in New York 206,630 persons of New England birth. In the states of the North Central Division of that date (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, and the Territory of Minnesota) there were 180,476 natives of New England. But it is capable of demonstration historically that central, western, and part of northern New York were settled by New Englanders chiefly between 1790 and 1820, and that from the counties most distinctively Yankee in their composition came New York's contribution to the North Central States. To be conservative, however, let us assume that only one-half of the New York element in the North Central States was of New England origin. In that case, we add 195,741 New Englanders, concealed as "natives of New York," to the figures for the New England people in the North Central States, and thus arrive at a total of over half a million New Englanders in New York and the North Central States combined. Except as stated, this ignores all persons of New England ancestry born in New York between 1790 and 1850. It also omits the considerable number of New England natives who had left the above states in the later forties and were reckoned in California, Oregon, and Utah. In 1850 there were in all over 13,000 such Far Western New England natives.

There were also over 30,000 natives of New England in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and about 21,000 in the South Atlantic and South Central States combined, or a total of 64,000 New England natives outside of New England and of the New York and North Central areas. Pennsylvania particularly had been subject to New England colonization from before the Revolution, and had in turn sent many colonists of this stock into New York and the North Central States. It will add to the margin of safety, however,

to leave to one side the Far Western, Middle State, and Southern Yankee element.

Thus far, with the exception noted in the case of New York, dealing with the New England people outside the parent division in 1850, we have found over a half million, counting one-half the New Yorkers in the North Central States as New Englanders by ancestry and omitting those in New York of New England ancestry. We may adopt a more indirect mode of arriving at a conclusion, and one more fairly indicative of the amount of persons of New England origin, rather than nativity.

Between 1790 and 1820 the migration from Southern New England, embracing Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, has been estimated by Mr. Percy Bidwell at 800,000 souls.¹ Where did this migrated element go? No doubt very much of it settled in Northern New England. But historical evidence makes it certain that there was a large migration to New York and the older North Central States, particularly in the Connecticut Reserve, and southern Michigan and Wisconsin and northern Illinois. In 1851 Horace Bushnell reached the conclusion that nearly one-fourth of the New York constitutional convention of 1821 were natives of Connecticut and that if those of Connecticut parentage were added, probably a majority of the convention was of Connecticut stock.² His study of Congress about 1843 convinced him that over one-fifth were of Connecticut birth and descent. Two-fifths of New York's delegation were of that stock. Of the ninety-six members of the Ohio legislature of 1822, whose

¹"Rural Economy in New England," in *Trans. Conn. Academy of Arts and Science*, XX, 241-399, especially 386. His method consists in applying the principles of W. Burdick, *Mass. Manual*, Boston, 1814, and Blodgett, *Economica*, 79. He adopts for Southern New England the rate of increase for the United States as a whole, and assumes that, but for migration, they should have had a like increase. This total increase for the period 1790-1820 was 145.6%. The Census of 1820 on this basis should have shown 1,681,673, instead of the 881,594 actually reported—a deficit of about 800,000.

²Bushnell, *Work and Play*, 219.

nativity is known, twenty-five were of New England birth. In the absence of census data prior to 1850 these figures may serve as straws to indicate the earlier tendency.³ In 1790 the population of Northern New England, (Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont,) was 323,850. In 1820 it was 778,477, an increase of only 454,627. If it had followed the rate of increase of the nation as a whole on the above basis, it should have shown an increase of over 471,500, and should thus have amounted to 795,385 instead of 778,477.

Whether this failure to reach the larger figure was due to migration from Northern New England, or (what is practically absurd in view of the well known fecundity of a pioneer population,) an abnormally low birth rate in Northern New England as compared with the United States as a whole, it is clear on the original assumption that 800,000 New Englanders had migrated to areas outside of the section between 1790 and 1820. For if the entire deficit of Southern New England, the 800,000 migrants, had gone to Northern New England, and if Northern New England had been unoccupied in 1790, they would have furnished somewhat more than the actual number found in Northern New England in 1820, leaving to be accounted for the natural increase of original Northern New England between 1790 and 1820, which by itself should have brought the total for Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine to nearly 800,000.

If these figures are correct, therefore, and the 800,000 lost New Englanders had doubled in the next thirty years, by 1850 there should have been 1,600,000 New Englanders and their descendants living outside the parent section. As we have found an actual number of 387,000 natives of New England living in 1850 in New York and the North Central States

³Of course, the Yankee may have been exceptionally successful in politics; but there are reasons for doubting that this is a serious limitation to the estimate.

alone, and as the Yankees had been migrating in large numbers for over half a century, it seems not improbable that there were in New York and the North Central States combined by 1850 over a million and one-half people of the New England stock. The outflow continued to be important for the next decade. By 1860 there were about 276,000 natives of New England in the North Central States, and about 178,000 in New York, a total of 454,000 or nearly half a million native New Englanders, not reckoning the progeny of the immigrants for some two generations born in the states west of New England. If we should take account merely of one-half of the New York element, in the North Central States, as in the estimate for 1850, the 273,000 thus obtained would raise the element to over three-quarters of a million in 1860, regardless of the other progeny of New Englanders in the North Central States.

It is, therefore, I conclude, conservative to estimate the part of Greater New England which had left the old section to dwell in New York and the North Central States at not less than a million and a half by the middle years of the nineteenth century.

In 1850 the native population of New England was somewhat less than 2,500,000. Adding the 1,500,000 wanderers, we get as the total population of Greater New England not less than 4,000,000. About 37.5 per cent, or well over one-third of the total stock were living outside the parent section. The 300,000 foreign born, chiefly Irish in New England, did not equal in numbers the 387,000 natives of New England in New York and the North Central States in 1850; but they furnished a partial replacement of the original stock, and this in itself is a fact of no little significance. In 1850 the population of Boston showed 68,687 natives of Massachusetts and 35,287 natives of Ireland; 88,948 natives of the United States and 46,677 foreign born. As the Irish had

been coming for over a dozen years in large numbers and their children were in part reckoned in the census as natives of Massachusetts, it is clear that a process had begun of no little significance in the history of the transformation of the center of Puritanism.⁴ In 1900 less than twenty per cent of Boston's population was native born of native parents, and in this category were most of the descendants of the Irish born in those earlier years in Massachusetts. Over a third of the total were native whites of foreign parents, and about the same proportion for foreign born. Three-fourths and more of Boston's population was of foreign parentage. The record of Providence, Worcester, and Fall River, to name only the cities of over 100,000 inhabitants was about as striking. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut each had more people of foreign birth and parentage than native whites. In 1916 the Mayor of Boston informed one of the present Harvard Corporation that the "Irish had letters and learning, culture and civilization, when the forebears of New England were the savage denizens of Hyperborean forests," that "the pestilent Irish" had "made Massachusetts a fit place to live in," that the "New England of the Puritan . . . was as dead as Julius Caesar" and that "this is the year 1916, and not 1620, 1720, or 1820."

If we retrace now the footsteps of the wanderers from New England by states, we find that in 1860 there were in New York and the North Central States about 41,000 natives of New Hampshire, 90,000 of Maine, 105,000 of Connecticut, 123,000 of Massachusetts, and 127,000 of Vermont. For every three natives of Vermont remaining in the state of their

⁴A census of Boston in 1845 showed that of a total population of 114,366, there were 73,290 born outside of the city, of whom 46,186 were natives of other parts of the Union, and 27,104 of alien birth. The 41,076 of Boston birth included 10,185 of foreign parentage. This shows that the foreign element outnumbered the natives of Boston, of native parentage. Shattuck, *Census of Mass., 1845*, p 37, cited in Priscilla H. Fowle, *Boston Daily Papers 1830-1850*, (MS. Radcliffe thesis).

nativity, more than two had left; for every two remaining natives of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, one had gone. The gain of population in the decade 1850-1860 was but three-tenths of one per cent in Vermont, seven-tenths in Maine, and two and one-half per cent in New Hampshire. In the next decade Maine and New Hampshire actually decreased.

It was Western and Northern New England that furnished the larger share of the expansion of Greater New England. The rural towns of the section were stagnant or declining, and New England was turning from the sea and from the country to the water powers and manufacturing communities. Her destiny became urban instead of rural. The agricultural interales and valleys in the midst of the sterile hills of New England had been overcome in their historic economic life and prosperity by the competition and attractions of the cheap and fertile lands of the West,—new and vaster interales for the moving population—and by the pull of the rising cities, such as Boston and New York, upon the more enterprising and ambitious of the farmers' boys. The canals and then the railroads made the competition keener and the way to the West easier. By 1825 the Erie Canal opened the road.⁵ Early in the thirties the cities on the western shore of Lake Michigan were reached by steamers; in 1842 railroad connection was established with Buffalo, and soon after with Dunkirk and with Ogdensburg; by the early fifties Chicago had railroad connection with the eastern cities; by the middle fifties the open prairies were crossed by rails to the Mississippi River.

We may now rapidly survey some of the results. First, what of the effect upon New England *morale*? In a volume published by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in 1911 edited by Mr. George French and

⁵See Lois K. Mathews, "The Erie Canal and the Settlement of the West," in *Buffalo Historical Society Pubs.*, XII.

entitled *New England*, the editor, after commenting on the pioneering activity of the section and its share in settling the West, says:

"The result was that there came over New England an era of halting effort, due to loss of primal vigor to the West and the newer sections . . . a drain of New England energy and initiative. . . . There has been a constant exhaustion of New England's vitality comparable only to the giving of her own life to her children by a mother. New England suffered, and suffered more acutely and fundamentally than ever will be estimated. The wholesale and continual transfusion of her best blood to the veins of the newer states could only mean the weakening of her own constitution and the limiting of her own development."

No doubt we should take exceptions to this view. It is clear that the section did gain new stimulus by the very process of extension, even as a robust mother gains by her growing sons, each contributing new contacts with life, new points of view. It is also clear that the migration from town to city within New England itself in the same period retained in the section many of the most originative and fertilizing of her people, who expressed the New England spirit in new ways, and it is clear that the loss was chiefly in the inland states and counties. It is also to be remembered that in the years between the War of 1812 and the early thirties, when the migrations to the West were becoming a matter of alarm to New England, and contemporaneously with the rise of Jacksonian democracy, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts broke down the political power of the Standing Order (the union of the Congregational Church and the Federalist governments), entered upon a freer, political and social era, and that literature and religion took a new birth.

At this point we meet a problem which has been solved in quite different ways by different writers. Henry Cabot Lodge has magnified the influence and importance of the New England element as a factor in the distribution of American ability by classifying

the names of those recorded in Appleton's *Dictionary of American Biography* according to the sections of their birth. He failed to give due attention to the emphasis placed by the editor of that work upon certain kinds of ability in which New England excelled; to the greater length of time in which New England was producing celebrities entitled to admission to its pantheon⁶; and to the fact that the babes and young children of New England parents who moved West with their parents and who grew up in a Western environment, were all included in his New England list. The rapidity with which the migrated New Englander took on a Western quality is phenomenal but well attested. The result, however, showed a remarkable monopoly of talent by the New England natives. On the other hand, Mr. Gustav Michaud, writing in *The Century* on the "Brain of the Nation" and using *Who's Who*, and correcting some of the faults of Mr. Lodge's method, though he also found a remarkable preponderance of such brains in the New England group, explained the disproportion by alleging that New England was the mecca of idealists in colonial days, and that it was the materialists, the men of action rather than of thought, the less imaginative, who migrated from New England to the West, thereby creating a Western society less able to produce men of talent, and leaving in New England a larger proportion of the neurotic, a class from which he derives the pre-eminent men of genius. I may remark in passing that both Lodge and Michaud have neglected the new environmental factor, that there are defects in their methods, and that the children of the pioneers brought up under Western conditions and ideals have a strikingly increasing ratio in recent issues of *Who's Who*, proportioned to population, and to periods within which ability could manifest itself. This seems to indicate either that, so far as heredity

⁶For example as late as 1850 less than 18 per cent of the population of Wisconsin were natives of that state, while in Massachusetts the percentage was nearly 69.

goes, there was no striking lack of imaginative and creative quality on the side of science and the humanities, as well as in the field of action, on the part of the migrated Yankee stock, or that the conditions of a new social environment were favorable to creative intellectual activity. But that is too considerable a topic to be more than referred to in this paper.⁷

There was, moreover, a counterbalancing element upon New England's *morale*, though it worked destruction to many of her old ideals and traits. New England gained a new life, and a new outlook by losing her former isolation and a certain narrowness of view. Thereafter New England was obliged to take account of the western wing of her people in shaping her policies; was obliged at critical times even to follow their leadership; and could never safely proceed on older lines of New England provincialism in party connection. Platforms, congressional measures, nominations, all reflected adjustments between the different wings of Greater New England and between them and the New York and Pennsylvania elements.

Thereafter the New England banker, railroad promoter, merchant, and manufacturer, also lifted his eyes to a farther horizon and followed with his vision the extending frontier of New England's western sons; he was tempted to build more largely, to see farther. Not seldom it was those New Englanders who had removed as young men to New York

⁷The contribution of the children of these pioneers has been notable. A return movement to the Eastern cities and to the faculties of leading Eastern universities by the men and women of talent born in the West prior to 1870 is one of the striking features of the history of leadership in the East. This element has achieved distinction not only in the field of action but also in science and the humanities.

Dr. Edwin L. Clarke, in *American Men of Letters, Their Nature and Nurture*, (*Columbia University Studies LXXII*), concludes, on the basis of his statistics, that in the decade of 1841-1850, when were born the writers of forty to sixty years later, the men of New England nativity who achieved distinction in literature still had supremacy, "but its lead had been appreciably reduced. The East North Central States showed the least relative decline in literary fecundity, a fact which may indicate that the future literary leadership of the country is to be theirs." It must be remembered also that among the natives of New England he reckons not a few who came as babes and young children to the West and grew up under the influence of its social environment.

and to the West, and had thereby broken the bonds of custom, who most effectively entered into these expanding opportunities. The very process of sifting by which other sections called away the youthful, the less satisfied, the more optimistic and adventurous, tended, it is true, to leave in a stronger position the more conservative in those regions of New England which were the most affected. But by the middle of the century, the history of New England's domestic commerce and manufacture and her political life in the nation shows an enlarged outlook and a more national attitude as the result of her new relationships with other sections.

In estimating New England's economic losses, we may apply some of the tests used in discussion of foreign emigration, and by the South in its appraisal of its own losses by migration to the West in this period. Professor Dew, of William and Mary College, writing in the thirties, pointed out that the emigration of the slaves from Virginia was compensated by their purchase price; and the encouragement to raise more of such property; but that the emigration of the whites was a dead loss to the South, for the cost of rearing the emigrant to about the age when he was self supporting,—the age when he usually left,—fell upon the parent state, and his productive capacity was lost to the state thereafter. Moreover the emigration from the state carried off free capital, injured agriculture, prevented improvements and reduced the value of land within the state by reducing the competitors for it. Madison contemporaneously made this the fundamental explanation of Virginia's decline. He assumed an average value of \$200 for Virginia's slaves, but they greatly increased in value by 1850.

If we take the foreign immigration test and estimate the value of an adult at \$1,000 and the number of adults at one-fifth of the New England migrated element, (which is too low because of the proportion

of young men who went,) we have 300,000 adults, or a loss of \$300,000,000. On the slave basis of \$200 average in family lots, the total would be the same. Supposing that each migrating family carried as little as \$200 cash and movables, this item would amount to about \$15,500,000 for the 387,000 natives of New England living in the West in 1850. It is likely that this reached at least double the sum.

It has been estimated that in Massachusetts alone between 1850 and 1870 farms were abandoned to the amount of 300,000 acres.⁸ If it had cost \$150 per acre to clear the ordinary woodland in the abandoned farm region,⁹ the net loss, after allowing for the value of the wood, would be \$43,000,000 for this state alone; but Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont showed similar abandonments, not to speak of the less thrifty and less enterprising cultivation on the part of the members of the family who remained to carry on farming where the fields were not abandoned. This is a complicated subject on which farther study is needed. Whatever the money value of labor withdrawn, cleared lands and houses abandoned, and cash and personal property removed, the social and spiritual losses to rural New England were even greater, for a very important part of New England's historic ideals, and of that ability which migrated both to the city, when the agriculture declined, and to the lesser manufacturing towns, as well as to the West, were developed in the rural communities.

On the other side of the ledger, immigration to Southern New England (particularly that of the Irish after the famine) helped to prevent a decline in population, but involved a replacement of stock. In 1850, as we have seen, about as many Irish natives lived in Massachusetts as there were natives of Massachusetts outside of New England.

⁸H. B. Hall, *Agriculture in New England*: MS. thesis in Harvard University.

⁹Johnson, *Notes on American Agriculture*, II, 452, so estimates it.

Even if we should accept the favorable estimates of the ultimate advantage to New England of this inflow of the Irish people, it implied the beginnings of a revolution in her historic society, and at the time it meant a great increase in pauperism and crime, due, no doubt, in a large part, to the poverty of the immigrant people. Penological and charitable institutions and societies took on a new development. With immigration also came later the replacement of the native labor class by the foreign workers in the mills. Hours of work became a burning question. Even before this replacement in the Lowell mills, about 1850, the hours were from 5 A. M. to 7 P. M. with a half hour out at noon, or thirteen hours work.¹⁰ Unfusing groups of capital and labor formed, in which nativity and religion served to emphasize antagonisms at the very time when capital employing labor was undergoing the transformation incident to the industrial revolution. Social homogeneity diminished. The mother section of Greater New England did not exhibit the free intercourse and mutual adjustment of different classes and nationalities observable contemporaneously in the states of the North Central group. An Irish traveller of this period, Grattan, wrote:

"All seem to agree that New England, taken on the whole, is the hardest soil for an Irishman to take root and flourish in. The settled habits of the people, the restrained English descent of the great majority, discrepancies of religious faith and forms, and a jealousy of foreign intermixture of any kind, all operate against those who would seek to engraft themselves on the Yankee stem, in the hope of a joint stock of interest or happiness."

As early as 1837 Boston newspapers told of the riot at a military review, when five companies left the field with the American flag flying, to the tune of Yankee Doodle, because an Irish company took part in the parade. A mob beat up this Irish company as

¹⁰See Commons, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, VIII, 141.

it left the Common. A few months earlier a riot had taken place between Irishmen and the fire department which attracted some 10,000 people; and several companies of light infantry and cavalry were required to break up the mob.¹¹ *The Pilot* was established in 1836 as the organ of the Irish-Catholic minority. It is significant of some lack of discernment in New England, however, that in the thirties and forties Protestant ministers like Lyman Beecher fixed their attention upon the West as the region into which Puritan money, missionaries and teachers should be poured to stem the apprehended tide of Catholicism.

It appears, therefore, that in compensating New England for part of her losses by westward migration, foreign immigration brought also fundamental changes in the later development of New England's social and moral life. In like fashion the industrial gains which offset the section's loss of agricultural prosperity were accompanied by revolutionary changes. In 1810 two-thirds of the people of Southern New England lived in townships of less than 3,000 inhabitants, and for the most part on farms. In 1860 only one-third lived in such towns.¹² The factory took the place of the household as the manufacturing unit. The little household industries in Southern New England had for over a generation been training artisans in the production of Yankee notions, sold by peddlers and others to remote regions. The development of the

¹¹Boston Commercial Gazette, Sept. 13, and June 12, 1837. Writing in 1842, Emerson says in his *Journal*, "Edmund Hosmer was willing to sell his farm five years ago for \$3300 and go to the West. He found and still finds that the Irish of which there are two hundred in this town [Concord] are under-selling him in labor, and he does not see how he and his boys can do those things which only he is willing to do; for go to market he will not, nor shall his boys with his consent do any of those things for which high wages are paid, as for example, take any shop, or the office of foreman or agent in any corporation wherein there seems to be a premium paid for faculty as if it were paid for the faculty of cheating. He does not see how he and his children are to prosper here, and the only way for them is to run, the Caucasian [sic] before the Irishman."

¹²Percy W. Bidwell, in *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, December, 1917, p. 816; Grace P. Fuller, *Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State*, *Smith College Studies*, I, 53, 54.

factory system was based in part upon this pre-existing skilled labor, and, as the markets widened, the peddler was replaced by the merchant who applied his capital to the purchase of manufactured goods and marketed them where he could. A wider outlook for the business man appeared to West and South, at the same time that a self-conscious laboring class was evolved, when the old time intimate local relations of small manufacturer and his men were superseded.¹³ Problems of long hours, child and woman labor, and wages, emerged and engaged the attention of legislators contemporaneously with the clearly-marked development of the business leaders who seized the opportunity of interstate commerce to West and South.

New England had long been dependent upon other regions, especially the states of the North Central division, to which Greater New England had spread, for food and raw materials. In 1850 New England produced but thirteen quarts of wheat per capita in place of the five or six bushels needed. She raised only three and seven-tenths bushels of corn per capita. By 1860 Southern New England was almost wholly dependent on the other states for her bread stuffs.¹⁴ Between 1840 and 1870 the sheep industry of New England declined sharply, while that of the North Central States rose to the leadership.¹⁵ Thus one recompense to the farmer was withdrawn. He could not turn his arable land into sheep pasture. The construction of the Western railway which opened the Western markets to Boston only accelerated the

¹³Emerson records in his *Journal* in the spring of 1837 that he was as "gay as a canary bird with this new knowledge. It has been a sensible relief to learn that the destiny of New England is to be the manufacturing country of America. I no longer suffer in the cold out of morbid sympathy with the farmer. The love of the farmer shall spoil no more days for me."

¹⁴U. S.-Census, 1860, *Agriculture*.

¹⁵See Chart IV in C. W. Wright, *Wool Growing and the Tariff*, and Chapter V; maps in H. C. Taylor, *University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 16, 1911.

downfall of rural New England. Boston's Oriental commerce by way of the Pacific declined after the thirties, and in the forties an important part of the eastward trade to China passed into New York hands.

The capital which had formerly been invested in ocean commerce began to find new investments not only in the factories, the greatest of which were developed in this period by some of the very men who had been merchants in the commerce with the Orient,¹⁶ but also in railroads.¹⁷ Greater New England in New York and in the Middle West had an important share in these undertakings. Visions not only of connecting the Atlantic with the Great Lakes and the Mississippi but also of transcontinental lines that should open the Pacific and the shores of China passed before the eyes of the Greater New England promoters. The section itself tended to follow the trail of her pioneers to new industrial empires.¹⁸ But her shift in trade modified her interest both in foreign diplomatic questions and national domestic politics.

Of Greater New England in the Far West I shall not have time to speak. It may suffice to recall that in the thirties Nat Wyeth, the Cambridge ice man, with New England missionaries, opened an overland road for New England influence in Oregon; that

¹⁶For example, Francis C. Lowell. See Victor Clark, *History of Manufactures in U. S.*, 367, 451, and authorities cited there.

¹⁷A type is John Murray Forbes; see Pearson, *A Railway Builder*. There is abundant evidence of the importance and extent of this transfer.

¹⁸Writing in 1837 Emerson says in his *Journal*: "I listen by night, I gaze by day at the endless procession of wagons loaded with the wealth of all regions of England and China, of Turkey and of the Indies, which from Boston creep by my gate to all the towns of New Hampshire and Vermont. With creaking wheels at midsummer and crunching the snows, on huge sledges in January, the train goes forward at all hours, bearing this cargo of inexhaustible comfort and luxury to every cabin in the hills."

But five years later he writes: (1842, l. c. VI, 269) "The prosperity of Boston is an unexpected consequence of steam-communication. The frightful expenses of steam make the greater neighborhood of Boston to Europe a circumstance of commanding importance,—and the ports of Havre and Liverpool are two days nearer to Boston than to New York. This superiority for the steam post added to the contemporaneous opening of its great lines of railroad, like iron rivers, which already are making it the depot for flour from Western New York, Michigan, Illinois, promises a great prosperity to that city."

Yankee trading ships had long made both the Northwest coast and California and Hawaii familiar to Boston merchants; that in the late twenties Jedediah Smith, of New England stock, first explored the route from Salt Lake basin to California;¹⁹ that the last president of Texas was a Berkshire doctor; that the Prophet Joseph Smith and his leonine successor, Brigham Young, founded a theocratic commonwealth chiefly of Greater New Englanders in the deserts of Utah and thereby adapted the New England town and a much modified Puritan religious organization to the needs of an irrigation community, which spread over a region as large as several European states.

As industrial life took on greater breadth and intensity and as it sought western connections, New England, true to Puritan instincts, stirred by the growth of the West and by the colonization of her people in the North Central states, attempted to hold them to her traditional ideals and culture by collecting funds for schools and churches to be established in the newly settled western lands. There was a migration not only of men and markets, but of ideals and institutions. The home missionary movements and the organizations for promotion of both common schools and higher education are types of this interest. In all the states of the Middle West New England leadership in these directions was marked. Lawyers, doctors, editors, politicians, teachers, and ministers, all felt the call to these new fields and took a share, disproportionate to their numbers, in the origins and development of the institutions of society in the West. A sectional rivalry for ascendancy in these hinterlands of eastern civilization was under way, and even churches enlisted in the campaign and were modified at home by the new stimuli. But it must be remembered that the West itself deeply affected and even

¹⁹Men like the Bents, of Bent's Fort, the Gerrys, descendants of Elbridge Gerry, in Colorado, and a long list of California adventurers illustrate the picturesque side of the wandering Yankee, influential in this general period.

shaped these spiritual forces by the influence of its own society and ideals, and that many a New England missionary of Puritan civilization became so changed by his removal as to find New England itself no longer a congenial home. There was giving as well as taking on the part of Greater New England in the West. The unfolding of these influences belongs to another paper.

These western activities all had their influences upon New England's literature in the generation between 1830 and 1860. Her old interests and her old ways of thinking were modified and enlarged with the rise of Jacksonian democracy and the vision of a vaster destiny, as the American people found new and farther-reaching ways. Innovation gained new converts. New conceptions replaced the conception of the "Institutions of God" held by Cotton Mather and his spiritual descendants; "the hedge" was no longer so jealously guarded by the Angel of the Lord;²⁰ independence of thought grew as Greater New England formed.²¹

It may be, as has been claimed, that it was in part due to the formation of a leisure class and to the rise of new wealth that literature took a new life in these years. Certainly there were marked evidences of such changes, among the more amusing the appearance of a kind of Boston Blue Book, under the title "Our First Men" (1846), which limited this élite to those possessing over a hundred thousand dollars. But the connections between the spirit of the new literature and this rise of new fortunes is difficult to establish, and to a disproportionate degree the smaller cities had their part in furnishing the men of talent.

²⁰See Mather as quoted in my paper on *The First Official Frontier of Massachusetts* in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XVII, 269.

²¹"The yoke of opinion," wrote William Ellery Channing, to a western friend who had asked him to give an address, "is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action," and he added that "the habits, rules and criticisms under which he had grown up had not left him the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the Western people."

Nowhere, perhaps, is the spirit of the new literature better expressed than in Emerson and his group; and theirs was a literature of revolt. The so-called Transcendentalists reflect many of the tendencies which I have outlined. Western confidence in the common man, its optimistic faith, its dealings with the common things of life in an idealistic spirit, its realization that America was another name for opportunity, its break with the past, and its emphasis upon the individual, its realization of the possibility of a new order of society, its sense of the spaciousness of the new America that was forming in the thirties and forties, and its yearning for a nation and a career commensurate with its spaces, find expression in Emerson's *Journal* and in various of his essays and addresses.²² Not only Plato and German philosophy, not only the Unitarian revolt within Puritanism itself, not only the native New England quality, but also the direct stimulus of Jacksonian democracy²³ and the shock of change within the society of New England which accompanied the formation of Greater New England, must be reckoned with to explain Emerson and his school.²⁴

A new *tempo* came into New England life as her people broke the crust of custom, moved to new lands, and shared more fully in the temper of the nation. The penny press, with a demand for greater rapidity

²²The case might be rested on his Phi Beta Kappa oration in 1837 on "The American Scholar" and on the address of 1844 on "The Young American;" but the *Journals* also give direct evidence of the influence of the westward movement upon his imagination and conceptions, at successive periods.

²³In his *Journal* (III, 308) in 1834, Emerson writes: "Sometimes the life seems dying out of all literature, and this enormous paper currency of Words is accepted instead. I suppose the evil may be cured by this rank rabble party, the Jacksonism of the country, heedless of English and of all literature—a stone cut out of the ground without hands;—they may root out the hollow dilettantism of our cultivation in the coarsest way, and the new-born may begin again to frame their own world with greater advantage."

²⁴Dr. H. C. Goddard, in the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 348, has emphasized the essentially native character of the Transcendentalists; but the western influences of the time need further attention. They furnished the indirect background of the movement. It is the new note of enthusiasm and the directions of the idealism which requires explanation.

in the gathering and transmission of news, greater interest in the stock market and the police courts, and a new sensationalism and appeal to the masses, shocked the older journalism. Express companies were developed by leaders who later made them national institutions. In all directions was there acceleration and greater interest in the common man. New philanthropies, new endowments for the education of the people appeared. All of these and like changes of these revolutionary decades were in part symptoms of the times in general, but in part also, and to a degree which needs emphasis, they were part of the break-up of old New England which accompanied the formation of a Greater New England. She gained her life by losing it.

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