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PERFECT CHILD, PERFECT FAITH
RAISING CHILDREN IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

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by

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ABSTRACT
PERFECT CHILD, PERFECT FAITH
RAISING CHILDREN IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES
Meg Elizabeth Gudgeirsson

"Perfect Child, Perfect Faith" studies how the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the abolitionist and integrationist community of Berea, Kentucky, the Oneida Perfectionists, and the United Society of Believers (better known as Shakers) raised their children in the nineteenth century. Each of these communities incorporated a specific interpretation of Christianity and rejected "traditional" culture and society in favor of their "perfected" alternative. For each of these groups, children acted as a space to write their own identity. Children embodied hope, patriotism, faith, obedience, and goodness. Exploring childhood and children's experience in history can be difficult as retrieving the voices of children can be a daunting task. They produced less sources and materials than their adult contemporaries. And even fewer of these sources have been preserved. This means that much of their experiences, as they happened, are lost to historians. However, many of these children grew up to write memoirs, diaries, and brief histories of their people, which have provided access to children's experiences. In addition to relying on memoirs, the dissertation uses handbooks and guides on childrearing and practices produced by each of the communities. Finally, it considers non-textual sources, especially photography of families and children, as well as illustrations in literature and periodicals. To understand how the communities raised their child and why these children did not

continue their original communal goals, the dissertation is organized into four categories: the symbolic meaning of the child, the definition and role of the family, educational practices, and the connections between work and play. Each section considers both the community's view of the child and the child's actual experience. Often a child's reality differed dramatically from the ideals and expectations of his/her community. The dissertation argues that Mormons, Bereans, Oneida Perfectionists, and Shakers failed to raise their children in radically different ways and instead raised them similar to nineteenth-century bourgeois America: as innocents with the possibility of perfecting the future.

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INTRODUCTION

"As we value the future of Communism, we must see to it that our children - the rising generation - are brought up in 'the nurture and admonition of the Lord,' else they will some day rise up against us and become a curse."[1]

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The nineteenth century was a period of remarkable change in the United States. In social, economic, geographic, and political arenas, Americans redefined who they were and what their future would look like. Following the War of 1812, the United States embarked on a period of cultural and economic growth. With President James Madison's speech on the American System, the federal government officially lent its support to growing capitalism, commonly known as the Market Revolution (1815-1846).[2] The economic growth embraced regionalization of goods and products. It relied on wage labor, particularly in the Northeast where manufacturing grew and slave labor in the South, where much of the raw materials, particularly cotton was produced. The transformation of labor in the North and the beginning of urbanization led to some instability. More and more Americans, due to lack of inherited land and economic crises such as the Panic of 1819 and 1837 left the rural countryside for the urban landscape. Vice and entertainment of various values surrounded family members. Such radical change caused great concern for many.

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[1] "Community Journal: Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 24, (June 8, 1874), 189.

[2] James Madison quickly rescinded strong support for the American System and it is more accurate to credit it to senators John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. The term "Market Revolution" was coined by historian, Charles Sellers in *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

As a partial response to the dramatic changes and upheavals in the nineteenth-century United States, utopian communities grew in popularity. Many of these communities used religion as a foundation for their organization. The Americans who joined such communities made up a significant number but always remained a small minority of the larger national population. However, they represent the overall need for Americans to reassert some type of control in their own lives when it seemed that the economy, government, and larger society dictated much of their everyday life. By leaving their rural or urban homes in favor of a communal lifestyle, these Americans illustrated their extreme need to reconstruct family life, gender roles, racial attitudes, and social morality that seemed to be thrown to the way side by the Market Revolution. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), the Perfectionist Community (Oneida or Perfectionists), the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (Shakers), and the abolitionist community of Berea are four examples of such communities.

The movement that eventually became the Shakers began in eighteenth-century England with a group that Ann Lee joined known as the Shaking Quakers. They received their nickname, the Shakers, from their earliest days when the small group trembled and shook as they felt the spirit move them in worship. Shaker historian Stephen J. Stein described "that sometimes their heads jerked so rapidly that their facial features were 'not distinguishable.'" The shaking gave way to singing and

dancing and their meetings ended when the participants were exhausted.[3] Later this shaking became uniformed and controlled, like all aspects of Shaker life. After relocating to the American colonies, the Shakers gave their first public testimony in 1780. Between 1781 and 1783, Ann Lee shared the Shaker vision through itinerant evangelicalism and began to share the idea of celibacy. Ann Lee became the public face of the Shaker faith, although her brother, William, and James Whittaker were also its leaders. Both William and Ann Lee died in 1784, leaving Whittaker in command of the new religion until his death in 1787. During this time the later well-known tenets of the faith had yet to be established. The community cemented its theology under the leadership of Lucy Wright.[4] Shaker theology emphasized dualism, contrasting the fundamental conflict between good and evil. Shaker dualism also recognized a male and female in the divine. Shakers believed Ann Lee to be one of the two foundational pillars of the Church, the other being Jesus Christ. Together they brought male and female components together as one.[5] Believers rejected marriage, private property, other existing churches and Protestant denominations, and individual freedom. They advocated celibacy, common ownership, obedience, and the superiority of their lifestyle.[6] Shakers set themselves apart from the world to protect their lifestyle and reject the sinful patterns in the larger American society. Under

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[3] Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 4.
[4] Joseph Meachem ran the Shakers from 1787 until his death in 1796, but Shaker theology accepted and practiced through the nineteenth century developed under Wright's leadership.
[5] Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America*, 72.
[6] Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America*, 118; Priscilla J. Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives*, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986).

Wright's leadership, Shaker membership grew and the Shakers established communities across the eastern United States. Altogether, Shakers operated twenty-three separate communities.

Joseph Smith grew up in a family greatly impacted by an unstable economy and the Second Great Awakening.[7] Due to their economic troubles, the Smith family ended up in an area of New York known as the Burned Over District, where revivals, or "fires of religion," had burned through multiple times. There the family explored multiple Christian denominations, seeking to find the one true faith. In this environment, Smith's family fostered his visions including one from the angel Moroni when he was sixteen years old.[8] In 1830, Smith published the Book of Mormon and established the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Book of Mormon introduced the lost descendants of Israel, the Nephites and Lamanites. According to Mormon beliefs, these were the ancestors of the nineteenth-century American indigenous people. After Jesus Christ appeared to the original disciples, he then appeared to these peoples in the Americas. Therefore, Smith grounded the Mormon faith in the United States. Mormons settled in early communities such as Kirtland, Ohio, Independence, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois. However, in each location the Mormons faced hostility and threats. This was particularly true for Independence, Missouri when in 1838 twenty-one Mormons died at the hands of their neighbor.

[7] The Second Great Awakening marks a period of time dating loosely from the early 1800s through 1840s. The movement is marked by Protestant Christian revivals across the United States and the growth of religious denominations such as the Methodists and Baptists. Ideas of free will and perfectionism developed in the movement.

[8] This vision was the first that Joseph Smith had that alluded to the Golden Plates, the source of Mormon scripture.

Nauvoo had seemed a more promising town; Mormons began to build their first temple there and felt relatively safe. However, in 1844 a mob killed Joseph Smith, and anti-Mormon sentiment increased around the Mormon town. In response, the new Church President Brigham Young led the Mormons across the North American continent to settle in the Utah territory. There the Mormons established their own community, far from the threats of other Americans and potentially free to practice their unique theology. This included polygamy, a revelation Joseph Smith received on July 12, 1843, but one that the church did not reveal publicly until 1852.[9] Due to the scrutiny of the practice, it is impossible to know how many Mormons practiced plural marriage.[10] However, polygamy remained a priority to the Church and an opportunity to correct the shortcomings of family life in the nineteenth century. Polygamy was a sacred tenet that united Mormons together against the United States government until the 1890.

The Second Great Awakening also greatly impacted John Humphrey Noyes, founder and leader of the Oneida Community. He attended religious revivals in Vermont and began to develop his own religious mission in 1831 as a result. He further developed this ideology during his time at Yale Theological Seminary the following year. Noyes believed that the second coming of Jesus Christ had already

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[9] Historical evidence demonstrates that Mormons began practicing plural marriage before 1843 in Kirtland, Ohio; Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 61.
[10] Lowell C. Bennion argues that polygamous Mormons accounted for up to forty percent of their population. Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy, 1880: 'Dixie' versus Davis Stake" *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1988), 30.

occurred in 70 CE, but the final resurrection judgement was pending, prompting the need to perfect oneself and his/her society. For the next couple years, Noyes refined his theology of perfectionism: a right attitude and self assurance of salvation from sin, from that one's behavior "would follow a pattern acceptable to God."[11] Noyes saw exclusiveness as the greatest threat to perfectionism, as it detracted one from their relationship with God. And one's exclusive commitment to their spouse created the most dangerous obstacle. The solution to this was complex marriage. This could only be achieved in an isolated community where all members were married to each other, theoretically preventing the attachment to one individual. Noyes first tried to establish this community in 1841 with the Putney community. This first community was short-lived, ending in 1847 after charges of adultery were brought against Noyes, and he fled the state of Vermont for New York. Noyes re-established the community with twelve adults and their children at the site of a former sawmill on Oneida Creek in 1848.[12] At Oneida, Noyes stressed the principles of individual perfectionism, complex marriage, and communal ownership for the following thirty-one years.

The final group in this dissertation developed in the 1840s and was led by John G. Fee, a southerner who had committed to abolitionism while studying at Lane Theological Seminary.[13] Born in Kentucky, Fee aimed to center his work there. He

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[11] Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments in the Nineteenth Century*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 77.
[12] Marne Lockwood Carden, *Oneida: Utopian Community to Modern Corporation*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 23.
[13] Lane Theological Seminary was well-known for a series of debates about slavery that ultimately argued against it in 1834. While Fee attended eight years later, it was still closely associated with abolitionism.

"called for immediate, uncompensated emancipation of all slaves" and that Christians refuse to "commune with slaveholders." He also worked against caste, which he defined as the racial hierarchy prevalent in the nineteenth-century United States.[14] Invited by local politician Cassius Clay, Fee and his followers created Berea in Madison County. They envisioned a community that would fight against slavery and caste grounded in their Union Church. This church also rejected sectarianism as well as involvement or connection to the government.[15] While associated with the American Missionary Association, Berea was a self-supporting community that saw itself as a utopia in the midst of slavery. The community suffered at the hands of its slave holding and slavery-supporting neighbors. They forced Bereans into exile beginning in 1859. Despite this, the community continued and grew stronger after the Civil War as it focused on integration of the races and founded Berea College. Berea differs from the other three groups as it did not recreate the family but like the others, the community aimed to create a perfect society separate from the imperfections of the United States.

During this same period of time, Americans also redefined the meaning of children and childhood. Before the Enlightenment, adults perceived children not as a separate category or life stage but rather miniature versions of themselves.[16] Bourgeois Americans began to see children as both future citizens and innocent

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[14] Richard D. Sears, *The Day of Small Things: Abolitionism in the Midst of Slavery*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), 4

[15] Fee defined sectarianism as the church separating into individual sects or denominations.

[16] Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, Robert Baldick, trans. (New York: Random House, 1962), 38-43.

beings, unique from adults. The birth rate dropped by nearly half in the nineteenth century, most notably in these bourgeois American families. As a result the parents devoted more care to each child, fostering discipline and self control in their moral development.[17] The Civil War accelerated this transformation of the child. Parents who suffered the trauma of war sought to provide their children a childhood that protected them from the harsh realities of life and preserved their innocence for as long as possible.[18]

The Mormons, Oneida Perfectionists, Shakers, and Bereans believed that they could correct the ills of modern American life by challenging the mainstream ideals of capitalism, nuclear families, slavery, and/or segregation. To do this they reevaluated the hierarchy of gender and/or race in their communities and sought to be an example to the rest of the country. Yet, through labor assignment and spatial separation they all still reinforced the cult of domesticity and racist notions of marriage and social relationships.[19] They also adopted the emerging ideas of childhood. They saw children as their future, an opportunity to raise a generation infused with their visions of perfection to ensure their communities success for decades to come.

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[17] Beth Bailey, "The Vexed History of Children and Sex," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* edited by Paula S. Fass, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 197; Julia Grant, "Parent-Child Relations," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* edited by Paula S. Fass, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 115.
[18] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2004), 132.
[19] For discussion of the cult of domesticity, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," in *American Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1996), 151-174. For a discussion of interracial marriage and social equality see Richard Sears's chapter, "Controversies: Sex and Social Equality" in his 1996 book *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*.

Historians who have studied utopian communities in the United States have followed two models.[20] One method has been to focus on the difference of these communities from "mainstream" society. This practice began in the earliest of the American utopian histories, Charles Nordoff's *The Communistic Societies of the United States*.[21] Nordoff visited various utopian communities throughout the continental United States and provided small histories on each, stressing how they differed in labor, moral, and gender and sex practices from the rest of the nation. Laurence Vesey followed a similar pattern in his study of twentieth-century communal groups, *The Communal Experience*.[22] Both Nordoff and Vesey include academic arguments but also display judgment of the communities they visited. Carl Guarneri has provided a great deal of what we know about 1840s utopian communities in his *The Utopian Alternative*.[23] However, he deals largely with communities influenced by Fourierism and gives little attention to communities shaped by a religion. Most often, these histories of American utopias tend to focus on the differing sexual practices of several groups. Lawrence Foster's *Religion and*

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[20] The word utopia has a complex history, embedded with many meanings. The groups in this dissertation have each been labeled a utopia but I have decided to avoid the term for clarity. However, the historiography of utopian communities still sheds light on our understanding on these kinds of communities.
[21] Charles Nordoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States from Personal Visit and Observation Including Detailed Accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Bethel, Aurora, Icarian, and Other Existing Societies, Their Religious Creeds, Social Practices, Numbers, Industries, and Present Condition*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1875, 1965).
[22] Laurence Vesey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist & Mystical Communities in Twentieth-Century America*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).
[23] Carl Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1991).

Sexuality looks at the Mormons, Shakers, and Oneida members.[24] Foster finds that their alternative practices of sexual activity and gender ideals responded to the nineteenth century's social tensions and rapid social change. Alternatively, other historians of utopian communities take an intellectual approach and reveal the influence of the European utopian project on the United States. Frank Manuel and Fritzie Manuel's *Utopian Thought in the Western World* traces the shaping of utopias in both Europe and the United States.[25] Rather than a reaction to social change, the Manuels argue that the influence of European utopianists, namely Charles Fourier and his followers inspired the growth of such communities in the United States. Many of these books focus on the leadership of the community rather than the membership and therefore overlook why one joined and sometimes stayed with a particular community. Additionally, little scholarship has been produced in the past twenty years dealing with these groups. The vast majority of the historical work was completed in the late 1970s and early 1980s and it is time to revisit American utopian communities.

Each of the four communities have their own historiography. The Mormons have received a great deal of academic attention. Ephraim Ericksen wrote one of the earliest significant histories on Mormons.[26] Ericksen uses social psychology to understand the group identity of nineteenth-century Mormons. He argues that three

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[24] Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, (1981). Both Louis J. Kern and Raymond Lee Muncy have also considered the alternative sex norms in nineteenth-century utopian communities. Like Foster, Kern is interested in the Mormons, Shakers, and Oneida communities in his 1981 *An Ordered Love*. Muncy looks at a larger sampling of utopian communities including the aforementioned three as well the Ephrata, Amana, Harmony, Zoar, and Hutterite communities in *Sex and Marriage in Utopian Communities* (1973).
[25] Frank Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1982).
[26] Ephraim Edward Ericksen, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life*, (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, A Bonneville Books Reprint Edition, 1922, 1975).

crises in the group's history shaped the identity of early twentieth century Mormons: the conflict with gentiles in the formative period, the conflict with nature during the colonization of Utah, and the early twentieth century conflict with science.[27] In the 1980s, Klaus J. Hansen and Jan Shipps significantly added to the historical understanding of Mormons in their monographs, *Mormonism and the American Experience* and *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*, respectively.[28] Both Hansen and Shipps convincingly argue that the ability to transform and reflect contemporary American values allowed Mormonism to survive and grow through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Richard Bushman's *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* provided the move toward non-polemical scholarship on Mormons and presented a whole picture of the Mormon founder, Joseph Smith.[29] None of this scholarship includes the role of children and childhood in their discussions of nineteenth-century Mormons. However, early twentieth-century scholars of Mormon history wrote about children through theses and dissertations. M. Guy Bishop wrote the most recent study of Mormon children in 1987, "Preparing to 'Take the Kingdom': Childrearing Directives in Early Mormonism."[30] Bishop's piece focuses only on the earliest years of the Mormon community, 1830-1845, and does not

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[27] Mormons call non-Mormons gentiles.
[28] Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) and Shipps, *Mormonism*, (1987).
[29] Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, (New York: First Vintage Books, 2005).
[30] Davis Bitton, "Zion's Rowdies: Growing Up on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 182-195.

address the later years in Utah or the period when Mormons publicly practiced polygamy.

Less scholarship has been devoted exclusively to the Oneida community alone. Most scholarship includes the group in a larger discussion of American utopian communities. However, two academic works remain the touchstone of Oneida history. Spencer Klaw focused on the leadership of John Humphrey Noyes in *Without Sin*.[31] His attention to Noyes serves as both a strength and weakness, providing a careful reading of a founder but missing the opportunity to research more fully his followers. However, Klaw does spend significant space on the Oneida women. He finds that while women had expanded roles at Oneida, the real power still lay in the hands of men. Marne Lockwood Carden's *Oneida: Utopian Community to Modern Corporation* remains the most in-depth study of the religious movement and its membership.[32] Carden looks at Oneida as a religious and utopian society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its history as an informal community that existed alongside its modern corporate counterpart, the Oneida Community, Limited. Carden demonstrates that while the official community came to an end at the conclusion of the nineteenth century, its ideals continued to influence those who lived near it in upstate New York. While children are absent from her discussion, she includes useful conversations about those who grew up in the community and their adult lives influenced by that experience.

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[31] Spencer Klaw, *Without Sin: The Life and Death of the Oneida Community*, (New York: Penguin, 1993).
[32] Carden, *Oneida*, (1998).

The foundational works on the Shakers are Priscilla Brewer's *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives* and Stephan J. Stein's *The Shaker Experience in America*.[33] Brewer provides a detailed account of community organization, religious structure, and the lives of Shakers. She argues that weak leadership and a changing national religious landscape caused the decline in Shaker membership leading up to the Civil War. Stein has provided a long history of the Shakers from their late eighteenth-century founding to the few remaining communities in the late twentieth century. He focuses on the leadership, arguing that Mother Ann Lee was the sole founder. Additionally, he is interested in the complexity of Shaker religious and social development. But he gives little attention to the children of the community. Since Shakers practiced celibacy, most children came to their societies as orphans and nineteenth-century Americans associated Shakers with their orphanages. However, only two essays have been written specifically about the Shaker children. Edward Deming Andrews and Faith Andrews have written the most extensively about Shaker children in their essay "The Shaker Children's Order."[34] The essay summarizes the education given to Shaker children, with "considerable attention [given] to good manners."[35] For Shakers, secular education came behind religious education and life skills such as manners and trade labor. Ultimately, this article provides a starting point for understanding Shaker children but leaves childrearing and children's experience

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[33] Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives*, (1988) and Stein, *The Shaker Experience*, (1992).
[34] Edward Deming Andrews and Faith Andrews, "The Shaker Children's Order" *Winterthur* Portfolio, Vol. 8 (1973).
[35] Ibid., 205.

largely unaddressed. Eighteen years later, Judith Graham picked up the subject of Shaker children in her essay, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order."[36] She describes how Shakers believed that keeping children with their parents distracted the adults from their spiritual progress. In response, they appointed a ministry responsible for Shaker children's welfare. Between 1821 and 1850 the number of children who elected to retain membership declined greatly. Graham argues that "societal process of separating children from adults discouraged children from becoming adult members of the community, a factor contributing to the gradual demise of the society after the 1840s."[37] Graham finds that the education did not include significant focus on spiritual growth, which left Shaker children to develop their own faith and as she concludes, provided an opportunity for them to easily leave the community as adults. Most recently, Ilyon Woo looks at divorce, custody, and the Shakers in *The Great Divorce*.[38] Woo follows Eunice Chapman whose husband, in 1814, took her three children and joined a Shaker community in upstate New York. Four years later, she received a legal divorce and custody of her children, a rare accomplishment for women of this time. The study focuses most on Eunice Chapman with the Shakers and her children only provide background information. Woo's narrative is enticing and clearly written for a popular audience, but it lacks consistent source citation and a

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[36] Judith A. Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," Winterthur Portfolio, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Winter, 1991). She expanded this work in her 1996 Master's Thesis at Iowa State University.
[37] Ibid., 215.
[38] Ilyon Woo, *The Great Divorce: A Nineteenth-Century Mother's Extraordinary Fight against Her Husband, the Shakers, and Her Times*, (New York: Grove Press, 2010).

bibliography. However, her consideration of a custody case does provide insight into the strains of a family member joining a utopian community.

Richard Sears studies the origins of Berea as a utopian experiment in a series of histories on Berea.[39] Sears, an English professor at Berea College, seeks to tell a tragic tale of a community and college that challenged the racism of the nineteenth century and unfortunately failed. These books leave out much of the complexity of utopian histories, specifically who joined and why. Again, Sears overlooks the children associated with Berea. Taking into consideration the children of Berea, including the young college students, provides a southern and racial component to my study of nineteenth-century religious communities.

As has been discussed, existing studies of these four communities lack an in-depth academic discussion of their children. A history of their children and childhood can help historians to better understand the role of these communities in the nineteenth-century United States. In the 2008 inaugural issue of *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, Martha Saxton recognizes the potential of studying childhood. She writes, "The discrepancy between a culture's ideals for childhood and its actual provisions, national compromises, and failures, also provide significant insights into the particular shapes and forms that childhoods actually assume in addition to giving a measure of any single government's genuine commitment to its

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[39] Richard D. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996); Richard D. Sears, *The Day of Small Things: Abolitionism in the Midst of Slavery. Berea, Kentucky, 1854-1865*, (Lanham, MD: University of America, 1986); Richard D. Sears, *The Kentucky Abolitionists in the Midst of Slavery, 1854-1864: Exiles for Freedom*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1993).

children."[40] The history of childhood has the ability to destabilize "traditional assumptions about what counts as history and who gets counted in making that history. When historians consider children and childhood, new questions and perspectives demand attention."[41] This is equally true for our understanding of religious communities. Considering how each community managed and raised their children reveals their priorities, goals, and, ultimately, their success in continuing their ideals to future generation. By testing their family, gender, and race aims against the experiences of their children, historians can better interpret how these goals weighed in priority against other objectives, tasks, and chores.

Children's history has been written since Phillippe Aries's foundational narrative *Centuries of Childhood*.[42] In it, Aries attempted to understand the shifting cultural ideas of children and childhood in European history. By examining the depiction of children in fine paintings, Aries outlines when Europeans "discovered" children as distinct beings different from adults. He argues that up until the fifteenth century artists portrayed children as miniature versions of adults but after that, artists began to paint children differently and more "life like." From this change he speculated that Europeans began to perceive children differently in the fifteenth century.[43] He argues that pre-fifteenth-century Europeans refused to acknowledge the

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[40] Martha Saxton, "Introduction," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth,* Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 2008, 1.
[41] Ibid., 2.
[42] Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, (1962).
[43] Since the publication of *Centuries of Childhood*, historians have debated Aries's conclusions and challenge his assumption this argument.

uniqueness of children because of the great possibility of their loss, to avoid attachment and therefore prevent the pain of death. As the mortality rates of children slowly declined, Europeans began to view children as an integral part of their family and their religion. However, childhood mortality rates remained relatively high when compared to nineteenth and twentieth centuries and Aries fails to explain why Europeans began to value their children earlier if they still faced a high risk of losing the child. Despite this oversight, Aries brought to historians' attention the importance of viewing children as a specially marked important cultural construction for the Western world. In the coming centuries Europeans, and later Americans, would come to see children as innocents, with pure souls and symbols of their religious morality.

Steven Mintz wrote the most comprehensive history of childhood and children in the United States in his 2004 *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. He provides a survey of childhood from the colonial period to the present. Mintz seeks to "strip away the myths, misconceptions, and nostalgia."[44] While he provides a sweeping history of childhood, his work does not significantly add to our understanding of United States history other than providing a parallel timeline that includes children. His work summarizes the roles of children in this history but leaves open a space for other historians to step in and more closely examine the children in American history.

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[44] Mintz*, Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*, 1.

Mary Naill Mitchell's *Raising Freedom's Child* provides a powerful example for writing the history of children in the nineteenth century.[45] Mitchell is interested in the first generation of children freed by Civil War emancipation. She sees that these children represented the possibility of a future different from the past where African Americans might have access to the same privileges as whites: land ownership, equality, suffrage, and autonomy. She argues that the black child was transformed from a metaphor to a bellwether for the racial climate of the post-Reconstruction era. She uses an array of primary and secondary sources ranging from letters written by African Creole teenagers to images of mixed-race children or "white slaves." Her attempt to use individual children's voices by reading letters of free children is a particularly useful model. She has contributed to African American, women's, Southern, and educational history as well as offering a detailed and comprehensive account of the influential ways that children and child-related issues helped to shape the development of post-Civil War southern society.

Absent from the historical discussion of these communities is the role of children. By the time of the Shakers, Mormons, Oneida Perfectionists, and Bereans, children held significant symbolic meaning in the United States. Like their urban and rural contemporaries, Americans in these nineteenth-century communities saw children as both a source of labor as well as potent political and cultural symbols. The innocent and (for the middle class) priceless child was a familiar trope by the end of

[45] Mary Naill Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future After Slavery*, (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

the century. Bourgeois families rejected the idea of children as a workforce, while other classes continued to rely on their labor.[46] These four communities needed the labor of children to attempt sustainability but they also embedded religious and sentimental meanings to the children in their care. Focusing on children provides a new perspective of these groups and explains the failures of each community.

Exploring childhood and children's experience in history is a difficult task. Accessing the voices of children can be a daunting endeavor. They produced less sources and materials than their adult contemporaries. And even fewer of these sources have been preserved. This means that much of their experiences, as they happened, are lost to historians. Some of this material is accessible through school notebooks haphazardly saved. Not all communities have such materials. However, many of these children grew up to write memoirs, diaries, and brief histories of their people. This is one of the benefits of their participation in these communities. Many Americans were interested in their unique status and experience in communal life and so as adults they wrote down their memories. Annie Tanner, a child of polygamy and later a plural wife, and Jessie Kinsley, an Oneida daughter, both wrote memoirs for their children. [Catherine Ann Slater?] used her memories to serve as a warning

[46] In her 1985 *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Value of Children* Viviana Zelizer looks at the transformation in the economic and sentimental value of American children from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. She argues that children went from being an "object of utility, to an object of sentiment"(7). Throughout the nineteenth century, parents held a culturally acceptable market value of their children who provided economic contributions to the household. However, Zelizer describes how during the turn of the twentieth century children lost that economic value and instead gained a priceless sentimental value. This, however, was limited to middle- and upper-class families. Lower- and working-class families continue to depend on children for their labor and economic values. Yet, as demonstrated by multiple historians, the middle and upper class saw all children as priceless and see any economic attachments as immoral by their parents. This meant, as Elizabeth Pleck later illustrates in *Domestic Tyranny*, the middle and upper class believed they had the right to intervene with poor and immigrant children (2006).

against Shaker life. Pierrepont Noyes mixed both happy and painful memories of his unique upbringing in his autobiography of life at Oneida. Memories have also been preserved via interviews. Kimball Young published a collection of interviews with children of polygamous families, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, in 1954. Dorothy Geneva Wiley compiled more interviews in her 1983 book, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamy Families at the Turn of the Century*. In an effort to retrieve as many childhood memories as possible, I relied on both collections. Similarly, instructors wrote down their recollections of early experiments, trials, and successes in the communities. Lizzie Rogers wrote down her experience as one of the first district school teachers in the pre-Civil War Berea community. While she was not a child, she was a young teacher, in her late teens and early twenties, and also noted much of her students' experiences. I also consulted leader and founders' autobiographies, which often provided some guidance and discussion of the role of children in their borders and communities.

I approached these memory-based sources carefully and applied methods proven successful by other historians of childhood. In her 2009 article, "Childhood and Memory," Paula S. Fass illuminates the use of memory in the history of childhood. She writes that "there has been a natural resonance between childhood and memory, and they can usefully illuminate each other historically."[47] Memory has the possibility to provide some of the most "dynamic and important conversations taking

[47] Paula S. Fass, "Childhood and Memory," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth,* Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 2009, 155.

place in the profession." By taking memory seriously as a source, historians will also take seriously "the child's separate existence at any particular point in the past or present as a witness to history and to historical reality, even occasionally as an agent of history. In other words, memory can at times provide the only voice of the child even if written by an adult. How can historians write the history of children without invoking the memory of adults?"[48] Jennifer Ritterhouse provides an example of finding ways to read children as independent actors in history in her use of memory, oral histories, and memoirs.[49] Memory provides an important nuance in the history of childhood and Ritterhouse is successful in her implementation of it. She critically reads adult memories of childhood to both gain access to the child and to the adult the child eventually became.[50]

In addition to relying on memoirs, I also relied on handbooks and guides for childrearing and practices. The Mormon community produced a children's bi-weekly magazine, *The Juvenile Instructor*, while Berean children in the early years likely read the "Children's Department" column in the *American Missionary*, as their parents were ardent subscribers and contributors to the periodical. I explored school books, Sunday School texts and hymnals, children's literature (especially abundant in the Mormon archives). Many of the groups also wrote about their children and childrearing practices in community-published periodicals such as the Oneida

[48] Ibid.
[49] Jennifer Ritterhouse, *Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black and White Southern Children Learned Race*, (Chapel Hill: The University Press of North Carolina, 2009).
[50] In her specific study, Rittenhouse considers how the historical actors learned race, emphasized childhood interactions across race lines, and their own confusions and frustrations with racial etiquette.

Circular. The Shakers produced a series of childrearing handbooks, most notably *The Gospel Monitor* by Mother Lucy Wright. I used these sources to understand how the groups defined childhood. These sources reveal that children came to play an important symbolic role in the identity of each group. The publications also provide the goals of each community for their children.

While problematic, apostate texts provided some insight and often sobered the of the community members' claims of success. Of course, as former members these writings often had an "ax to grind" and also made extreme accusations. But the comparison of the apostate texts to memoirs and documents produced by the communities can provide a common ground and a middle area that reveals more access to the experience of these children and community's expectations of them.

Finally, I relied on non-textual sources, especially photography of families and children, as well as illustrations in literature and periodicals. Photography was often a luxury and each community carefully chose the images they preserved and allowed the outside world to see. The photographs can provide insight into how the communities saw themselves as well as reveal unintended clues about their regular life. Unfortunately, many of the existing photographs lack clear provenance. The photographs often do not designate the photographer or the intended purpose of the image. Therefore, it is unknown if group members or outsiders took the photographs and if the groups intended outsiders to even see the photographs. Still, they offer some of the only glimpses into communal childhood as the children lived it.

To understand how the communities raised their children and why these children did not continue their original communal goals, the dissertation is organized into four themes: the symbolic meaning of the child, the definition and role of the family, educational practices, and the connections between work and play. Each section considers both the community's view of the child and the child's actual experience. Often a child's reality was far from the ideals and expectations of his/her community.

The first chapter, "Define the Child, Define the Community," takes a step back to understand how each community defined and used childhood. Even in the broader American society, defining childhood was difficult. Dependent on gender, race, and class, the age range of childhood, as well as the labor and play of children varied wildly. The Shakers, Mormons, Oneida Perfectionists, and Bereans each began their basis of age definitions on prevailing bourgeois definitions. Despite this, they differed both from each other and within their own communities. The communities saw children as a space to define the group's identity. Children offered the potential for each community to realize its vision of perfection.

"The Family and its Proxies," the second chapter, explores how children were raised in each community. With the exception of Berea, which did not attempt to restructure the family, this was the area in which each community had the potential to look the most different from the rest of the country. This is especially true in the Shaker and Oneida communities where men took on more parenting responsibilities

for raising children. The Mormons created alternative family structures but women took on the role of caretakers, embodying the prevailing gender roles in the United States. Despite their efforts, however, the communities taught their children values that replicated the spirit of bourgeois American virtues rather than their radical alternatives.

Chapter 3, "Educating for the Future," explores the role of education. All of the communities placed a high value on education. But each of the four communities found aspects of public or common schools, as they were often called, to be problematic. Each community aimed to focus on disciplines that would improve the students' success in their respective communities. However, over time, each adopted elements of the disciplines they found troubling, allowing the students to learn the skills necessary to easily adapt to bourgeois culture and society.

The fourth chapter, "'The Serious Business' of Play and Work" explores connections between children's leisure and their labor. Both these communities and the American society saw play as a space for children to embrace their youthfulness as well as practice skills that could be replicated in their work. Without children's labor, none of the communities could have succeeded. This is the space where the communities actually best prepared their children for American society. Even as children's innocence and play became more important after the Civil War, children's labor was invaluable to rural and industrial economies. Each child became an adult

with a beneficial skill set and many of these children chose to bring these skills outside of the original communal goals.

The dissertation concludes by describing how communal children grew dissatisfied with their communities. It provides a summary of the status of each community at the turn of the twentieth century as each had lost its original goals and focus. Memberships dwindled and the groups had completely transformed. The new generations more reflected their non-communal American contemporaries than the previous members of each community.

The Mormon, Berea, Oneida, and Shaker communities focused first on their faith, families, and child rearing; gender and sexual practices were a by-product of their alternative strategies. I argue that while the Bereans, Mormons, Shakers, and Oneida Perfectionists each aimed to teach a radical religious alternative to the American Protestant norms to their children, they actually taught and reinforced the contemporary bourgeois attitudes toward the family, gender, race, and economic practices. By examining the strict guidelines each community produced on how to raise their children and the children's memories of this upbringing preserved in the memoirs they wrote as adults, I have found that rather than raising future generations with radical and improved American cultures, these four communities raised children who became adults who preferred mainstream society over their sequestered community by the end of the nineteenth century. The Oneida Community officially dissolved in 1880, although many members remained in the area and ran a profitable

business. The Mormons restructured their Church, eliminating polygamy, and its self-governing territory, Utah, joined the United States as a state in 1896. Kentucky state law forced Berea College to segregate in 1904, ending its integrated status until the 1960s. The Shakers' numbers had dwindled; many communes shut down and sold their property. The failure to embed their unique values and morals to subsequent generations resulted in the failure of each community to preserve its identity past the nineteenth century.

Chapter 1

Define the Child, Define the Community

Mormons, Bereans, Oneida Perfectionists, and Shakers each produced a definition of children based on the community's idealized beliefs rather than one grounded in the children's actual experience. The idea of a child operated as a space for community leadership and membership to explain and define their own identities. Childrearing handbooks and guides acted not only as instruction manuals for children's caretakers but also as a set of doctrines for each community's own beliefs and acceptable behaviors. The child, therefore, served as a mirror reflecting to the community its most important values, ideals, morals, and beliefs. However, the communities did not radically differ from bourgeois and rural American practices in childrearing. Their similarities to contemporary American families made it more difficult to ensure that future generations would preserve the communities' goals.

Oneida Perfectionists, Mormons, Bereans, and Shakers recognized the importance of children to their own success. Without new generations to carry on the beliefs and practices, each community would have no future. Each group attempted to carefully organize their children, manage their behavior, and define the end of childhood. The communities' view of children mimicked the evolution of the American child as a symbol of patriotism in the new nation. Early republican statesmen like Benjamin Rush and Noah Webster "viewed children much as they

viewed the Constitution, Declaration of Independence, and the Flag - as symbols of a new America."[1] The child had become a symbol of hope and possibility.

In the nineteenth century children went from being valued for their labor to an object of sentiment.[2] Children offered the "potential for virtue," making their upbringing a "primary responsibility of American adults."[3] As the Oneida Perfectionists wrote, "an increasing responsibility rests on the Community to bring [children] up properly. This branch of human development is certainly the most important."[4] By placing a child's value in his/her symbolic innocence and national identity, religious and secular Americans made their children "priceless." The youth were the tangible future, and Americans believed that with the right morals and behaviors children could ensure the nation's sustainability. Mormons, Bereans, Shakers, and Oneida Perfectionists often stressed a different set of values from the rest of U.S. society and saw the potential that children had to offer for their future. This helps to explain why each community wrote hundreds, if not thousands, of pages on the upbringing of children. As Oneida Perfectionist Tizrah Miller expressed in her personal journal, "We have got a strong battalion of young folks, and what we want is to let them rise. This young set are, as a whole, more continent [sic], more wise, and

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[1] Barbara Finkelstein and Kathy Vandall, "The Schooling of American Childhood: The Emergence of Learning Communities, 1820-1920" in Heininger et all *A Century of Childhood, 1820-1920*, (Rochester: The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984), 66.
[2] Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
[3] Mary Lynn Stevens Heininger, "Children, Childhood, and Change in America, 1820-1920" in Heininger et all *A Century of Childhood, 1820-1920*, (Rochester: The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984), 3.
[4] "Community Journal: Oneida," *Oneida Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 24 (June 8, 1874), 189.

more nearly right about the subject of love than the old folks."[5] The youth, therefore, were not just a community's future but also its present. Where the communities' adults projected their ideology on to the child, children embodied the reality.

Each of the four groups documented the demographics of their children's population differently. Oneida had the smallest number of children and therefore were able to keep detailed demographics of their children's population. The Shakers were more concerned with addition and organization of children than their numbers. Mormons and Bereans left little information on the number of children in their communities. While the Shakers and Oneida Perfectionists faced scrutiny and criticism, the Mormons and Bereans often faced violent persecution that resulted in less ability to keep close records.

Mormons faced challenges to counting the number of children in their population, but this did not diminish the importance of childbearing. Church President Brigham Young instructed Mormon women that it was their duty to bear children "in the name of the Lord, that are full of faith and power of God - to receive, conceive, bear, and bring forth in the name of Israel's God."[6] Mormons understood that faithful men and women followed this command and bore children. Such significance placed on reproduction sometimes resulted in shame due to sterility. But a second or third wife could bring children into an otherwise barren home. A childless

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[5] Tirzah Miller Diary Entry Thursday March 26, 1868 reprinted in Robert S. Fogarty ed. *Desire & Duty at Oneida: Tirzah Miller's Intimate Memoir,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 56.
[6] Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954), 174. In the 1930s and 1940s Kimball Young interviewed the children and family members of Mormon polygamous households revealing information about the wives and children.

wife urged "polygamy on her husband after she realized that she could not have children of her own."[7] Each wife was supposed to feel that she was a mother and responsible for rearing all children in the family. For example, Nephi King's second wife gave her second son to be raised by the first wife.[8] Furthermore, many Mormon wives had seven or eight children.[9] Mormons who lived on rural farms and/or the Underground required labor from their children.[10] This was especially true for plural wives who lived as single mothers, seeing their husbands only once or twice a year. Their children not only fulfilled Young's command but filled the labor demands of running the household.[11] The absence of a regular presence of fathers and men also explains the lack of records as there were few officials available in the Underground to take the census.

Berea also had few records both due to the threats it received and the scarcity of resources. Leading up to the Civil War, the community faced violence from its slave-owning neighbors. And after the War, Berea still faced prejudice for its support of integration and equality of the races. Additionally, until late in the nineteenth century, Berea had few resources. Counting populations and children was a poor use

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[7] Ibid.,113.
[8] Ibid., 114.
[9] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*?; Annie Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography*, (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1969, 1973).
[10] The Underground describes Mormon polygamous families who lived in hiding from the 1880s through the early twentieth century when the federal government heavily persecuted bigamy and polygamy. In 1890, the Church announced the formal end of Celestial Marriage and plural families found themselves even without the support of their Church. As enforcement of federal anti-bigamy and polygamy laws increased, Mormons recorded less information about their demographics. Despite this, many of the memoirs written by wives and children of Mormon polygamy come from this period of time.
[11] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*; Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*.

of time and manpower. Like many rural American communities, Bereans did not prioritize demographic records in its planning and daily activities. Despite these restrictions, Bereans took seriously the importance of their youth, recording behavior and commenting on childrearing and schooling.

Alternatively the Oneida community regularly recorded demographics as detailed as providing statistics organized into ten-year age groups.[12] In 1870 near its peak, Oneida's membership numbered 270, of which approximately fifty were under the age of twenty.[13] The Oneida practice of Stirpiculture motivated them to keep detailed information on their children.[14] Such information could support their theory that they could "scientifically engineer" the most perfect children. As demonstrated in image 1.1, the Oneida community often planned their births so that there would be multiple children of the

Image 1.1: Oneida Children in a Cart, undated. Oneida Collection. http://tontine255.wordpress.com/category/children/

[12] Oneida published the *Circular* with two goals. First was to keep community member apprised of events, activities, and changes. Second was to inform the curious outside world of Oneida's practices. Throughout its history, Oneida received a great deal of scrutiny from Americans and seemed to be constantly on the defensive. Even its handbooks seem to speak not only to members of Oneida but to the outside reader as well.

[13] "Community Journal Oneida, Anecdotes of the Children, Willow-Place," *Circular*, Vol. 7, No. 36, (November 21, 1870), 284; Anonymous, *Hand-book of the Oneida Community*, 1871 (Wallingford: Office of the Circular, Wallingford Community) 28.

[14] This was the term used for what can be best described as an early form of eugenics. Some Oneida community members also referred to this as scientific methods or scientific reproduction. The Community regularly boasted about the few children borne to the community in the 1850s and 1860s, proof that their sexual practices were working. By the 1870s, the Oneida leaders selected "ideal" parents to reproduce.

same age to grow up together. Many of these children shared the same father, most commonly the founder himself, John Humphrey Noyes. All three children photographed in images 1.2, 3, and 4 were John Humphrey Noyes's children, born just a few years apart. Likely taken in the 1870s, due to the quality of the photograph and the number of images taken by Oneida in this decade, image 1.1 reflects the attention placed upon the children. Sharing the small child-sized cart, the children communicate the value of shared resources as well as their priority and perfection. They each are clean and groomed. This is also true of the individual photographs of the infant and young Oneida children of Noyes. Each child born in the latter decades of the community was photographed alone at some point in their life, unlike other Protestant Americans. Upper-middle class Americans could afford for such photographs to be taken but working class, rural, and lower-middle-class Americans

Image 1.2, 3, 4: Godfrey Barron Noyes, ca. 1876; Guy Hatch Noyes, ca. 1876; and Hilton Van Velzer, ca. 1872. http://tontine255.wordpress.com/category/children/

did not often spend their limited funds this way.[15] The Oneida practice of photographing its children grew in the 1860s and 1870s as photography became more available and more popular in post-Civil War America. Photographs allowed the Oneida community to gaze upon the child's individualized perfection. Despite its communalism, Oneida prized individualism and recognized that each member brought unique qualities. By matching two ideal parents, stirpiculture had the potential of producing ideal future members.

The many Shaker communities often worked together and communicated regularly, but each group managed its own records. The New Lebanon community provides a case study for the Shaker children's population.[16] In 1800, the thirty-nine children under the age of sixteen only accounted for three percent of the New Lebanon population. By 1830, of the 469 people living in New Lebanon, 117 were children. Between 1841 and 1860, ninety percent of the 234 converts to Shakerism were children and children made up forty-three percent of the membership at New Lebanon.[17] As their records grew more detailed and specific, they reveal that children grew in both importance and number over the decades in the nineteenth century. Community journals carefully note each child who entered or departed the

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[15] Archives often lack photographs of American families similar in proportion to the number of photographs from the Oneida community. However, this may be an issue of available sources rather than a stark difference.
[16] New Lebanon was the largest Shaker community and therefore more of its records, including demographics, were preserved than those of other Shaker communities.
[17] Priscilla J. Brewer, *Shaker Community, Shaker Lives*. (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 228; Judith Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," (Masters Thesis, Iowa State University, 1996), 99, 122.

community while the journals often lacked detailed descriptions of each adult who joined or left Shaker life.[18]

Since the Shakers practiced celibacy, they had to create systems to add children to their communities. There were three ways a child would join a Shaker community: with their parent or parents who joined the faith, "gathered" from missionary journeys to recruit converts, or indentured by a parent or guardian.[19] The parents or guardians of the child signed indenture contracts meant to protect the Shakers from custody hearings.[20] Shakers informed biological parents and guardians that when they signed the contract, they "resigned[ed] all claims to [their children] forever…until each becomes eighteen years of age;" but if children were "discontented and wish[ed] to return to the world, they are at liberty to do so."[21] The indenture contract emphasized learning specific trade(s) divided by gender.[22] Deacons

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[18] J.L. Ballance, "Journal April 1, 1860-December 31, 1866," "Journal January 1, 1867 - October 31, 1871"; Zachariah Burnett, *Pleasant Hill Journal, July 1, 1846 - March 14, 1853*, (The Shaker Community at Pleasant Hill Archives); *Family Journal Book*; Stephen J. Stein, ed. *Letters from a Young Shaker Boy: William S. Byrd at Pleasant Hill*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1985).

[19] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 94. See chapters 2 and 5 for more information about children joining with their parents and children added through mission projects. The Shakers established the Gathering Order in 1800 "for the purpose of laboring with, & initiating those who were, or might be prepared to receive the Gospel." The Order operated as the "chief agency" for new converts and those considering membership. (Stephen Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, 54).

[20] The custody battles of Mary Dyer and Eunice Chapman had been well-covered by the press. The husbands of both women joined the Shakers and brought their children with them. Neither woman permanently joined the Shakers and both went to the court for custody of their children and public for sympathy. Dyer succeeded in gaining the public's support but did not regain custody. Chapman, however, was one of the earliest cases of an American woman gaining custody over her children rather than the father. She secured this by using both the courts and New York state government. Such cases hurt the Shakers financially and also soured public opinion. Understandably Shakers wished to prevent this in the future. See Nelson M. Black "Eunice Against the Shakers" *New York History*, Elizabeth de Wolfe "Mary Marshall Dyer: Gender and a Portraiture of Shakerism" *Religion and Americans Culture*, and Ilyon Woo, *The Great Divorce*.

[21] [Catherine Ann Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress; Originally Published in 1872 in Galaxy Magazine* (Albany: Shaker Heritage Society Reprint, 1989), 6. See Conclusion pages 227-228; in practice children were not permitted to return home.

[22] See Chapter 4.

or Church trustees managed the contracts, which stipulated how long the child would stay with the community. Typically the contract ended when a child reached between eighteen and twenty-one years old, at which time s/he could decide to permanently commit to the faith.[23] The reasons why a family might indenture a child varied but were often due to family illness, death, or financial calamity. In 1867, the Shaker Community at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, received two little boys whose parents "lived and deceased in Missouri. They requested their children be raised with the Shakers."[24] In another example, Robert Jenkins brought all but his eldest daughter to the Shakers when the mother "was in feeble health."[25] Later Jenkins also joined the Shakers for a short period of time, but when he decided to leave he was told "nay" he could not remove his children, as he had signed the indenture contract. However, if parents joined the community with their children and then decided to leave, they could take their children as they had not been indentured to the Shakers. Parents and relatives in difficult times looked to Shakers because they often could provide what the family members could not: "shelter, good food, warm clothing, an education, and training in trade." Shakers welcomed children both to grow their numbers and secure their future but also to fulfill "what they felt to be their Christian obligations of charity [and to increase] their labor force."[26] Notoriously pragmatic, Shakers first saw children for their potential economic value. But over time, especially by the 1830s and 1840s,

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[23] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 107; n. 23.
[24] Ballance, "Journal January 1, 1867 - October 31, 1871," January 5, 1867, 2.
[25] David Rich Lamson. *Two Years Experience Among the Shakers*. (West Boylston: D.R. Lamson, 1848), 177.
[26] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shakers' Children Order," 94.

children completed the Shaker family. Image 1.5 provides a snapshot of Pleasant Hill, Kentucky in the late 1880s. The children sit in the front rows. The photograph is unique as it shows both the male and female members, young and old, together in one setting as one solid family unit.[27]

Image 1.5: "Group of Pleasant Hill Shakers on an outing. The site is believed to be the Upper Farm, the usual place for 'releasements' or occasions of relaxation, games, picnics." May 1887 Photograph courtesy of Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill.

Shakers did not see children simply as part of their family but as having a closeness to God. As early as the 1820s, Shakers began to see children as divine inspiration. The eighteenth-century Shaker leader and deity, Mother Ann Lee, loved and valued children.[28] Hannah Cogswell "recorded that Mother Ann spoke of little

[27] Shakers lived in gender-segregated communities. Theoretically men and women worked, slept, worshipped, and dined separately from one another.

[28] Shakers saw in Ann Lee a deity in Shaker theology due to their belief in dualism. Shakers believed Anne Lee to be one of the two foundational pillars of the Church, the other being Jesus Christ. Together they brought male and female components together as one. See Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America*, 72.

children as being 'nearer to the Kingdom of heaven than those grown to a riper age… little children are simple and innocent."[29] Adults, who were sinners, remained separated from God, but children kept this connection, and by extension, also gave one access to God. Mother Lucy Wright, who led the Shakers from 1796 until her death in 1821, claimed to receive visions from Mother Ann Lee. Many of these visions directed Wright on how to raise Shaker children, resulting in the book, *The Gospel Monitor*. In one of these visions, Lee describes her love of children and her excitement to see them in heaven, "Oh my child, this is not the first time that I, your Mother, have wept for my little ones… that I may behold order and beauty among even the least and youngest in Zion."[30] The image of Ann Lee weeping over her reunion with the "little ones" reflects the high priority Shaker leadership placed on the salvation of children. This language also reinforced the importance of children in the community and the need to carefully record their comings and goings because if the children left, the Shakers' future would be undermined and Mother Ann Lee would be greatly disappointed. Despite this, as adults young Shakers regularly abandoned the community.[31]

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[29] Hannah Cogswell in *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders with Her, Through Whom the Word of Eternal Life was opening in this day, of Christ's Second Appearing, Collected from Living Witnesses in Union with the Church* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co., 1888), 217

[30] Lucy Wright, *The Gospel Monitor: A Little Book of Mother Ann's Word to Those Who are Placed as Instructors and Caretakers of Children*, (Canterbury, NH, 1843), 4.

[31] Using the New Lebanon community as an example, nearly thirty percent decided to leave the community between 1787 and 1900. However by the last decade of the century, this reached fifty-three percent. Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives*, 213. See Conclusion pages 226-232 for discussion of Shaker documentation of children leaving the community and efforts to bring them back to the fold.

Both the identity and survival of American religious communities depended on their ability to instill communal and religious values in their children. For Oneida this largely meant embracing "family communism." Oneida Perfectionists believed that communalism was the ideal setting for raising children as "they come in contact with the opposite principle of trading selfishness only when they begin to leave the family circle and mingle with the world."[32] Within the confines of the Oneida community, children learned communal sharing. Noyes and his followers argued that selfishness was not an inherent trait but one learned in the world.[33] The Perfectionists were not naïve enough to believe that their children would not come in contact with such behaviors, in fact they encouraged young adults to leave and attend college, but they hoped they had instilled in the youth a sense of communalism that would bring them back home. When instructing caretakers of children, Oneida leadership emphasized familial communism. Only then could children keep the community's values intact in the future; but if they are not correctly brought up, they could become the biggest threat to the community's stability. An article in the *Oneida Circular* explained, "We shall accomplish great results fighting specific evils if we are thoroughly united in casting out bad spirits whenever they take possession of our children."[34] Children in Oneida were empty vessels; they had potential of greatness through familial communalism and Perfectionism. Despite the stress on family

[32] Jessie Catherine Kinsley in Jane Kinsley Rich ed. *A Lasting Spring: Jessie Catherine Kinsley, Daughter of the Oneida Community*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press), 34.
[33] Pierrepont Noyes, *My Father's House: An Oneida Boyhood*, (London: John Murracy, Albemarle Street, 1937), 126.
[34] "Community Journal: Oneida," *Oneida Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 24 (June 8, 1874), 189.

communalism, Oneida also prioritized individualism.[35] Oneida saw that each member had their own unique contribution to the community, therefore they encouraged children to explore their personal identities.

Oneida Perfectionists were not alone in their acknowledgement of the connection between children and the community's goals. Berea founder John G. Fee and his fellow leaders believed that if they were to be successful in obtaining their objectives they had to instill into children antislavery beliefs with ideas of racial equality. Berea leadership believed that the current generation would likely never change its position on race but white children raised to fight against slavery and schooled side-by-side with African American children would grow up to be adults free of prejudice. Fee believed children should learn about "large issues" such as antislavery so they could participate in the movement. Fee and his followers brought their children into the fray regularly. His daughter Laura Fee remembered that "we children never thought more about mobs than thunderstorms. We supposed everyone had mobs!"[36] Fee's wife Matilda wrote in the "Children's Department," a column of the *American Missionary,* the story of the fugitive slave Juliet Miles, separated from her children, "not to sadden [the young readers'] joyous and bird-like sympathies, but to further enlist [their] sympathies in the great cause of human freedom."[37] In the

[35] Doowon Suh, "Middle-Class Formation and Class Alliance," *Social Science History*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring, 2002), 126; Johann N. Neem, "Creating Social Capital in the Early American Republic: The View from Connecticut," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Spring, 2009), 471, 475; Michael J. Turner, "Perceptions of American and British Reform during the 1860s," *Civil War History*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (Sept., 2013), 350.
[36] Laura Fee quoted in Richard Sears *The Kentucky Abolitionists in the Midst of Slavery, 1854-1864: Exiles for Freedom*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), 66.
[37] Matilda Fee, "The Children's Department," *American Missionary*, Vol. III, No. 4 (April 1859), 93.

same vein the children's column, often with Fee as its author, reminded its readers that children too had a purpose and importance with titles such as "Every Child Can Do Something" and "Children Leading Their Parents to Christ." In 1858, the column announced the growth in the Children's and Young Peoples' Anti-Slavery Association as a "sign of great promise" with the youth "uniting in this holy enterprise."[38]

Additionally Berea's school was described as an abolitionist school "designed to foster abolitionism, even among toddlers."[39] In every action the Bereans took, they stressed their ideals to children and they regularly provided children with opportunities to enact these ideals. Fee believed the only way to combat "caste" was to educate and enlist the next generation in his cause.[40] Unsurprisingly Fee's two eldest children, Laura and Burritt, began working with their father as teachers at the Civil War slave camp, Camp Nelson, before they were even sixteen years old. Through their childrearing tactics, focused on anti-slavery and later anti-caste, Fee and his followers sought to define what it meant to be a Berean. Bereans exposing their children to their work was not unique in the mid-nineteenth century. Children often participated in the family's work, especially in farm and rural communities where such work was based from the home. What made Berea unique was its radical abolitionism located in the South, therefore, it was only natural that Berean children participated in this endeavor.

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[38] "The Children's Department," *American Missionary*, Vol. II, No. 8 (August 1858), 187; see Chapter 4 pages 204-209 for more detailed discussion of children's participation in this organization.
[39] Richard D. Sears, *The Kentucky Abolitionists in the Midst of Slavery, 1854-1864: Exiles for Freedom*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), 67.
[40] Fee did not just seek to end slavery but to end racism, a system he referred to the caste system.

Children had the potential to communicate the values of the community to the outside world in ways adults could not. The nineteenth century was filled with exposés of the Mormons, Shakers, abolitionists, and Oneida "free lovers." Many of these books focused on the ill treatment of women and children, specifically the physical and emotional abuse. In his "unmasking" of the Shaker faith, William J. Haskett wrote that despite an order that directed children not be whipped after the age of ten, "there had been many severe punishments inflicted on children."[41] This reflected both the Shaker (and American) dependence on corporeal punishment, which was slowly becoming less acceptable in American culture.[42] An early twentieth-century children's book provided another, albeit less harsh, critique of children in Shaker communities. In the story, *Susanna and Sue*, Susanna and her daughter, Sue, temporarily joined the Shakers during a difficult time in their lives. When Sue became more like the Shakers, her mother is saddened. The author, Kate Douglass Wiggin, writes a happy ending of a father who abandons his faults allowing Susanna and Sue to return home. The bourgeois family reunited and the Shaker experience remained only a detour in the path to American happiness.[43] Oneida also faced scrutiny based on its children. Charles Nordoff toured the "communistic societies" of the late nineteenth century and described the settings of each. In his summary of Oneida, he included descriptions of their children. He began positively,

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[41] William J. Haskett, *Shakerism Unmasked, or the History of the Shakers*, (Pittsfield: The Author and EH Walkey, 1828): 139.
[42] See Chapter 2, pages 119-126 for more detailed discussion of corporeal punishment in these communities.
[43] Kate Douglass Wiggin, *Susanna and Sue,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 94-96.

calling them "plump" and "sound." But Nordoff continued, stating that the Oneida children had an expression that lacked "buoyancy, or confidence and gladness."[44] Nordoff's description reinforced American beliefs that such groups, despite their pleas, failed to raise happy children. Often the communities, particularly Shakers and Oneida, defended accusations of unhappy children that communicated to Americans that the children were missing their childhood. This reveals that happiness was an emerging priority for children in post-Civil War United States.[45] Nordoff's criticism was part of widespread anti-community literature.

Even more negative literature was written against the Mormons. Harriet Beecher Stowe labeled polygamy as slavery in her introduction to *Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism: An Autobiography by Mrs. T.B.H. Stenhouse of Salt Lake City for More Than 20 Years the Wife of a Mormon Missionary and Elder*. Stowe specifically claimed that the time had come "to loose the bonds of cruel slavery whose chains have cut into the very hearts of thousands of our sisters(?) – a slavery which debases and degrades womanhood, motherhood and the family."[46] Additionally, former Mormon and wife of Brigham Young, Ann Eliza Young wrote that Mormon polygamy was "the curse of a wrecked home and a life's

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[44] Charles Nordoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States; From Personal Visit to Observation: Including Detailed Accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Bethel, Aurora, Icarian, and Other Existing Societies, Their Religious Creeds, Social Practices, Numbers, Industries, and Present Condition,* (New York: Hillary House Publishers, Ltd., 1875, 1961), 281.
[45] See pages 45-46 for further discussion of children and happiness.
[46] Harriet Beecher Stowe, introduction to *Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism: An Autobiography by Mrs. T.B.H. Stenhouse of Salt Lake City for More Than 20 Years the Wife of a Mormon Missionary*, by Mrs. T.B.H. Stenhouse (Huntford, Connecticut: A.D. Worthington & Co., 1874), vi.

unhappiness."[47] Readers took Young's accusations seriously as she had grown up in the Mormon community with polygamous parents. While less was written about them, Berea community members were driven out of Kentucky for fear of their lives. In response to such criticism, the communities felt pressured to put forward a palatable presentation of themselves.

The communities used children as an opportunity to present a positive image, often associated with nationalism and patriotism rejecting the criticisms each group faced. Children acted as perfect representatives of each community. They communicated to Americans the goals and identity of each group. These groups had intentionally disconnected from bourgeois American life, but they were not anti-American. Instead they understood themselves to be the perfected future of the United States. Therefore children served as perfect ambassadors because children were innocent, unlikely to false report; they were the ideal candidates to support the positive traits of the community. At least symbolically, children provided idealized versions of each community. In the tumultuous years leading up to the Civil War, Berea leadership used speeches and the *American Missionary* to present itself to the public. Cassius Clay, an early supporter of the Berea project, described how the town had transformed the children. "The children [in Kentucky], before idle and dissipated, had been reformed, and were going to the best school in the country, and [Fee]

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[47] Ann Eliza Young *Wife No. 19, or the Story of a Life in Bondage,: Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy* (Hartford, Connecticut: Dustin, Gilmore & Co. Publishing Office, 1875), 108.

believed there not better people in the state than those surrounding the colony of Berea."[48] The anti-slavery mission in Kentucky, according to Clay, took an uncivilized and unruly population of children and transformed them into proper students and ideal citizens. The stress of patriotism became all the more significant after the Civil War. It was a time for reinvention of the nation; it was a period of rebirth. For example, when President Ulysses S. Grant came through the Utah territory, Brigham Young instructed the children to greet him dressed in their best clothes. Annie Tanner recalls the event, "To express our hearty welcome to the distinguished guests we all waved our handkerchiefs and little flags as the train approached. The President and his wife stepped from the train and shook hands with the children as they passed."[49] The image of children dressed in their Sunday School clothes, lining each side of the street, waving U.S. flags only ten years after the end of the Civil War painted a powerful image not of depravity and immorality but instead of childhood patriotism. For all their claims of rejecting Protestant life and values in the United States, these efforts reveal that the communities still sought approval from their American contemporaries. This was not missed by the children who as adults more replicated the outside American culture than that of their respective communities.

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[48] "Cassius M. Clay's Testimony" Speech at Frankfort January 10, 1860. Published in *American Missionary* Vol. 4 No. 6 (June 1860.)
[49] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 31.

Describing the happiness of their children was an important way that the communities supported their claims of good childrearing to outsiders. Oneida used writings to communicate positive values about its children to the outside world. They published a series of commonly asked questions and their answers to dispel false rumors. One such question asked, "Are the children of the Community healthy and happy?" The answer quoted a visitor to the community who described the children during a regular event, Children's Hour. They were "gathered together in full force and glee, and entertained themselves and their elders by going through a series of intellectual and physical gymnastics. Certainly, a happier set of children were never brought together at one place, at one time, in this world - nor a healthier."[50] The answer described a familiar setting to bourgeois Americans of children playing together. Far from these scenes were the sullen, beaten, and depraved children in popular books.[51] For American readers, happy children equated innocence and freedom. These children were not resigned to be miserable separated from their parents in dull communal life. Rather they were happy and playful, like other American children. Berean, Mormon, and Oneida children demonstrated knowledge, patriotism, and joy. These communities were not so different from their contemporaries but instead embraced and improved upon American ideals and morals.

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[50] *Hand-book of the Oneida Community; with a Sketch of its Founder and an Outline of its Constitution and Doctrines*, (Wallingford: Office of the Circular, Wallingford Community, 1867, 1871), 29.
[51] See pages 41-43 for discussion of such books: Nordoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States*; Wiggins, *Susanna and Sue*; and Stenhouse, *Tell It All*.

Each community closely tied children's value and opportunity to its religious beliefs and identity. Annie Tanner recalled that as a child "religion seemed to me the most important thing in the world."[52] Blessings and baptisms acted as the most recognizable and celebrated rituals in a Protestant American child's life. Upon baptism, "children entered a solemn covenant that they were all equals as children of God."[53] Children's baptism was in flux in evangelical, protestant Christian denominations in the antebellum period. Some denominations felt that children, as innocents and without the ability to exercise free will, should delay baptism while others continued to argue that children, like all humans, were born in sin and in need of salvation.[54] The four communities found themselves aligned with the former group of Christians in the U.S. In the process they continued to reveal how they saw themselves and their children. In Berea, children's baptisms marked a child's understanding of their faith. Berea trained their children "to love and served [sic] the Lord." John Fee recalled that his eldest son Burritt read the Scriptures and prayed with the family at age five. Upon the profession of his faith, Burritt requested and received his baptism at age seven. All Fee children only received baptism upon such professions.[55] Berea children were not baptized without proclaiming conversion and

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[52] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 253; Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 37.
[53] Robert V. Vine, *Community on the American Frontier: Separate but Not Alone*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1980), 212.
[54] Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 71.
[55] John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, (Chicago: National Christian Society, 1891), 86.

faith. Without such a declaration, all four communities postponed baptism until adolescence or adulthood.

The Mormon scripture specifically discussed childhood baptism in close detail. Mormons included this in their Sunday School readings:

> Behold I say unto you, That shall ye teach, repentance and baptism unto those who are accountable and capable of committing sin; yea, teach parents that they must repent and be baptized, and humble themselves as their little children, and they shall all be saved with their little children. And their little children need no repentance, neither baptism... little children are alive in Christ, even from the foundation of the world; if not so, God is a partial God, and also a changeable God, and a respecter to persons; for how many little children have died without baptism. Wherefore, if little children could not be saved without baptism, these must have gone to endless hell. Behold, I say unto you, That he that supposeth that little children need baptism, is in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity; for he hath neither faith, hope, nor charity... - Moroni viii:8-14[56]

Here children provide inspiration to the community. They lived in a state lost to adults; the temporality of childhood allowed for innocence from sin. Adults required grace and cleansing, but children, at least theoretically, did not. The rejection of childhood baptism points to some of the important characteristics of the children in the Mormon community. First, the child was not old enough to decide to take part and instead a parent or guardian would have to make the decision for them. This rejected free will aspects of the evangelical Protestant Christianity, which stressed an

[56] Elder William A. Morton, ed. *Book of Mormon Ready References. For the Use of Students and Missionaries, of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. (*Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1989), 35.

individual's ability to accept or reject God's grace.[57] Second, as this text points out, if children required baptism and died young without it they would spend eternity separated from God through no fault of their own. In the *Book of Mormon Ready References* William A. Morton argues that children are innocent and need not yet receive God's forgiveness for human sins. Clearly Mormons believed children did not require the holy cleansing as they had no sin to remove.

Mormons produced multiple texts to teach children how to make decisions about their faith. In a book summarizing the early stories in the Book of Mormon each section ends with a summary of the lesson the child should have learned. The stories revolve around the tribulations faced by Nephi, the Mormon leader who brought some of tribes of Israel to North America and became the foundation of Native Americans. Nephi struggled with his enemies both from outside of his faith and in his own family. When Nephi is successful in overcoming such trials, the book explains to its young readers, "this story shows us that the Lord does not ask His children to do anything that is impossible, or that they cannot do… Nephi's doings teach us a very good lesson in perseverance and patience. We can see how, by trying again and not giving up, we can do things that seemed impossible at first."[58] A story about facing the impossible was important for a group that faced prosecution and persecution from the non-Mormons of the United States, even after the practice of

[57] Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon Church, was heavily influenced by the Second Great Awakening. Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet, Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1945, 1971, 1973) and Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith, Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2005).
[58] *Book of Mormon Stories, No. 1.* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1892), 19.

polygamy had been officially ended by the Church.[59] Mormons raised children to take pride in their religion and face obstacles knowing that God would protect them. And should a child fail in his/her efforts, *The Intermediate Sunday School Reader* instructed them: "let us pray to the Lord to forgive us, and ask Him for strength that we may not commit the same evils again. If we make an effort to do this, He will hear us, grant our request and strengthen us to do His will."[60] Another Mormon Sunday School reader reinforced this message of forgiveness, telling children that whenever they feel lost, "go to God. He will hear you, and send you aid. You need never be afraid, while you are doing right, no matter where you are. Pray, and God will send His angels to you."[61] The message was that Mormons had a personal connection to God and could rely on Him for guidance. Mistakes might happen but God offered forgiveness. Children could ask directly for this and did not need their parents to do this for them.

Shakers instructed children to place devotion to God as the most important priority of their lives, just as it should be the center of all Shakers' lives. Children learned that "it is not enough to think and talk of devotion, but we should perform devotional services. We should devote every faculty of soul and body to God, in doing good."[62] Every action in their lives was meant to be an opportunity for Believers to demonstrate their devotion to God even if "it cannot be reasonably

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[59] See pages 51-55 and n. 68 for additional discussion of Native Americans and Mormons.
[60] *The Intermediate Sunday School Reader,* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888), 106.
[61] *Sunday School Dialogues and Recitations, Number One,* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 67.
[62] *Gentle Manners: A Guide to Good Manners, Third Edition*, (East Canterbury, 1823, 1844, 1899), 13.

supposed [that] young children are capable of understanding the tenets and doctrines of any religious faith."[63] In order to instruct children in their faith, Shaker children's leader Seth Wells warned the youth that if they strayed from God they "could never recover from such a loss, neither in time nor eternity. Even if after suffering in hell till you had paid the utmost farthing, and found the mercy of God through awful sufferings, and be taken out of hell at last, your loss would be a dark blot & a shameful stain upon your soul forever."[64] While Shakers who rejected God would spend time in hell, Wells implies a possibility of escape from eternal damnation albeit a marked one. This was very different from the message of forgiveness in one's life, not the afterlife, taught by late-nineteenth-century Mormons. Still in the first half of century, Shakers focused on the perfectionism during one's lifetime, in an effort to prevent the need to request forgiveness and receive the restrictions of it in the afterlife. This message of dire consequences for moral failings taught Shaker children, and adults, that they must behave perfectly and without sin. Only then God would reward their good behavior and faith. Wells and other Shaker leaders tried to communicate to the children how it important it was to commit to their faith and save their souls for eternity. Still, children would not make such a commitment until they became adults and made their covenant with the community.

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[63] Seth Y. Wells, *A Plain Statement of Custom and Manner of Receiving, Managing, Teaching, Governing, and Disciplining Children, in the Society of people called Shakers*, (New Lebanon, 1815).
[64] Seth Y. Wells, *Address of Brother Seth Y. Wells to the Youth and Children Throughout the Borders of Zion*, (New Lebanon, 1846).

Defining who was eligible to embody perfection became important to these communities as they shaped their image of the child. Americans used race to define who could be the innocent child. One of the most obvious exceptions to the innocent child was the enslaved child. Slavery drove the need to strip African Americans of their youth in order to justify the adult work children performed on the plantations.[65] None of these four communities practiced slavery, but they did use race in their discussion and definition of childhood. Mormons understood race to be incredibly important due to both their sacred texts and in determining who had access to the Priesthood.[66] Much has been made about Brigham Young's 1852 revelation that African Americans could not be ordained to the Mormon priesthood.[67] But in the mid-nineteenth century, most Mormons were more concerned with indigenous Americans' race as it played such a central role in both their theology and their pioneer experience in Utah while African Americans did not.[68] This resulted in a complicated relationship between the Native people of the Utah territory and Mormons; one that fluctuated between outright prejudiced hatred and efforts to "save" the indigenous people. In a late nineteenth-century children's book, author August Joyce Crocheron

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[65] Ironically, slavery also required infantilization of African American adults as well. See Peter W. Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and Law in the Nineteenth Century South*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Susan Eva O'Donovan, *Becoming Free in the Cotton South*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); and Marie Jenkins Schwartz, *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[66] See n. 108 for definition of Mormon Priesthood.

[67] Church President Spencer W. Kimball reversed this position in 1978.

[68] The Book of Mormon describes a lost tribe of Israel, the Nephites and Lamanites, as traveling to North America in ancient times. Jesus Christ revealed himself to them after his resurrection. The Nephites were supposedly the explanation for the complex ruins found in North America and also tied the Mormon faith to America. They were later conquered by the Lamanites who had strayed for the righteous path and were supposedly the ancestors of nineteenth-century Native Americans.

summarizes this relationship, "As Latter-day Saints, we have a knowledge of the history of the Indian races, and look forward to their [sic] occupying a more exalted condition."[69] Mormons were candid in their prejudice against Native Americans, but so were their contemporaries who defined race in a hierarchy, with Anglo-Saxons as its peak. Like other American religious communities, Mormons felt the need to "save" the "savage." This was partially due to the Mormon belief that they knew the "true" history of the Native Americans and therefore, it was a Mormon's responsibility to educate and reform the indigenous. One way that this could be done was through indigenous children who quickly became a target of the earliest Mormon pioneers. John Lee wrote that trying to convert Native adults was "of no use" and instead encouraged Mormons to take "their children & shool [sic] them & teach them to be clenly [sic] & to love morality & then raise up seed amoung [sic] them & in this way they will be brought back into the presance & knowlege [sic] of God." He continued this advice to "buy up the Lamanite children as fast as they could, and educate them and teach them the Gospel, so that not many generations would pass ere [sic] they would become a white and delightsome people."[70] For these Mormons, indigenous children were a "blank slate," just like Mormon children, just like all children. They had the potential of converting and possibly returning to proselytize

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[69] Augusta Joyce Crocheron, *The Children's Book: A Collection of Short Stories & Poems; A Mormon Book for Mormon Children,* (Bountiful, UT: Published for the Author, 1890), 109.
[70] John D. Lee quoted in *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876* edited by Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, (Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1955), 107-109, 166.

older Native Americans. Mormons knew that they missionized to indigenous children as a way to destroy the Native Americans' beliefs and culture.

Mormons believed that Native American children had the potential to abandon their "savage" ways and seized the opportunity to induct these children into Mormon culture. It was not uncommon, therefore, for the early Mormon settlers in the late 1840s, to "adopt" indigenous children into their family.[71] Lee adopted two girls, Alice and Alnora, but Mormon treatment of these indigenous children differed greatly from their treatment of white children. First, the Mormon parents lacked empathy for the biological parents and families of these adopted children. In frustration, Lee wrote that the Native Americans "would sell us children, then tolerate their running away & suffer them to be in their camp without sending them home to their proper owners."[72] He demonstrates no sympathy for the Native parents who found themselves in a position to "sell" their children and no understanding of why these parents were not compelled to return their children to their new "families" and "owners." Lee did not describe how Mormons and the neighboring Native Americans negotiated these adoptions or sales of children. Therefore, it is possible the Native Americans parents were not aware that these were permanent "sales" and that the parents instructed their children to return home when the opportunity presented itself. Regardless, Mormons reflected no concern for the parents who had lost their children and demonstrated no

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[71] Mormons purchased these children from their parents often as a part of bartering or treaties to insure peace. While Mormons did not explicitly use the Native children for labor, all children did provide labor and therefore there is an element of the slave dynamics apparent in this situation.

[72] Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 167.

understanding of why these parents would not return their sons and daughters to their new Mormon families.

In a more dramatic example of the different treatment of Native American children compared to Mormon children, some Mormon men married their adopted indigenous daughters. In 1859, Jacob Hamblin, a friend of Lee, "advised [him] to have [his] Indian girls, Alace & Alnora Married to [him] by [Hamblin] in order to throw a shield of Protection around them, &c. That [Hamblin] did not consider them capable of understanding the nature of a marriage covenant."[73] Neither Lee nor Hamblin ever discussed the possibility of a father marrying his adopted daughters except in the case of Native Americans. This moved the daughter from a position of child to wife and therefore an adult. Hamblin's description of these girls not understanding the marriage covenant is also revealing. This implies that Mormons such as Hamblin and Lee believed that the Native American girls were either not old enough or not well enough entrenched in Mormon society to understand the role of wife and Mormon marriage.[74] In other words, Mormons used deception to persuade the Native daughters into marriage. In Lee's defense, he constantly struggled with this idea despite Church President Brigham Young's approval of the practice and did not marry either adopted daughter, refusing to do so until Young himself took an Indian

[73] Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 214.
[74] Alice and Alnora would have been approximately fourteen and twenty-two years old respectively in 1859 when Lee recorded this in his diary as they were six and fourteen when they were adopted in 1851.

wife.[75] Despite claims otherwise, Mormons saw young Native Americans as not equal to their own biological children and continued discrimination that better matched the slave-master relationship than the parent-child one.

While the Mormons made a clear distinction between white and non-white children, Berea attempted to erase such differences. Writings for children both in books and in the *American Missionary*'s "Children's Department" told stories meant to elicit compassion for children of color. Matilda Fee told a story of meeting three "mulatto" children and their mother "soon to be sold… probably separated forever." At the end, Fee asks her young readers, "Children, would you love to help sustain a Gospel, that rebukes the barbarous practice of exposing women to sale on the auction block, and sundering their dear relation of parents and children!" The article describes the mother's sorrow at being sold and being separated from her children. And while it is clear that Fee is trying to demonstrate how African American children were similar to white children, the most striking aspect of her letter is her description of the children: "white, having fair oval faces, blue eyes, and very fair hair, with a few ringlets interspersed."[76] Fee worked to gain the sympathy of her young readers (and their parents), but she also found it important to describe how much these children looked "white." The Bereans consistently stressed racial equality and yet still revealed the importance of light skin. In *Gospel Fruits,* Maria Goodell Frost wrote

[75] In his entry December, 1858 Lee describes how he advised other Mormons who wish to marry a Native Americans to "first gain her affections, & take Pains to instruct her, & then have her seald [sic] to him by the property authority, the same precisey [sic] as a white woman." His adopted daughter, Alnora, died in 1860 of lung consumption, as noted rather unceremoniously by Lee on October 27.
[76] Matilda Fee, "A Letter from Mrs. Fee," *American Missionary*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (February 1858), 43.

that Berea aimed to remove "prejudice against color, and produce abhorrence of slavery in the minds of children."[77] In a review of the book, the author claims that it will "serve to brighten the links of the chain of human brotherhood, and give superiority to a human and practical Christianity."[78] While the Berea project worked diligently to remove caste, clearly race and skin color remained important markers.[79] This reflected similar strategies made by abolitionists using photographs of light-skinned slave children in the 1850s.[80] Berea was very different from its southern neighbors but not northern abolitionists. However, John Fee differed from many abolitionists in his belief that the best way to eradicate racism was to encourage social mixing between the races. He wrote to the American Missionary Association that it is "best to get colored children & whites into the same towns and schools…and be compelled to get the colored people together in groups for a generation and there [sic] education and then by force of example … breakdown the spirit of caste."[81] In other words, Fee saw the only way to end prejudice was to raise children together so that they would see each other as equals. Bereans made the point that adults could not remove their prejudice, but children could. The idealized Berea lacked caste and embodied equality.

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[77] Maria Goodell Frost was the mother of the third president of Berea College, William Goodall Frost (1893-1920). She was a staunch abolitionist who before living in Berea, with her husband Lewis P. Frost, had operated a "station" out of her home on the Underground Railroad.
[78] "Gospel Fruits" News Clipping from Berea Archives Series X Box 1 Christian Education 1909-1915. *Gospel Fruits*, (American Reform and Tract Society, 1856).
[79] Fee regularly used the word caste to describe racial discrimination and segregation based on racial hierarchy.
[80] Mary Naill Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future after Slavery*, (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 81; See discussion in Chapter 4.
[81] Fee to Strieby May 22, 1865 reprinted in Richard Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 21.

In American culture, as well as these four communities, gender acted as another contributor to defining childhood. In bourgeois America, the female gender encapsulated a person into childhood indefinitely. Several of these communities attempted to provide a type of gender equality, which quickly complicated this category and its relationship to childhood where it remained largely unchallenged in bourgeois culture.[82] Oneida Perfectionists, Shakers, and Mormons all claimed that their beliefs and communities provided more opportunities for women than did the American society. Oneida women and girls "had their hair cut short about the neck," wore shorter skirts, and bloomer-like pants in an effort to minimize gendered differences in dress and appearance.[83] The Community had men and women taking on all tasks from childrearing to printing the community newspaper. Alternatively, Shakers separated men and women, girls and boys. They preached equality in a complementary sense. The jobs were not the same but were of "equal" value. Similar to bourgeois gender roles, men performed the physical and outside labor such as manufacturing and farming, while women remained indoors running the kitchen, cleaning shared spaces, and producing clothing and cleaning tools. Mormons argued that their polygamous marriages provided women with more freedom as childrearing could be shared among multiple women. Mormon women could also own their own businesses and property and in 1870 they became the first American women to

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[82] Annie Scott MacLeod, "The *Caddie Woodlawn* Syndrome: American Girlhood in the Nineteenth Century," in *A Century of Childhood 1820-1920* edited by Mary Lynn Stevens Meininger, Karin Calvert, Barbara Finkelstein and Kathy Vandall, Anne Scott MacLeod, and Harvey Green, (Rochester, NY: The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984).
[83] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 18.

exercise their right to vote.[84] The Oneida and Shaker communities also argued that the communal raising of children freed women from the burdens of motherhood.[85] Despite such goals, all three communities raised their children in ways that more matched the gender divisions of bourgeois America than their own beliefs. Therefore the practice of childrearing produced membership that often differed greatly from the proclaimed definition of the community.

Girls in Mormon and Shaker communities reflected many of the same transitions endured by bourgeois girls in the U.S. Annie Tanner, a Mormon who grew up as the daughter of a second wife in a polygamous household, often noted the differences in the status between girls and boys. She remarked that in "those times it was a man's place to create conditions, and a woman's place to accept them."[86] Tanner, like many American girls, struggled to understand why she was in a second-class position. In her essay on American girlhood, Anne Scott MacLeod describes how "many [nineteenth-century] American women could and did look back to their childhood years as a period of physical and psychic freedom unmatched by anything in their later life."[87] Before adolescence, girls and boys had similar upbringings. Until

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[84] The Utah Territory passed legislation enfranchising women in 1870, a year after the Wyoming territory. However, Utah women voted before Wyoming women. Mormons provided these benefits to women less to grant them equality and power but rather to due to polygamy. After passage and enforcement of anti-bigamy and polygamy laws by the federal government, Mormons sought to minimize attention to polygamous families by placing properties and/ore businesses in the names of plural wives rather than a shared husband. Similar, Mormon women supported plural marriage and voted to support it.

[85] See Chapter 2, page 92 for discussion of nineteenth-century motherhood.

[86] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 29.

[87] Anne Scott MacLeod, "The *Caddie Woodlawn* Syndrome: American Girlhood in the Nineteenth Century" in Heininger et all *A Century of Childhood, 1820-1920*, (Rochester: The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984), 100.

the age of four or five they both muslin frocks, they often played similar games outdoors until adolescence. Like the rest of American society, as children Mormon girls experienced an equality with boys then transitioned to the unequal status as a woman. In their adolescence, children learned their gender roles in a male-dominated society.[88] Tanner experienced this and in her memoir describes herself as a carefree and willful child who as an adult transformed into a submissive second wife.

The communities used religion both to promote greater gender equality and to divide boys and girls. Religion was a key aspect of their gendered upbringing. For Mormon boys, especially, religious training was imperative for their future roles in the male-only Priesthood.[89] A young man's entry into the Aaronic Priesthood was one of the first steps into his "official role" in the Kingdom of God. Therefore, Mormons raised each son with stress on "obedience, loyalty, and conformity;" traits important to leadership positions both in his future role as husband and father and in the community at large. Girls also learned to be obedient and loyal as well as traits of humility and meekness. Additionally, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints expected boys to go on a mission as they entered adulthood. Girls and women were

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[88] See Chapter 2, pages 91-92 for discussion of nineteenth-century women's roles.

[89] Mormon Priesthood does not equate professional clergy. According to Mormon theology, members of the Priesthood maintain the power of God, hold the exclusive right to act in the name of God and perform blessings, and preside within the structure of the Church. Only men have the opportunity to join the priesthood, there is no female equivalent. All Mormon men in good standing have the opportunity to join the Melchizedek, Patriarchal, or Aaronic level of the Priesthood. Joseph Smith defined the Priesthood as an everlasting principle. Members of the Priesthood held the power of God, the exclusive right to act in the name of God, perform blessings, and preside within the structure of the Church. The Melchizedek is the highest of the three levels with its members acting as the governing officials of the Church. Conversely, almost all Mormon men belong to the Patriarchal order of the Priesthood that allows fathers to preside over their descendants. Young Mormon men and male converts belong to the Aaronic order, preparing men to join the higher orders of the Priesthood. Women also desired an equitable role in the church leadership. Meg Eppel, "The Relief Society, 1842-1897: Women's Leadership, Theology, and Benevolence," Master's Thesis, (Santa Cruz: University of California, Santa Cruz, 2011).

restricted from this responsibility unless they traveled with their husband or father.[90] Annie Tanner recalled that she "had but one regret that being a girl, I could not go on a mission… to preach these wonderful truths that [father] had impressed upon us."[91] While the Mormons had preached more opportunity for girls and women, there were clear limitations to this. Tanner, like others, wished to complete male-only tasks and adventures such as the mission, but her childhood had taught her that she would never be equal to men. Despite claims of difference, this was similar to both rural and bourgeois American notions of gender in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Americans, whether living in religious communities or not, saw childhood as a time to train and prepare the youth for the expectations of adulthood. Even if Mormon women had more freedom due to polygamy, the ideal male and female Mormon roles kept most nineteenth-century gender roles intact.

All four communities stressed the importance of training and molding the behavior of their children. While children might have been born innocent, they still lacked the knowledge of the community. Moreover, this need to reform children reflected the view that they were alien; there was something wild and untamed about the youth.[92] Handbooks stressed specific behavior and outlined the appropriate punishment for children who did not follow the guidelines. In doing so, the

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[90] This changed in 1898 when the first two solo female Mormon missionaries served in England. Diane L. Mangum "The First Sister Missionaries," *Ensign Magazine* 10 (July 1982), 63.
[91] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 47.
[92] For more on the temporality of children and liminal state of children, see Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

handbooks not only taught its readers how to raise their children but also provided models for each community's ideals. As the Shaker handbook on children reminded its readers, "ever remember that the earliest age is the best time to implant that which you wish to have thrive and take root in them. And the present time is ever the best time to correct the child for a fault, even while in its memory, and can realize the justice of the correction."[93] The Shakers saw childhood as a temporary status and the only time when one could be shaped into perfection. This time, however, is limited; the window would close. Adults were locked into their identity, but children could be shaped to carry forward the community's ideals and values. All four groups taught "obedience to authority, loyalty to the Church, conformity to the codes, and individual effort to make good in the material things of this world."[94] Such a list could have been easily applied to all the groups and the United States in general.

Obedience was a common theme in manuals and children's memories. Mormon Annie Tanner recalls that "the principle of obedience dominated the teachings of my girlhood, whether it applied to the home, the State, or the Church [and] to be disobedient was a very serious offense."[95] Obedience was not taken lightly. Tanner reflects a strong fear of the repercussions for disobedience. Her family and parents were, like in the larger American culture, symbols of leadership such as the church or government. In one of the many Mormon Sunday School readers,

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[93] Lucy Wright, *The Gospel Monitor: A Little Book of Mother Ann's Word to Those Who are Placed as Instructors and Caretakers of Children*, (Canterbury, NH: 1843), 15.
[94] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 242.
[95] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 2, 8.

children were reminded that they must obey their parents and caretakers' leadership by following rules such as not taking the Lord's name in vain or observing the Sabbath as a day of rest.[96] Therefore, obedience was important but forgiveness was also possible. The path to perfection was guided by God's hand and only through prayer could one reach such a status. Again, the stress on children's obedience was not specific to Mormons. Obedience to one's parents and to God was a Protestant Christian value. Mormon children carried this value with them even after the restructuring of the Church in the 1890s.[97]

Another important part of a Shaker child's behavior was his/her ability to be good. Goodness equated obedience; obedience to caretakers, to Elders, and to God. Shakers not only stressed goodness but to be good "cheerfully." Children who willfully disobeyed could never call themselves believers.[98] In their writings, Shakers stressed to children that it was "easier to be good among the Shakers" than in the outside world. They asked children why this was the case and in response, the children answered, "Because we have so many to love and help us. Because we are taught to think about being good. Because so many naughty things are shut away from us."[99] Not only was a child to rely on God for good behavior but that their loving and large community fostered success in this in this effort. Goodness included

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[96] Morton, *Book of Mormon Ready References*; *Book of Mormon Stories, No. 1*, (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1892); Crocheron, *The Children's Book*; *Sunday School Dialogues and Recitations (Number One)*, (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884).
[97] See Conclusion, pages 242-243 for discussion of restructuring of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
[98] Wright, *The Gospel Monitor*, 37.
[99] Lesson 1, Pleasant Hill Archives, Photography Collection

order and cleanliness. The Shakers even saw that their shaking could help with good behavior.[100] One of the Shaker lessons explained that "when a rug or carpet is dirty, we shake it and the dust and dirt fly out" so too would the desire to sin be shaken out of the faithful child and adult.[101] The handbook, *Gentle Manners*, listed hundreds of ways children should behave to teach self-discipline from how the children sat in their chairs, to putting away every little item, "pin, needle, nail, bits of thread,…" to their work space, "Always leave your work, your tools, and your clothes in good order at night; and when you lie down to sleep, place yourselves strait [sic], with your hands laid pretty near together, (not folded up,) by the side of your head, but not under it. Never mettle with the one you sleep with, unless it be very necessary."[102] Everything had a proper place, just like every Shaker had a home in the community. However those out of place needed shaking, movement, and placement. Children did not differ from this. Those who misbehaved needed prayer and placement in a proper routine. Without order there was no goodness. And proper order was best taught to children who were a blank slate and brought with them no alternative expectation.

Routine was an oft-used strategy to reinforce desired behavior in these communities. Shakers believed that every day should be "carefully scheduled and purposefully used" to teach children "practical and functional skills that contributed to the Family's welfare and prepared them for useful adult lives."[103] Routine had two

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[100] See Introduction, pages 2-3 for discussion of Shaker practice of "shaking."
[101] Lesson III, Pleasant Hill Archives, Photography Collection
[102] *Gentle Manners*, 33.
[103] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 131.

purposes. The first was to keep the community functioning, and the second was to prepare children for their adult lives. Shakers were not the only community to stress this to their children. Multiple articles in the *Oneida Circular* and former Oneida member, Jessie Kinsley, recorded children's daily routines (photographed in image 1.6). From 1857 to 1871 the routine changed surprisingly little. Each day the children woke up by six o'clock in the morning. In the following two hours, they washed, groomed, and dressed. They then had some free time "for a run in the garden."[104] This was a period of unsupervised play allowing the children some freedom.[105] Breakfast preceded the eight o'clock Morning Meeting where children read the Bible, confessed their sins, and participated in Mutual Criticism.[106] After breakfast they did some work or chores followed by school until noon, when dinner was served. In the afternoon, children participated in singing lessons, more school, and chores such as sewing, husking corn, or shelling beans. Throughout the decades supper

Image 1.6: Jessie Catherine Baker (Kinsley), b. 3/26/1858
18th child born in community, John Humphrey Noyes's 2nd daughter.
Photograph ca. 1863-1865.
http://tontine255.wordpress.com/category/children/

[104] "Oneida Journal: Programme, The Juveniles" *Circular*, Vol. 6, No. 41, (October 29, 1857), 163.
[105] See Chapter 4, pages 193-194 for discussion of Oneida children's unsupervised play.
[106] Mutual Criticism was a regular practice by the Oneida Community in an effort to keep members accountable. One Community member was "criticized," when the rest of the community informed him/her of sins that needed to be correct. See pages 67-70 for how children participated in the practice. These types of meetings were also held in the afternoon.

was held between five and six. Then children had some playtime. Two caretakers told the children a story and put the them to bed at eight in the evening.[107] The community managed every minute of the child's day was managed from school to work to play.[108] Oneida's small numbers afforded it the ability to carefully dictate activity, literally hour by hour. While the Shakers did not record such detailed daily routines, their caretakers received instructions to examine their children closely for wickedness, not to call them bad names, and to keep conversations godly when around children otherwise "they will grow up just like the world's children." The caretakers even received direction on how to put children to bed; "they ought to be made to lie straight, to prevent them from growing crooked."[109] Such specific directives allowed the children little space to manage themselves or stray from communal ideals. This gave little attention and recognition to the possibility of children directing their own lives. Instead leaders and caretakers filled each moment of the day with activities to keep the child focused on faith, education, and communal behavior. This focus on routine also reflected a serious fear of children growing up to be "like the world" and not remain with their community.

Youth organizations provided another way to prepare children for adulthood while also communicating ideals and filling open time in a child's schedule. Children's organizations reflected adult versions in all four groups. Mormon youth

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[107] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 20, "Oneida Journal: Programme, The Juveniles" *Circular*, Vol. 6, No. 41, (October 29, 1857), 163; "An Oneida Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 5, No. 13, (June 8, 1868), 100; "Community Journal: Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 8, No. 38, (September 11, 1871), 293.
[108] See Chapter 4.
[109] Lydia Mathewson in *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee,* 217

organizations provided a space to study religion and provide social support to their community while preparing them for the adult counterparts such as the Relief Society for women and Priesthood for men.[110] Similar to their adult counterparts, the youth organizations were segregated by sex: the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association. The organizations provided companionship outside of the family and purpose in helping community members in need.[111] Shakers also had their children participate in youth organizations to prepare them for adulthood. Girls attended the Girls Improvement Club on alternating Fridays. Sister Frances Carr later remembered that at club meetings they were "assigned subjects on which to write, wrote and learned poetry, and had musical presentations, with piano and other instruments."[112] Carr recalled that she did not just learn to write and play but also to present her work well. As a woman who stayed with the Shakers until the end of her life, the skills she learned in this organization stayed with her. Finally, Berea children participated in the work of their parents through their membership in the Children's Anti-Slavery Missionary Association. The American Missionary Association provided blank certificates for its members to sign and present to members of local chapters, including in Berea. The Fee children participated in other forms anti-slavery work. At ten years old, Burritt

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[110] While the Priesthood is not a formal organization, it is managed by the Church and its members receive appointments and directions from the Church. Priests, of all levels, lead their families and communities into study of their faith. The Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association focused on preparation for joining the Priesthood and enacting similar roles of spiritual and temporal leadership.
[111] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*?, 85-86, 244.
[112] Sister Frances A. Carr, *Growing Up Shaker*, (United Society of Believers, 1995), 105-106.

Fee told his mother about the many dangers and trials in his life but that he would not rest and that he did not worry about the danger his parents faced, as they would be rewarded in heaven.[113]

At Oneida, children participated in youth versions of adult activities to promote perfectionism. The most important activity was Mutual Criticism, a practice unique to the community. Charles Nordoff witnessed a Criticism meeting while he observed Oneida and described the event: "the person to suffer criticism sits in silence, while the rest of the company, each in turn, tell him his faults, with, I judge, an astonishing and often exasperating plainness of speech." Criticism was meant to cure all "faults of character" including "idleness, disorderly habits, impoliteness, selfishness, a love of novel-reading, 'selfish love,' conceit, pride, stubbornness, a grumbling spirit."[114] Criticism was effective because of the importance of fellow Perfectionists' approval.[115] Adults criticized adults and children criticized children; adults guided the children through this practice. Adults also used Criticism to discipline children.[116] Such a practice might seem harsh for a child to endure, but Oneida leadership expected their children to be constantly perfecting themselves just as the adults did. In the Community's publication on the practice, *Mutual Criticism*, it was explained that children "went through a long discipleship before the system of

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[113] Mathilda H. Fee Letter to Children, *American Missionary*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (February 1860), 44.
[114] Nordoff, *Communistic Societies of the United States*, 289-290.
[115] Maren Lockwood Carden, *Oneida: Utopian Community to Modern Corporation*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), 74.
[116] See Chapter 2, pages 125-126, and Chapter 3, pages 174-175, for further discussion of discipline of children and other applications of Mutual Criticism.

Mutual Criticism was instituted." It also justified the practice, calling it perfectly normal and that "love for the truth and love for one another had been nurtured and strengthened till it could bear any strain We could receive criticism kindly, and give it without fear of offending, in the element of tried affection."[117] Participants were expected to understand that while the exercise might have been difficult, it was for their own good.

Oneida leadership clearly believed that not only was the practice of Criticism good for children, but that youngsters reacted to it better than adults due to their "plasticity" and their hearts that "are easily reached by sincerity." "A little wholesome correction is sometimes the best medicine for an ailing child; and it is certainly a more merciful remedy than nauseous pills or castor-oil. Quite young children, however, can take a family criticism in the regular way, and get the advantage of it."[118] Children's innocence made them more receptacle to the practice. Criticism allowed children to be "easily molded by bringing to bear the power of truth among themselves and from their superiors."[119] In March 1857, one boy was criticized for "deficiency of self-respect," which gave "him the character of a clown." Along with this observation, the Criticism concluded that "he has a good heart, and a supposition to improve, and needed to be encouraged by praise and an appreciation of all that is good in him."[120] Criticism began with weaknesses and falls but ended with the child's

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[117] *Mutual Criticism*, (Oneida: Office of the American Socialist, 1876), 14.
[118] Ibid., 73.
[119] Ibid., 90.
[120] "An Oneida Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 6, No. 9, (March 19, 1857), 35.

strengths and godly gifts. In 1872, another child offered himself for criticism as "he was old enough to know that it would do him good, and he had grace enough to want to improve." The children who provided the criticism "were very sincere. Everyone one of them had something to say about the boy's selfishness, inharmonious ways. Even youngsters of six or seven had been outraged in their sense of what is right and wrong. There was no malice in what the children said." The community forbid "telling on each other" making this the space to acknowledge wrong doings.[121]

According to Oneida, children lacked "malice" and could in turn provided the most sincere criticism. This made children's Criticism the model to replicate. Children's wrongdoings might include a desire or attempt of private possession of a good or toy for such practices were not allowed. All children's clothing, toys, and goods were property of the Children's House, not of an individual child. Another example of poor behavior would be violence or aggression. Pierrepont Noyes (image 1.7), born in the last decade of the Oneida Community, believed that "only bad boys,

Image 1.7: Pierrepont Burt Noyes, b. 8/18/1870, d. 4/15/1959
49th child, 7th eugenics child
Noyes's 4th son
Photograph undated
http://tontine255.wordpress.com/category/children/

[121] "The Children's Meeting" *Oneida Circular*, Vol. 9, No. 20, (May 13, 1872), 157.

outside boys, attacked each other… We knew that 'out in the world' things were different, but in that world were Sodom and Gomorrah."[122] This kind of behavior was clearly uncommon. Noyes's emphasis on the outside world as something foreign and dangerous reflects how Oneida childrearing had been successful at impressing upon the children the community's superiority and difference to the rest of the world. As an adult, Noyes recalled the importance of Criticism, as "the recognized agency for improving character and conduct; the rod which chastened pride and selfishness and worldliness; the weapon which law and order were insured."[123] The Oneida community believed that Criticism made him a better child and consequently a better adult.

Even in a child's illness or death, Oneida Perfectionists, Mormons, Bereans, and Shakers found ways to continue their definition of children and, by extension, themselves. Illness had the potential to disrupt children and their families' lives in powerful ways. It could reduce the labor in a community or family, take up valuable resources, and potentially spread into an epidemic. Oneida prided itself on "almost uninterrupted good health" with sickness "confined mostly to slight epidemics."[124] Corinna Ackley Noyes later recalled that "actual sickness was seldom in evidence. Occasionally there would be an epidemic of measles, chicken-pox, mumps or pink eye and then the children who had the disease and were immune, felt as if left out of a

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[122] Murray,126.
[123] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 12.
[124] *Handbook of the Oneida Community*, 23.

party, for there were often delicacies the convalescents were given which the health seldom tasted."[125] When they did suffer an illness or outbreak they used alternative methods to treat the children, "with plenty of air, exercise, and amusement."[126] When children complained of a cold, the adults encouraged them to "go outdoors and play in the snow" to get better.[127] In 1870, when whooping cough broke out, Oneida caretakers called an "Indignation Meeting," which was an alternative way of managing disease considered "a thousand times better than pills or syrups."[128] Oneida argued its methods with mortality rates. Children under two represented sixteen percent of the total deaths and children aged two to fifteen represented nearly nine percent compared to twenty-five percent and twenty percent, respectively, in New York City and Boston.[129] Their numbers are symbolic more than reflective of reality. Oneida was located in a rural setting and it compared its rate of illness and death to urban settings that in 1870s had high rates of disease.[130] Despite this, Oneida took great pride in their management of childhood illness.

Death played a much more powerful and significant role. The death of a child ended possibility. Adults provided messages that both provided comfort and

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[125] Corinna Ackley Noyes, *The Days of My Youth: A Childhood Memoir of Life in the Oneida Community*, (Kenwood, NY: The Oneida Community Mansion House 1960, 1992. Reprint, Clinton, NY: Richard W. Couper Press, 2011), 67, 68.
[126] "Community Journal: Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 8, No, 10, (March 6, 1871), 76.
[127] *Circular*, January 15, 1857 reprinted in Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community*, 151.
[128] "Community Journal: Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 6, No. 47 (February 7, 1870), 372.
[129] "Community Journal: Oneida: Vital Statistics" *Circular*, Vol. 8, No. 10, (March 21, 1870), 76.
[130] Ten percent of children under one and fourteen percent of children under the age of five died in rural areas of the United States in the same decade as presented in Samuel H. Preston and Michael R. Haines, "New Estimates of Child Mortality during the Late Nineteenth Century" in Preston and Haines eds., *Fatal Years: Child Mortality in Late Nineteenth-Century America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 58.

instruction upon the death of a child. Other children needed such direction as the loss of another child left the survivors and confused. Corinna Ackley Noyes remembered death as a shock: "I had thought everyone lived to be a hundred, and my life seemed secure for years to come. Now, it was all different but luckily, unhappy thoughts do not last long in childhood."[131] Despite its threat, Ackley Noyes quickly moved on because of death's rarity. She only had to manage the death of a peer a few times in her young life. In one such instance, a group of unsupervised children worried about a young boy who had died and was buried "all alone, taken away from his mother." The group took turns laying their heads on his grave, "certain that the faint rustling we heard was the baby's heart still beating…Then we went away, not saddened but feeling the baby was being tenderly cared for by good Mother Earth till God should call him home."[132] Ackley Noyes and her friends sought solace for the dead child. They used explanations of God guiding the departed child to the afterlife that they had heard adults explain in separate discussions of death and the afterlife. This allowed the children to finally leave the grave. Leaving a group of children unsupervised near a grave is surprising; the Oneida caretakers and adults seemed comfortable giving the children a great deal of space.[133] Such independence allowed the children to interpret and manage their understanding of death. The children came

[131] Ackley Noyes, *The Days of My Youth*, 69.
[132] Ibid.
[133] See Chapter 4, pages 193-194 for further discussion of unsupervised children in the Oneida community.

to find that death was not a sterile and solitary experience but warm and embracing. Even death could be perfected.

The Berea missionaries faced the prospect of death through illness but also feared for their life at the hands of slave owners who protested them until 1865. Due to this, the Bereans had a large number of their population living in exile in the two years before the Civil War. While no child died at the hands of angry slaveholders, like the other groups they weren't immune to disease. Fee's son, six-year-old Tappan, died of typhoid while they were in exile. Fee noted his death several times both in the *American Missionary* and later, in his autobiography. "At 20 minutes past 8 o'clock, P.M., struggling for breath, [Tappan] extended his hands to me, and looking at me very earnestly, with his little hands clinging to mine, he died. None but those similarity bereaved can know what we, as parents felt when we look upon the lifeless form." The Fees buried Tappan in a nearby churchyard, where both the adults and children "sobbed." Fee found solace in his faith that he would see his son again in heaven, but for the time being concluded that "Grace alone can sustain us."[134] For both the Perfectionists and Bereans, reliance on faith and supernatural forces helped mourners survive the loss of a loved child.

The commonality of death did not ease its pain or lessen its importance in these communities. Simply on account of their larger numbers, Mormons and Shakers

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[134] John G. Fee, "Death of a Child," *American Missionary*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (June 1860), 133-134.

were regularly exposed to a child's death.[135] Mormon John D. Lee described a family who, on May 27, 1853, had lost their daughter, five year-old "Ally" who had "the love of all who knew her." He described the family's pain as intense and "her poor mother consequently the most stricken."[136] Eliza Snow, a well-known female leader and one of Young's wives, eulogized the girl in a memorial poem, stressing the child's innocence and purity, "O, she was too pure for a world like this, - She has gone to a happier sphere."[137] The focus was on the departed's journey to heaven and family members' future reunion there. It is notable that the Mormon Matriarch Eliza Snow wrote about the child. She must have known the family, but her poem likely provided consolation for other parents who also had lost a child. In 1856, when Martha Spence Heywood, lost her daughter Sarepta, she could not bear to even say her name when they laid her to rest, "We left the house taking the precious burden to the burial ground, there depositing it in the depth prepared, covering it up and starting from to this place."[138] Calling a lost child "it" was not uncommon in nineteenth century Mormon writings. The pain forced parents to avoid the name, calling the child it, in an attempt to separate the burial and corpse from the angelic, living child. This was similar to patterns in American families. Martha Ballard, a mid-wife in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, often replaced a gendered pronoun with it as

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[135] Dorothy Geneva Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, (Logan, UT: Utah State University, 1983), 98.
[136]Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 95-96
[137] Eliza Snow, "Alice G. Heywood," *Deseret News,* (June 18, 1853), 3.
[138] Martha Spence Heywood quoted in *Not by Bread Alone: The Journal of Martha Spence Heywood* edited by Juanita Brooks, (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1978), 129-130.

a young child neared death.[139] The child seemed to not long his/her gender but also his/her humanity.

Alternatively, Shaker records often record a child's death without emotion. The death of a child was noted in the same manner as the day's weather. In the Ministry Journal, five-year-old James Harrison Thurmon's death and burial are a quick note following the day's description as cloudy and cool.[140] Similarly, Zachariah Burnett wrote of the treatment and subsequent death in the same line as the weather, "Leach a boy 7 years of age and of the Boys order at Center Family died of the Vareoloid, and worms at 1 o clock P.M. weather dry."[141] These quick entries make the detailed and emotional deaths stand out. The death of William Campion Reed in the Family Journal Book provides such an example.

> A most lamentable catastrophe occured [sic] today. Little Wm Campion Reed a promising sprightly & interesting little boy of 7 years old, was killed at the Center Family by a log rolling over him. He and the other boys were rolling the log down the hill when the bark caught his clothes & drew him over, & the log passed over him killing him on the spot. A most heart rendering scene to all present, including the Caretaker. And the distressing shock was keenly felt throughout the Society. He was a great favorite with all who knew him.[142]

The manner of the death shocked to the community. The description of Reed as a favorite helps to explain his death being felt throughout the community. This was a painful loss. The author does not write about a potential afterlife or his faith. The

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[139] Laura Ulrich Thatcher, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*, (New York: Vintage Books, Inc., 1991), 209, 252.
[140] Zachariah Burnett, *Pleasant Hill Journal, July 1, 1846 - March 14, 1853*, (The Shaker Community at Pleasant Hill Archives), November 20, 1846, 17.
[141] Burnett, *Pleasant Hill Journal*, February 6, 1851, 265.
[142] *Family Journal Book*, Vol. 4, January 1, 1843-October 19, 1871, August 4, 1865, 290.

author seems too surprised and distraught to even use this as comfort. Even though the child was not biologically related to the author, the description of his death demonstrates familial care and love that was one of the Shaker goals of communal living.

For these four communities, children acted as a space to write their identity. The community decided how the child joined a community, how they lived their lives, what symbolic meaning they held, and how they departed from their childhood. Childhood typically came to an end between the ages of sixteen to twenty-one when the child was eligible for marriage or, in the case of the Shakers, officially joining the community. Before that age children embodied hope, patriotism, faith, obedience, and goodness. Yet, the communities did not readily recognize how strongly their children carried American traditions and traits. While the communities were successful at noting difference and marking children as their future, they failed at actually raising them in a radically different way. Mormons, Bereans, Oneida Perfectionists, and Shakers saw children much like the rest of the American bourgeois class did: innocents with the possibility of perfecting a future.

Chapter 2

The Family and its Proxies

For nineteenth-century children, the family provided their first introduction into affection, well-being, and social behaviors. Parents and siblings provided the first interactions a child had with other people. Familial bonds taught children how to make relationships that they should later replicate in their lives. The family provided children with their first introductions to recreation, entertainment, and social functions.[1] The focus on perfecting society in the nineteenth century began with the family.[2] Nineteenth-century reformers instructed parents on how to raise future perfect citizens and Christian denominations stressed the responsibility of the religious training of their children.[3]

As the Mormon, Oneida, Shaker, and Berea communities formed and grew, the concept of the "modern American family" also began to develop. This included four key aspects. The first is that marriage was based on affection, meaning that economic advantages or family connections did not serve as the primary motivator for the union. The second aspect is that the woman's role was primarily as caretaker for the children and the overseeing the maintenance of the home. The third requirement is that the "attention, energy, and resources" of the parents centered on their children.

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[1] Dorothy Geneva Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, (Logan, UT: Utah State University, 1983).
[2] See Introduction and Chapter One for further discussion of the perfectionism movement of the nineteenth century.
[3] Peter N. Stearns, "Childhood Emotions," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* edited by Paula Fass, (London: Routledge 2013), 162; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 68.

Finally, the family size in the nineteenth century was significantly smaller than families in previous centuries.[4] Admittedly, this definition is limited to bourgeois Americans, as it ignores the family structures of farm families, immigrant, indigenous, and slave families. However, the model works as a comparison for the these four communities as many of their members came from the bourgeois class and therefore, would have defined family in this "new" modern context.

Mormons, Bereans, Shakers, and Oneida Perfectionists saw families as important, but for them the family expanded beyond the mother-father-children model and included the entire community as the family unit that shaped the child's future. Oneida demonstrated this in the community handbook that defined their community as family, "distinctly bonded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households."[5] In the Oneida community, men and women both served as caretakers for boys and girls. The Shakers separated the genders and attempted to give equal parenting responsibilities to men and women. The Mormons also created alternative family structures but retained women as the primary caretakers, embodying the prevailing gender roles in the United States. While Berea did not purposefully restructure the family, its families experienced strain unknown to most white middle-class Americans. The communities saw the restructuring of the mother-father-children family as a key component to attaining their goals and demonstrating that they offered

[4] Carl Degler, "Emergence of the Modern Family," in *The American Family Social-Historical Perspective* edited by Michael Gordon, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 65. I also use the phrase "mother-father-children" model to describe the modern American family. I have avoided the term "nuclear family" as it was not yet used in the nineteenth century.

[5] *A Handbook of the Oneida Community,* (Wallingford: Office of the Circular, 1867), 64.

a superior alternative to American society. Raymond Lee Muncy has argued that families' attachments threatened "the social order of communist communities… Utopians who abolished family ties blamed the familial arrangement for aiding and abetting possessiveness in children."[6] Berea, Oneida, Shaker, and Mormon members and leadership recognized that the community, including its beliefs and goals, had to be the priority for all membership if they hoped to succeed, and one's love for his/her spouse, children, or parents was the most obvious obstacle to that priority. Therefore, each community aimed to replace the traditional family with a model that better served communal needs.

Despite conscious efforts otherwise, the virtues taught by the communities captured the spirit of bourgeois family values. These four communities aimed to teach their children to behave differently from prevailing bourgeois American culture but consistently provided models of American life. Children's contribution to the household economy taught them to be productive members of their local, state, and national communities. Mothers and fathers, male and female caretakers taught the child gender roles by example. Similarly children's interaction and understanding of their religion reflected what they saw in the family unit. The Oneida publication *Circular* stressed the importance of the larger "open" community over the "closed circle of family relatives" as an ideal way to prepare a child for adulthood.[7]

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[6] Raymond Lee Muncy, *Sex and Marriage in Utopian Communities: 19th Century America*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 234.
[7] "General Principles" *Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 41, (January 29, 1863), 203.

Considering that so many of the children in these four communities opted to change the community reveals that the children learned something very different in their family units from what each community sought to teach.

Most of the communities' differences reflected conscious and purposeful decisions and actions that evolved through the life of each community. However, in Berea the differences stemmed not from choice but from circumstances. In the late 1850s, Bereans committed to the anti-caste and abolitionist cause faced threats of violence against their lives.[8] Protesting slavery in a slave state was a risky enterprise. For a period of time they fled Berea, living temporarily in Cincinnati, Ohio. Fee recalled how exile and his missionary work kept him away from his family for weeks at a time, "Ten weeks had elapsed since I had seen my wife and two eldest children. These were weeks of commotion, anxiety, and peril."[9] Parents spent more time away from their children than they wanted due to the threats from neighboring communities. Despite this, the Fee and other Berea children remembered feeling secure "in their father's home, and ... gave little heed to the dangers."[10] Berean children had grown accustomed to the constant threat and violence that surrounded them, and in response some parents, such as John and Elizabeth Rogers, opted to keep their children away from their work.[11]

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[8] See Chapter 1, n. 40 for discussion on Fee's anti-caste philosophy.
[9] John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, (Chicago: National Christian Society, 1891), 173.
[10] Elizabeth Rogers, "Personal History of Berea College," (Berea: Unpublished, 1910).
[11] See pages 109-110 for further discussion of this separation.

Oneida Perfectionists and the Shakers used the communal family model. Both groups aimed to remove the "idolatry" of the family and instead placed the community at the center of the child's life. Jessie Kinsley, who grew up in Oneida, argued for the community model, using the Bible as support, "The aim in this strange association, framed on the 'Bible pattern' and called 'Bible communism,' was to assure the children that their parents were the entire Community; and, as to the older people, the feeling was ingrained in them that they were mothers, fathers, grandparents, aunts, and uncles to all of us children."[12] Any emotional or biological ties threatened community unity. Shaker children under the age of sixteen "live, eat, work, play, sleep and worship, accompanied only by their caretakers," who were "typically in their twenties" and "appointed by, and reported to, the Church ministry."[13] Children who grew up in these communities recalled communal parenting with fondness. Kinsley stressed that the community raised happy children, "far happier than are children made tyrants by petting, or nagged by anxious and over-worked mothers."[14] In the mid-nineteenth century, Shakers and Oneida Perfectionists found success in the communal model. Children such as Kinsley demonstrated a loyalty to the model and argued its superiority over other methods. Despite this, as adults many children eventually sought different family structures.

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[12] Jessie Kinsley quoted in *A Lasting Spring: Jessie Catherine Kinsley, Daughter of the Oneida Community* edited by Jane Kinsley Rich and Nelson M. Blake, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 15.
[13] Hervey Elkins, *Fifteen Years in the Senior Order of Shakers: A Narration of Facts Concerning the Singular People*, (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Press, 1853), 30.
[14] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 20; see Chapter 1 pages 44-45 for further discussion of happy children.

Stirpiculture was one of the most striking aspects of the Oneida community.[15] This practice led them to believe they produced perfect children or at least children with the most potential to reach perfection.[16] Oneida Perfectionists discussed how it was of "the utmost importance that the Community, in favoring the production of pure-blood races of men, should keep accurate pedigree accounts."[17] In the late 1860s and 1870s, the community began its focused effort on these "perfected" children produced from stirpiculture. Jessie Kinsley recalls that the "little groups of stirpicultural babies…[who] were the outcome of high hopes for race betterment, and as may be imagined were sometimes the signs of obedience and self-sacrifice onto parts of the parents."[18] Oneida leaders believed that creating perfect children required perfect parents. Potential parents had to present themselves to the leadership when they wanted to have children. Victor and Mary Hawley, who married after the dissolution of the

Image 2.1
Oneida Eugenics Children
ca. 1887
http://tontine255.wordpress.com/2011/01/16/community-children/

[15] For discussion of stirpiculture see Chapter 1, pages 31-33.
[16] See Introduction page 6 for discussion of Oneida Perfectionism.
[17] *Hand-book of the Oneida Community; with a Sketch of its Founder and an Outline of its Constitution and Doctrines*, (Wallingford: Office of the Circular, 1871), 32.
[18] Kinsley quoted in Jane Kinsley Rich, ed. *A Lasting Spring*, 37.

community, appealed on several occasions to have a child in 1876 and 1877. Repeatedly the Oneida leadership denied them for being too attached to each other and too emotional. Oneida leadership deemed few men "perfect" enough to father a child. Only ten men fathered twenty-eight of the fifty-eight children born under stirpiculture.[19] However, since caretakers, rather than biological parents, raised the children this had few tangible impacts on children's day-to-day experiences.

Part of the Oneida experiment was not just bearing perfect children but raising them without too much attachment to any one individual. This could be quite difficult as an Oneida mother believed she literally had given birth to a perfect child, nursed him/her, and then had to leave that child to the caretakers to raise. Therefore Oneida heavily warned against philoprogenitiveness, or being too attached to one individual. Oneida saw this as a type of idolatry.[20] Philoprogenitiveness threatened a person's devotion and love for God. John Humphrey Noyes believed this was the most devastating sin and founded Oneida as alternative to this attachment, which he saw as rampant in American society. In the community it was not the love between husbands and wives that threatened the rule but the bond between parent and child, especially mother and child. Former children of Oneida remembered growing close to their mothers and fearing accusations of philoprogenitiveness.[21] This became such a threat

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[19] Robert S. Fogarty, ed. *Special Love/Special Sex: An Oneida Community Diary*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 26.
[20] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 32.
[21] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*; Pierrepont Noyes, *My Father House: An Oneida Boyhood*, (London: Butler & Tanner, Ltd., 1937); Corinna Ackley Noyes, *The Days of My Youth: A Childhood Memoir of Life in the Oneida Community*, (Kenwood, NY: The Oneida Community Mansion House, 1960, 1992, Reprint, Clinton, NY: Richard W. Couper Press, 2011); Fogarty, *Desire & Duty at Oneida*.

between mother and child that Oneida members developed a special word for the mother-child bond: "amativeness."[22] Oneida leadership advised parents who moved in this direction to seek "above all things the blessing of God… look not so much at their children, as to the object of pleasing God."[23] Oneida Perfectionists accused children too close to their parents as being "sticky" to them. Corinna Ackley Noyes recalled being criticized for her love for her mother. Oneida caretakers described this as a "disagreeable exhibition of 'stickiness' to her mother" and a "sin."[24] Oneida caretakers took special care to prevent such attachments between parent and child through interference and special attention in Mutual Criticism.[25] Despite all claims of a radically different family structure in Oneida, the consistent need to remind membership of their responsibilities to restrain from "special love" reflects that families remained close. Oneida membership resembled their contemporaries far more than they wanted to admit.

Oneida Perfectionists saw using caretakers, instead of biological parents, as a superior method. Theoretically, the rotating caretakers ensured that children always had supervision and care.[26] Both men and women took on the responsibility of caregiver but in practice the majority of the responsibility fell on the women, similar

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[22] "An Oneida Journal: General Principles," *Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 51, (January 29, 1863), 203. In the teachings of phrenology, amativeness is concerned with physical love and sexual attraction but Oneida used it specifically to describe the attachment between mother and child.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 64.
[25] See Chapter 1, pages 67-69 for a definition of mutual criticism.
[26] Quoted in Constance Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community: An Autobiography, 1851-1876*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1970), 349; See Chapter 1, pages 64-65, 72 and Chapter 4, pages 193-194 for discussion of children's unsupervised time.

to bourgeois American families. In the 1863 edition of the community-published *Circular,* the author described the importance of having male and female caretakers, "The family of children governed by mere motherly feeling is like a wheel with the hub left out. There must be masculine power and execution at the center and the mother's philoprogenitiveness must be loyally organized into that."[27] Oneida leaders worried that the traditional gender roles, of a woman solely responsible for childrearing, remained in tact in the community. The article's focus on a mother's philoprogenitiveness reveals the community's belief that women were more likely to remain overly attached to their children. No such concern was raised about fathers. Some former Oneida children remembered the caretaker system fondly, even though they did not replicate it in their adult lives. Corinna Ackley Noyes writes, "As I look back on those days, I am impressed with the amount of time, thought and ingenuity the children's welfare commands from men and women alike. The rearing of healthy, happy children was a major enterprise in the Oneida Community."[28] Despite this, as an adult Ackley Noyes chose to marry another former Oneida member and raise her children in a non-communal setting. She was part of the generation that left the caretaker model and while remaining geographically close to their childhood home, personally raised their children.

Similar to the Oneida community, Shakers also raised their children communally by caretakers rather than by the biological parents. But unlike Oneida,

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[27] "A Community Journal: Children's Department," *Oneida Circular*, Vol. 12, No. 36, (November 5, 1863), 143.
[28] Noyes, *The Days of My Youth*, 83.

Shaker adults and children lived separated by gender; only women raised the girls and only men raised the boys. Caretakers directed children's education, labor, "and all their outgoings, and incomings. If they have relatives in the world who visit them, [the caretaker] must be with them and watch the conversation, and see that they are not enticed away."[29] Typically these caretakers worked in pairs with one serving as an assistant to the lead caretaker to ensure such constant supervision.[30] Lucy Wright wrote that caretakers "are called and appointed to feel for, to teach, to guide and protect the youngest part, class or order in the fold of Zion."[31] Caretakers varied in their views of their responsibility. Brother Elisa Blakeman described his experience as a caretake as a "gift to have me take some burden and care of the boys!"[32] However, other caretakers struggled in the strict way of raising children. Brother Ebenezer Morrell confided that he had difficulty: "I have tried to govern the children according to this method, by preaching to them about … the ministry, Jesus Christ, and mother Ann, until they have become unaccountably troublesome and so wicked that I know not what to do with them."[33] For Morrell, raising children, with all of their misbehavior, was a burden. Despite Shaker claims, communal caretaking proved to

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[29] David Rich Lamson, *Two Years' Experience Among the Shakers*, (West Boylston: D.R. Lamson, 1848), 176.
[30] Judith A. Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," Master's Thesis, (Ames: IW: Iowa State University, 1996), 141; Domestic Journal, WRHS V B 60, January 2, 1841, 214.
[31] Lucy Wright, *The Gospel Monitor: A Little Book of Mother Ann's Word to Those Who are Placed as Instructors and Caretakers of Children*, (Canterbury, NH, 1843), 7.
[32] Elisa Blakeman, *The Boys' Journal of Work* (New Lebanon, NY, 1844-1865), WRHS V B 137, September 2, 1844.
[33] John Woods, *Shakerism Unmasked or, a Narrative, Shewing the Entrance of the Shakers into the Western Country, their Stratagems and Devices, Discipline and Economy; Together with what may seem Necessary to Exhibit the True State of that People*, (Paris, KY: Office of the Western Observer, 1826), 50-51.

be as individualized and challenging as the alternative. Caretakers, like parents, varied in their skills in raising children, just as the children varied in their obedience.

Shakers prided communalness and a lack of individualism. Shakers dressed the same, ate the same meals, and completed the same work. Therefore, they provided guidance for how to manage children every moment of every day, from how and when they dined to dressing to school, labor, and play. Lucy Wright informed caretakers of their very important duty, "You that are called and appointed to feel for, to teach, to guide and protect the youngest part, class or order in the fold of Zion."[34] Caretakers received instruction on how to speak to children: always "speak words of entire truth" and "at all times avoid speaking to any one in a fractious or passionate manner, in the hearing or presence of children" and not to "speak diminutively of any one, in the presence of children… neither make mention of the difficulties or failings of the brethren and sisters in the hearing of children."[35] Caretakers were supposed to stress examples of good behavior. Children were not to know of imperfection or moral failings for fear that it might undermine adult authority and Shaker efforts at a perfect society. Additionally, Shaker leadership seemed to have a real concern for children being left alone "either at work, at play, or at their studies."[36] They feared that children would lose their focus and be tempted to sin without adult supervision. Unsupervised free time might result in children not learning the perfect law of Mother

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[34] Lucy Wright, *The Gospel Monitor: A Little Book of Mother Ann's Words to Those Who are Place as Instructors and Caretakers of Children*, (Canterbury, NH: 1843) 7.
[35] Ibid., 8, 9.
[36] Ibid., 17-18.

Ann's house. Children needed communal raising, for individuals sinned, but, according to Shakers, groups did not. Despite this, again like in Oneida, former members often recalled spans of time without adult supervision. This allowed Shaker children the opportunity to shape their own worldviews and break community rules.[37]

Mormon acceptance and promotion of polygamy was the most striking difference from bourgeois America.[38] Polygamy embedded into Mormon children a sense of hierarchy in society. The largest difference between polygamous families and other American families caused was the role of the mother and "second mother(s)" who differed from a child's biological mother. Many children of second and third families suspected the first wife's family "had more advantages. At least one first family reported to have acted superior and demanded more resources."[39] Even children who recalled their childhood in plural families as ideal remembered the first family in a position of priority. Annie Tanner wrote that "naturally, the first family was aware of its superior position, partly because they were older than we. As I think of it now, if they felt imposed on for being expected to consider us in any way, who could blame them? Hadn't they toiled with my father since childhood? Now he had added another family to be supported and share the profits of the farm."[40] Tanner saw a hierarchy based on the first family's experience. In the post Civil War years,

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[37] See pages 103-104 and in Chapter 4, pages 201-202.
[38] Not all Mormons practiced polygamy but there was a widespread support for it. See Kathryn Daynes, *More Wives Than One*, 2001.
[39] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families*, 87.
[40] Annie Clark Tanner quoted in *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography* edited by Everett L. Cooley, Brigham D. Madsen, and S. Lyman Tyler, (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1969) 12.

polygamous families faced more difficulties. In 1865 the U.S. government made greater efforts at prosecuting violators of the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act and in 1882, it passed the Edmunds Act, forcing many Mormons to live in the Underground.[41] This increased the instability of polygamous families and led Mormon children to resent the practice of plural marriage. Americans outside of Mormon communities focused on this type of legislation. The drawing, "Defense attorney bringing jury to tears by showing sorrowful wife and children of accused" (image 2.2) is an artist's interpretation of the Mormon family before the court due to application of the Edmunds Act. The wives hold on to their husband, a spectacle of the court. The presumedly ashamed children are absent from the scene. Children in non-polygamous households saw their father in a more positive light. David McKay was

Image 2.2
"The Drama of the Criminal Court"
Wood Engraving,
Wild Oats Vol. 5, No. 54 (April 10, 1873)
Library of Congress

[41] Congress passed the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act in 1862 but with the Civil War raging, the law was largely ignored for several years. The Edmunds Act gave the government much more power in prosecuting and persecuting polygamous Mormons and the Mormon community by revoking polygamists' right to vote, making them ineligible for jury service, and prohibiting them from holding political office. The Act punished all Mormons, regardless if they all practiced polygamy, for the endorsement of plural marriage. The U.S. government replaced Utah's elected officials and disincorporated the church. Over a thousand men served prison sentences in violation of the Act. Ericksen, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life*, 76. See Chapter 1 for definition of the Underground, n. 10.

one of the only Mormon bishops in the 1870s who did not take a second wife (see image 2.3 for a photograph of the McKay family). When asked why he did not take a second wife, McKay explained his wife did not want plural wives.[42] Their son, David O. McKay (LDS president 1951-1970) later described his father as the man he most respected.[43] This was quite different from the sons of polygamous families who judged and resented their fathers.

Image 2.3
McKay Family
ca. 1870s
LDS Library Media Archive

Despite the clear differences between the Mormon, Berean, Oneida, and Shaker families, their children still learned American values due to overwhelming similarities in childrearing practices. However, the outcomes often remained quite similar. The role of the mother and father figures remained intact if not somewhat altered in all four communities. Siblings remained a source of bonding, trust, and play. Community discipline strategies mirrored American trends, stressing obedience to authority. Even in the most sequestered communities, no group was immune to outside interruptions and threats that exposed children to non-community life. These

[42] Newell Bringhurst, "The Private versus the Public David O. McKay: Profile of a Complex Personality," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vo1. 31, No. 3 (Fall 1998), 17.
[43] Ibid.

similarities and interruptions from the outside world prepared Oneida, Shaker, Mormon, and Berean children to easily move from radical alternatives in their youth to the modern American family as adults.

In the nineteenth century, motherhood was the ideal role for women; to be a woman meant one would become a mother. Women sought expert knowledge and advice to run their home, specifically on how to develop children's moral character and intellectual development.[44] Home management books and manuals produced in the 1830s and 1840s stressed that mothers devote their whole attention to their children.[45] Catherine Beecher explained, "There is no more important duty devolving upon a mother than the cultivation of habits of modesty and propriety in young children."[46] The Cult of Domesticity stressed the importance of the mother in the home. An ideal nineteenth-century American woman managed the private space and provided her children with love and a proper upbringing; mothers led by example. The Cult of Domesticity "developed as the family lost its economic unit. Many of the links between family and community closed off as work left home… Increasingly, then, home became a self-contained unit. Privacy was a crucial issue for nineteenth-century families… Women remained in the home, as a kind of cultural hostage."[47] This was justified and explained through nineteenth-century "science" that claimed

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[44] Julia Grant, "Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* edited by Paula Fass, (London: Routledge, 2013), 116.
[45] Catherine Sedgewick, *Home* (1835) and Lydia Maria Child, *The Mother Book*, (1831).
[46] Catherine E. Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1848), 233.
[47] Caroline J. Lavender, "Notes on the Cult of Domesticity and True Womanhood," Prepared for Students in HST 386: Women in the City, Department of History, (The College of Staten Island/CUNY, 1998), 3.

women were physically, intellectually, and emotionally weaker than men and that public work was a dangerous space for women. The "true woman" was pious in her Protestant Christian beliefs, moral, modest, and submissive. The woman's responsibility was to keep a cheerful home, nurse her children and husband, keep the home clean, and provide healthy meals.[48] *Mother's Magazine* encouraged women to preserve the household as a safe, private space separate from the dangers of the streets.[49] This was not limited to bourgeois women but was the ideal of all American women, even those who lived in the religious communities discussed here. Barbara Welter acknowledged this in her foundational essay on nineteenth-century women, describing the role of woman as mother and home manager during "the movements for social reform, westward migration, missionary activity, utopian communities, industrialism, the Civil War."[50] In the nineteenth century, the woman's role was to bring children into the world and her responsibilities were largely focused around raising these children.

The importance of motherhood is visible in the Mormon community. Church President Brigham Young most clearly illustrated this when he instructed the Mormons to "Let the mothers commence to teach their children while in their laps, there do you teach them to love the Lord, and keep his commandments." He continued, "The mother is to watch over her children and give them their early

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[48] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1966), 162-65.
[49] Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 147-48.
[50] Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 174.

education, for impressions received in infancy are lasting."[51] Young's words reflected the American female ideal. John D. Lee echoed this sentiment in his diary. He recorded his advice to his sons regarding their mother, "But, my sons, do with your aged mother as seemeth good, forsake me if you choose I will follow council. Her words being guided by the Spirit of her calling perfectly conquered theirinsomuch [sic] that they were overcome, wept, & asked her forgiveness."[52] Lee stressed the mother's connection to the Spirit and her important standing in the family. Children saw their mothers as most important, "Mother was in general the favored parent; she was available and her children was concerned for her welfare." And in the case of polygamy, she was the one who felt its burdens most painfully through lack of resources and separation from her extended family.[53] The Mormon children of this generation grew up to respect and protect their mothers, and by the end of the century they had not only ended the Church's endorsement of polygamy but had restructured the Church to be more palatable to American Protestants.

Until the 1890s polygamy remained intact and many Mormon homes had multiple mothers in each family. The ideal living situation was that each sister wife had her own home where she raised her children, separate from the other wives. However, as wives joined a family, they sometimes shared the same house. One such

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[51] Brigham Young quoted in *Isn't One Wife Enough?* by Kimball Young, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954) 174-75.
[52] John D. Lee quoted in *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876* edited by Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, (Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1955), 10-11.
[53] Dorthy Geneva Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, (Logan, UT: Utah State University, 1983) 99-100.

wife recalled with fondness that she shared her house initially with another wife until "she had three children, and had it not been for this, and the care of my own little ones, we should have never separated... Mr. Whitney built her a large comfortable house within a few feet of mine, and has deeded to each of us our homes. Our children have always lived more peacefully than many who have one mother."[54] These children largely recalled their lives in polygamous families positively. They did not perceive their circumstances of a plural marriage system as unusual.[55] Annie Tanner recalled living across the street from her father's other wives, and she remembered that "As a child, I went freely from one home to other."[56] The multiple families provided a small, tight-knit neighborhood. Siblings came and went from house to house, feeling security and love in their father's large family. Polygamous children before the Underground period felt included in a large family that represented the entire Mormon community.[57]

Children from these homes had varied experiences and relationships with plural mothers. Many Mormon children had very close relationships with both their biological mothers and additional mother figures as fathers were often absent from the household. In the early years of the practice (1850s-1860s) Mormon men married and then left for the mission field, devoting themselves to "public work." This allowed mothers more freedom and responsibility to raise the children alone, but they

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[54] Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, "Why We Practice Plural Marriage," qtd. in Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*, 53.
[55] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families*, 98.
[56] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 2.
[57] See Chapter 1 for definition of the Underground, n. 10.

heavily depended on the fellow sister wives, the Church, and the Relief Society.[58] Many children called their second and third mothers, "aunts," as they were "so dear" to the children.[59] Samuel Woolley Taylor reported that his mother and her sister wife "got along swimmingly. Mother did her share of the housework. She helped with babies. There was not the slightest disagreement. Never anything but perfect politeness."[60] Another grown child remembered a close relationship with his second mother, "I treated her like a special supplement to my mother's care."[61] For these children the plural wives extended their family and provided more maternal care and discipline.

Sister wives provided a type of mutual aid and assistance in the raising of their large families. The second wife of Paul Lamb described how plural families lived and raised their children. She remembered that they were close, running errands together and helping each other through times of difficulty, "I nursed a great many of the other wife's children. She had trouble with her milk and I didn't, so when we had children together I would always help take care of them. When she was sick I went right into her house and stayed with her."[62] Each mother helped support the other in areas of weakness and difficulty. This closeness, however, was short lived. U.S. prosecution of Mormon polygamous behavior led many Mormons to live in hiding, known as the

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[58] The Relief Society was established in 1842 by Mormon women to provide spiritual guidance and tangible outreach to their communities.
[59] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 89.
[60] Samuel Woolley Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), 56.
[61] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 89.
[62] Quoted in Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 220.

Underground.[63] This separated sister wives, left factions of families jealous of each other, and caused mothers to raise their children with scant resources. The children of this generation became extraordinarily protective of their mothers and critical of polygamy.

By the 1870s-1890s, the Mormon family dynamic shifted. One grown child remembered limited contact with the second mother and little familial attachment, "I was only in her company not more than a half dozen times." Another child provided a description somewhere between this and the closeness of an aunt, "She was not a second mother or an aunt. She was something different; she was father's wife."[64] There could be a variety of reasons why a child felt a lack of closeness with a plural wife. A common cause was that men often took a plural wife when they were more established and therefore much older but married women sometimes close in age to their eldest children. Jonathan Baker married his second wife eighteen years after his first wife, and the second wife was not even twenty years old. She was never called aunt.[65] Regardless of a child's relationship with the plural wives in his/her family, Mormon culture dictated a hierarchy. The biological mother had direct supervision of her children but other wives "did occasionally take a hand in the routine control of the children of other wives."[66] Even if the child was not close to a plural wife, s/he knew the biological mother would hear about any misbehavior, and a second mother had

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[63] See Chapter 1 for definition of the Underground, n. 10.
[64] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 89.
[65] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 256.
[66] Ibid., 60.

the same authority when the biological mother was absent. Although they might have had more mothers than their non-Mormon American counterparts, this did not diminish Mormon children's respect for the maternal role. If anything, the respect for their mothers grew.

Children of the Underground faced obstacles unique from earlier Mormons and other Americans. One such daughter recalled that she had a very happy childhood except for those years, which she remembered as "terrible." Another daughter remembered moving from place to place, with different schools and churches.[67] Children also found that their parents' marital status had legal and social implications on their identity. Joseph Adamson's daughter recalled how shocking it was hear her father say when she was sixteen that "we children were not recognized by the law."[68] The eyes of the court saw children of such relationships illegitimate.[69] These children grew up without a clear understanding of their social and legal standing, especially as Utah entered the nation as a state. Additionally, the benefits of multiple mothers and wives were lost in the Underground as plural wives lived away from each other to avoid suspicion of polygamy. Mormon mothers had to negotiate their resources and boundaries. Annie Tanner recalled her own mother so tired with "the penurious handing out of provisions which were bought in abundance by father. How glad we were when he was there to dip out the sugar, rice, and beans from the 100-pound

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[67] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*, 402-403.
[68] qtd. in Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*, 77-78.
[69] Judge Boreman (September 1874) qtd. Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*, 362-363.

sack, or give us a few dozen yards of cloth from the bolts bought for dresses, aprons, gowns, and underwear."[70] Despite relative autonomy in running her household, a Mormon mother still depended on the rationing of supplies by her husband, ranked in order of marriage. Children watched silently as their mothers struggled to make do with limited resources and many developed a resentment for their fathers in the process. Plural wives had to navigate how to provide for their children and allow them to feel equal to their family members. Successful mothers, like Tanner's, did just this.[71] Mormon mothers in the Underground, especially, felt this pain and this need to prove later in their lives that their children had not suffered from their condition. In his memoir, Samuel Woolley Taylor defended the actions of his mother who raised him and his siblings in the Underground. She changed her name and moved her family multiple times to avoid persecution.[72] This type of anger was shared by many Underground children had toward their father. As Mormon families spread across the Utah, California, New Mexico, Canada, and Mexico, fathers became less and less present.

In the Underground, sister wives were absent. The support of sister wives had been a major benefit for women in polygamy. Without them, plural wives raised their children as single mothers. These children witnessed only burdens in polygamy and as adults rejected the practice and supported the Church's call to end plural

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[70] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 13.
[71] Ibid., 238.
[72] Samuel Woolley Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951).

marriage.[73] While these Mormon children faced a unique situation, parallels can be made to their Gentile contemporaries.[74] Many women after Civil War raised their children without fathers and without the resources that made life comfortable. And as the idea of children's innocence grew in the post Civil War years, motherhood potentially became even more important to keep that innocence in tact.[75]

Oneida Perfectionists and Shakers saw communal families as empowering women by removing the "burden" of motherhood. Both groups claimed to promote gender equality. The Oneida Handbook stressed that community structure allowed a woman to "keep her person," meaning her individuality. They argued that they saw themselves as one large family that protected women and children, "Our Communities are *families*, as distinctly bonded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households... Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning, will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be a little ahead of marriage and common civilization."[76] The Handbook continued, "Freedom from forced maternity, a true and holy desire for children grows in her heart; here no woman's hand is red with the blood of innocents, as is whispered so often now of many of her sisters in bondage."[77] This sentiment echoes the connections Oneida made between marriage and slavery. In 1850, an

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[73] Church President Wilford Woodruff called for the end of the practice in 1890. See Conclusion, page 242 for discussion of this revelation.s
[74] Mormons describe non-Mormons as Gentiles.
[75] See Introduction, pages 7-8 for discussion of children and innocence.
[76] *Hand-book of the Oneida Community, 1871*, 64.
[77] Ibid., 27.

unknown Oneida author made the argument that marriage was a form of slavery for women.[78] The author claimed this to be the case because marriage "gives man the power of ownership over woman." According to this perspective, marriage like slavery was condoned in the Bible only because it was a temporary state until a "better institution" took its place. And like slavery, marriage's worst feature is that "while it claims sanction of the Bible, its actual operation… is to *subvert* the Bible." Oneida's solution to this problem was complex marriage and believed that in this system women and children would "fare better" than when "at the mercy of man."[79] In 1870, Oneida continued this argument in the article "The Social Problem: Mothers' Assistants" claiming that motherhood "enslaves" women or requires them to rely on hired strangers to raise children. Oneida corrected this with a "class of young women, grown-up daughters, and older sisters" to care for the community's children, allowing women to rotate the

Image 2.4
Charlotte Leonard with sons Stephen Rose Leonard and John Humphrey Noyes II
ca. 1870s
http://tontine255.wordpress.com/2011/01/16/community-children/

[78] 1850 was a particularly contentious year in the history of slavery in the U.S. After adding territory from Mexico, including California, politicians debated about the future of slavery as the U.S. expanded west. When California filed for statehood in 1850, Congress had toe determine the status of slavery, eventually settling on the unpopular Compromise of 1850. This document was likely written by John Humphrey Noyes as he wrote the majority of arguments against marriage and it is in his style.

[79] *Slavery and Marriage, A Dialogue*, (Oneida, 1850), 6-14.

responsibilities with school and self-improvement.[80] Interestingly the latter article only describes women as the children's caretakers, squarely placing women's role in that of motherhood like bourgeois American society. Additionally, Oneida stressed the focus on fewer births of children, "We think it is awfully extravagant to bear a great many children for early death. We choose to economize in number and give abundant care to those we do have."[81] This allowed both fewer economic hardships and fewer physical burdens on women. But even in the community where men supposedly took on equal responsibility, women still played the most prominent role in child rearing. As early as 1866, the *Daily Journal* reported that Oneida children preferred their female caretaker with women playing the role of primary caretaker, Oneida differed little from American gender roles.

Female caretakers played a strong role in the raising of Oneida children. Pierrepont Noyes wrote about the two women who, other than his biological mother, had the most impact on his young life. Noyes described them as always being with the children and as "mothers of the Children's House," but with clear differences: "Miss Libby was efficient and unsympathetic. Miss Chloe was sympathetic, but a rigid disciplinarian as well."[82] Unsurprisingly, Noyes's memory reflects that parenting style varied from woman to woman. Oneida's focus on individuality supported this rather than suppressing it. Female caretakers left powerful impressions on the youth

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[80] "The Social Problem: Mothers' Assistants," *The Circular*, (April 4, 1870), 22.
[81] Quoted in Constance Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community*, 349.
[82] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 78.

that lasted well into adulthood, yet Oneida children often retained a close relationship with their biological mothers. In their memoirs, they stressed connections with their mothers even though the women did not raise them. This was unique to the mothers, as children did not place the same value on their more distant relationships with fathers, if there was a relationship at all.[83] Pierrepont Noyes wrote of his time with his mother, "The afternoons with my mother meant a great deal to me… Certain it is that I often wept bitterly when the time came to return to the Children's House."[84] Leaving their children was also difficult for the mothers. Tizrah Miller (image 2.5) described it as "one of the great sacrifices of my life."[85]

Image 2.5
Tirzah Miller
ca. 1860s
http://tontine255.wordpress.com/tirzahs-blog/

However, as children grew older, Oneida became more successful at breaking mother-child bonds. Noyes described this with regret, writing, "I loved my mother and find it difficult to explain the fact that I suffered so little over separation from her."[86] Noyes was too hard on himself. He had been raised separated from her and

[83] See pages 115-117 for discussion of Oneida children's relationship with their fathers.
[84] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 66.
[85] Miller in Fogarty, ed. *Desire & Duty at Oneida*, 102.
[86] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 72.

was rewarded when for bravery when leaving her without fuss. Oneida disciplined children who remained too attached or "sticky" to their parents, usually their mother. Mothers worked hard to help their children follow this part of Oneida communal life. Jessie Kinsley recalled receiving praise for not caring when leaving her mother.[87] Noyes's mother tried to silence his cries upon their parting to keep their relationship alive. She knew full well that should their "special love" be discovered her time with her son could very well come to an end. As the community became to fall apart children and mother reunited. Noyes "spent much time with" his mother for "oversight must have been greatly relaxed or new freedoms were granted at the age of nine."[88] Noyes found his mother to be courageous and cheerful, traits he respected and admired.[89] The evidence is clear that despite restrictions, mothers saw their children frequently and the children looked forward to these visits.

Unlike Oneida, Shaker women did not give birth in the community. Unless a woman joined after already having children, she would not have a biological child in a Shaker community. [Catherine Ann Slater?], a former member, recalled that the desire to have a child and be a mother had to be removed by the community. She wrote of trying to play "house" as a child but that the Shakers attempted to end this, "The instinctive maternal feeling was systematically crushed out in little girls; a good believer never thought of the word 'mother' save in a spiritual sense; it was a name

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[87] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 16.
[88] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 156.
[89] Ibid., 165.

and feeling not to be tolerated in the flesh by Shaker brethren and sisters."[90] However, the effort to remove maternal desires was unsuccessful. The former Shaker described how she crafted a homemade doll, a skill known to many girls in the 1830s. She played with this doll, pretending to be its mother and embodying the maternal roles restricted by Shakers.[91] Since this Shaker child, like most other children in the community, recalled the outside world she held close its values, especially the desire to be a mother. This Shaker girl did not reject motherhood but instead embraced the Cult of Domesticity, even risking punishment to replicate in her play.

Image 2.6
Group Photograph of Women and Children at Sabbathlake Community, Maine
ca. 1895
Hamilton College Library Digital Collections

[90] [Catherine Ann Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress* edited by Elizabeth D. Shaver (originally published in 1872 in *Galaxy Magazine*, Republished Albany, NY: Shaker Heritage Society, 1989), 8. The former member, possibly written by Catherine Ann Slater who joined the Shakers as an infant at their height of popularity in 1839.[#] Slater left the Shakers seventeen years later when she turned eighteen. She did not publish her memories, however, until 1872.

[91] See chapter 4, pages 201-202 for discussion of dolls in the Shaker community.

Shaker sisters provided the role of a mother for daughters in the communities. Sister Carr recalled such feelings from Sister Mary who told a new addition to the community, "I will say that your little sister needs a mother, and I will be that mother."[92] This assurance went against Shaker laws that discouraged caretakers from acting as a "surrogate parent." Shaker women felt the need to provide the maternal figure for young girls in their care.[93] Even when Shaker caretakers did not provide this role, Shaker children emphasized the importance of mothers. When one Shaker girl joined the community, the Sisters declared that her and her sister's names were inappropriate and needed new names appropriate for "sober people." However, the girls' aunt intervened and declared that they must keep the name that their mother gave them.[94] The young new Shaker kept this memory with her, carrying her name as a connection to her lost mother. Finally, the symbol of Mother Ann Lee held great importance. As the female spirit of God, she was more than simply a leader; she was

Image 2.7
Shaker Women and Children, Centre Family Dwelling
ca. 1885
Shaker Village at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky

[92] Sister Francis Carr, *Growing Up Shaker*, (United Society of Believers, 1995), 3.
[93] Judith A. Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," Master's Thesis. (Ames, IA: Iowa State University, 1996), 135.
[94] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 4.

also mother to all Shakers. Shakers saw her as raising them in light and punishing them when they did wrong. She embodied all the ideals of the True Woman of the nineteenth century. Ann Lee's position as a deity was a radical departure from American norms, but it also underlined an important discrepancy in the application of the Shaker faith.[95] While the Shakers vocally rejected American gender roles, they embodied it through labor divisions and Ann Lee's model of the perfected women.

Nineteenth-century Americans believed women had a special inclination for religion. Female activists saw themselves as working with God to bring the world out of suffering through purity and love, qualities associated with femininity.[96] In her article on True Womanhood, Barbara Welter explains, "Religion or piety was the core of woman's virtue, the source of her strength… This 'peculiar susceptibility' to religion was given her for a reason: 'the vestal flame of piety, lighted up by Heaven in the breast of woman' would throw its beams into the naughty world of men."[97] The mother's responsibility to pass on the religious beliefs also applied to the women of the four communities. For example, even from the earliest days of his leadership in the Church, Brigham Young encouraged women's spiritual leadership in their own home. At an April 1844 conference, Young told the other Mormon leadership, "I want a wife that can take of my children when I am away, who can pray, lay on hands,

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[95] See Introductions pages 2-4 for discussion of Mother Ann Lee and Shaker theology.
[96] Lavender, "Notes on the Cult of Domesticity," 2.
[97] Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 152.

anoint with oil, and baffle the enemy; and this is a spiritual wife."[98] The role of the Mormon mother was to provide spiritual leadership. This was particularly important when the father, the Priest of the household, was absent for long periods of time.[99] Mormon families need not worry when the mother can perform such godly tasks.

Shakers placed a high level of attention on their spirituality and saw that parenting was a distraction from that. Judith Graham states that "Shakers maintained that true followers of Christ could not concentrate solely on the divine when their attentions were consumed by earthly affections."[100] And yet Shakers consistently stressed the maternal character of Ann Lee. Speaking through Mother Lucy Wright in the early nineteenth century, Lee states, "As a Mother and Parent indeed, I feel great concern for the young and tender lambs of my flock…I have much good counsel, and a Mother's instruction to impart to such as are placed as care-takers of those numbered in the order of children in Zion."[101] The ultimate mother dictated the raising of all children in the community she created.

Berean women embodied the role of religious leader. This is particularly true in the case of Matilda Fee, wife of founder John G. Fee. Bereans looked to her for guidance. Fee's reach expanded beyond Berea. She often wrote in the *American Missionary* to share her experiences as mother in Berea while working to end slavery.

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[98] Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Vol. 6, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902), 322.
[99] Women's spiritual leadership was short-lived. The Church ended its endorsement of their spiritual gifts in the 1890s.
[100] Judith Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 11-12.
[101] Wright, *Gospel Monitor*, 1.

Fee provided the "greatest help" to leadership in the years leading up to and during the exile.[102] John Fee called his life with Matilda as one of "virtual martyrdom" and that she was exemplary in this. Matilda Fee led women in "the then-unusual privilege of praying aloud in meetings with both male and female [members] present." This type of prayer was "so taboo in Madison County [where Berea was located] that Matilda was at first terribly disappointed to find her accustomed work impossible. 'Where we are the sisters will not pray,'" John Fee observed.[103] Despite the taboo, she continued the practice, bringing stability to the precarious community.[104] Berea teacher Elizabeth Rogers often looked to Matilda Fee as inspiration. She saw Fee not just as mother to her own biological children but as a mother to the entire community. Fee also acted the mother to visiting ministers, teachers, investigators, boarders, students, foster children, and veterans of the mission field. Being a woman in Berea meant to take the ideals of wife and mother and apply them to all aspects of life.

Religion and motherhood was of utmost important to the abolitionists both at Berea and outside of Berea. Both John and Matilda Fee often shared stories of enslaved women separated from their children to gain sympathy and donations from readers of the *American Missionary*. One of these women was Julett, an African American woman imprisoned in a Kentucky jail for attempting to get her children out

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[102] Rogers, "Personal History of Berea College." See Introduction, page 7 and Chapter 1, page 31 for details on Berea exile before the Civil War.
[103] Richard D. Sears, *The Kentucky Abolitionists in the Midst of Slavery, 1854-1864: Exiles for Freedom*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellon Press, 1993), 62.
[104] Matilda Fee grew up in a Quaker household. This both instilled in her an anti-slavery view as well as the strong belief that women had equal access to the Spirit as men.

of slavery. The entire Fee family went to visit Julett in prison and he described her as being "overjoyed" at seeing his children. During their visit, they learned about her family and her nine children, although she did not know of their current location. In writing about this in the *American Missionary*, the Fees used Julett's separation from her children to illicit the most sympathy. Slavery was problematic because it separated a mother from her children. It broke the gender norms of the nation; slavery forced African American women to deny their role as mother.[105] But interestingly, for the Bereans, abolitionism also separated mothers from their children. One of the founders of Berea, Elizabeth Rogers, who often left her child in the care of another family to fulfill teaching duties, wrote of motherhood,

> A beautiful Northern mother, a woman of wealth, once said to me, 'I can think of no more beautiful life than to be poor and struggle, to care for a large family of children.' She had caught the real secret, for we prize what costs us denial, and wealthy parents miss some of the best things in life, because robbed of the sacrifice of love. There was, however, no lack of sacrifice in Berea.[106]

Rogers knew first hand of the sacrifice as she married young, seventeen years old, and traveled to Kentucky with her husband to support Fee's project. At Berea she constantly struggled between the importance of her work as a teacher and abolitionist with that of being a mother. She often chose activism over mothering and had her son stay with a "nearby postmaster." Her son "won his way into the hearts of his caretakers, who, I believe were kind to him and loved him…the child prospered, and I

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[105] This was a common tactic of abolitionists to stress that slavery broke up families.
[106] Rogers, "Personal History of Berea College," 9.

was near at hand."[107] For Rogers, her focus on abolition was an important lesson to her child, even if meant someone else had to temporarily raise him.

Outside the home, men operated in the public sphere where they had specific duties in their work, political identity, and social activities. However, their role as father and head of the household was connected to this public identity. In order to fulfill their duty as the father, nineteenth-century men had to financially provide for their family. The inability to do so was seen as a failure.[108] The household reflected the gender hierarchy that placed the father as the leader of the family. Fathers managed the household legally, economically, and morally, even if the mothers actually tended to the daily implementation of the family's values and budget.[109] A father's authority held the most importance in American families.[110] As head of the household, men not only financially supported their family but also dictated its identity through religious morals and social participation. Fathers often acted as the family's disciplinarian to instill obedience and proper behavior. Finally, like mothers, fathers in American homes played an important role in shaping the faith of their children. This was true for all four communities, whether through a biological father or a proxy one.

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[107] Ibid.
[108] In *The Kingdom of Mathias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in 19th-Century America*, Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz argue that Robert Matthews (later known as Mathias) had failed in this role, 62.
[109] Grant, "Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present," 110.
[110] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2004), 132.

Mormon fathers literally acted as the priests of their home, although this might be inconsistent as the father as not always physically present. They provided spiritual leadership and performed religious rituals for their wives and children. Mormon frontiersman and leader John D. Lee described "laying hands" on one of his wives, Rachel, while she was pregnant to ensure that the child "express image & likeness of its Father, which should become a great & Might Many in the Kingdom of God here on Earthy [sic], & that it should bear the Name of its Father & Might in defending its rights of its Fathers Household." When the child was born, Lee described her to be in "express image of its Father, in direct fulfillment of the Prediction on her."[111] Mormons saw their children in direct relation to a blessing from God. It was not only important to have children added to the family but that they be blessed accordingly. Fathers provided the blessing of their children and did not consider a blessing complete if they were absent for it. When John W. Taylor's third wife, Maria, named and had their first child blessed as Bruce, Taylor protested. Since he had not witnessed the child's blessing he could not confirm it was done properly. He also renamed the child, telling his wife, "'But because of his resemblance to the Prophet, I'll christen him Joseph Bruce.' It was done, and the name *Bruce* was never uttered again."[112] Mormons often compared their children to the Prophet Joseph Smith, reflecting the good sign of their birth and the continuation of the Mormon faith for generations to come. After the incident with her son Joseph Bruce, Maria Taylor

[111] Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle*, 241.
[112] Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, 75.

waited with her next child until her husband returned and "did the christening himself, just so he'd know it was done right."[113] Taylor's insistence on both re-blessing and re-naming the child reflects the gender hierarchy present in the Mormon culture despite claims that women had more opportunities due to their access to the vote as well as property and business ownership rights in Utah.[114] Like American bourgeois culture, Mormons placed the husband and father at the top of the family hierarchy. Other Mormon fathers were more subtle in their instruction of religion and their leadership of it in the family. Annie Tanner wrote of her father and religion, "My father was a man of few words and never discussed religion with his family more than answer questions on the subject."[115] Yet, Tanner spoke highly of her father and her faith. By remaining relatively quiet on his faith, Tanner's father caused few reasons for her to be disappointed by his actions. Even when later prosecuted for polygamy, Tanner respected him.

Understandably, in the years of the Underground, Mormon children often had strained relationships with their fathers. Samuel Taylor recalled that his father did not have time to attend to each child, coddle or play with them while visiting his mother's home. In Mormon life, fathers were often absent. This, again, was not unique to Mormons. In many American households, fathers were absent the majority of the day as they had to work long hours in the factories. However, the Mormons differed in the

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[113] Ibid., 79.
[114] Utah was the second territory to grant women's suffrage in 187. Wyoming granted women this in 1869. Utah also allowed women ownership privileges, likely because plural wives did not legal access to their husband's property or business.
[115] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 38.

fact that fathers were gone not just for long hours each day but for days, weeks, or even months. This became more common as the U.S. government grew more determined to prosecute those engaged in polygamy. Plural wives no longer lived near each other but instead lived across North America the Underground.[116] In the father's absence the oldest son would exercise "power over his young siblings." One Mormon son recalled, "father authorized me to tell them what to do in the fields, etc."[117] Sons often took over the role of male head of the household, running the chores and household labor. Sons and daughters felt their fathers ignored their mothers. In the Underground, plural families often lived alongside monogamous families and questioned why their family was different. In his memoir, Samuel Woolley Taylor wrote negatively of his oft-absent father and expressed a desire for his mother to have a better life. He described his family as one made up of strangers with different mothers, only learning of each other's existence when recognizing dominant family traits.[118] Mormons' relationship with the law had negatively impacted the father-child relationship. As a result, the children of the Underground generation rejected polygamy and spoke of it with disdain and embarrassment. The sons aimed for careers to support their families and keep them at home, like the American norm at the end of the nineteenth century.

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[116] Polygamous families settled in the United States, Canada, and Mexico in an effort to avoid federal prosecution, see pages 89-90, 98-99.
[117] Quoted in Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 53.
[118] Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, 302.

Mormon fathers, however, retained a type of authority that was not unique from nineteenth-century America. In the Underground, children never questioned their fathers' directions. Upon a father sending her to help a neighbor, one daughter recalled that he would come in, tell her what was needed to be done, "and that was all there was to it."[119] John Vance supervised his daughter's social life, rejecting potential beaus. In hindsight she was "awfully glad for father's advice."[120] Her father was careful in how he communicated this to his daughter who, apparently, heeded his advice. The father management of her social life demonstrated his word as law.

Some fathers rejected outside intervention in their children's care. This was partially due to the father's own self-pride. But it was also likely due to the fear of an outsider discovering the polygamous family. When Samuel Taylor's sister broke her arm, their father John W. Taylor, refused to allow a doctor, who "knows nothing about the laying on of hands," to see his daughter. Samuel's mother won the argument and they took the girl to the doctor, upon which the doctor declared, "I've heard of your Mormon miracles, but this is the first one I've seen." John Taylor triumphantly declared on the way home that the visit was a "Waste of time and money… going to a quack in the first place."[121] Taylor used the incident to stress his judgement and leadership. Fathers saw a wife's alternative decision as a demonstration of her lack of faith in him that undermined his leadership. The father's authority became more

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[119] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 220.
[120] Quoted in Young *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 65.
[121] Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, 104.

important in the Underground when he could not be regularly present. The need to enact authority and retain the gender hierarchy even when absent was acted out in issues as small as a child's broken arm. Despite the anger at the system of polygamy, Mormon children still grew up to also place the father at the head of the household. They rejected plural marriage and chose the "modern American family" model instead, complete with mother and child deference to the father.

In Oneida, biological fathers did not raise their children but father figures still played an important role in a child's life. For Pierrepont Noyes, two men, William "Papa" Kelly and "Uncle Abram," most influenced his childhood. Noyes writes in his memoir, "I recall how intimately that word 'strict' was associated in my mind with Papa Kelly."[122] This caretaker clearly raised children with an emphasis on obedience. Outside of discipline, labor, and education, male caretakers like Papa Kelly cared for the children after supper. They came in and helped the children prepare for bed and slept in the children's department.[123] In the first decades (1840s-1860s) of Oneida, most children came with their family members and knew their fathers. But in the later years (1860s-1870s) with the focus on stirpiculture, children born into the community often had little contact with their fathers. Many in fact had the same father, Oneida founder John Humphrey Noyes or one of the other leaders. Symbolically, Noyes claimed to be the father to all children in the community. Noyes raised the Oneida

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[122] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 42.
[123] Fogarty, *Special Love/Special Sex*, 37.

members, teaching them his values as a father does his own children.[124] But to his biological children, Noyes was physically absent from their lives, especially in the final decade of the Community. Pierrepont Noyes, one of his children, wrote of his father, "He never seemed a father to me in the ordinary sense. I revered him, but he was too far away, too near to heaven and God."[125] For his community, Noyes was a father figure, but to his own child, he was a god, far removed from the people.

Pierrepont Noyes wasn't the only one to experience this. Nine of fifty-eight stirpiculture children were the biological sons and daughters of Noyes, who in the practice of trying to create perfect children understood himself to be a perfect father.[126] In this environment, children found proxy fathers. Pierrepont Noyes recalled that in father's place, "I had an 'Uncle Abram,' whom I loved as a father. My relation to him was an unusual one...This foster father showed his affection in many ways; he had me with him as much as the regulations permitted; mended my skates and sled; took me down to the Mill where I played in the shavings and made little things with sticks while he worked."[127] Despite community claims on their superiority of the Community caretaker model over the mother-father one, bourgeois protestant culture still ruled as the ideal as Noyes sought out individual attention from one father figure rather than being satisfied with rotating caretakers. Noyes felt that Abram

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[124] Miller quoted in *Desire & Duty at Oneida* edited by Fogarty, 107.
[125] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 70.
[126] John Humphrey Noyes had thirteen children but only nine were born through the stirpiculture system.
[127] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 70.

reciprocated this individual attention, allowing for a strong bond between the two despite Oneida's fear of philoprogenitiveness.

As previously demonstrated, Berean families often considered the slaves' experience as they suffered through the difficult persecution from their Kentucky neighbors. John G. Fee thought "of the slave-father, surrendered far from his wife and children, with no hope of ever seeing them again."[128] Like the American public, Fee focused on the ideal family. In this case, the father should be present and available to his children. For Fee and other abolitionists the focus wasn't on his own role as a father or others in that role but the slave and slave children separated from each other because of slavery. And like all four communities and the American public, the father was a representative of the Christian god. Bereans believed God supported Fee and Berea's work to end slavery and reunite father with children, meaning that fathers should also spread this message to their children.

As already seen, gender ideology of the nineteenth century often placed a preference on the father providing the discipline. This developed alongside the growing paternalism that developed with the pro-slavery argument in the 1830s and 1840s.[129] For example, images of women disciplining their children often was portrayed as a mockery. In such images, the woman looks ridiculous taking on male responsibilities. While mothers providing loving care were depicted as small-framed,

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[128] Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, 164.
[129] See Chapter 3 in *Disunion! The Coming of the Civil War, 1789-1859* by Elizabeth Varon (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008) for further discussion of pro-slavery argument & paternalism.

mild-mannered, and loving, the disciplinarian mother is "portrayed as obese, unattractive, or simple-minded" (see image 2.8).[130] She rejected Victorian feminine ideals. The child receiving the discipline is portrayed in a sympathetic light, leaving the viewer to question the mother's actions. Mothers "were valorized as tender and fathers [were] depicted as stern."[131] While there is strong evidence of mothers disciplining their children, they often acted as proxies for the father when he was unavailable to provide the discipline. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that discipline remained the father's responsibility.

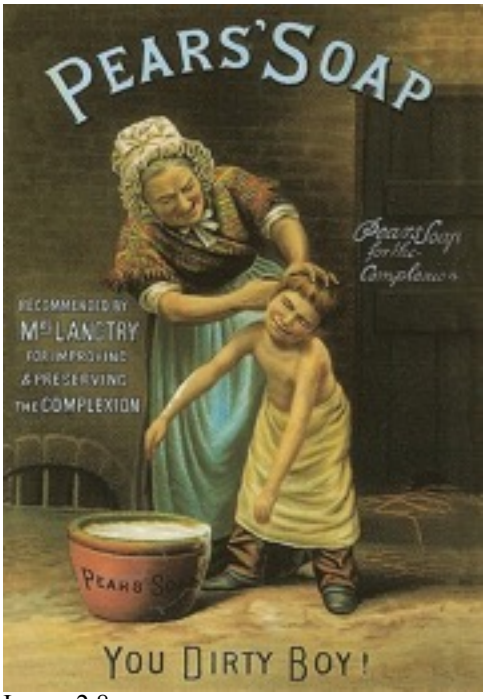

Image 2.8
Advertisement for Pear's Soap
Lithographed Cardboard
ca. 1895

Due to the regular absence of fathers, Mormon children often only have memories of their fathers only as disciplinarians. Upon returning to the household, fathers focused on creating order and obedience. Mormon leadership encouraged fathers to be gentle and "lay aside your stern dignity for a little while… How many bright, high-spirited boys have had their spirits completely broken by harsh, unkind treatment!"[132] Joseph F. Smith ruled his family with kindness and avoided physical

[130] Mary Lynn Stevens Heininger "Children, Childhood, and Change in America, 1820-1920," in Mary Lynn Stevens Heininger, et al. *A Century of Childhood, 1820-1920,* (New York: The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984) 27.
[131] Grant, "Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present," 109.
[132] "Home Love," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 8, No. 13 (June 21, 1873), 99.

punishment. One of his children stated, “For severe breaches of his rules he set up a kind of family court where the culprit was dealt with in the presence of the entire family… Smith believed thoroughly in the device of a family court and thought it might well be emulated by others.”[133] Smith’s disciplinarian style retained his authority but it also gave his children a place of responsibility. His children’s memories demonstrated that it gave them a sense of love and belonging.

However, Mormon fathers often instituted a more strict disciplinarian style. Hyrum Stratton took a quite different path from that of Smith. The eldest daughter of Stratton recalled that when he came home there was a noticeable change in the house. She recalled of her younger siblings, “Usually the younger children all sat on the floor around the room afraid to move when he was there; they were silent until he told them to move.” The Stratton children could not even eat with their father. His “discipline was terrible and cruel. Father was unjust and unreasonable in his punishment of the children.” Stratton likely wanted to embed obedience and respect into his children. But his daughter interpreted this to mean that he did not love them.[134] Such rigid discipline caused a distance between the children and their father. The Underground only deepened such distance and instilled a lack of trust in their father. Children in the Underground saw less of their fathers than those who grew up on the same street or in the same house as their father and his other families. Many grown children believed that Underground polygamy resulted in more stern

[133] Quoted in Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*?, 252-53.
[134] Quoted in Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, 252.

households. The fathers had to teach their children to live in harmony in such large families and prevent misbehavior from occurring, especially when mischief could warrant unwanted attention to the illegal practice of polygamy.

Shakers' discipline ranged from mild and loving to abusive and cruel. Shaker caretakers learned not to discipline a child for every fault or mistake. They also learned to avoid acting in emotion for fear that doing so would "put devils" into the children.[135] Rather Shaker leadership stressed patience and restraint. Shaker caretakers had to use judgement in deciding what actions merited correction and discipline. Non-Shaker Calvin Green described how Shakers' raised their children to become the mild-mannered ideal,

> The practical exercise of mildness and gentleness of manners, is early and sedulously cultivated among them. All churlishness and moroseness of temper, all harshness of language, all brought, unfeeling behaviour, [sic] all unkind and uncivil deportment, and all mischievous and wicked propensities, are cautiously watched and reproved; great pains are taken to lead them into the practical exercise of truth, honesty, kindness, benevolence, humanity and every moral virtue.[136]

Green stressed bourgeois ideals and recognized accepted practices of discipline. Shakers commonly disciplined their children by scaring them about the repercussions of returning to that outside world. Shakers warned their children, "If you ever get tired of being reproved by and instructed by your Elders, and turn to the world for

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[135] Testimony of Jennet Davis in Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives*, 14.
[136] Calvin Green, *A Summary View of the Millennial Church, or United Society of Believers Commonly called Shakers. Comprising the rise, progress and practical order of the society. Together with the general principles of their faith and testimony*, (Albany: Packard & Benthuysen. 1823), 13.

rest, you will have to go to hell, never to be reformed."[137] Shakers described the outside world as a place of sin and evil, one to avoid at all costs.

Despite leaders' efforts, Shaker discipline could also be physically abusive. In one particular disturbing and early story, a child's punishment was so severe she was near death. William J. Haskett wrote in 1828, "The innocent girl was but nine years old. In obedience to his orders, she was stripped, and in the presence of several other girls, she was whipped until she was bloody, and had the appearance of death."[138] While the particular Elder who directed this harsh discipline was "suspended and disgraced," Haskett continued that in Shaker communities, there has "been much punishment inflicted upon children, and though it has been sanctioned to a limited [degree], yet I am authorized to say, it has been inflicted, in many instances to an unfeeling degree."[139] Even in the 1830s when Americans still accepted corporeal punishment, Shakers' physical discipline was extreme. A former Shaker, [Catherine Ann Slater?], child confirmed such violence and abuse in her description of one particular moment of extreme cruelty in the 1830s. Sister Nancy Wells punished her by pressing scissors into the child's hand. The child remembered, "The warm crimson blood spurting out ended this cruel pleasantry."[140] While the child did not describe her offense, the punishment seemed overly harsh and inefficient. The child did not learn

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[137] Edward Andrews, *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society*, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1953) 192. This contradicts the Shaker theology as described by Seth Wells. See Chapter 1, pages 50-51.
[138] William J. Haskett, *Shakerism Unmasked, or the History of the Shakers*, (Pittsfield: The Author and E.H. Walkey, 1828), 136.
[139] Ibid., 137.
[140] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 18-19.

to behave differently but rather to avoid this Shaker woman. However, such physical discipline was not limited to Sister Wells. The same Shaker child reported that Brother Ephraim Prentiss was "severe sometimes even up to cruelty with his young charges."[141] In the most recent edition of her memories, the editor adds a note that Prentiss had been documented for having trouble with children at the school.[142] For Shaker children this undermined the respect for their elders and for some, like [Slater?], caused more reason to resent and later leave the community.

Like the bourgeois Americans, Shakers also began to soften their disciplinarian style over the course of the century. Beginning in the 1840s, domestic books and manuals encouraged parents to provide constant parental authority but with less physical punishment.[143] Shaker Sister Frances Carr wrote that the "Shakers never have believed in corporeal punishment."[144] Her memory provided a more forgiving atmosphere. She recalled once taking a piece of maple sugar candy to eat but later found it covered by ants the following day. When Carr admitted her wrongdoing, Sister Jennie "burst out laughing! She laughed and laughed at the tragic way the ants had taken over what to have been weeks[']s collection] of forbidden treats." She followed this with a "severe lecture" about taking what was not theirs but also encouraged Carr and her friends to come to her if they wanted a sweet in the future.[145]

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[141] Ibid., 34.
[142] Ibid., 34, n. 12.
[143] Richard H. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 18-19.
[144] Carr, *Growing Up Shaker*, 57.
[145] Ibid., 23-24.

This supports the mid-century direction given in *The Gospel Monitor* to "Never, by any means, punish a child for a fault which it has honestly confessed."[146] According to a former Shaker, the community rarely used corporeal punishment and "any child or beast that requires an extreme severity of coercion to induce them to conform, the society are not allowed to keep. The contumacious child must be returned to his parents, or guardian."[147] Again the outside world remained a source of punishment. This also reflects that throughout the nineteenth century Shakers sought more malleable children who could become future members and rejected children deemed too "wild."

The juxtaposition of the kind, careful discipline versus cruel corporeal punishment reflects a larger, national evolution of child discipline in the nineteenth century. Parents learned not to yield to their emotions in their discipline of children but rather act calmly, using strategies such as isolation and reflection. The emphasis on physical punishment slowly gave way to prioritize "tenderness, patience, and love."[148] [Slater?] was a Shaker in the 1830s when corporeal punishment was more common and accepted in the United States.[149] Although, as evidenced by John Woods and Haskett, who wrote their exposes in 1826 and 1828, respectively, it was not was

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[146] Wright, *The Gospel Monitor*, 16.
[147] Elkins, *Fifteen Years in the Senior Order of Shakers*, 30.
[148] Sterns, "Childhood Emotions," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* edited by Paula Fass, (London: Routledge, 2013), 163; Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 81.
[149] *Fifteen Years a Shakeress* was published with an anonymous author. However, Elizabeth D. Shaver, Watervliet Shaker historian, has compared the memoir to the community's records and concluded that Catherine Ann Slater mostly likely wrote it.

the ideal and there was a limit to physical abuse.[150] Francis Carr, however, grew up in the Shaker community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. By that time the Shakers were not as isolated from the outside world and support of corporeal punishment had weakened.[151] Haskett also reported that Lucy Wright ordered "that children, after they had passed their tenth year, should not be whipped, but laboured with love and kindness; and those who were under that age, [whippings] should be used in a moderate and suitable manner."[152] Writing in 1853, Hervey Elkins weighed in on the matter, "I affirm, without bias for any principle but truth, that a stringent, religious law, positively forbids any corporeal punishment whatever, except the use of small twigs applied to extremely contumacious children under a dozen years of age; that moral suasion and moral rebuke shall be the only expedients employed in the training of youth." He did acknowledge that "sometimes, undoubtedly, the judgement of the caretaker induces him to pass beyond the limits of these restrictions."[153] As in any society, individuals varied in their application of the ideal. By mid-century, American cultural norms had shifted away from full endorsement of corporeal punishment and the Shakers had followed. Like the rest of bourgeois society, the Shakers remained complicated in the method of disciplining children. But it is likely that those children, such as a [Slater?] who received abnormally cruel punishments,

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[150] John Woods, *Shakerism Unmasked, or a Narrative, Shewing the Entrance of the Shakers into the Western Country, their Stratagems and Devices, Discipline and Economy; Together with what may seem Necessary to Exhibit the True State of that People*, (Paris, KY: Office of the Western Observer, 1826).
[151] The communities were fluid. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, Shakers opened their schools to non-Shaker children. See Conclusion, page 245 for further discussion.
[152] Haskett, *Shakerism Unmasked*, 139.
[153] Elkins, *Fifteen Years in the Senior Order of Shakers*, 30, 31.

had a negative impression of the community. This was not the sole reason for her to leave the community when she reached adulthood but factored into her decision.

Like the Shakers, the discipline of Oneida children varied over the years. In the final decade of the Community, discipline seemed to become more lax. As a child in the 1870s, Corinna Ackley Noyes recalled, "In the early days discipline was much too rigid. I always heard, but in my childhood a milder attitude had supervened, and we heard little of punishment. Good children didn't have to be punished and, if we were being properly taught, why shouldn't we be good?"[154] That a child had heard of earlier discipline methods speaks to its role in the community. However, her memory of a "milder" practice also demonstrates how discipline had evolved in the community. Her final note reflects the presumed success of stirpiculture: perfect children need not to be disciplined.

The focus on obedience and discipline is not surprising since Oneida members carefully analyzed each aspect of their childrearing practices. The Oneida Handbook claimed that "particular attention" cultivated "habits of obedience; and the Community has found that the earlier this is attended to the better it is for a child; the quicker he becomes happy and contented, and the quicker he is freed from the necessity of severe discipline."[155] Pierrepont Noyes recalled a few times that children received a spanking as punishment but mostly remembered "sitting for a long time in a dark corner of the great South Room closet, while I meditated on my wickedness

[154] Noyes, *Days of My Youth*, 67.
[155] *Handbook of the Oneida Community, 1871*, 23.

and recovered a 'good spirit.'"[156] Oneida expected children to reflect on their wrongdoings and consider ways to improve. This is similar to antebellum prison reform that expected inmates to meditate on their crimes in solitude.[157] Oneida children only did this for a short period of time, quickly returning to their daily routine. Oneida used Mutual Criticism as the preferred way to discipline children.[158] In their handbook on the practice, the Oneida author stresses, "To tease children to be obedient and otherwise treat them so that they do not expect to obey promptly is real cruelty. It keeps alive in them the spirit of disobedience; whatever obedience they have is force, and so good for nothing."[159] Mutual Criticism was meant counteract this practice; peers immediately addressed and rectified the misbehavior.

Clearly in families, the parents or caretakers were not the only members of a child's family. Siblings also impacted childhood and family experiences. Additionally siblings confirmed memories and shared experiences with each other, they were a child's first friends with whom they developed trust and learned social behaviors. This seems particularly true in the polygamous Mormon families and the Shaker children, who often came to their new home with their brothers and sisters.

Mormon children recalled being very close with their brothers and sisters. This was more true for their immediate siblings rather than their half siblings, with whom they did not live. The children's magazine, *The Juvenile Instructor*, stressed

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[156] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 62.
[157] Sterns, "Childhood Emotions," 163; Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 81.
[158] See Chapter 1, pages 67-70 for discussion of Mutual Criticism.
[159] *Mutual Criticism*, (Oneida: Office of the American Socialist, 1876), 60.

the importance of siblings, particularly sisters. An 1870 article begins, "No household is complete without a sister. She gives finish to the family. A sister's love, a sister's influence! A sister's watchful care! can anything be more tender?" The sister is a mother substitute and a friend. The author continues, feeling pity for a child without a sister and emphasizes how a sister provides an example of "innocence, virtue, cheerfulness, patience, and forbearance."[160] A sibling provided a confidante and someone who understood what it mean to be a member of a first, second, or other subsequent family of their father. This prioritized full siblings with whom a child lived as opposed to possibly distant half sisters and brothers. Annie Tanner, however, also revealed that half-siblings could broach an uncomfortable topic. "My half-brother Wilford, more than two years older, was in our group... I sometimes went to the dancing parties with my brother Wilford. My [half] sister, Mary Elizabeth, observed that he had asked me to go more often after I had been invited a few times by some of the other boys."[161] There seems to be a hint of romantic feelings by Tanner's brother, Wilford, toward her. This is the only example of such sibling relationship, and Tanner seemed unfazed by it. She does not seem concerned and it is unclear if her sister's comment is positive, negative, or neutral. Yet her half-sister still brought attention to Tanner about her brother's behavior and she did not describe attending another dance with Wilford. Another Mormon wrote of her large family of twenty-five children as a warm, open family. In her interview she stated, "Our home

[160] "The Sister," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 5, No. 12 (June 11, 1870), 93
[161] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 43.

was united and I loved my half-brothers and sisters just like my own."[162] Mormon children found the abundance of siblings to provide constant playmates and a stable presence in an often unstable environment.

Shaker children often joined the communities with their siblings. Shakers separated boys and girls but brothers could remain with their brothers and the same was true for girls and their sisters. This had the impact of allowing the child someone who they could share their new experiences with but also someone who helped them keep alive their memory of non-Shaker life. At times, Shaker children were separated from siblings and when reunited felt great joy. [Catherine Ann Slater?] recalled that she was very happy when she and her sister, Minnette, were together again.[163]

Broken families and custody battles provided the damage to the communities' insular efforts. A threat or disruption to a family allowed for access and influence of United States bourgeois culture into the community. Efforts to protect themselves from this had multiple outcomes but nonetheless exposed children to the fragility of the alternative family model. There are examples in all cases of families not surviving for a variety of reasons. Oneida Perfectionists left the community to seek out a more "traditional" family or when leadership denied applicants their own children. Upon rejection of their efforts to have a child, Victor and Mary Hawley left Oneida and married in 1878. Exile temporarily broke up Berea families in the late 1850s. There are several examples of Mormon plural wives who left their husbands. Perhaps the

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[162] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*?, 257.
[163] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 21.

most well known is Mrs. TBH Stenhouse who wrote a memoir of her "enslavement" in the Mormon church, which included an introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe.[164]

Recent converts brought the outside world to the Mormon family as well. Eleanor J. McComb McLean converted to Mormonism in California despite objections from her husband, Hector McLean. She left her husband and became a plural wife to Parley Platt. In 1857, she kidnapped her children from their father and attempted to flee to Nebraska with Platt. Hector McLean "intercepted them ... McLean and his friends overtook [Platt]. He was stabbed and shot to death by McLean. The Gentiles hailed this a just vengeance for a Mormon wife-stealer. The Saints viewed Parley as a martyr."[165] Eleanor McLean had gone to great lengths to reunite her with her children but her new family was destroyed with Platt's murder. The Mormons, however, praised Platt's sacrifice and hailed him as a martyr. He had acted to bring his wife's children into his own family but at the cost of his life.

No community was as adversely affected by custody battles and family break ups as the Shakers. This was particularly true for the cases of Mary Marshall Dyer and Eunice Chapman in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Both women's husbands joined the Shakers and brought their children with them. They each also attempted to live as Shakers but found it unsatisfactory. These women fought for custody of their children. Dyer failed but Chapman, after a very long fight, ultimately

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[164] Mrs. T.B.H. Stenhouse, *Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism: An Autobiography by Mrs. T.B.H. Stenhouse of Salt Lake City for More Than 20 Years the Wife of a Mormon Missionary*, (Huntford, Connecticut: A.D. Worthington & Co., 1874). See Chapter 1, page 42.
[165] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*?, 128-129.

succeeded. Both women's experiences were heavily documented through court records and their own writings published to generate public support and sympathy. These women exposed both the Shakers to the outside world and forced the laws of that world on the Shakers.

Mary Marshall Dyer left the Shakers in 1815 without her children and without a way to support herself. She "entered a cultural limbo that denied a married woman legal identity apart from that of her husband. Mary could not sell her property, enter a suit, or contract a debt."[166] Furthermore, society denied Dyer a social identity. She described the pain of her loss and reinforced her role as a mother, even with her children absent, "When my children were taken from me, it broke my heart"[167] For Dyer, her life had lost its meaning without her children. The appeal makes sense based on the level of importance nineteenth-century society placed on women to be mothers. Dyer publicly accused the Shakers of keeping her separated from her children. However, the court upheld prevailing gender norms by leaving the Dyer children with their father. While she did not have custody of her children, she won the sympathy of her contemporaries and brought shame and unwanted scrutiny to the Shakers.

Eunice Chapman was more extreme in her portrayal of both personal loss and the Shakers. She compared her experience to "mothers who have had their children

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[166] Elizabeth A. de Wolfe, "Mary Marshall Dyer, Gender, and A Portraiture of Shakerism," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), 238.
[167] Mary Marshall Dyer, *A Portraiture of Shakerism, Exhibiting a General View of their Character and Conduct, from the First Appearance of Ann Lee in New-England, down to Present Time. And Certified by Many Respectable Authorities. Drawn by Mary M. Dyer*, (Concord, NH: Printed for the Author, 1822), v.

forced from their arms by the savages."[168] Chapman called the Shakers savage, communicating to her early nineteenth-century audience that they were both uncivilized and threatening to American society. Chapman's children were "confused and terrified." At one point, "the boy and his two sisters had tried to hide and had spent much of the day wandering about, cold and hungry.[169] Chapman's reports reflect Shakers' neglect to children in their care. She presented the Shakers as obstructing a mother's access to her children. She claimed that Shakers tried to turn her children against her and tricked them into accepting Shaker guardianship.[170] In the case against them, the Shakers took the side of the father, James Chapman. According to them, the father had no other choice but restrict Eunice's access to her children when she refused to join the Shakers, following the rightful head of the household. They asked, "Must a man, in this far famed asylum of liberty, be compelled to sexual cohabitation, on pain of being deprived of every earthly inheritance? of all natural and civil rights and privileges?"[171] Interestingly, the Shakers used bourgeois gender roles, which they normally opposed, to defend James Chapman and retain custody of his children. Despite alternative claims, Shakers did not differ as dramatically from nineteenth-century norms and raised children who also accepted them. For her efforts, Chapman became the first woman in the U.S. to win

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[168] quoted in de Wolfe, "Mary Marshall Dyer," 248.
[169] Nelson M. Blake, "Eunice Against the Shakers," *New York History*. Vol. 41, No. 4 (October 1960) 363.
[170] Chapman, *No. 2, Being an Additional Account of the Shakers*, 14-15.
[171] United Society of Believers, *To the Legislature of the State of New York*, (Watervliet, 1817), 1-8.

sole custody of her children.[172] After the Dyer and Chapman cases, Shakers changed their rules on accepting children into their community.[173]

The broken family and ideals of the "traditional" family always commanded the largest threat to the Shaker faith and community. [Catherine Ann Slater?] demonstrates this with her mother, who admired the Shakers' "manners and dress, their cleanliness and chastity, and the seclusion which protected their society from their trials and cares of the outer world." But, as [Slater?] explains, the faith of the Shakers was not that of her mother. Her mother "was the happy, loving wife of a faithful husband, and both love and duty summoned her back to home."[174] The mother left behind her daughters for reasons unknown. Years later [Slater?]'s sister also left, choosing marriage and future children. Therefore, it is unsurprising that [Slater?] too abandoned Shaker life and returned to the "world" upon reaching adulthood. For many children, Shaker life was temporary, one experienced to overcome some shortcoming or trial but not a permanent situation. Despite the Shakers' insistence on their superiority, child after child abandoned the community to create a family like that their parents had originally started. And the Shakers were not alone. In Berea, Mormon polygamy, and Oneida, once reaching adulthood the children chose the modern American family without political and social objectives.

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[172] Ilyon Woo, *The Great Divorce: A Nineteenth-Century Mother's Extraordinary Fight against her Husband, the Shakers, and Her Time*, (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2011), 338.
[173] See Conclusion, pages 229-231.
[174] [Slater?] *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 2.

Despite strong efforts to make clear distinctions and improvements upon the American bourgeois family model, each of these communities remained powerfully influenced by American Protestant culture. No community ended the nineteenth century with its membership in tact and its model unchanged by American society. Even the Shakers, who remained a gender-divided and celibate community into the twentieth century, retained much smaller numbers than its peak in the 1830s and 1840s. Additionally, the Shakers had a much more open community in the early twentieth century, further influenced by outside society and culture. Berea made the least effort to change the family model; its changes reflected outside forces more than internal efforts to separate family members. It is unsurprisingly, therefore, that during and after the Civil War, Berea families reunited and continued forward together. The majority of children raised in these communities grew up to choose the modern structure of the family rather than any of the alternatives described in this chapter. The model had remained powerful even when it was not physically present such as in the Shakers and Oneida caretaker model or the polygamous families in Mormon culture.

Chapter 3

Educating for the Future

The Oneida, Mormon, Shaker, and Berea communities grew and developed in the early to mid-nineteenth century alongside American reform efforts tied to evangelical Christianity. One major component of such reform was formalized education. Similar to other institutional reforms such as asylums, orphanages, and prisons, public schools operated to mold members of society into perfect American citizens. Schools sought to create uniformity through hard work and subordination.[1] Americans saw that the purpose of schools was to create future citizens of the new republic.[2] These four utopian communities also saw education and formalized schooling as an opportunity to shape future generations. Schools, like other forms of childrearing, held the potential to ensure that their children would embody their ideals and beliefs; the children would lead the future of each community. However, their students also learned the skills necessary to easily adapt to American bourgeois culture and society. The communities invested in the time and resources to educate their children as a way to impart communal values in a way that was unintentionally consistent with national schooling patterns.

In the cities and communities that offered them, schools provided antebellum Americans a way to raise perfect future citizens of their nation. Their public schools

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[1] Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 71.
[2] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004), 72.

"were mediating structures: way stations between the small world of the family, church, and neighborhood, and the larger world of government, nation, and marketplace."[3] Schools served as a transition from the private to the public space. The goals of these schools included preparing children to meet the responsibilities of a democratic citizen while upholding Christian morality. Children could meet on a common level in the classroom, and many Americans believed that schooling could serve as the great equalizer for children.[4] However, not all communities offered public schools. These institutions often could only be found in urban, northern cities.[5] Public schools reflected the spread of commerce in the United States, leaving rural areas with lower rates of literacy.[6] These parts of the nation used the district school system "organized and controlled by a small locality and financed by some combination of property taxes, fuel contributions, tuition payments, and state aid."[7] The South lacked comprehensive systems of public education. Instead southerners relied on itinerant schoolmasters who charged a tuition or were secured by a groups of parents to teach for a predetermined amount of time. As a result a much smaller

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[3] Barbara Finkelstein and Kathy Vandall, "The Schooling of American Childhood: The Emergence of Learning Communities, 1820-1920," in Mary Lynn Stevens Heininger et al. *A Century of Childhood, 1820-1920*, (Rochester: The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984), 65.
[4] Finkelstein and Vandall, "The Schooling of American Childhood," 76. Judith A. Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," Master's Thesis, (Ames, IA: Iowa State University, 1996), 183-184, 185; Frederick M. Binder, *The Age of the Common School: 1830-1865*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1974), 3, 10; H. Warren Button and F. Eugene Provenzo, Jr., *History of Education and Culture in America, Second Edition*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall College Division, 1989), 93-94, 101-102.
[5] In 1820, an urban U.S. city had a population of at least 2,500 and by 1850, urban cities had populations of at least 5,000. By the eve of the Civil War, twenty percent of Americans lived in urban cities.
[6] Stephen Lassonde, "Age, Schooling, and Development," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 214-215.
[7] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 13, 185.

proportion of southern white children attended schools compared to the North.[8] In comparison, by the 1830s most white northern children had access to public schools.[9]

The pedagogy of the American public school system was largely intertwined with religion, particularly Christianity. Children learned to read as they learned catechism. Students recited catechisms and prayers; they learned to repeat hymns and read biblical passages aloud to their families.[10] That schools were intricately linked with religion is not surprising considering that morality was a key objective of public education.[11] Early reformers and leaders of public schools were faithful members of Christian denominations. Horace Mann, one of the most well-known leaders of the antebellum public schooling, based his formalized school system on evangelical, intellectual Christian beliefs.[12] Similarly, John Lancaster, a Quaker, created a system to implement a moral education with large number of students and limited funds.[13] Leaders such as Mann and Lancaster believed morality to be the most important motivator for Americans and therefore it was important to instill this in children in the public school. Henry Ward Beecher preached the importance of schooling in teaching

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[8] Ibid., 13, 192-193.

[9] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 62. African Americans and Native Americans had much less, if any, access to schools. Additionally first-generation immigrants tended to attend public schools. However, second-generation immigrants attended schools in similar numbers to native-born white Americans in the North; Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1793-1876*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980), 397; Susan-Mary C. Grant,"Representative Mann: Horace Mann, the Republican Experiment and the South," *Journal of American Studies,* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Apr., 1998), 115.

[10] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception*, (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College - Columbia University, 1951), 192.

[11] Cremin, *American Education*, 72; Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 98.

[12] Barbara Finkelstein, "Perfecting Childhood: Horace Mann and the Origins of Public Education in the United States," *Biography*, Vol. 13, No. 1, "Biography & Education," (Winter 1990), 8-15; Rush Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 97-102; Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 75.

[13] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 37, 38, 41.

morality and used it in his arguments against Southerners, stating that they are "made to lag behind the march of civilization, and so see the whole world running past them in social evolution, popular intelligence, and industrial enterprise" due to the lack of public schools.[14] Similarly Sunday Schools used systems created by public schools to teach children about their own faith.

While each community's educational system stemmed from antebellum leaders such as Mann and Lancaster, they each took specific steps to change their classroom models to meet their communities needs. The Berea, Oneida, Shaker, and Mormon communities used the classroom to advance and develop their communal identity. The communities used schooling to address the religious goals and identity, meet racial and gender equality. Each group approached schooling differently, reflecting their own unique religious beliefs and social agenda.

Berea stands out as the most organized community regarding its education. From its inception formalized schooling was a priority of the founders. John G. Fee explained to Simeon Jocelyn, a prominent member of the American Missionary Association, "If I can see a good school started in Ky [sic] I shall feel that I have accomplished the greatest work of my feeble life."[15] Fee made clear why this particular aspect was so important to the Berea project. He saw that schools would allow for the growth of integration and the end of slavery. To the members of the

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[14] Henry Ward Beecher, *A Discourse Delivered at the Plymouth Church, Brooklyn New York, Upon Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1847*, (New York, 1848), 15.
[15] Fee to Jocelyn 9 February 1858 American Missionary Association.

American Missionary Association, Fee wrote, "If the lovers of freedom and righteousness intend to redeem this land from oppression and ruin, is there a more effective way than by educating the youth in schools where the moral and religious influence is distinctively anti-slavery?"[16] Fee's autobiography demonstrates that he wanted Berea schools to educate children "in the principles of love in religion, and liberty and justice in government; and thus permeate the minds of the youth with these sentiments."[17] And due to the small number of public schools in the South, Berea had the potential of providing schooling to its neighboring towns. This prompted many of Berea's neighbors to send their children to its school as they could not afford alternatives. One of the most important aspects for Fee in the founding of the community's primary school was that it be tuition free.[18] Fee wrote to Simeon Smith Jocelyn that he wanted to make sure that the school would not be a "paying institution" as that would do the "most good for the state & cause of freedom every where."[19] The Berea schools were well attended; school enrollment grew by 667 percent between 1858 and 1867.[20] While the founders hoped to attract like-minded abolitionists, many students were the children of slave holders. "The Berea school was so well thought of that all the slaveholders in the neighborhood sent their

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[16]John G. Fee, "From Rev. John G. Fee Berea, Madison Co., July 9, '58," *American Missionary*, Vol. 2, No. 9, (September 1858), 233.
[17] John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, (Chicago: National Christian Society, 1891), 95.
[18] This remains an important aspect of the Berea identity, as Berea College offers students the possibility for a tuition-free education.
[19] Fee to Jocelyn 8 May 1857 American Missionary Association.
[20] Fee reported enrollment at forty-five in a letter to Simeon Smith Jocelyn dated April 26, 1858 and in a report to the *American Missionary* dated October 1867 he reported two hundred students in the term. In Mach 1868, he reported that one hundred more had enrolled after the fall 1867 term.

children to it and the school was now educating children from five or six slaveholding families." Due to the obstacles it faced, Berea was unable to meet one its most foundational goals of educating African Americans and white students together.

Even though they used Berea's schools, neighboring slaveowners targeted Berea for its abolitionist views. Despite these "grave days," "the school went merrily on as ever, and if the numbers were smaller, the zeal was not abated."[21] Lizzie Rogers overcame her fear; she still taught the children each day. Even after the exile of the abolitionists from Berea and the first years of the Civil War, Bereans focused on reestablishing its school. Schooling remained the first priority as Bereans believed to truly combat slavery and racism, children must be raised with abolitionist beliefs and in an integrated environment. They saw the school as the perfect opportunity to raise their children free of such prejudice.

Berea celebrated any success connected with its schools. In its early years, the end-of-the-school-term ceremony was the only noted celebration in the small town. John G. Fee as well as early teachers, John and Lizzie Rogers, all mentioned it. Lizzie Rogers described the celebration. "The people came in crowds to be amused, and judging by the applause they were highly entertained from start to finish. We kept the crowd for a long session, and it is no easy work to hold a Kentucky audience out of doors… we expected great things of our pupils."[22] Similarly, Cassius Clay claimed that the school at Berea completely changed the Kentucky youth. In a speech at

[21] Elizabeth Rogers, "Personal History of Berea College," (Berea: Unpublished, 1910), 20.
[22] Ibid., 14.

Frankfort on January 10, 1860, Clay told his audience, "The children, before idle and dissipated, had been reformed and were going to the best school in the country."[23] Both Rogers and Clay demonstrate a pride in the way that Berea raised and educated the future citizens of the state. The school survived threats and while it was not integrated, the teachers spread the gospel of abolition.

The Oneida community also placed education high on its list of priorities. Children of all ages had access to schooling.[24] Constance Noyes Robertson explained, "Education of children was a subject of the greatest importance to the communists… the steady level of instruction was certainly higher than the average in the outside world at that time."[25] While Oneida's level of education may have been higher than rural and southern parts of United States, other areas such as Massachusetts had advanced schools that easily rivaled Oneida. The ultimate goal of education was not "for itself alone," recalled Pierrepont Noyes, who grew up in the Community's last decade, but rather about one's own "improvement."[26] This makes sense as Oneida strived for perfection both for the entire community and for each individual member. The most important outcome of schooling was that it continued the children on their path to perfection.

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[23] "Cassius M. Clay's Testimony," *American Missionary*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (June 1860), 137.
[24] In 1871, eighty-three children attended the Oneida school.
[25] Constance Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community: An Autobiography, 1851-1876*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1970), 23.
[26] Pierrepont Noyes, *My Father's House: An Oneida Boyhood*, (London: Butler & Tanner, Ltd, 1937), 23.

Initially, Oneida preferred a less structured school system that contrasted with the bourgeois models in the northern United States. An 1864 volume of their community periodical, *Circular*, explains the shortcomings of the urban school model, "they grow less in favor with the Community, only as they be limited to small children. We prefer education in the family sphere." The author argued that teachers lacked the trust of the students and in order to manage them, had to divide the children by age. But in Oneida, "Where the family is a school … the young folks need not be a separate class; and this is a great advantage."[27] For the first two decades, Oneida education rejected formal schooling and taught lessons to entire the "family" throughout each day. The community stressed this as a welcome environment that allowed children to thrive and insisted that this was radically different from the outside world. However, this ignores the vast ways nineteenth-century Americans educated their children. In the 1800s and 1860s many continued to teach children in the home, not in a classroom. And in non-urban towns, the classroom often combined children aged five to twelve with the same teacher. This would have permitted a familiar environment, similar to Oneida. Therefore, Oneida children received an education similar to their non-community peers.

By the end of the 1860s the community had formalized its schools to look more like the public schools found in northern urban cities. Oneida organized its classroom by topic and grade. It staffed its schools with "teachers best adapted to

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[27] "Oneida Budget: Examination Day," *Circular*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (April 11, 1864), 28.

instruct in different branches, with time and facilities given to all for improvement, and a spirit of encouragement stimulating all to develop their minds and hearts, the best results being anticipated."[28] This transformation reflects much of the changes in the 1870s. The number of children increased with stirpiculture while elements of Oneida life began to look more similar to American bourgeois life as John Humphrey Noyes prepared to turn the leadership over to his son Theodore.[29] As a child raised in Oneida's last decade, Corinna Ackley Noyes recalled that she began the school year at "four years old perhaps, since there seems to have been a strong feeling in those days that children must learn to read at least when very young."[30] This again reflects influences from the bourgeois American society. By the time Ackley Noyes attended school at such a young age, kindergartens had grown in popularity and acceptance.[31]

More than any of the other communities in this study, the Shakers most struggled with education. Shakers believed children should spend their time learning specific skills relevant to their community and economy. Shakers also considered literacy important as it gave one access to the word of God. However, outside of practical skills and literacy Shakers saw education as frivolous and distracting. Antebellum critics seized on the Shakers' lack of education. A visitor to a Shaker

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[28] *Hand-book of the Oneida Community; with a Sketch of its Founder and an Outline of its Constitution and Doctrines*, (Wallingford: Office of the Circular, Wallingford Community, 1871), 26.
[29] See Conclusion, pages 240-241.
[30] Corinna Ackley Noyes, *The Days of My Youth: A Childhood Memoir of Life in the Oneida Community*, (Kenwood, NY: The Oneida Community Mansion House, 1960, 1992), 93.
[31] Rural schools had accepted children as young as five for decades. Kindergartens great in popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century but were not seen in all schools across the United States until the mid twentieth century.

community explained "that their children did not have [such] good advantages as our common schools in the world afforded; and that their young men were not qualified to do common business in the world." In response to this criticism, Shakers "justly and pertinently remarked, 'that they did not educate their children for the world, but to remain there.'"[32] Shakers felt the skills and knowledge of "common business" was not useful to its children who they expected to stay in the community. Education was meant to advance the community. But over time the Shakers' attitude toward education changed. Shakers adopted some worldly subjects, such as science, that they felt would benefit agriculture. And as they grew their business, they became more open to bourgeois American subjects such as advanced bookkeeping and clear writing.[33] By the mid-nineteenth century, Shakers embraced organized education and

Image 3.1: Shaker school desk from Shaker Village at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky. Photograph by author.

[32] David Rich Lamson, *Two Years' Experience Among the Shakers*, (West Bolyston: The Author, 1848), 48.
[33] Selling seeds to farmers was a major source of income for the Shakers. Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 136.

by the end of the century, some communities welcomed non-Shaker children into their classrooms.

The Mormon school system developed in a pattern similar to rural areas and frontier communities across the United States. Mormons relied on volunteers for building school rooms or repurposing available space. The schooling was irregular at best and like rural American schools, untrained volunteers provided the teaching. Informal schools opened across the territory, operated by anyone who could spare the time and felt qualified to teach. In his personal journals, John D. Lee wrote of teaching in these informal classrooms. Children in the 1850s living in Utah went to school infrequently as schools' availability was inconsistent. But by the 1860s, school had become organized institutions in the territory. The Church organized its schools from the university level down, focusing on religious education and teacher training.[34]

As schooling became more organized Mormons applied the value of education to all parts of its life. In 1882, Annie Tanner wrote to her mother that education was valuable to all Mormons, not just to "a person who teaches school." She explained that education will benefit those in "responsible positions" such as "Presidents, Counselors, or Secretaries of Relief Societies, Young Ladies' Associations, or Primary Associations, or they may be teachers of Sunday School classes. Even if none of these

[34] Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, (Logan: Utah State University, 1976, 1977), 71

positions should be occupied, we can be one of the greatest teachers to ourselves."[35] As she argued, education added to both one's life and the community as a whole. An educated person had gained knowledge through dedication and hard work, valuable traits to the Mormons. As a mother, she challenged her husband's desire to keep his sons on the farm to help with the cattle instead of in school. She wrote, "I had strong convictions and persisted in my own plans for the children's education even above the welfare of the farm. The only proper place for young folks as they grow to man and womanhood was in school."[36] Tanner expresses a sentiment common to late-nineteenth-century Mormons, that education was the priority for its youth and its future, even at the sacrifice of the family and its budget. Mormon leadership also emphasized this to its youth through *The Juvenile Instructor*, a periodical for young readers.[37] In a story about two Mormon brothers, young readers learned that the brother who persevered and studied grew up to "be useful among men and to make his name respected among the honorable of the earth," while his brother who was smart but did not try was "held accountable for the waste of time and powers of which he was guilty."[38] Education was important and worthy of devoting one's time. Mormons stressed that children value the opportunity and apply the lessons. Foolish was the child who let it slip away.

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[35] Annie Tanner to her mother letter dated April 15, 1883, Provo, UT reprinted in Annie Clark Tanner, and Everett L. Cooley, Brigham D. Madsen, S. Lyman Tyler, eds. *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography*, (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1969), 52-53.
[36] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 232.
[37] While aimed at children, this publication also included columns and articles for parents and educators.
[38] "A Story for School Boys," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 1, No. 20 (October 15, 1866), 80.

Each of these communities understood the role of education to be intimately connected to their religions. Their religious beliefs were both the most important part of their identity and also their most distinctive attributes from the rest of the American society. Education provided children with literacy to read the Bible and logic to reason their religious faith. The Berea and Mormon communities both instituted Sunday Schools into their educational philosophies, while Oneida and Shaker leaders embedded their religious education directly into their formal school classes. This also matched American patterns. By 1827, approximately 200,000 children attended Sunday School.[39]

Oneida children learned their faith through all parts of their life, including schooling. In an article from the community-published *Circular*, the author described the classroom as one "based on positive science." This concept began with the Bible's idea of Providence, "an idea that a child can appreciate… The first thing a child knows is that somebody is watching over it bigger and wiser than itself. We tell them that we parents have been watched so we know that somebody is taking care of us, as parents take care of their children."[40] Oneida children learned that like the caretakers constantly kept watch over them, so did God keep watch over the entire community. Jessie Kinsley demonstrated how her childhood lessons of God grew her faith. She remembered as a child at Oneida learning to "Confess Christ" in school. She described this as a formula that began with a "concise prayer": "I confess Christ in

[39] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 45.
[40] "Community Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 5, No. 42, (January 4, 1869), 333.

me a good spirit." One day she "suddenly" burst out in school, "I confess Christ in me my savior from sin." Her teacher supported her outburst and Kinsley described that those words led to an understanding of faith, she was confident in Christ and no longer feared the devil and sin: "I was happy as a lark. Fear was gone completely."[41] The classroom had become a space for Kinsley to work out her religious identity safely with the support of her teacher and, while she doesn't mention them, her fellow students. Interrupting a teacher or lesson to express one's faith was rewarded as it moved the classroom toward the ultimate purpose of an Oneida education.

Shaker communities also instilled religion into its school lessons, albeit without such outbursts. Mother Lucy Wright directed that children "be supplied with the New Testament, and the words of the sacred songs, which might be their duty to read on the Sabbath, and at other times."[42] Leading children to the Bible and developing their faith was the primary focus of schooling. In age-divided classrooms, children learned biblical lessons. Despite these strong efforts, the religious lessons seemed to not powerfully impact the children. Francis Carr lived with the Shakers for her entire life and she did not prioritize those lessons in her memories of childhood. She briefly described the lesson and then elaborated on her free time after school when they were allowed to "do what we wanted to as long as it did not involve physical labor or play." She described using that time to read and write letters but not

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[41] Jessie Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring: Jessie Catherine Kinsley, Daughter of the Oneida Community*, edited by Jane Kinsley Rich and Nelson M. Blake, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 28-29.
[42] Lucy Wright, *The Gospel Monitor: A Little Book of Mother Ann Lee's Words to Those Who are Placed as Instructors and Caretakers of Children*, (Canterbury, NH: 1843), 20.

to reflect on her bible lessons.[43] [Catherine Ann Slater?] also did not describe religious studies in the memoir of her Shaker childhood. Nor did Shaker child Delmer Wilson recount it in his daily journal from 1887. Never did these children recall reflecting on the lessons they had learned or focusing that reading and writing on biblical texts. Like formalized American schools, religion was present in the classroom but seemingly without much impact.

The Mormons attempted to educate children in their religious faith through a variety of methods. They taught religion in the classroom, in Sunday School, and in *The Juvenile Instructor*. This publication often included lessons on the Bible alongside its educational articles that ranged from descriptions of non-Western cultures and a column that taught children about a new animal with each issue. In an 1868 issue, the *Instructor* encouraged its readers to read the Bible and the Book of Mormon, which it described as "the oldest history of America that it is known."[44] This was similar to public schools that taught the Bible as history of mankind.[45] However, Mormons taught their children a history of the United State rooted in its unique belief that the Native people of the Americas descended from the lost tribe of Israel. Religious documents and church records often acted as textbooks in early Utah schools, partially due to the scarcity of books but "more important to the church officials was the fact that they desired the children and youth of the church to be

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[43] Sister Frances Carr, *Growing Up Shaker*, (United Society of Believers, 1995), 17.
[44] "Reading," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 3, No. 12, (June 15, 1868), 93.
[45] Cremin, *The American Common School*, 211.

taught the theological doctrine."[46] While few U.S. classrooms used religious texts, the readers and primers used Protestant theology as the basis for their lessons. Mormon beliefs did not align with all Protestant theology, but shared their techniques of combining religion and school lessons.

Schooling taught Mormon children to apply their faith to all aspects of their lives, using it to assess their world. In 1853, P.P. Pratt instructed a Mormon schoolhouse that "If your children should adopt the practice in very early life to take a little gospel to school and apply it getting an education, the experience might be worth something to them in riper years."[47] Mormons planted the seeds of their faith early. All levels of school aimed to grow a child's faith. Annie Tanner, who worked early in her life as a teacher supported critical thinking despite the critique that "young people with a tendency to analyze things are not always good followers." She raised her children to encourage them to "think things out for themselves. I never would or could believe that the institutions of learning would produce a lack of faith in our young people."[48] Tanner, like her contemporaries, trusted that critical skills would empower children to defend their Mormon beliefs against its opponents. She remembered her own education as well. She described learning "other subjects" but

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[46] John Clifton Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah*, (Provo: John Clifton Moffitt, 1946), 16.
[47] "An Address Delivered by Elder P.P. Pratt at the Fourteenth Ward house, on Monday, Dec. 26, on the subject of education," *The Deseret News*, Vol. 4, (January 12, 1854), 29. The LDS Church divides congregations into wards and branches. A ward is the larger of the two divisions. A ward is presided over by a bishop (similar to a pastor in Protestant Christian denominations). In nineteenth-century Utah, this also served as political divisions, defining voting districts. A LDS stake is an administrative unit composed of multiple wards.
[48] Critical thinking was a phrase not yet used in the 1880s/1890s; Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 227.

that "shining through them all was 'the glorious light of the Gospel."[49] The basis of all Mormon education was their faith and students carried it with them throughout their lives. As adults some used it to restructure the Church and reflect their educated interpretation of their religion.

Mormon Sunday Schools taught children catechism and they read books such as *Book of Mormon Studies* that summarized in simple language the messages of the biblical texts. Children began Sunday School as early as four years old. By the age of eight, the child also attended Primary and Religion classes during the week.[50] The regular practice of religious education, first on Sundays and later expanded into weekly classes, created a strong religious identity in Mormons and they retained this identity through adulthood. In an article aimed at educators, *The Juvenile Instructor* explained the importance of Sunday Schools to children of the territory. The author wrote that children were not meant to "grow up as mere animals; but to be taught the principles of life and salvation. They all have missions to perform on the path, and no better time can be found to prepare them for their duties than when they are young."[51] Like bourgeois school leadership, Mormons believed that school would embed morals into children that would serve them for the rest of their lives.

Union Church in Berea also used Sunday School to link education and religion for its youngest members. A Sunday School teacher explained that he would

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[49] Ibid., 46.
[50] Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954), 244.
[51] "Necessity of Sunday School," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 1, No. 21, (November 1, 1866), 83.

pass by the children in the group, pat a child on the head "and ask him how he likes Daniel or if he can give the names of three Hebrew children."[52] This simple task reinforced to the child that s/he should be familiar with the Bible and ready to discuss it at any moment. Berea also used its religious education to advance its abolitionist goals. Early in the community's history, John G. Fee called for teachers to come to Berea in the *American Missionary* asking "not merely anti-slavery teachers, but Christian teachers; teachers who shall labor to redeem their pupils from all sin, and who … impress the soul with a sense of its obligations to God and man — all men."[53] Therefore the role of the teacher was not simply an educator but rather the moral example who would embed into their students an abolitionist spirit based in Christianity. The final part of the statement, "all men," underlines that education should be available to any person, regardless of his or her skin color as this was the will of God. This religious priority remained a point of pride for Berea after the Civil War as well.

In the classroom and Sabbath schools, Berea teachers taught using anti-slavery books from the American Reform Tract and Book Society out of Cincinnati. These books differed from other tract publishers in their emphasis on abolitionism. The company's books sought to "awaken a decided, though healthful, agitation on the

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[52] Report of Superintendent Union Church Undated, Berea Special Collections, Union Church Series X Box 1 Christian Eduction 1909-1915.
[53] John G. Fee, "For the American Missionary. A College in Kentucky - needed," *American Missionary*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March 1857), 66.

great question of Freedom and Slavery."[54] These included *The Child's Book on Slavery*, which tackled topics such as how a slave differed from wage or apprentice labor, how the practice was not "merely" cruelty, schooling for slave children, and the difference between a child and slave. The book clarified to its young readers that a slave may obey a master like a child obeys a parent, however, "the relation between the child and the parent is first and chiefly for the child's good, but the relation between the slave and his master is for the master's pleasure."[55] It also explained to the readers that "the law forbids teaching slaves to read or write, or to learn other things as you do in school." The chapter asked, "who will teach them, and what will become of them?"[56] These books emphasized the humanity of the slaves and their similarity to the young readers. Using the books, teachers discussed the Bible's support of abolitionism and ways children could help to advance their cause.

By the end of the 1860s, Berea's schools had been so well attended and so successful that the community had opened Berea Literary Institution (later renamed Berea College). The following year, Berea College president explained that school and religion are "inseparable." Teachers in Berea received encouragement to share their opinions about race and religion. The teachers trained at the college should be "earnest, positive, whole-souled men and women, who will live and act for a purpose

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[54] Maria Goodell Frost, *Gospel Fruits; or, Bible Christianity Illustrated*, (Cincinnati: American Reform Tract Book Society, 1859), 189.
[55] Horace C. Grosvenor, *The Child's Book on Slavery, or, Slavery Made Plain*, (Cincinnati: American Reform Tract Book Society, 1857), 30.
[56] Ibid., 77.

infinitely higher than self promotion or popular favor."[57] The establishment of the college had always been in the mind of Fee. He often dreamed of an Oberlin College in Kentucky. Once slavery had come to an end, the college remained important to the town's goals: to create and spread a community of Christianity that embraced racial equality.[58] Another important role of that college was to produce teachers who might teach in Berea but also in other schools, spreading its message across the South and the United States. From the founding of its earliest primary schools to the establishment of its college, Berea remained steadfast in the connection between its religious faith and education. In his autobiography, Fee wrote that the founders saw that "education of youth should not merely teach the classics and so-called natural sciences, but also moral science - the religion of the Bible, that puts man in harmony with God and his laws in reference."[59] Throughout its history, Berea saw that its religious identity inseparable from its goals on integration and these remained a priority for educational systems.

One of the most important elements of Berea's schools was the role of race as the community aimed to use the classroom as an opportunity to teach children lessons against racial prejudice by integrating their classrooms. Berea's goal of integrating the classroom was seen as radical in all parts of the United States. Antebellum African

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[57] Rev. E.H. Fairchild, Inauguration Speech, (Berea, Kentucky July 7, 1869). Berea Archives.
[58] Fee and other Berea citizens called racial equality anti-caste. For Bereans, equality meant equal access to education, religion, work, and property. Critics of the community accused it of accepting interracial marriage, however, Bereans denied this and stressed ways that it work to prevent romantic feelings between the races. For a discussion of interracial marriage and social equality see Richard Sears's chapter, "Controversies: Sex and Social Equality" in his 1996 book *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*.
[59] Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, 137.

Americans attempted integrate common schools across the United States to combat racial segregation. But even in New England, with a population more sympathetic to the anti-slavery cause, this was a radical idea. White advocates of African American education continued to rely heavily on segregated schools at the end of the century.[60] Only three percent of northern schools were integrated during the years of Reconstruction.[61] Fee filled Berea's schools with teachers who were known abolitionists and the schools welcomed African Americans to enroll even though only white children attended.[62] Though Fee nor John Rogers never explained the absence of African American students, it seems likely that the constant threats aimed at the abolitionists kept African Americans from enrolling their children in the school. However, slaveholding neighbors sent their children to Berea's schools, as they were the only public schools available in the area. The enrollment of these slaveowners' children probably kept African American families away. This underscores the complicated status of Berea. Slaveholders resented the community's activism but used their schools, exposing their children to Berean values.

During the Civil War, Fee and many of his followers relocated to Camp Nelson, a slave contraband camp in Jessamine County, approximately twenty miles northwest of Berea. There Bereans set up schools for former slaves and further grew

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[60] Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America*, 145-146; Marta Gutman, "The Physical Spaces of Childhood," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 254.
[61] William Preston Vaughn, *Schools for All: The Blacks and Public Education, 1865-1877*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 20-21.
[62] John G. Fee, "From Rev. J.G. Fee. Berea, Madison Co. April 12, '59," *American Missionary*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (May 1859), 114; Berea School Advertisement, August 19, 1858.

their commitment to integrated education while retaining a school in Berea. John Fee had always believed in the potential of African Americans, but his experience at Camp Nelson provided him with firsthand observations that supported this view. At the end of the war, Fee summarized his experience there in a report to the *American Missionary*. He wrote that about five hundred former slaves attended school there and made "good progress." He looked forward, wanting to ensure that their education would be continued ideally in Berea. The following year another minister at Camp Nelson, A. Scofield, described how even after the war, schooling began by Fee and other Berea volunteers continued with the support of the Freedman's Bureau. Scofield states that average attendance exceeded one hundred and that they made good progress despite a need of "books, readers, and spelling books."[63] After the war, education and integration remained a priority. Berea's schools welcomed people of all ages to receive education, many for the first time. Berea had finally achieved its goal of integrating its classrooms.

Berea hoped that it would face less opposition for its focus on integration with slavery ended. In a report to the *American Missionary*, the community shared that "the best colored families in central Kentucky" opted to move to Berea, "their hearts cheered and hopes rekindled, by learning that at this place, all men were treated alike… no distinction was made because of race."[64] Yet, Berea's neighbors remained

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[63] Rev. A. Schofield, "Kentucky," *American Missionary*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (February 1866), 32.
[64] J.A.R. Rogers, "Kentucky. Report of Berea Mission for 1866" *American Missionary*, Vol. 10, No. 12 (December 1866), 279.

opposed to integrated schools. When two African American girls, Berilla and Julia Hines, enrolled at John and Elizabeth Rogers' Berea school in 1862 there was "great excitement" and some white parents removed their children from the school.[65] Upon the introduction of "colored pupils," the school's enrollment dropped from nearly two hundred to thirteen.[66] The *American Missionary* reported that Berea's neighbors "bitterly" opposed educating the Freedmen. Berea's neighbors were "just beginning to feel their own deficiency in [education], and it mortifies them to see the negro receiving advantages which they and their children have never enjoyed." Berea's neighbors remained angry that African Americans had more access to education than the white population in the state. The article concluded with the story of one former Confederate woman who remarked, "Since it's got fashionable to teach the niggers I feel as if I'd like to know a little something myself."[67] Bereans argued that by educating African Americans, white children of the South would also receive a better education. Berea continued to invite their white neighbors to the school but having their children sit side-by-side with former slaves was too much for these neighbors to overcome.

The school's enrollment rebounded; students came from white and African American population of Berea as well as children from the nearby Appalachian communities. It was not until 1867 that the school became "equally divided - colored

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[65] John Rogers Letter to Simeon Smith Jocelyn, January 28, 1863; Sears, *The Day of Small Things*, 400.
[66] Fee, "Freedman. Marked Progress," *American Missionary*, Vol. 11, No. 10, (October 1867), 217.
[67] "Kentucky. Columbus, Ky.," *American Missionary*, Vol. 11, No. 6, (June 1867), 133.

and white."[68] Berea College President Edward Fairchild explained that Berea and its educational institutions assumed that "negroes are to have, and ought to have, the same civil and political rights as white men." He, like other Bereans, believed integrated classrooms created the most potential for removing caste in society. "If as children they are not allowed to meet in the same schools and Sabbath-Schools, how, as men, will they be able to meet at the polls, sit on juries, attend political meetings, practice at the bar, and testify in all cases on an equal footing with them?… There is, therefore, but one alternative, coeducation or no education for a large number of both white and colored."[69] Integrated schooling played a pivotal role in Berea's ability to end racism and caste. Much like the early advocates of the American public school system who saw it as a way to shape children into good citizens, Bereans saw their schools as the path for equal-minded adults. Berea had succeeded at integrating the classroom but it was yet to be seen if it would result in the end of caste and segregation as the leaders hoped.

For Bereans, Oneida Perfectionists, Shakers and Mormons, gender also played an important role in their formal schooling. Across the U.S., common schools aimed to teach children their future responsibilities. This meant a child learned skills and responsibilities reflective of his/her gender. Educating girls fit into the ideas of Republican Motherhood. As adults, women needed to be able to teach their children

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[68] Fee, "Freedman. Marked Progress," *American Missionary*, Vol. 11, No. 10, (October 1867), 217.
[69] Rev. E.H. Fairchild, Inauguration Speech, (Berea, Kentucky July 7, 1869). Berea Archives. Fairchild repeated this argument in his book *Berea, Ky: An Interesting History*, (Cincinnati: Elm Street Publishing Company, 1875), 47-48.

and raise them to be future citizens. This increased the enrollment of girls in public schools.[70] By the end of the century, public schools welcomed both girls and boys.[71] This remained true in these four communities. Yet, each community invoked unique practices in efforts to reach their goals regarding gender. In Berea and Mormon classrooms children sat side-by-side regardless of their gender. Oneida segregated classes by gender until the late 1860s. The Shakers continued their practice of gender segregation but prioritized an equal amount of time in the classroom. However, since Shaker communities only had one schoolroom, boys and girls went to class at different times of the year. Each of the communities stressed that boy and girls both benefited from school. In practice, their education was not always quite as equal.

Berea's main focus was always on the integration of the races in the classroom but it also prioritized gender integration. The college followed this strategy by becoming the first to admit both sexes in both Kentucky and the South.[72] College President Fairchild stressed this at his inaugural address, "This is a school for both sexes. Young ladies and misses are admitted to all departments, and receive in the same classes with the young men and boys…this system gives young ladies a more profound and thorough education than they are likely to acquire in a female seminary."[73] Fairchild argued that this gave girls and women more opportunities both

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[70] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 27, 28; Cremin, *American Education*, 120.
[71] Don Romesburg, "Making Adolescence More or Less Modern," and Gutman, "The Physical Spaces of Childhood," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 233, 254.
[72] Richard D. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality of Berea, 1866-1904*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 61.
[73] Rev. E.H. Fairchild, Inauguration Speech, (Berea, Kentucky July 7, 1869).

in education and their futures. It also built upon the Republican Motherhood ideals that prioritized women's education due to their "impulse and guidance to the youthful mind."[74] In addition, Berea knew that their daughters would be the future teachers and would give not only the first lesson in morals "but the first lessons in science."[75] Berea College's main goal was training teachers and therefore had a high number of female students. However, Berea's goals did not necessarily differ from those of American bourgeois, which emphasized the importance of girls' education. However, their strategy of welcoming the girls into science classrooms and sharing the same education as the boys did differ from the United States. Berea's goals did not challenge from those of the American bourgeois that also emphasized the importance of education. By the 1860s, female teachers were commonplace across the U.S.

The Oneida community always prided itself on efforts at gender equality. Its plans for education mirrored that goal. In an 1866 *Circular* article, they stressed that "girls should have all of the advantages of boys. They shall be encouraged to study everything that boys do… They shall be admitted to all the sciences…"[76] By the 1860s. As has been previously discussed, women needed to be knowledgeable in basic subjects such as reading, writing, and arithmetic to teach their children.[77] Like Berea, Oneida differed in its approach to encourage girls to study all the same topics as their male counterparts. In the 1850s-1860s, Oneida had planned to eventually

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[74] Fairchild quoted in Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 61.
[75] Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 62.
[76] *Circular* (March 6, 1866) quoted in Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community*, 302.
[77] See Chapter 2 for discussion of Oneida women's gendered roles.

open a college for continued learning. Also similar to Berea, Oneida hoped "to make the education of women a prominent object" at this proposed college.[78] This seems in line with Oneida's claim for women's equality to men. However, just two years earlier Oneida writers stressed that while classes were important, "women's work of all kinds in the house cannot be dispensed with."[79] Additionally, Oneida separated boys and girls in the classroom. Boys took classes with other boys taught by a male teacher and girls with other girls taught by women.[80] Education may have been a priority for Oneida but not at the expense of women's work. Gendered work remained the norm and the women who later wrote about their Oneida childhoods did not make mention of specific aims for girls' education. While Oneida might have wanted to provide a different education for its girls than what might have been offered in American public schools, it did not actually vary that much. Rather, both Jessie Kinsley and Corinna Ackley Noyes, who wrote the most about their childhoods at Oneida, were better prepared to be wives and mothers from their education than to be intellectuals.

The Shaker communities also stressed the importance of gender equality and, similar to the other communities, this included girls having the same access to education as boys. However, like their view of adult equality, this was a complementary education. Shakers saw men and women as equal but in providing

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[78] *Circular* (March 6, 1866) quoted in Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community*, 302.
[79] "Correspondence: Oneida Schools," *Circular*, Vol. 1, No. 35, (November 16, 1864), 276.
[80] Ibid.

different skills to the community.[81] Therefore, boys and girls were to receive an equal amount of time in school (three - four months) even as their education often focused on different subjects and skills. With only one classroom per community, Shaker boys attended school during winter, leaving them free to plant and harvest for the community in the spring and summer, when the girls were in the classroom. Despite the equal time during the year in the classroom, boys had access to more education. Boys attended school until reaching age sixteen, but girls completed their time in the classroom at age fifteen.[82] In school, boys and girls learned reading and writing, and all students learned about the Bible and completed catechism studies. The schools also included lessons on science, particularly chemistry, which could be applied to farming. No records clarify if girls received an education in science; extant records from the communities only include school journals on such topics completed by boys. Because Shakers expected its girls as adults to take care of domestic duties, they did not provide them with an education equal from that of its boys. This again mirrored bourgeois education that stressed academics for male students. Girls, on the other hand, received training in disciplines to be used as wives and mothers, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Gender also played a key role in Mormon schools. As has been seen, education in the Mormon territory was rather sporadic. Boys and girls both attended

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[81] See Chapter 1, pages 57-58 for discussion of complementary gender equality.
[82] "The Origin and Progress at Pleasant Hill," 87; Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 138; Lamson, *Two Years' Experience Among the Shakers*, 47.

together and received the same lesson plans. Despite the opportunities, the application of such education was very limited. Lucinda Lee Dalton pushed for girls not only to have an equal education but the opportunity to apply that education. She wrote to fellow Relief Society member and leader, Emmeline B. Wells, "I remember my disgust when I sufficiently advanced in mathematics to study algebra with profit; and [a male teacher] replied that it would be a waste of time for me to ever study it, because I already had more learning than was necessary for a good housekeeper, wife, and mother, which was a woman's only proper place on earth."[83] Dalton expressed frustration that while allowed to learn the skills, she could not use them. Only in teaching did women find equal application of their skills. In 1896, Utah's women teachers secured "the same compensation as is allowed to male teachers, for like services, when holding the same grade of certificate."[84] However, the "rather progressive law" seemed to be often ignored. By 1907, the average salary for male teachers in Millard County, Utah exceeded female teachers by eighty-five percent.[85] Additionally, Mormons saw teaching as a temporary position for young women, a way to benefit her family before marriage. Annie Tanner worked as a teacher from the age of sixteen through nineteen before she married. This replicated the same practice of bourgeois female teachers, who also quit teaching upon marriage.

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[83] Lucinda Lee Dalton to Emmeline B. Wells, December 27, 1876. The Relief Society, founded in 1842, was an organized of Mormon women that provided services for communities as necessary as well opportunities for women to lead in the Church and, until 1896, push for spiritual leadership equal to that of Mormon men. The Relief Society since 1896 has operated as Mormon women's organization that does not focus on gender equality.
[84] John Clifton Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah*, (Provo: John Clifton Moffitt, 1946), 322.
[85] Ibid., 322-323.

While each community had objectives in their education system specific to their religious identity and social goals, they all reflected bourgeois models and school tactics. Much of the curriculum paralleled what was taught in public schools across the United States. Like the public schools the four communities used regimented schedules that relied on memorization, recitation, and discipline. At the beginning of the century, public schools had few textbooks but the number multiplied in the 1830s.[86] Textbooks often emphasized values such as a strong work ethic and moral traits.[87] Berea, Mormon, and even some Shaker schools included non-community students that created an overlap in the groups and access to the mainstream American public. Each of the four communities prioritized elements of the scholarly topics in their classroom. For example, Berea stressed history in an attempt to avoid repeating moral mistakes, such as slavery, and the Shakers often prioritized agricultural science to improve farming. Community schools used pedagogical systems popular in United States schools. Maintaining order in the classroom was important. Teachers often tried to create practices that would evoke the most learning and result in the least need for discipline.

The Shakers had the largest population to manage and attempted to share one pedagogical philosophy across all of the communities. Seth Y. Wells, a teacher before joining the Shakers, supervised the antebellum Shaker education system. In 1823, he traveled from village to village to instruct teachers in the Lancaster system of

[86] Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 90-91, 92; Cremin, *The American Common School*, 188.
[87] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 82.

instruction, including teaching methods and a variety of subject areas.[88] Developed by English Quaker Joseph Lancaster, the system emphasized recitation and used student monitors to keep students engaged in study groups. Lancaster believed that no time in the school day should be wasted and similarly no student would be left unattended. Such observation of children demonstrates a lack of trust in the children and teachers, for without supervision and with free time, children might not act in a respectable way. The system influenced students to progress at their own rate, demonstrating mastery with the regular exams. Lancaster stressed the use of prizes to encourage good behavior rather than punishing students with physical abuse.[89] Lancaster designed his system to operate schools as large as 500 students. The Lancaster system was popular in the United States because it was inexpensive and easy to implement into existing classrooms.[90] Wells and the Shakers preferred the applicability of the Lancaster method to large numbers of children, its lack of expense and design "to stamp out individual differences among individual students."[91]

Wells's tour of Shaker communities allowed him to instruct the teachers through demonstration and the creation of model schools. This strategy allowed consistency and order throughout the Shaker schools, values incredibly important to

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[88] Stephen Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America*, 101.
[89] Finkelstein and Vandall, "The Schooling of American Childhood," 78.
[90] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 41; Gutman, "The Physical Spaces of Childhood," 253-254.
[91] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 180; Frank Taylor, "An Analysis of Shaker Education: The Life and Death of an Alternative Education System, 1776-1950," (PhD Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1976), 152; Barbara Finkelstein, "Casting Networks of Good Influence: The Reconstruction of Childhood in the United States, 17790-1890," in Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, eds., *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 120-21.

the community.[92] Wells added to the Lancaster system through his recommendation of using material items, such as dried beans, to learn counting or pictures with words printed underneath them to learn reading. He believed that reading should be taught early and that part of literacy included a comprehension of the word's meaning.[93] It was important that Shaker children both be able to read and understand spiritual texts. Elva Adams observed that the Shakers taught their students grammar "not because it was considered important to learn the mechanics of proper speech but because the children were expected to speak effectively."[94] Grammar was also an important part of American common schools, to emphasize morality in writing and American superiority.[95] And also like the public schools, Shakers stressed legible penmanship. Common schools also taught this, connecting it with grammar and composition.[96] Shaker children not only learned about writing but practiced it to reinforce lessons. Delmer Wilson recalled writing a composition in school called "Why not keep your mouth shut" to emphasize the importance of silence and avoiding wasted speech.[97] This exercise allowed his teacher to provide discipline and apply his lessons in writing. By 1845, the Shaker Millennial Laws defined the subjects to be taught in their schools: spelling, reading, writing, composition, and English grammar provided

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[92] Joyce Taylor, "Joseph Lancaster and the Origins of the Lancastrian System of Education," *The Shaker Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Fall 1991), 71.
[93] Frank Taylor, "An Analysis of Shaker Education: The Life and Death of an Alternative Education System, 1776-1950," (PhD Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1976), 172; Wells, "School Instruction," WRHS VII A 14.
[94] Elva Adams, *Shaker Education*, (Lebanon, OH: Warren County Historical Society Museum, 1974), n.p.
[95] Cremin, *American Education*, 262-263.
[96] Ibid., 392.
[97] Delmer Wilson and Theodore E. Johnson, ed. "The Diary of a Maine Shaker Boy; Delmer Wilson - 1887," *The Shaker Quarterly*, (Spring 1968), 7.

the tools to access the Bible and write about its teachings. Shakers valued measurement and arithmetic as the communities needed to track their harvests. Similarly Shakers appreciated sciences such as agricultural chemistry and "moral science." Student journals reflect Shaker boys carefully working out chemistry problems and noting key points.[98] Other accepted subjects included history, geography, good manners, true religion, and singing. The Laws prohibited instruction of subjects that Shakers saw as too worldly and disconnected from their faith: physics, pharmacy, anatomy, surgery, law, and phrenology. And mythology and mesmerism were seen as distractions to Shaker theology.[99] While the number of subjects increased through the nineteenth century, these prohibitions ruled out topics Shakers did not find helpful in advancing the skills necessary in their communities and rejected those deemed too "worldly."

While its goal was integration, Berea adopted a curricula that was used by northern common schools. Berea schools gave a great deal of attention to the subject of history in the classroom. John Fee explained that the youth "ought to have the benefit of our observations, experiences and suggestions. History should have its lessons."[100] After the Civil War, when the community had grown its schools, Berea also implemented examinations at the end of term to measure students' comprehension of history, grammar, geography, and arithmetic. The students

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[98] There are no similar surviving journals from Shaker girls.
[99] Millennial Laws (1845), WRHS I B 50.
[100] Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, 129.

responded "to questions not found in the text-books, with correctness and that easy confidence which evinces familiarity with general principles, as well as the letter of books." The author was impressed by the students' knowledge. Berea stressed critical and analytical skills. The author also revealed her impression of African American students. She described them as having "little conception" of the subjects but were emotional in their approach, particularly religion.[101] She meant to this to be a compliment as it exceeded expectations of African American students' capacity.

Oneida found education and a love for learning important to both its children and the community in general. Oneida saw schooling as a way to "addict [students] to various branches of learning as they have opportunity."[102] Similar to the Shakers, the Oneida community focused on subjects also taught in American public schools. These subjects included arithmetic, geography, geometry, philosophy, Latin, and music. But they added other topics: spiritual philosophy, Bible study, and self criticism.[103] These subjects continued from the compulsory school (for students age seven through twelve) to the voluntary classes (ages twelve to sixteen). This matched the age divisions of bourgeois schools. Oneida teachers felt that it was "better not to feed children with books till they are full seven" years old and so the community included no "infant schools" until the 1870s.[104] The idea was that education was kept rather

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[101] S.G. Stanley, "From Miss S.G. Stanley. Louisville, Ky., July 18, 1866," *American Missionary*, Vol. 10, No. 9, (September 1866), 199.
[102] *A Book for Students of Higher Law: Bible Communism; A Compilation from the Annual Reports and other Publications of the Oneida Association and its Branches*, (Brooklyn: Office of the Circular, 1853), 10; *Circular*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (November 30, 1851), 1.
[103] *Handbook of the Oneida Community 1871*, 12; Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 5.
[104] "Correspondence: Oneida Schools," *Circular*, Vol. 1, No. 35, (November 14, 1864), 276.

simple before the age of twelve[105] After that, students in voluntary classes had the opportunity for a "more serious" study in their education. Such in-depth scholarship prepared children for a university education. Jessie Kinsley explained that "several of the most promising young men, John Humphrey Noyes's eldest son Theodore among them, were sent to Yale Theological Seminary to complete their education. Unfortunately, a college education and an enthusiasm for the theories of Charles Darwin sometimes weakened simple religious faith, a development that contributed to the break up of the old Community."[106] Oneida clearly trusted that its students could withstand such exposure as they believed the benefit would outweigh the risk. However, this generation absorbed bourgeois culture and within two decades would overhaul the entire Oneida community completely.

Oneida children had positive memories of their childhood schooling and teachers. By the time Pierrepont Noyes attended school in the 1870s, Oneida offered a kindergarten-type class to the young children. There children learned simple words such as cat and dog and played with blocks and received other tactile lessons: "paper folding, crayoning on outlined pictures, working designs on perforated cardboard with colored yarns and drawing on transparent slates. We learned to count on the brightly colored beads of an abacus and later; to add and subtract on it."[107] These lessons reflect popular pedagogies of the decade. But some Oneida teachers employed

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[105] "An Oneida Journal Remarks on Education," *Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 30, (September 4, 1862), 119.
[106] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 5.
[107] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 35; Ackley Noyes, *Days of My Youth*, 94.

more creative methods. Noyes remembered Mr. Wayne's lessons as the most interesting. Wayne used "walking schools" where students walked to an area near the Mansion and he "was able, by anecdote and imaginative suggestion, to interest us in scientific aspects of the things we saw. On those walks we absorbed much information about the birth and the life history of plants and insects and trees and woodchucks and fungi and lichens and even stones."[108] Rather than reading about trees and the outdoors, children experienced it. For Noyes and his classmates, the teacher's innovative technique allowed for an adventure that helped them remember the lessons well into adulthood. This teacher was an exception. Noyes highlighted this memory because it was unique from the rest of the Oneida schooling experience, which was very similar to American common schools. He did not need to describe the other teachers and lessons as his readers would have been familiar with those systems.

As Mr. Wayne demonstrated in the previous Oneida example, teachers played an important role in the lives of students. In American common schools and the four communities, teachers worked as the intermediaries between the educational material and the student. They provided the scholarly material but also maintained order in their classroom, reinforcing acceptable social behaviors. The ideal teacher had been trained in educating children and should "awaken" the children's minds.[109] However,

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[108] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 99.
[109] Richard H. Brodhead, *Culture of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 26.

most teachers received no special training. They also served as proxy parents, providing care and discipline that ideally complemented the children's experience at home. In Mormon, Shaker, Oneida, and Berea communities, teachers played this role, often in challenging circumstances.

Early school teachers in Utah varied in their efforts to keep up with educational practices in the northeastern U.S. Even in the 1860s and 1870s the schools remained informal outside of Provo and Salt Lake City. Louisa Lula Greene, who taught in the 1860s, knew how to teach math and the alphabet but she felt unprepared for classroom management and curriculum. She wrote in her diary of her desire to be good teacher but expressed her unease; "I feel that I am not competent as yet to do justice in this respect and so [I] am not satisfied with what I do."[110] Annie Tanner was only sixteen when she took over her first classroom. She had only began taking classes at the University of Utah when she was just fifteen years old. This, along with her experience helping to lead Sunday School, was deemed sufficient experience to take over a classroom.[111] Throughout the nineteenth century, most American female teachers were adolescents with little to no experience in managing a classroom. This was especially true in rural parts of the United States, where the schools relied on volunteers or only paid their teachers a meager salary. For many young women, teaching provided a transition from their own formal education to

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[110] Louisa Lula Greene journal May 7, 1867 LDS Church Archives; Bushman, *Mormon Sisters*, 73-74.
[111] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 39, 42.

marriage.[112] This was also accurate for Tanner who had decided to teach when taking class with her favorite childhood teacher, Miss Beeby, who she "loved dearly." Tanner wrote of how she "observed carefully the methods and mannerisms of teachers" like Miss Beeby to employ when she became a teacher.[113] Tanner recalled appreciation from her students after a successful term. She wrote in her diary on March 5, 1887, "We had a party, and the next morning much honor was shown me by the pupils in their affectionate farewells."[114] Even though the position was temporary, Tanner took great pride in it. The children's affection reflected their appreciation of her teaching skills.

The role of a teacher was quite important in the Shaker system. Lucy Wright described a good teacher as someone who "would have us understand that those who enjoin it upon us to fear God, and be watchful, prayerful, truthful, obedient to good instruction, and to be just and honest, are our friends, to whom we should look with respect and confidence, whose instructions we should ponder and regard."[115] Shakers aimed for a loving relationship between student and teacher. Seth Wells wrote, "if scholars cannot love their teachers, they will not love their school and consequently are in no situation to learn much by their instruction."[116] Teachers, like caretakers, served as role models to the children of upstanding Shaker members. Their

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[112] Cremin, *American Education*, 397-398; Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 20.
[113] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 31-33.
[114] Excerpt from Tanner's diary entry in Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 98.
[115] Wright, *Gentle Manners*, 3.
[116] Wells, "School Instruction," (New Lebanon, NY, 1844), WRHS VII A 14.

responsibility was not just to educate children in a variety of subjects but what it meant to be a good member of the community. Teachers had to do this while managing a large number of students. The teachers at the Enfield Shaker Community had classes as large as forty students and in 1844 asked to divide the students into two schools.[117] The teachers struggled to both impart the lessons and the large number of students.

Shakers found it difficult to find and keep good teachers, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century as their population dropped. In 1872, the New Lebanon community did not have enough members to "spare one [man] for a teacher" and in a controversial move appointed Sister Emma Jane Neale to take over the boys school.[118] While Shakers expressly forbid the mixing of genders, there does seem to be some discretion in this when it came to children. This left the children in schools very similar to American public schools, co-educational and with terms that served harvest seasons. In addition to a female teacher with male students, the Pleasant Hill Shaker Community has photographs of boys and girls together with adult brothers and sisters. While undated, the Pleasant Hill Archive labeled image 3.2 as one of the earliest images of the community's members.[119] The photograph shows Shaker boys and girls alongside adult Shaker men and women. This image reinforces the idea that despite claims to the contrary, Shakers could be lax in their gender separation. Young

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[117] "Journal Recounts Enfield, N.H. School," *Shaker Messenger*, (Spring 1985), 8-9, 23. Photocopy in Pleasant Hill Archives.
[118] Record Book, WRHS V B 143, March 14 - April 18, November 21, 1872.
[119] The Shaker Village at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky was established in 1805.

boys who had been prohibited from spending time with the opposite gender found themselves taught by a female member of the community. Unintentionally, this was one way Shakers were exposed to the opposite sex. This created a dangerous threat to the community as it allowed for the romantic feelings to emerge and could result in children's future abandonment of the community in favor of marriage.[120]

Image 3.2 Centre Family Shakers.
Stereotype View, Undated.
Donnie Harris Collection

Oneida teachers focused on classroom discipline. Teachers used Mutual Criticism as a tool to keep order in the classroom.[121] For the Oneida teacher, "wisely done" criticism was the best option for discipline and punishment. Its use in the classroom gave school the "highest office as regulator and educator of *personal*

[120] See Conclusion, pages 230-232 for discussion for Shaker abandonment due to marriage.
[121] See Chapter 1, pages 67-70 for discussion of Mutual Criticism.

character, as well mental discipline and culture." Oneida leadership argued that the plasticity of children allowed criticism to work in a powerful and "organic way." This also prepared children for the practice of criticism outside of the classroom. Despite these claims, in the event that criticism did not correct the behavior, the teacher brought in the caretakers and community leaders to "bring the power of their discernment and truthfulness to bear."[122] Clearly criticism did not work as well as leadership had hoped since there was a defined plan in the absence of its success. Pierrepont Noyes recalled one teacher as a disciplinarian who "reacted promptly against mischief, deceit, or disobedience." Noyes did not include a description of criticism in his punishment but rather "smart raps with a rule… [that] left many a sore hand."[123] For many teachers, the slow process of criticism did not merit the immediate results of corporeal punishment. Corporeal punishment had another advantage, students could not use it on their teachers. They could, however, give "strict criticism of their teachers."[124] At the end of the examinations, the Oneida *Circular* claimed that students had the opportunity to vocalize their complaints in this setting against their teacher. This idea of students "disciplining" their teachers was unique to Oneida. However, none of the Oneida children described such an event taking place. The community might have encouraged teachers to do this but evidence

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[122] *Mutual Criticism*, (Oneida: Office of the American Socialist, 1876), 90-91.
[123] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 100.
[124] "Oneida Budget: Examination Day," *Circular*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (April 11, 1864), 28.

suggests it did not actually happen. Again, despite efforts and claims otherwise, Oneida students learned in classrooms very similar to their bourgeois counterparts.

When Berea first opened its schools in the late 1850s, the teachers struggled to teach the students. Like many rural common schools, teachers found Berea students "not advanced beyond the very rudiments" and that they had to add to the "best known methods of teaching." To introduce topics to their ill-prepared students, John and Elizabeth Rogers used music combined with prayer and song to open the school day. They filled the rest of the day with attention to various subjects and "relieved the tedium by introducing five-minute respite periods often through the long school day, 'a relief to both teacher and pupil.'"[125] Berea teachers had to be creative in their method, and as demonstrated by the Rogers' teaching style, read the classroom for opportunities for breaks. Elizabeth Rogers explained that they spent no time idling, "we were busy building men and women."[126] She stressed this was important in helping keep discipline unnecessary and the focus on important subjects.

John Fee recognized that the teachers passed their morals and "sentiments" on to their students, "thus becoming a leavening, moulding influence throughout the land."[127] In the first decade, when the school was still small, Berea teachers had close contact with both their students and their families. John and Elizabeth Rogers received many invitations from students' parents to spend the night. Elizabeth Rogers

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[125] Richard D. Sears, *The Day of Small Things: Abolitionism in the Midst of Slavery. Berea, Kentucky, 1854-1865*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), 247; Rogers, Personal History of Berea.
[126] Rogers, Personal History.
[127] Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee*, 184.

recalled a variety of homes from a painter to those of "lowlier cabins." She commented that in some homes "we were waited on by obsequious slaves, and in others the mothers prepared our bounteous meals."[128] The wide range of families reflects the diverse student body but also the closeness between teachers and families. This also demonstrates why teachers played such a large role in the life of a child. Not only did a child spend time with their him/her in the classroom but could also find the teacher in his/her home potentially sharing the child's schoolroom behavior with the parents.

The similarities between the communities' schools and American public schools outweighed their differences. Each of these communities had unique aspects related to their values, such as integration at Berea. However, Mormons, Oneida Perfectionists, Bereans, and Shakers borrowed heavily from bourgeois pedagogies and curriculum, they often used the exact same textbooks. Leading up to and following the Civil War, more and more women occupied the role of teacher. This was also true in Berea, the Mormon territory, Oneida, and the Shaker communities. The purpose of schooling in both common schools and these communities were the same: to teach academic subjects while also instructing the youth on their social and civil responsibilities.

Each community took pride in the progress their students' made. In an 1866 letter, Willard Wheeler wrote that children in Berea in a period six months had gone

[128] Rogers, Personal History.

from “scarcely” being able to read to learning arithmetic, writing, and completing their second readers. The success of the school, he continued, had inspired twenty-six families to move to Berea to send their children to its schools.[129] And with this success in scholarship, community children learned the skills that helped them in their respective communities but also in the outside world. The schooling of these communities’ children was better at preparing their children for a life with rural and bourgeois Americans than in securing the future of each community.

[129] Willard W. Wheeler Letter to George Whipple dated November 22, 1866.

Chapter 4

"The Serious Business" of Play and Work

Nineteenth-century Americans held high the importance of children's play both for recreation and training for adulthood. Play allowed a space for children to exude energy and use their imagination. The focus on play also reflected a general shift in American society; leisure time grew for the middle class in the second half of the nineteenth century. By the end of the century, bourgeois homes had spaces especially reserved for family entertainment in the parlor and children's play in the nursery.[1] But play also was tied to labor. Play either allowed children to imagine and learn skills later transferred to work or provide a release from labor. All four communities placed a high value on children's labor. Without such labor, none of the communities could have succeeded. Unintentionally, this is the space where the communities actually best prepared their children for American society. Even as children's innocence and play became more valued after the Civil War, children's labor was invaluable to rural and industrial economies both for the communities and American society. While arranging for their own community, Mormons, Bereans, Oneida Perfectionists, and Shakers also prepared children for the larger American society. Each child became an adult with a valuable skill set and many of these

[1] Gary Cross, "Play, Games, and Toys," in *The Routledge History of Childhood* edited by Paula S. Fass, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 271-272, 270.

children chose to bring these skills outside of their community or reworked their communities to look like within the United States.

In the United States, labor was a regular routine of a child's life. Parents expected each child to contribute to the household economy through labor appropriate to their age and gender. However, children's labor was not limited to the household. As industry grew in the nation in the antebellum period, so did the use of child labor outside the farm. Children labored in factories from young ages, beginning in the early nineteenth century. Children tended to millwork that was usually not dangerous or difficult, merely mundane. Children had to manage simple, synchronized tasks with machines twelve hours a day.[2] These children, however, incorporated play into their day to provide respite from the boring and tedious hours. Whenever there was a free moment in their day, working children sought entertainment and freedom. They looked for games in the everyday landscape of their community. In his book on the famous nineteenth-century jumper, Sam Patch, Paul E. Johnson describes how working children in Pawtucket, Rhode Island played along the water and streams. They jumped from bridges into the water, each trying to out do the last and impress their friends.[3]

While play prepared children for their work responsibilities, it also served its own unique purposes. Toys were uncommon in the antebellum period and the idea of

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[2] Paul E. Johnson, *Sam Patch: the Famous Jumper*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 31.
[3] Ibid., 39.

play was meant largely to provide children with an opportunity to prepare for adulthood.[4] Children played with toys more as nineteenth-century manufacturers began to produce dolls, rocking horses, miniature furniture and dishes, and other playthings.[5] The American bourgeois focused on the importance of play as the concept of an innocent and priceless childhood developed in the latter decades of the century. But most play was organic and spontaneous like that of Sam Patch and his friends. Many children used play as an opportunity to escape responsibility and experience freedom. This was not unique to bourgeois or farm families but part of childhood in the United States, including in the communities of Mormons, Shakers, Oneida, and Berea.

In each of the four communities, play often mimicked what children saw adults do, preparing them for adults roles. However, at times children's play would also imitate behaviors from the outside world rejected by the communities. The communities also managed play very differently. Both Oneida and the Shakers wrote extensively on play, both defining its role and approved activities. In the Mormon publication, *The Juvenile Instructor,* children learned that play is an important part of their life. To have no play at all, it explained, would result in "dull, stupid, sleepy

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[4] Mary Lynn Steven Heininger, "Children, Childhood, and Change in America, 1820-1920," in Mary Lynn Stevens Heininger et al. eds. *A Century of Childhood, 1820-1920*, (Rochester: The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984), 6.

[5] Judith A. Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," Master's Thesis, (Ames, IA: Iowa State University, 1996) 18; Gary Cross, "Play, Games, and Toys," 269-270; Daniel Thomas Cook, "Children as Consumers: History and Historiography," in *The Routledge History of Childhood* edited by Paula S. Fass, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 288; Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004), 136.

children indeed."[6] However, as in farming and bourgeois American culture, Mormons and the other communities also recognized that while play was important it should not supersede or interfere with schooling and household chores and hired out work. By playing all the time, the article continues, a child would "displease God by wasting their time and neglecting their opportunities."[7] Only when play was reserved for a portion of the day and did not interfere from these other activities was it valuable to the child and to the community as a whole.

For the communities, play varied from the indoors to the outdoors and children found opportunities to play regardless of their location. Mormon children played simple games to pass the time inside. A favorite pastime was "Guess What I See" in which each child tried to guess what the leader focused on in the room. Puzzles were another favorite ways for children to entertain themselves, using letters to apply lessons in school.[8] In particular, Oneida paid close attention to the children's inside play. The daily routine include a Children's Hour, when children played and performed. Such indoor play happened year round. Games gave children a sense of freedom and entertainment. Pierrepont Noyes recalled playing all sorts of games, both indoors and outdoors. He described such games, Escape, I Spy, King's Castle, and One Old Cat, that the Oneida children played between school and supper. Noyes described that play and leisure was the "serious business of [a child's] life."[9] At times

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[6] G.R. "Work and Play," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 3, No. 13 (July 1, 1868), 100.
[7] Ibid., 101.
[8] "Children's Games," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 3, No. 14 (July 15, 1868), 108
[9] Pierrepont Noyes, *My Father's House: An Oneida Boyhood*, (London: Butler & Tanner, Ltd., 1937), 51.

this play was simply all the children "turned loose" romping and playing throughout the house and exploring their surroundings, "only slightly modified by the interference of 'grown folks.'"[10] Freedom and independence developed during this time. Play provided children an opportunity to escape the scrutiny of adult supervision. They used this time to make sense of their world from anthropomorphizing objects to coming to terms with death.[11] Corinna Ackley Noyes also remembered running through the mansion. She described the rooms and hallways as the perfect location for Hide and Seek but that the boiler room in particular provided great entertainment, watching the Boilerman, "Mr. Boillerman [sic] Smith" feed the furnace coal and wood. This both frightened the children and brought to life stories of fires and demons, allowing their "faith in miracles [to become] firm and comforting."[12] The children used their imagination as a way to work out their real world fears in a safe environment. Simple play and games could have powerful affects on these children, making the afterlife real and the present life that more important.

Toys played an important role in the Oneida Children's Department. Toys of all kinds could be found there, including blocks, rocking horses, marbles, and "children fairies," whittled wooden dolls based on the stories from Grimm's Fairy

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[10] Ibid. 35.
[11] See Chapter 1, pages 71-73 for discussion of Ackley Noyes's description of Oneida children dealing with the death of another child.
[12] Corinna Ackley Noyes, *The Days of My Youth: A Childhood Memoir of Life in the Oneida Community*, (Kenwood, NY: The Oneida Mansion House, 1960, 1992. Reprint Clinton, NY: Richard W. Couper Press, 2011), 112.

Tales.[13] Oneida even built a playhouse to store the toys. Such objects were common in post-Civil War America.[14] Toys often were miniature versions of adult objects, but fantasy had crept into play, reflected in Oneida with the references from Grimm's Fairy Tales.[15] Older children used the popular "carpenter's bench," where the boys made their own toys.[16] Oneida children mirrored rural and bourgeois American children who often made their own toys or repurposed household items such as clothespins, wheel rims, or extra pieces of cloth as playthings when manufactured toys were not readily available.[17] Upon learning that the children grew bored of the same set of toys in a few days time, the caretakers placed the toys in a set of rotation, changing each set after a few days. The children put their toys all away, "with the expectation of new ones tomorrow."[18] The community tried to prevent the children from coveting material goods, using the toy rotation to keep the toys fresh and new.

Oneida children favored certain toys above other playthings. One of the most cherished of the toys was "the great rocking horse… Shocky." The toy was three feet tall and four feet long, with real horsehide and hazel eyes. Corinna Ackley Noyes remembered "how he bounced!" that gave the children a feeling of "pure joy."[19] Rocking horses had become common in bourgeois households after the Civil War.[20]

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[13] "Community Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 1, No. 49, (December 1, 1873), 365; Ackley Noyes, *Days of My Youth*, 82; Noyes, *My Father's House*, 23, 50-51.
[14] Howard P. Chudacoff, *Children at Play: An American History*, (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 54, 82, 83-84.
[15] Cook, "Children as Consumers," 288; Cross, "Play, Games, and Toys," 269-270.
[16] "Community Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 1, No. 49, (December 1, 1873), 365.
[17] Cross, "Play, Games, and Toys," 269-270.
[18] *Daily Journal*, November 5, 1866 in Robertson Noyes, *Oneida Community*, 321.
[19] Ackley Noyes, *Days of My Youth*, 82.
[20] Cross, "Play, Games, and Toys," 269-270.

Oneida children unknowingly adopted the same play habits of their non-communal counterparts. Wooden blocks taught some basic education, but former Oneida children did not associate their toys with learning skills of labor, morality, or education. Instead children remembered these objects only with joy and innocence. They served as a way to occupy their time between school time and chores. Oneida most closely paralleled bourgeois America with its adoption of toys. No other community in this study discussed toys to such a detailed degree nor did their children factor toys so strongly into their memories.[21]

Other forms of entertainment and play both helped to pass time and theoretically reinforced community beliefs and identity. One of the most common forms of entertainment and leisure was reading. Stories and books could reaffirm community values. Corinna Ackley Noyes explained that "in those days illustrated books were too rare to let little tots look at them by themselves."[22] Therefore, the community made their own picture books with pictures from illustrated magazines such as *Harper's* or *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, bound together with cardboard covers. This allowed the children's caretakers to carefully choose the types of images the children viewed and what they learned from these books.[23] By creating their own picture books, Oneida adults highlighted their own values and downplayed worldly books and images that might have elevated the family over the group. Harriet

[21] The Oneida community likely had more toys than the other communities. Many Mormon and Berean families lacked the additional resources to purchase more than a few toys and Shakers did not purchase toys. See pages 189-190 for discussion of Shaker homemade toys.
[22] Illustrated books were costly, it wasn't until the 1890s that technology reduced the cost of printing illustrations.
[23] Ackley Noyes, *Days of My Youth*, 82.

Worden recalled "pouring over novels" both alone and in a group. Part of the entertainment was not just the story itself but providing a criticism of the "plot, style, or perhaps of an erroneous sentiment expressed, so that the reading proved to be of benefit to the young in learning discriminate right principles from wrong."[24] In some sense, Oneida children applied the practice of mutual criticism to their reading.[25] Reading was not simply a passive activity but rather one that was active and allowed the child to apply values. The children then could apply their own lessons of criticism and morality to their readings. This allowed the children to apply of the Oneida moral system to a subject outside of the community. Reading was also a regular part of bourgeois children's entertainment outside of Oneida. After the Civil War, children's literature grew. Beginning in the late 1870s, the number of children-aimed publications and periodicals also grew following the Civil War. Such literature aimed toward boys and teaching bravery and expanding the nation's power through war.[26] This grew in the following decades as the children of the fallen soldiers sought to memorialize the loss of their fathers using Victorian and romantic themes.[27] Oneida's reliance on literature, similar to bourgeois American childhoods, allowed for a smooth

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[24] Harriet M. Worden, *Old Mansion House Memories: By One Brought Upon It*, (Oneida, NY: Kenwood, 1950), 54.
[25] See Chapter 1, pages 67-70 for discussion of Mutual Criticism.
[26] Peter N. Stearns, "Childhood Emotions in Modern Western History," in *The Routledge History of Childhood* edited by Paula S. Fass, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 165.
[27] Chudacoff, *Children at Play*, 76. Alice Fahs, "Remembering the Civil War in Children's Literature of the 1880s and 1890s," in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* edited by Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

transition from the community to the outside world by the late 1870s, when the community came to its end.

Performing was another favorite pastime for Oneida children. Dancing, singing, and acting were all part of the Oneida childhood. They practiced and performed their routine during the Children's Hour, a daily period of time that opened the children's department to the rest of the community. Pierrepont Noyes remembered being very interested in the dances when he was a young child and before he joined in the fun.[28] Harriet Worden recalled that dancing was a popular amusement, especially in the early decades of the community. Later, she recalled that dancing subsided, not because they did not enjoy it any longer but because they loved other things more.[29] In addition to dancing, the children often sang, another shared pastime with adults. Ranging in ages two to ten, children sang songs for the rest of the community that "brought down the house." The children learned some spiritual hymns but more common were "well known" songs such as "One Finger, One Thumb Keep Moving" and a musical version of the Mother Goose story of the woman who lived in a shoe.[30] These were popular American songs and stories and Oneida youth unconsciously learned U.S. values as they performed. As the children remained physically separated from the world in the Oneida mansion, they continued to learn its culture. Worldly

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[28] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 138-39.
[29] Worden, *Old Mansion House Memories*, 57.
[30] *Circular*, March 12, 1864 in Robertson Noyes, *Oneida Community*, 200.

stories and fairy tales were part of Oneida children's daily life, allowing them to share cultural markers and meanings with their non-Oneida contemporaries.

Image 4.1: Oneida Children's Hour
John B. Ellis
Free Love and Its Votaries: or, Socialism Unmasked (New York: United States Publishing Co., 1870).
Syracuse University Library
Oneida Community Collection

The children acted out these stories as well. Stories were not something simply passively read or heard but rather lived. Such performance is recreated in John B. Ellis's 1870 illustration (image 4.1). Though Ellis's illustrations of Oneida tended to portray the community in negative connotations, this particular drawing instead shows the community coming together in festive spirits that might have been familiar to Victorian readers and audiences. Despite the entire community's participation, either as performers or audience members, such activities were reserved for the Upper Sitting Room, an informal area usually used by the children. This kept the tone light, not weighted down by the space of the formal Meeting Hall that adults used for meetings and entertainment.[31] This, again, was similar to the American

[31] Robert S. Fogarty, ed. *Special Love/Special Sex: An Oneida Community Diary*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 35.

bourgeois after the Civil War. American homes reserved space, often on a second floor, for children's play and kept it distinct from the rest of the family's daily lives. The downstairs parlor remained a space for the entire family to enjoy but free from children's toys and activities.[32]

While indoor play was common, children of all four communities enjoyed being outdoors the most where they had less adult supervision and more freedom. Both the landscaped property and the surrounding woods provided children an opportunity to create their own worlds and live in their imaginations. Where indoor play was often restricted to games, books, and a limited number of toys, outdoor play stretched far and wide. Children organized some of their play into particular games while much of it was informal and often fit into free moments of their day. Games, like in bourgeois and rural American life, allowed children to test each other's courage and loyalty.[33] And again, similar to other American children, community children played games to stress their own individuality and personal strengths through competition and often away from adult supervision.[34] This was true, despite, efforts by all four groups to focus on shared communal values and identities. Annie Tanner, who grew up in a polygamous Mormon household, recalled that the outside was full of entertainment for her and her siblings. She described multiple memories that represent the sentiments of Mormon children and the outdoors. Of her "Aunt" Mary's

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[32] Cross. "Play, Games, and Toys," 271-272.
[33] Ibid., 269-270.
[34] Melanie Dawson, *Laboring to Play: Home Entertainment and the Spectacle of Middle-Class Cultural Life, 1850-1920*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005), 57.

backyard, she wrote that there was a big swing for the children and their pet dog, along with games with her siblings.[35] The yard had ample space to play with the entire family who made up Tanner's entire social world as a young child. Tanner continued to describe favorite outdoor games that she played with her sister, Sarah, including hopscotch, cat, and jacks.[36] She continued to explain that most of these games were played during breaks at school because at home, as the older daughter of the second family, "there was little time for play."[37] Play, however fondly remembered, always remained a lower priority than household chores and labor.

Former Shaker and Oneida children left vast descriptions of outdoor play, similar to their non-communal counterparts. Unlike the Oneida children, who were free to play whenever not in class or completing chores. Shaker children had little time for recreation. Like Shaker adults they were allowed only limited time to "indulge in frivolous pursuits."[38] However, the children did find opportunities to play, even when they had to so in secret. A favorite pastime of Shaker children was to create boat races with simple sticks floating down a stream near and through the community. Shaker children had few toys and used their imagination to turn simple objects, such as sticks, into their toys. These "boat" races reveal that these children

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[35] Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography* edited by Everett L. Cooley, Brigham D. Madsen, and S. Lyman Tyler, (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1969), 8. See Chapter 2 for discussion of "aunt" as plural wife.
[36] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 34.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Elva Adams, *Shaker Education*, (Lebanon, OH: Warren County Historical Society Museum, 1974), n.p.

still developed the spirit of competition even though it went against Shaker values but did not face repercussions for it since it largely happened outside of adult supervision.

Competitive games were a common aspect of outdoor play across the communities. In particular, many children noted the popular game of croquet. The interest in croquet by these communities reflects a national trend in the late nineteenth century.[39] Annie Tanner, a Mormon child, described her memories of croquet. The family brought out the croquet set and she "played a game or two with one of my brothers." However, when the brothers had to leave for work, "the balls and mallets were carefully gathered up and taken into the house! I did not murmur for they belonged to the first family."[40] Tanner's memory of playing croquet might mirror other American children in the late nineteenth century. However, the toys and game equipment belonged to the first family, not the entire family. Second and third families were at the will of the first family when and if they played the game at all. Tanner demonstrated that it was not to be questioned, and she never recalled making a complaint about it.

Oneida children often played croquet as well. Victor Hawley, a caretaker in the last decade of the Oneida community, wrote in journal that the boys made their own mallets and game tools, getting ready for the following day.[41] Jessie Kinsley also

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[39] See David Park Curry, "Winslow Homer and Croquet," *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. 126, (July 1984): 154-162.
[40] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 8.
[41] Victor Hawley, Wednesday, September 5, 1877 entry, reprinted in Fogarty, *Special Love/Special Sex*, 197.

recalled croquet as a favorite activity of the Oneida community.[42] Image 4.2 is a photograph of the children playing on the game on the community lawn. In the photograph both adults and children play the game together, with others watching on the side. The girls and women wear the Oneida uniform of bloomers and short dresses.[43] In 1874, the community laid a new croquet ground specifically for the children. Excited for the new grounds, the older children helped to construct it, beginning each day "at five o'clock in the morning to work with their shovels and wheelbarrows." Once the construction was complete, children consistently flocked to the site; "happy groups of children may be seen most any hour of the day (except in school and box-bee time) with their mallets and balls, each one doing his best to make the round and get home to his stake before

Image 4.2
"Croquet on the South Lawn"
ca. 1865-1870
From *William A. Hinds Album* (1906) held by Oneida Community Mansion House, Inc.
Syracuse University Library
Oneida Community Collection

[42] Jessie Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring: Jessie Catherine Kinsley, Daughter of the Oneida Community* edited by Jane Kinsley Rich and Nelson M. Blake, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 5.
[43] See Chapter 2, pages 84-85 for discussion of Oneida and gender. In a *Circular* article dated February 15, 1855 the author described the unique dress of Oneida women to "get rid of effeminacy."

the rest."[44] Despite communal goals, Oneida clearly fostered a competitive spirit. Children learned not to dwell on a loss but instead focus on the next game or activity.

Other activities for Oneida children included this competitive attribute. Oneida encouraged children to challenge themselves.[45] The focus was on individual contributions to the community and unique perfections of each member in the same way that American bourgeois prized individualism. Pierrepont Noyes described a series of races and "tests" of strength and endurance that he and his friends participated in together. One favorite activity was the "flapjack," when a boy hung from a wooden bar by the "back-crook of his arms" and then swung himself over, ending upright in a seated position. He described his pride in succeeding as "a great day - like passing a difficult examination."[46] Noyes and other boys saw completion of flap jack as a rite of passage; they had demonstrated that they could play with the older boys. The competitive spirit remained strong and again reflected the same drive of rural and bourgeois American children playing games.[47] During the summer months, Oneida children played a variety of games also popular with their non-community contemporaries including swinging, rolling hoops, and swimming races. Games included hide-and-seek and baseball. Oneida provided the children with endless opportunities to play outdoors. They built swings, a "royal teeter, with

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[44] "Community Journal Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 41 (October 5, 1874), 325.
[45] *Hand-book of the Oneida Community: With a Sketch of its Founder and an Outline of its Constitution and Doctrines,*(Wallingford: Office of the Circular, 1867, 1871), 23.
[46] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 93.
[47] Cross, "Play, Games, and Toys," 269-270; Dawson, *Laboring to Play*, 57.

cushions both ends and a box in the middle for the juveniles," a Maypole and a "latticed arbor wonderfully adapted for children's climbing."[48] Oneida stressed the value of enjoying life. Joy and frivolity was part of the children used their imagination to explore their world and compete against each other.

This play also provided children with ample freedom. Pierrepont Noyes explained that part of the appeal of outdoor play was "its distance from the home grounds and oversight."[49] Like so many American children, those in Oneida wanted freedom and independence. They sought the opportunity to explore the world without adult supervision or direction. Play constituted a space where children exercise a particular in testing community limits. In this unsupervised time, children demonstrated connections to the broader American culture. Away from the adults, children crafted their own identities. Using objects from bourgeois life, such as swings or a Maypole, they combined communal values with non-communal ones. This slowly moved them away from the idealized identity of the community created by their caretakers and toward a new one altogether.

Outdoor play was not restricted to summer and spring. Oneida children played outdoors year round, only kept inside by a heavy storm of rain or snow. Playing in the snow was a favored pastime. The children, of all ages, each took a sled and "muffled in caps, thick sacks, over-socks, and mittens" took to sliding down the hills, a chief

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[48] Ackley Noyes, *Days of My Youth*, 99; Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 5; "An Oneida Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 7, No. 29 (August 12, 1858), 115; "An Oneida Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (April 6, 1868), 20; Noyes, *My Father's House*, 52.
[49] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 52.

sport. The children seemed to never tire of it, "many of them will stay out for an hour or two without asking permission to go indoors to warm."[50] Again this demonstrates Oneida children's participation in competition and individualism, similar to how non-communal children played in the United States. He also detailed innovations on the sleds, bending the community rules. While the children "were forbidden to slide on the fast track," they found other entertainment. Noyes wrote, "we sought excitement by hitching together a string of sleds, which usually ended in a grand smash at the bottom of the hill." Other children then "were attracted to the fun and ran over to join us."[51] Such activities allowed children the opportunity to explore the outside world while also relieving any restlessness from being contained indoors during the winter months.

While boys and girls engaged in similar play, certain activities were connected to gender. Playing with dolls for girls or adventure games for boys provided children an opportunity to explore and learn gender roles. Additionally, gendered play was often how children learned the skills to be used as adults. In middle-class American families, adults expected their daughters to learn how to express love and grief, while restraining anger through their play. Alternatively, parents wanted to their sons to restrain anger but not lose the capacity to feel it as it "would serve them later in life as manly crusaders against injustice or as competitive businessmen."[52] Therefore boys

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[50] "Community Journal: Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 52 (December 21, 1874), 416.
[51] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 56.
[52] Peter N. Stearns,"Childhood Emotions in Modern Western History," 165.

received encouragement to play competitive games and sports, while girls' play focused the domestic, especially through dolls. The communities also demonstrated such gendered play, although the Shakers and Oneida Perfectionists struggled with the presence of dolls.

Mormon boys replicated adult responsibilities and professions in their play. They especially enjoyed trains. Annie Tanner remembered that her son Myron "always seemed to have such a fascination for" the railroad. As a young boy, he drew engines to share with his family. He described all the different kinds of train engines and for a treat she would take him to the depot to watch when the trains passed.[53] Like other young boys, Myron Tanner, took on the role of train conductor and engineer, imagining the responsibilities he would take on as a grown man. The role of trains in late nineteenth-century Utah was an important one as they connected the rest of the country to the West and territories. Working in this profession would have been financially rewarding and likely his parents would have fostered such a goal.[54]

When Mormon boys grew older, they often grew competitive and at times harsh toward one another. Children's literature such as *The Juvenile Instructor* encouraged boys to be thoughtful in their play, stressing Mormon values of community. In an 1866 issue, *The Juvenile Instructor* told the story of a boys' competition of rock jumping. One boy hurt his ankle and when he could no longer

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[53] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 201-202.
[54] Mormon families typically aimed for bourgeois jobs, not working class positions such as a train conductor. However, in the Underground, they encouraged their sons to take occupations that would add to the family's resources and such a position was an attainable option.

play, he cried bitterly "because he could not do as the other boys were doing." But even in such competition, the *Instructor* found an opportunity to teach its readers how to behave when, with the approval of his playmates, one of the other boys jumped in his "stead" earning "credit" for the hurt boy. The game was a dangerous one, "and the boys should not have been playing there at all, for their parents would not have given them leave if they had known." While danger was warned, the main moral of the story that the boy who served as proxy jumper became fast friends with the hurt boy for life. The article concluded that first boys should try to play without causing injury to themselves or others, but more important was to always be kind. Competition with ill will and spirit, the article explained, "is displeasing to our Father in heaven, and to all good people on the earth." Boys who partake in this "will make misery for them[selves] and bring disgrace upon them in after years."[55] The need to retell such a story and to stress the repercussions of "bad" play demonstrates that such activity was probably commonplace. Mormon leaders felt the need to stress the importance of good behavior, even in their play. Despite Mormon efforts to suppress it, competition remained a constant in Mormon play.

Mormon daughters' play, like that of the bourgeois and farm Americans, largely aimed to provide practice for their future roles as mothers. Even outdoor activities focused on motherly duties. A favored entertainment was watching animals

[55] "Boys at Play," *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 1, No. 22 (November 15, 1866), 87.

tending to their families, such as "swallows making nests."[56] Focusing on the maternal aspects of the natural world was not unique to Mormon daughters; they shared this with other American girls whose play focused on the domestic and importance of motherhood.[57] Mormon girls had free time to play, playing "quite a bit." And they remembered it with fondness, "it was just ideal!…I have delightful memories of my childhood."[58] Those girls who did not enjoy "girls" activities of dolls and playing house and preferred outside adventures such as the "joy of the swimming hole" in summer or sleigh rides in the winter claimed themselves to be "tom-boys."[59] Labeling oneself a tom-boy indicates that Mormon girls, like their counterparts in other parts of the United States "understood gender differences" and that engaging in masculine outdoor activities did not properly reflect their femininity.[60] While Mormons had stressed women's opportunity in their territory, Annie Tanner's memories reveal that women were unequal to men. Like in the rest of American society, a gender hierarchy prevailed and women were subservient to men. And like bourgeois and rural American girls, Mormon girls learned this as they transition into their adolescence. The importance of motherhood always remained a priority. There

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[56] Dorothy Geneva Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, (Logan, UT: Utah State University, 1983), 43.
[57] Stearns, "Childhood Emotions in Modern Western History," 165; Gillian Brown, "Child's Play," in *The American Child: A Cultural Studies Reader* edited by Caroline F. Levander and Carol J. Singley, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 27; Melanie Dawson, "The Miniaturizing of Girlhood," in *The American Child*, 68; Chudacoff, *Children at Play*, 63.
[58] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 43.
[59] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 34, 35; Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 43.
[60] Chudacoff, *Children at Play*, 88.

was no real difference between them and nineteenth-century bourgeois and rural girls who equated female with mother.[61]

One of the most common toys for nineteenth-century girls was the doll. Before the Civil War, there were few manufactured dolls in the U.S. In the antebellum period homemade dolls made from corn-cob, clothing scraps, and left off broom strands served the same purpose.[62] These toys acted as training for the woman's role in providing for the household such as practicing sewing skills on the doll's clothing. However, antebellum parents tried to keep their children from forming an emotional attachment that could confuse them with their own feelings toward actual family members. Parents wanted their daughters to see the dolls less as their own babies and more as practical tools.[63] Mormon and Berea girls played with dolls with their parents' expectation reflecting that of bourgeois and rural Americans. However, the Oneida and Shaker communities struggled with those toys. Considering their rejection of assigning women to become mothers, it is not surprising that neither community embraced girls playing with dolls as this was a way for them to practice motherhood. And yet, in both communities the girls sought out such toys and eventually both communities allowed for them.

Oneida originally allowed for dolls but in the early 1850s removed them. The Oneida Community periodical, *Circular*, recalled when the toys were "banished from

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[61] See Chapter 2, pages 91-92 for discussion of women as mothers.
[62] Miriam Formanek-Brunell, "The Politics of Dollhood in Nineteenth-Century America" in *The Children's Culture Reader* edited by Henry Jenkins, (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 363, 365.
[63] Ibid., 363, 365.

the playroom." Oneida leaders called the toy an idol of little girls, and in 1851 caretakers Sarah Burt, Mary Prindle, and Mrs. Cragin formed a committee to draw conclusions on the danger of dolls. Sarah Burt claimed that dolls "seduce" the little girls and distract them from all other parts of the community. She claimed that it was a form of philoprogenitiveness.[64] The women's committee concluded that dolls tempt the girls in "the same spirit that seduces women to allow themselves to be so taken up with their children that they have no time to attend to Christ, and get an education for heaven." The committee then voted the "dolls out of the community forever." And the little girls, "after a few struggles, were ready to make the sacrifice of their idols."[65] The Oneida community did not simply remove the dolls from their daughters but had the girls participate in the toys' destruction. Harriet Worden, an Oneida daughter, remembered that at the time each of the girls carried her favorite doll and formed a circle around the large stove, "as we came opposite the stove-door, we threw our dolls into the angry-looking flames and saw them perish before our eyes. We were all hearty and even enthusiastic in making the sacrifice… But the work was effectual; from that time to the present (over twenty years), dolls have never been brought into our nursery." Worden wrote about this decades after the event and concluded that it was successful in ending her attachment to the toy. But to throw an object that the seven-year-old girl had treated almost like a member of her family into the fire was quite difficult. It was so traumatic that Worden remembered that it took "some time

[64] See Chapter 2, pages 83-84 for a discussion of philoprogenitiveness.
[65] "Community Journal: Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 11, No. 43 (October 19, 1874), 341.

before we could think of this wholesale slaughter without slight emotion."[66] Her description of the event as a slaughter is telling; the dolls' destruction was violent and painful. This action clearly impacted the young generation as they did not request to bring the dolls back and it was not for another two decades that the toys would be seen again in the community.

Despite the anti-doll fervor, by the end of the 1870s, on the eve of the community's demise, dolls reentered the Children's Department. This signaled the pervasiveness of the world in the final decade of the community. At some point in the 1870s, "an interested visitor" gifted dolls to the Oneida children. Corinna Ackley Noyes described how the dolls were not an everyday play thing but instead reserved for special occasions. A caretaker brought down the dolls from their home on top of the bookshelf on periods of "mounting restlessness" or as "a special treat." The dolls became a reward and the girls looked forward to time with them. Ackley Noyes described them with attention and love, calling them a delight. She described the dolls' careful dress, "a large hoop skirt of white statin which nicely covered the music box and machinery. This was topped by a low-necked pink satin bodice, and her exquisite bisque head was crowned with an elaborate coiffure of blonde curls."[67] Even the dolls' clothing opposed the culture and ideals of the community. Oneida praised androgynous dress, with women wearing bloomer pants, shorter skirts, and

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[66] Worden, *Old Mansion House Memories*, 80.
[67] Ackley Noyes, *Days of My Youth*, 83-84.

short hair so as not to be caught up with the visual American culture.[68] But the dolls were beautifully dressed with a slightly old fashion style and carefully styled hair. Oneida girls like Ackley Noyes treasured their time with these ornate toys, caring for them like babies and demonstrating a strong portrayal of love that was also found in the homes of bourgeois American daughters.[69] Playing with dolls rejected Oneida's stand against the modern family and woman's roles as mothers and wives.

Shakers also struggled with dolls in their communities. In the late nineteenth-century children's book, *Susanna and Sue*, the author Kate Douglas Wiggin writes of a mother and daughter who joined the Shaker community. Sister Martha take Sue's toys from her and explains to her mother that while the girl meant no harm, "we can't let our Shaker children play that way and get wrong idea into their heads at the beginning."[70] The wrong ideas included playing house and pretending to be a mother to her doll. Shakers wished to strip this role from the minds of little girls who remembered their pre-Shaker life. Sixty years earlier in the 1830s, [Catherine Ann Slater?] had brought with her dolls and toys "from 'the world.'" After her aunt left, she clung to her sister and dolls "bereft of comfort."[71] The dolls had been a familiar item, but [Slater?] could not keep them as the Shaker sisters had removed her worldly belongings once she was part of the community. The Shakers taught her that to

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[68] See Image 4.2 for example of the Oneida dress.
[69] Formanek-Brunell, "The Politics of Dollhood," 371.
[70] Kate Douglas Wiggin, *Susanna and Sue*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909) 49.
[71] [Catherine Ann Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress* edited by Elizabeth D. Shaver (originally published in 1872 in *Galaxy Magazine*, Republished Albany, NY: Shaker Heritage Society, 1989), 7.

become good Shakers she and her sister must renounce "such vanities." She described leaving behind her toy, Dolly, an "inanimate friend and consoler." This abandonment of a cherished toy was to "crush out" the instinctive maternal feeling in little girls. However, [Slater?] continued to play with dolls. She made them using a corn-cob with a bit of muslin and a chestnut-shell cap of its hat, a common practice of antebellum girls. The homemade dolls became the "confident [sic] of my troubles and sharer of my joys; and the little illegitimate was soon as dear to my heart as my waxen-faced, gayly dressed doll had been."[72] Slater played with this "illegal" toy many times as she referenced it often in her memories of growing up with the Watervliet Shaker community. From playing house in a quiet room to playing outdoors, she and her sisters were "contented with our corncobs dolls, clamshell plates, acorn-top cups, and children-coops for baby houses."[73] Shakers' inability to remove the child's desire to play with dolls and to remove all items that could be used as dolls is revealing. Despite their efforts to "crush out" that maternal instinct, at least some Shaker daughters held tight to it. They practiced motherhood in their play even as their community shunned it.[74] The Shaker girls' play connected them to world and prepared them for those adult responsibilities, even as they were the opposite of Shaker goals.

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[72] Ibid., 8.
[73] Ibid., 20.
[74] Miriam Formanek-Brunell has illustrated that not all play with dolls replicated motherhood ("The Politics of Dollhood in Nineteenth-Century America" 1998). However, the memoirs of Shaker girls such as [Slater?] only connect the play with ideas of being a mother.

While play and leisure was a regular part of children's lives, it was secondary to their labor. Games and toys often taught children skills in a fun and relaxed way that would be replicated in their daily chores and duties. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the significance of children's labor outside of the home had grown in the United States. Children provided economic value through household industries, farming chores, or through employment in the rapidly growing factories in urban cities.[75] The nineteenth-century United States used labor and wages to evaluate the "usefulness" of a child.[76] And each of the four communities relied heavily on children's labor to function. From farming to domestic work, Mormons, Oneida Perfectionists, and Shakers all emphasized its importance. This was part of Berea life too, but Bereans also saw activism to advance their cause as an important part of their labor.

Berea prioritized its anti-slavery mission and included children in this work. Like other American parents, Bereans used every opportunity to prepare their children for success as adults. Berea saw their community's children as potential activists and opportunities to spread the abolitionist message.[77] From its earliest days, the community believed that children needed to learn to work and pray, that the values of Christianity and abolitionism must be "interwoven with every nerve and fiber into [a child's] soul" from infancy through youth so that by the time they reach fifteen or

[75] Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 137.
[76] Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 73.
[77] Richard D. Sears, *The Day of Small Things: Abolitionism in the Midst of Slavery, Berea, Kentucky, 1854-1865*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), 106.

sixteen, if not earlier, they can take on the mantel of the community's goal. Bereans, and other Protestant abolitionists, believed that a child was formed by the age of seven.[78] Therefore, all efforts to "train" the child must happen before that young age.

The Children's Anti-Slavery Missionary Association provided a way to put children to work outside of contributing to the household economy. Berea community leaders wrote about this often in the *American Missionary*. They explained that

> children must have their part in this glorious work, and if the enemy and the avenger are to be stilled, must bear the testimony to Christ, as they did in the temple on his triumphal entrance into Jerusalem… as children take pleasure in action, having some definite attractive object before them, we propose to the friends of pure religion and freedom, that they promote and secure, in their several localities, the formation of the Children's Anti-Slavery Missionary Societies, the object of which shall be the promotion of a general interest among the young in missionary Associations, on Christian and anti-slavery principles, and more particularly for the support and extension of our missions in Slave States and their borders…[79]

Children could join a Children's Anti-Slavery Missionary Association to work and advance their cause and in return they received a membership certificate. The certificate (image 4.3) is adorned with images of slavery, both of violence and sale, Native Americans, and children of multiple races studying the bible and attending school. The certificate integrated the different races of America onto the same piece of paper, just as Berea envisioned the United States in a not-too-distance future. At its base are the words "The Lord had called the child," from 1 Samuel 3:8 reminding

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[78] J. Scudder, "Letters from Rev. Dr. Scudder, Addressed to Ministers of the Gospel. Formation of Juvenile Missionary Societies," *American Missionary*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (January 1848), 19.
[79] George Whipple, S.S. Jocelyn, and Lewis Tappen, "Children's Anti-Slavery Missionary Societies: To Parents, Ministers of the Gospel, Superintendents and Teachers of Sabbath Schools, and all Educators of Children and Youth," *American Missionary*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (January 1858), 13.

Image 4.3
Children's Anti-Slavery Missionary Association
Certificate
American Missionary, Vol. 1, No. 2, (February 1858).

children that anti-slavery work was not just for adults but the responsibility of children. Young Bereans joined the society by contributing one cent every week along with attending a monthly meeting to discuss anti-slavery work and participating in an accompanying bible study.[80] Through this membership, the children received instruction to "preach a Gospel that may save men from their sins and secure liberty to the slave." Children learned that slaves were "bought and sold like cattle, and forbidden to read even the Bible" and that these restrictions and treatment reached to the children of the slaves. Finally, the young readers were inspired to do this work to

[80] "Organization of Children's Anti-Slavery Missionary Societies," *American Missionary*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1858), 40.

also save "oppressors."[81] The society gave children a sense of responsibility and moral conviction in the Berean cause.

Like other abolitionists, John and Matilda Fee addressed children directly about the detriments of slavery.[82] John Fee described how slavery hurt the entire country, even the non-slave holders, "Allowing slavery in our government, and admitting slaveholders to Christian Churches, makes the government a tool of the slaveholder, and the church the friend of those who crush both the bodies and souls of the poor and needy." He closed his paragraph by telling his young readers, "you can aid in destroying slavery."[83] Children did not have to sit passively by, lamenting the poor situation of the slave. Instead, they learned that they played a valuable role in the abolitionist cause. Fee both added to a developing idea of children's innocence and the value of their labor that was part of the bourgeois American worldview. Children's innocence meant they could bring their morality to the cause. Matilda Fee, John Fee's wife, also wrote directly to the children readers. She described traveling from Lexington to Richmond with a "mulatto woman" and her children. She learned that the slave family would soon be sold and forever separated. She appealed to the prejudice of nineteenth-century readers, stating how a landlady along the trip mistook the slave children as Matilda's own children. She concluded her appeal by asking if

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[81] George Whipple, S.S. Jocelyn, and Lewis Tappan, "To Children," *American Missionary*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1848), 41.
[82] This fit into a category of children's literature on slavery published by abolitionists beginning in 1837 through the end of the Civil War.
[83] John G. Fee, "Mr. Fee's Letter to Children. Berea, Madison Co., Jan 18, 1858," *American Missionary*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1858), 42.

her young readers would not "love to help sustain a Gospel, that rebukes the barbarous practice of exposing women to sale on the auction block, and sundering the dear relation of parents and children!"[84] This communicated to her readers that slave children could be fair skinned and perhaps also reminded adult readers that slave owners fathered their slaves. This was similar to abolitionist work outside of Berea. In 1856 Henry Ward Beecher used the "tragic mulatto" story of a child who could pass as white when he asked the congregation at Plymouth Church to support the abolitionist causes by presenting them "white-looking girls" who could have a future of slavery.[85] Berea children learned, like evangelical children in the North, that slavery affected everyone. These lessons evangelical and Berean children reminded that they should not assume that just because they are young they can do nothing for the enslaved.[86]

During the Civil War, Berea's activism continued, as did the involvement of children. Like postbellum bourgeois Americans, Bereans created and encouraged their children to join youth organizations similar to those run by adults. John G. Fee's own children worked alongside their parents in their antislavery mission. As young adolescents, both his daughter Laura and his son Burritt taught former slave children at Camp Nelson during the Civil War.[87] Having the children serve at Camp Nelson

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[84] Matilda H. Fee, "A Letter from Mrs. Fee," *American Missionary*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1858), 43.
[85] Mary Naill Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future after Slavery*, (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 81
[86] "Children's Department: Persecution of Missionary," *American Missionary*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March 1858), 67.
[87] Camp Nelson was a slave contraband camp run by the Union in Kentucky during the Civil War.

gave them firsthand knowledge of the slaves' experience as well as teaching experience that they would apply upon their return to the town after the war. Berea prepared its children to act as fellow missionaries, training them for "usefulness" and asking for their contributions.

The final call to children was simply to labor within their own families. John Fee, after sharing the tale of slave mother trying to regain custody of her children pleaded, "Children, will you not ask your parents, when they go to the prayer-meeting, to pray just as they would if their own children were in similar circumstances deprived of their mother… You should also pray for the poor mother, and give and do all you can for those who are oppressed."[88] Children helped their parents run farms and households, just as their Kentucky neighbors did, but they also were expected to work to advance the goals of the community. They served to teach other children, to work in anti-slavery societies, and even to encourage or correct their parents.

Helping run the household economy was a normal part of Mormon children's lives, just like the children who grew up on a farm in other parts of the United States. Samuel Woolley Taylor described the labor his mother, Maria Woolley, performed with her nineteen siblings as a child, organized and managed by her father John W. Woolley. The patriarch explained that he saw childhood as preparation for life and organized work on his ranch on that basis. The sisters rotated their work, taking "care

[88] "Letter from Mr. Fee," *American Missionary*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (November 1859), 260.

of the kitchen one week, [doing] the laundry the next week, [attending] to the dairy work the following week, on the fourth week [doing] housework, and then began the cycle again." The girls might also help an "aunt" with chores such as sewing or mending shoes and hats.[89] The boys divided their labor as well between "field work, riding the range, blacksmithing, carpentry, and harness making." The Woolley family, with three wives and twenty children had its own school and ran like a "little kingdom."[90] Similarly, as a child, Annie Tanner helped her mother and "aunt" raise her children and carry "heavy babies around until [her] back ached."[91] Mormons stressed that the girls develop their mothering skills and help raise younger sibling, nieces, and nephews. Without children's help, the farm did not function smoothly and the parents would need to hire help. Mormon children provided the necessary labor to keep the ranch running successfully, much like what was expected from children in American farm families. Mormon families with no or few children had to hire outside help. Martha Spence Heywood, who moved to the Mormon territory in the 1850s, hired thirteen year-old Amelia Fellows to manage her affairs.[92] However, once Heywood's children were older and subsequent wives had children, she no longer relied on outside help.

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[89] See Chapter 2, pages 96-97 for discussion of sister wives and mothers called "aunts."
[90] Samuel Woolley Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), 10.
[91] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 34, 35.
[92] Martha Heywood, *Not by Bread Alone: The Journal of Martha Spence Heywood* edited by Juanita Brooks, (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1978), 92-93.

The seamless maintenance of labor was lost when Mormons moved into the Underground.[93] Families, without their patriarch, moved from location to location unable to have a regular system of chores or labor. As this developed, the children often left the household to bring in additional income. Children accepted a wide variety of tasks and chores in return for payment. Mothers hired out their sons and daughters to other families to help run a farm or household. The children also took various jobs in their communities. One Mormon child who grew up in the late nineteenth century remembered that she and her siblings "worked on tombstones, doing everything. Some of the girls got to be good at lettering and ornamenting stone. They used to be allowed so much a letter. Some of them made as much as $12.00 a week in rush seasons."[94] Like young adolescent girls at the Lowell factories in the early nineteenth century, Mormons expected children to increase the family budget. While Utah lacked the manufacturing industry that grew in urban America in the postbellum era, Mormon children also received wages for the work earned outside the household that greatly helped their struggling families.[95]

In the Shaker and Oneida communities, children participated in communal work. Both communities often gathered all members together to complete work. They called these "bees." Working bees happened two to three times a week. Pierrepont Noyes described these work events as socially enthusiastic and providing equal work

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[93] See Chapter 1, n. 10 and Chapter 2, pages 97-99 for discussion of the Underground.
[94] Quoted in Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954), 219.
[95] Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* 218.

opportunities for all members, male and female.[96] He also remembered working everyday except Sunday. Oneida Perfectionists used these bees to teach their work ethic while producing actual economic value. The work completed in these events ranged from harvesting crops to making clothing and shoes, as well as producing products for sale.[97] The community described the participants as having a "unitary fever of cheerful industry; and the work accomplished at the Bee is surprising."[98] It was important to the community that all members work and feel that they added to its success. In the bees, the community

Image 4.4
Hoeing Bee
Stereograph, undated
From *William A. Hinds Album* (1906) held by Oneida Community Mansion House, Inc.
Syracuse University Library
Oneida Community Collection

Image 4.5
Bag Bee in Big Hall
Stereograph, undated
From *William A. Hinds Album* (1906) held by Oneida Community Mansion House, Inc.
Syracuse University Library
Oneida Community Collection

[96] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 123.
[97] "House Employment at Oneida," *Circular*, Vol. 3, No. 51 (April 1, 1854), 203.
[98] "Community Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 8, No. 8 (February 20, 1871), 60.

worked together similar to a farm family. And like farm families, Oneida valued their children as equal parts of the community in their workload. The images 4.3 and 4.4 show the bees both in harvest and indoor production. The children work side-by-side with adults, contributing to the community economy just as their farm counterparts would do with their family members. The provenance of the photographs does not explain who took the images. But since they are in stereograph, it is likely they were meant to be viewed either as a teaching tool for Oneida children or a way to communicate Oneida values to the outside world.[99] This reveals pride in the hard working youngsters and possibly an example to others. In an 1868 issue of their community publication, *Circular*, the author wrote that the children did not waste away their days in idleness but were busy in work. The author explained that the children joined "us grown folks in carrying out the true spirit of industry; attending beers and working while there, too. I would have you think it is all work and no play with them. No; they work one, two and three hours and then have a fine relish for play."[100] There was no idle hands in the Oneida community; they valued the protestant work ethic. Like evangelical Americans, Oneida Perfectionists saw laziness as a sin and a signal of imperfection.

Oneida children grew the community's industries. Similar to an apprentice system, the Perfectionists sent young members outside to learn skills, such as silk

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[99] Oneida published several essays about their lifestyle. Therefore, producing photographs for outsiders' consumption seems within the realm of possibility.
[100] "An Oneida Journal: Dear L," *Circular*, Vol. 5. No. 16, (July 6, 1868), 124.

spinning, to bring back to the community and teach other members. In 1865, Charles Cragin, Elizabeth Hutchins, and Harriet Allen learned silk spinning and allowed the community to begin a silk manufacturing business.[101] This brought new abilities into the community and implied trust that the children will remain loyal to the community while away. It also reveals that the community trusted the children to learn the task proficiently enough that they could pass on the information to others. However, this practice also exposed them to the American culture and society that would later help them in the running of capitalist business outside of the community. Other industries that children helped grow in Oneida included trap chains, children helped produce the chains and this work kept the children "busy and happy" and seeking "pleasant and profitable employment."[102] Jessie Kinsley described how the children competed and strived to be the best. She compared herself to another girl named Edith who picked "more berries than any other girls" but "in the printing office she could not equal Carrie or Marion."[103] Pierrepont Noyes also described the children as competitive, partially to beat their peers but also to run off "for afternoon's play."[104] Noyes concluded that Oneida taught him the value of work that he has "never been able to escape, that play is good on when earned by work."[105] Like in bourgeois America, the

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[101] Walter D. Edmonds, *The First Hundred Years*, (Oneida: Oneida Ltd., 1948), 23.
[102] "Community Journal," *Circular*, Vol. 10, No. 5 (January 27, 1873), 36.
[103] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 21-22.
[104] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 103.
[105] Ibid., 124.

spirit of competition was strong in Oneida and helped to keep the children productive as well as give them skills that benefited their post Oneida life.

Shakers also emphasized the value of children's labor. Like the other groups, play and labor went together for the Shaker communities. The play had prepared children for their chores and roles in the community. Mother Lucy Wright encouraged Shaker caretakers to teach children the value of labor. She connected labor with the "true power of God." Wright believed that the first priority should be work and that no concern should ever "hinder the children from attending strictly to all their daily and weekly orders." She also reminded children and their caretakers to take good care of their tools as they left work, keeping their workspace organized just as they should keep their life.[106] Shaker taught their children to value and care for tools and resources, a key part of Shaker ideology. It also reinforced a respect for the workplace that could be applied to employment outside of Shaker life.

That children usually joined Shaker communities via indenture contracts demonstrates the community's connection between youth and labor.[107] The word indenture brings to mind an agreement of apprenticeship or indenture service tied to manual labor. The connection between the word and labor may not have been intentional on the part of the Shakers but it is there nonetheless. Their indenture contracts emphasized the child learning a specific trade that influenced the economic outcome of the community. Each child learned all trades by rotation but eventually

[106] Wright, *The Gospel Monitor*, 14, 13, 33.
[107] See Chapter 1, pages 34-36 for discussion of indenture contracts.

focused on one specific skill. The skills they learned not only improved the Shaker community but also taught the child "worldly economic independence" preparing them for success outside of the community.[108] When the children worked, they did so diligently. Shaker children who chose to leave the community entered American society armed with a strong work ethic that served them well as they later ran their own farms or worked in American industry. They also worked in groups, like Oneida, sometimes also called bees. Children in these groups kept their eyes down "busily working, making small whisk brooms, weaving prettily-striped woolen tape for chair seats, braiding straw, sewing, and knitting stockings - a very hive of industry."[109] Again the children embodied the careful focus and productivity of their community. In addition to preparing tools for the community, children aided in the harvest of fruits and vegetables, even in "considerable rain" and preserving those harvests, such as in 1861 when the Pleasant Hill community made 108 jars of strawberry preserves in one day.[110] Ultimately the community used labor to stress community values of industry. This Shaker work ethic mirrored the hard labor and focus of nineteenth-century American farm families. While Shakers saw themselves as radically different from their contemporaries, their work was actually quite similar to rural Americans.

Most labor in the communities, like in farm and bourgeois American life, was organized by gender and children's chores and responsibilities followed suite.

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[108] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 163; Edward Andrews, *Fruits of the Shaker Tree of Life: Memoirs of Fifteen Years of Collecting and Research*, (Stockbridge, MA: The Berkshire Travellers Press, 1975).
[109] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 9.
[110] J.L. Balance, Journal April 1, 1861 - December 31, 1866, June 3, 1861, 3.

American farm boys worked alongside their brothers and fathers almost as soon as they could walk. In more urban settings, they might leave the home to work in factories and add to the household budget. In this environment, boys found "male companionship, work opportunities, and a glimmer of their adult … identity."[111] Alternatively girls learned their "vocational training" and role models from their mother. *Mother's Magazine* instructed American mothers to encourage her daughter's participation in all cares and duties of the household. A daughter remained close and attached to her mother through adolescence while learning the skills to run the household when she became a mother and wife.[112] This is true not just for the Mormons and Bereans but also in the Oneida and Shaker communities, despite their claims for gender equality.

The Mormon community prioritized work above play and schooling for its boys. Many did not continue formal education after twelve years old, instead using this time to provide an additional income for the family. This echoed the experience of most American sons whose attendance at a secondary school was uncommon.[113] In the rural United States boys only received five years of formal education.[114] Like their contemporaries, Mormon boys prioritized their work obligations over school and play. They typically worked on the farm: "milking and herding cows, feeding

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[111] Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 193.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Marta Gutman, "Physical Spaces of Childhood," in *The Routledge History of Childhood* edited by Paula S. Fass, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 254.
[114] Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 135.

chickens and pigs… hoeing gardens, tending crops, or picking fruit trees."[115] They shared the same responsibilities of other American boys working on farms. Mormon sons ran the farms and ranch, with the oldest serving as the manager. When he married and moved away, the next oldest took his place. One Mormon son recalled that he ran the business of the family farm by the time he was sixteen years old. This was the age that most Mormon boys carried on "a man's share of the work on the farm or elsewhere" or went on a mission.[116] While the sons on American farms also managed the work, they might not have done this as early as Mormon boys who had to take on the responsibility of regularly absent fathers.[117] This, however, was similar to single-parent families in the second half the nineteenth century who were most inclined to use their children for labor either at home on the farm or sent off to factory work in the city.[118]

Work was especially true in the Underground years when plural wives could not rely on the income of their husband. In the Underground, children began work as early as nine years old. At that age, Myron Tanner's left the family to work, herding cows and doing chores for another family. He and his brothers regularly worked by either helping their uncles in the fields or traveling to nearby towns and states for

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[115] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 42.
[116] Quoted in Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* 63, 246. None of the Underground sons described a mission trip. My 2007 thesis, "Polygamy and Proselytizing in the Pacific: The Mormon Question in the Missionary Field During the Late 19th Century" argues that while missionary work was always a priority for Mormons, it suffered during the years of prosecution from the U.S. government. It seems that the Church would have avoided calling the sons of polygamous families to missionary service in an effort to avoid unwanted attention.
[117] Fathers could be absent due to missionary or Church work or because they were attending to another wife's family.
[118] Colin Heywood, "Children's Work in Countryside and City," in *The Routledge History of Childhood* edited by Paula S. Fass, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 136-137.

employment.[119] At the age of fifteen, Myron Tanner wrote to his mother to update her on his location and work. He told her that he was glad he had quit school because it allowed him to work more. This hurt his mother who believed that her children had gone out to "assume a man's work while they yet belonged in school." She was not alone in this feeling as it "was the experience of many, many mothers who attempted to rear a family in polygamy. If it produces independent and self-reliant men and women, it must also be paid for in maternal anxiety and loss of home influence and care in tender years."[120] Tanner saw her sons growing up to be independent and prosperous men but at the cost of their childhood innocence, an idea that had taken hold by the end of the century when she raised her children.

Despite claims of equality of the sexes, Oneida and Shaker communities divided work by gender.[121] In Oneida, both men and women, boys and girls performed some shared work such as taking care of children, teaching, writing, and printing. This did not greatly differ from bourgeois American women, who in the second half of the nineteenth century had entered both professions of teaching and journalism. Single bourgeois American women worked as teachers and some had entered the journalism profession. While Oneida had a more proportional number of women working in the community publication, this did not challenge prevailing notions of women's professional opportunities. Nor were children permitted to work

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[119] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 159.
[120] Ibid., 164, 174.
[121] See Chapter 1, pages 567-60 and Chapter 2, pages 84-87 for discussion of gender roles in the Oneida and Shaker communities.

in these spaces. Oneida divided children's labor more by gender than the that of its adults. Work in building traps and chains was reserved for boys and men while girls and women completed more domestic chores such as making clothing and hats. In 1857, twenty boys aged seven to twelve focused their work on the trap shop, shoe shop, barn, farm, and carpentry under the leadership of "Mr. B. who had long experience as the father of the Children's House and who holds meetings with them for moral and spiritual improvement on Sundays and other times."[122] Mr. B did not welcome girls to complete the same duties. This division of skills did not differ greatly from the expectations of bourgeois American boys and girls.

As in all parts of Shaker life, the boys and girls worked separately from each other. For the boys, Shakers used an apprentice-like system. They assigned each boy to a male leader with whom he worked, lived, and ate while learning a specific trade. Shaker boys typically completed outdoor chores such as clearing and plowing field, small construction including as the building of an outdoor washhouse, log rolling, or shelling corn.[123] The Shaker sons also cleaned out the cellars and made renovations to the classrooms.[124] In their diaries, they boys noted this without comment. It was a common occurrence and they did not complain about hard work. The Shakers passed on a diligent work ethic that was meant to serve the Shakers' future but instead was often used by those who left the community and ran successful farms.

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[122] "Oneida Journal: The Programme; The Juveniles," *Circular*, Vol. 6, No. 41 (October 29, 1857), 163.
[123] J.L. Ballance April 1, 1860 - December 31, 1866 April 30, 1860; Z. Burnett Hill Journal, January 8, 1850, February 6, 1851, February 27, 1851, and June 21, 1852.
[124] Delmer Wilson and Theodore E. Johnson, ed. "The Diary of a Maine Shaker Boy; Delmer Wilson - 1887," *The Shaker Quarterly*, (Spring 1968), 15.

In all the communities, girls took on the domestic duties of the household or living quarters. Annie Tanner recalled that at the ages of eleven through thirteen she and her Mormon sisters did all the family's washing from boiling the clothes to scrubbing and then hanging them on the line. Their domestic skills were not limited to their own families, as their parents hired them out to neighbors in a time of need. Annie Tanner experienced this when her mother sent her to help neighborhood woman who was sick with four sons and two daughters. At nine years old, Annie Tanner ran her neighbor's kitchen, making staples such as fresh bread.[125] As the girls grew older their chores increased, including gardening and caring for chickens or livestock. By the age of sixteen girls began courting and often had married by twenty.[126] Tanner enjoyed her few outdoor chores more than the others as "it afforded [her] a chance to get out of the house and go down to the barnyard where my brothers were, and away from the endless tasks of a household of so many small children."[127] Tanner did not enjoy the domestic responsibilities, she preferred more "masculine" chores. Most Mormons "believed that they had equal portions of work," but it is clear that gender-divided labor remained the norm in their households.[128]

Similarly, Oneida girls learned to manage indoor work. In 1857, eight girls aged ten to twelve handled the household chores and were considered "graduated

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[125] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 33.
[126] Young, Isn't One Wife Enough?, 246.
[127] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 42.
[128] Wiley, *Childhood Experiences in Mormon Polygamous Families at the Turn of the Century*, 100.

from the children's department."[129] This suggests an uneven experience for the Oneida children. Oneida members do not explain why one girl might make this transition two years in age earlier than her peer. However, this could be a result of their focus on individualized perfection. Oneida advanced girls based on skills, not necessarily their age. Once "graduated," those girls assumed a long list of responsibilities. Jessie Kinsley recalled a great list of chores she and the other girls handled in the household from emptying of slops to making beds. Unlike Annie Tanner, she enjoyed washing clothing clothes with a dozen other girls and women bending over the tubs scrubbing on stockings and handkerchiefs. However, she greatly hated "wiping dishes, morning, noon, and night."[130] For Kinsley, laundry was a group activity. She cleaned the dirty clothes with other young girls. During this time they might chat about their day's activities or community gossip. However, she does not describe the presence of other Oneida daughters while doing the dishes, suggesting this was either a solo activity or completed with an adult. Either way, her memories reveal that group activity was preferable to independent work. This both demonstrates the success at stressing the value of the community and the similarities to domestic chores in an American household completed alongside one's mother and sisters.

Shaker girls took on the domestic responsibilities like their contemporaries in the Mormon and Oneida communities. Girls rotated their work, learning all the trades

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[129] "Oneida Journal: The Programme; The Juveniles," *Circular*, Vol. 6, No. 41 (October 29, 1857), 163.
[130] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 26.

and skills necessary to complete the role of a Shaker sister. However, those skills also would unintentionally later serve a Shaker girl as a wife and mother should she rejoin the outside world. The girls learned domestic skills that managed indoor chores such as cooking, cleaning, and crafting clothing and tools such as brooms for the community.[131] This fit into the Shaker use of complementary gender equality, where men and women (as well as boys and girls) provided different yet equal work to the community. Like Kinsley, Frances Carr, a Shaker daughter, also enjoyed laundry due to its communal nature. Not only did she feel accomplished in her work, but she also "heard of sorts of tales as well as the current gossip of the Sisters and older teenagers."[132] Another part of a Shaker girl's responsibility was learning an occupation "suitable to her years" but useful for her specific community. Examples included producing table mats or joining the bonnet industry. A girl began learning the skills of this bonnet industry by starting at the loom, at the young age of eight.[133] Rural and bourgeois American daughters training to be wives and mothers as adults shared these tasks. Therefore, while the skills learned by the girls in these "radical" communities helped each family and community; they also prepared the girls to be successful wives and mothers in non-radical environments. The skills proved useful as the Shakers left their community and the Mormon, Berean, and Oneida communities restructured to reflect rural and bourgeois American societies.

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[131] [Shaker?] *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 9; Priscilla J. Brewer, *Shaker Lives, Shaker Communities*, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 77-78.
[132] Sister Frances Carr, *Growing Up Shaker*, (United Society of Believers, 1995), 10.
[133] Described in 1871 monthly journal reprinted in Andrews, *Fruits of the Shaker Tree of Life*, 87.

The skills children learned prepared them for successes in endeavors that opposed communal ideals. Oneida provides the most clear example of this. The community stressed group ownership and rejected the individual gains of a capitalistic economy. However, its belief in individualized perfection that prompted support for competitive skills taught its children a contradictory message. Competition in childhood games and work spurred a desire to be the best at all their efforts. Additionally, the working bees developed a strong and directed ethic into their children. The combination of these traits allowed Pierrepont Noyes and his brothers to transform Oneida from a communal family to a financial success with their business, Oneida Community, Limited.[134]

It is clear that the four communities emphasized a connection between their unique values and their children's play and work. Most notably in the example of the rejection of dolls by Oneida and Shaker, the communities worked diligently to scorn the model of the American bourgeois gender values that marked women only as potential mothers. Yet, despite such efforts, the girls continued to demonstrate a desire to play with their dolls and play "house," pretending to be mothers to their homemade toys. The freedom of play allowed children to inadvertently develop American values. Each community also stressed hard work. This also well prepared children to be successful in both farm and market endeavors outside of the communities. Unintentionally communal play and work prepared Oneida, Shaker, Mormon, and

[134] See Conclusion, pages 241-242 for discussion of this company.

Berea children to function well outside of their communities or in their modified versions that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century.

Conclusion

Departures and Transformations

In the mid-nineteenth century, Mormons, Bereans, Oneida Perfectionists, and Shakers each looked forward to the growth of their communities and reaching their goals in a not-too-distant future. However, by the end of end of the century these intentions remained unmet and the communities had lost their radical identities. While outside factors contributed to the difficulties that each group faced, it was the lack of invested subsequent generations that left the communities without the will to fight for their original aspirations. By the twentieth century, each community had completely reformed and saw a very different future than what they had imagined just a few decades earlier. The inability to pass along the values to their youth had marked the failure for each community.

While each community struggled to keep younger generations engaged, the Shakers faced unique obstacles. Shaker children joined either with their families or via adoption, bound by indenture covenants. Shaker children had a wide range of expectations and emotions about their new home. Shakers believed that children would adopt easily to their unique lifestyle and often pointed to the success of Polly Reed, endearingly called the Little Quail, as an example. Reed joined in November 1825 at eight years old. She "wished to go home with them and become a Shaker" and "her parents gave their consent." Unlike most children who joined the Shakers,

she left her parents willingly. She settled at the Watervliet community and as an adult served as a teacher, described as "a finished scholar, a beautiful speaker, and a most lovable associate."[1] Polly Reed demonstrates children's choices and surprisingly, the willingness of a family to consent to such desires. Unlike most families who adopted their children to the Shakers due to hardship, Reed's family was described as "well-to-do."[2] While unique, Reed's case provided hope for children's potential in the Shaker faith. Shakers also pointed to success stories of the children who returned to the communities after their parents had left the faith. In 1857, a fourteen-year-old boy who had left with his mother returned to the Pleasant Hill community in Kentucky to the delight of all. A fellow community member explained, "It seems he became so strongly attached that he has prevailed upon his mother to let him return *all alone* in the stage."[3] Again the child, like Reed, eschewed family ties in favor of Shaker life, giving weight to the Shaker hope in the possibility of its children. In 1850, sisters Mary and Emilia Cross returned after leaving with their mother three years earlier.[4] The Shaker faith appealed to these children with its regularity and routine away from the instability of the "outside" world. Despite these examples, many children did not choose the Shaker life over the outside world. Reed, the boy, and the Cross sisters children were the exception; the common experience was children's abandonment of

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[1] Anna White and Leila S. Taylor, *Shakerism: Its Meaning and* Message. (Columbus: Press of Fred J. Herr, 1887), 154-157.
[2] White and Taylor, *Shakerism*,154-157; See Chapter 1, pages 35-37 1 for discussion of families adopting their children to the Shakers.
[3] Elizabeth Parker to Edward Parker, July 5, 1857. Transcript L18 Pleasant Hill, June 7th 1857 Elizabeth, Shaker Archives, Shaker Village of Pleasant Hill Archives.
[4] J.L. Ballance, "Journal April 1, 1860-December 31, 1866," May 6, 1861, 46.

the community. Between 1841 and 1850, over sixty percent of Shaker girls left the New Lebanon community and only eleven percent of Shaker boys remained.[5]

The Shakers adopted children who remembered their pre-Shaker lives and most children had mixed emotions about joining the community. After her parents had gone, the unknown author of *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, noted that she and her sister "were left terrified and alone among strangers. We wanted to lie down and die, and we clung to each other bereft of comfort." After their caretaker, Abigail, gave them some attention and showed them their sleeping room, the girls seemed to feel better. But when it was time for bed, they felt alone again. The author remembers, "But, oh! we wanted a goodnight kiss; the tears burst out again, and we sobbed ourselves to sleep in each other's arms."[6] Family rituals and comforts had been lost and left a void for many children. This was never replaced within the Shaker community. [Catherine Ann Slater?] and her sister both left the Watervliet community when they reached their late teens. In the 1840s, Jane Anne Weed joined a Shaker community with her parents, although she hesitated because she had the option to live with other family members. The Shakers assured her that if she did not wish to stay, they would return her to the family members. The community disappointed her when she found she could not live with her parents and siblings. She claimed her right to

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[5] Priscilla J. Brewer, *Shaker Community, Shaker Lives*, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 179. Only five of the forty-seven young men remained in the community. J.L. Ballance, "Journal April 1, 1860 - December 31, 1866," November 2, 1860, 27. Ballance wrote a similar description about the departure of sisters fifteen-year-old Cynthia and seventeen-year-old Rachel Waddle on December 10, 1862, 96.

[6] [Catherine Ann Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress* edited by Elizabeth D. Shaver (originally published in 1872 in *Galaxy Magazine*, Republished Albany, NY: Shaker Heritage Society, 1989), 7.

return to her family but the Shakers denied her request. Weed remained with the Shakers for seven years until she was between eighteen and nineteen years old, when she finally left.[7] Both the Slater sisters and Weed felt alone and betrayed by the community. The decision to leave as young adults is evidence that these feelings never subsided.

Not all Shaker children waited until adulthood to leave. The Shaker community records describe many children who ran away at every opportunity between the ages of twelve and sixteen.[8] Levi Balance described one such event: David Thurmon ran away to his mother in January 1853.[9] Similarly, twelve-year-old Jane Eliza Whiter left the community on February 26, 1864.[10] In both examples, Shakers sent out search parties to find and retrieve the children. Family members honored the signed contracts and returned the children to the Shakers. However, many children continued to run away time and time again, never resigned to the Shaker life. Andrew Scellers tried to run away four times and Shaker brethren fetched

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[7] David Rich Lamson, *Two Years' Experience Among the Shakers*, (West Boylston: D.R. Lamson, 1848), 185.
[8] J.L. Ballance, "Journal April 1 1860 - December 31, 1866," August 28, 1860, 22. Ballance provides similar description of sixteen-year-olds (and younger) in this journal on entries dated May 10, 1860, July 15, 1860, July 18, 1850, July 20, 1860, September 3, 1860, October 11, 1860, October 13, 1860, October 31, 1860, December 9, 1860, January 15, 1861, September 6, 1863, September 14, 1863, March 31, 1864, March 15, 1865, May 16, 1865, June 4 & 5, 1865, June 16, 1865, July 4, 1865, July 6, 1865, January 15, 1866, January 15, 1866, March 29, 1866, and July 29, 1865. Four of these entries describe the same boy, Andrew Scellers, who is repeatedly returned back to the community.
[9] Levi Balance, "The Bluegrass Journal, April 1, 1854 - March 31, 1860," December 3, 1856 157.
[10] J.L. Ballance, "Journal April 1 1860 - December 31, 1866," February 28, 1864, 146.

him each time.[11] The combination of concern for the child and the need of labor likely motivated the Shakers in their efforts to retrieve the runaway. Losing children to the world was also painful for the Shakers. This is evident in Levi Ballance's description of sixteen-year-old George Knapp who left the society "to enjoy the filth of this wicked world." Ballance's last comment in his March 1, 1857 entry was "we have raised him from a small boy."[12] These few words communicate the Shakers' time invested in the child and a soul lost to the world. However, once a child turned seventeen and ran away, the Shakers let him/her go as s/he were no longer seen as redeemable. When eighteen-year-old John Hawkins "absconded," Ballance wrote, "He is no loss to the Society."[13] Hawkins made his choice as an adult and did not commit to the faith. It was no longer worth the effort to force his return. While acknowledging the right to leave the community with the autonomy of adulthood, Shakers still called them "boys," referring to their youth as they described their departure.[14]

Children also left the community with their mothers and fathers due to either custody battles or a parent's lost faith. In the early nineteenth century, custody

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[11] J.L. Ballance, "Journal April 1 1860 - December 31, 1866," August 28, 1860, 22. Ballance provides similar description of sixteen-year-olds (and younger) in this journal on entries dated May 10, 1860, July 15, 1860, July 18, 1850, July 20, 1860, September 3, 1860, October 11, 1860, October 13, 1860, October 31, 1860, December 9, 1860, January 15, 1861, September 6, 1863, September 14, 1863, March 31, 1864, March 15, 1865, May 16, 1865, June 4 & 5, 1865, June 16, 1865, July 4, 1865, July 6, 1865, January 15, 1866, January 15, 1866, March 29, 1866, and July 29, 1865. Four of these entries describe the same boy, Andrew Scellers, who is repeatedly returned back to the community.

[12] Ballance, "The Bluegrass Journal, April 1, 1854 - March 31, 1860," March 1, 1857, 178.

[13] Ballance, "Journal April 1, 1860-December 31, 1861," June 1, 1861, 48.

[14] In his May 8, 1860 entry, J.L. Ballance describes "a boy come here from Chaplin river the West side of the County. He is by the name Jesse Hale he says he is 18 of age and that his Father and Mother went off from him and each other, his Mother has since deceased so he came here he was located at the West Family."

disputes caused great threat to the community. Both Mary Marshall Dyer and Eunice Chapman fought for custody of their children when their former husbands joined Shaker communities; Dyer lost and Chapman won.[15] Despite efforts to prevent such events, in 1858, Joanna Cross had returned to the Shakers after her husband had once removed her against her will. But then she changed her mind, returning to her husband and leaving the Shaker life for good with her four children. The Shakers saw this as a loss as the Cross siblings were "promising children" and lamented their mother's "hypocrisy."[16] While the cases had different outcomes, the process made Shakers wary to allow single parents to join with their children when the other parent still lived.[17] Margaret McCann joined the South Union Shakers with twin daughters Jinnie and Susan but her husband removed the girls. The Shaker leadership wrote, the "next morning the mother brought the children back, but we turned them away."[18] The chances were high that the parents would continue to squabble over their children. The Shakers opted to stay out of it; their preference was children who would remain with them. Both parents joining the community together or the signing of indenture covenants had the best chance of success, but even in such scenarios parents might opt to leave the community. In 1855, one such father removed his six

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[15] See Chapter 2, pages 130-132 for detailed discussion of Dyer and Chapman's cases.
[16] Filson Historical Society Shaker Collection Family Journal Book A January 1, 1843 - October 19, 1871, Kept by order of the Deaconess of the East Family, January 18, 1858, 182.
[17] See Chapter 2, pages 130-132.
[18] March 26, 1876 Entry, in *A Ministerial Journal*, October 24, 1868 – September 30, 1880, (Pleasant Hill, Kentucky: Filson Club: Bohon Shaker Collection).

children, creating heartache and a labor vacuum for the East Family.[19] When Julia Needham left the Pleasant Hill community after two years she took this "little daughter" with her[20] Since Needham had joined the community, she had not signed an indenture covenant so the Shakers had no legal claim to the child. Adults changed their minds and made it difficult for Shakers to rely on children staying with the community, even though the parents and children no longer lived in the same space with the Shakers. Despite this, the Shakers had no option but to use adoption to grow their numbers.

Shaker children had multiple motivations for leaving but the most common was the desire to marry and have a family. Shakes, of course, prohibited this in their gender-segregated, celibate lifestyle. Many Shakers and former Shakers recorded when community members left and married. These sources reflect disappointment when such an event happened, especially when two Shakers left and married each other. William Byrd, who never took the covenant but lived with the Shakers, recalled that many of the young members who left "immediately married after leaving the village."[21] In 1846, the New Lebanon community experienced its first "joint-apostasy" when four young adults left together. They had joined as young children but left to marry. In the Pleasant Hill community, J.L. Ballance noted the "elopement" of eighteen-year-old Daniel Crutchfield who had been a member of the West Family

[19] Filson Historical Society Shaker Collection Family Journal Book A January 1, 1843 - October 19, 1871, Kept by order of the Deaconess of the East Family, September 12, 1855.
[20] Ballance, "Journal April 1, 1860-December 31, 1866," April 20, 1860, 4.
[21] Stephen J. Stein, ed. *Letters from a Young Shaker Boy: William S. Byrd at Pleasant Hill*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1985), 36.

for five years.[22] The sadness and disappointment of each author is clear as they describe such departures as leaving "this Society for the pleasures of this wicked world."[23] Marriage displayed a powerful rejection of Shaker celibate life and a clear demonstration that the adults had failed to pass along their community's values and Shaker theology. One former Shaker recalled when her sister, Minnette, left and caused a scandal by marrying a Shaker brother.[24] The same author recalled a news clipping of two other Shakers who married, Claude Diamond and Isabella Price. The *Albany Journal* described the bride and groom as "both recently members of the Shaker Society near Albany." The bride wore "the plain garb" of the Shaker faith. Isabella Price rejected gender segregation in Shaker communal life in favor of marriage. However, her decision to marry in her Shaker uniform reveals a remaining connection to her identity with the Shaker faith. From this it is clear that Shaker girls did not necessarily reject the religions but instead actively chose marriage and the possibility of motherhood instead of communal life.[25]

Rather than accepting gender "equality," apostate Shaker women favored "traditional" marriage. Shaker girls demonstrated a desire to fulfill bourgeois gender roles and rely on men as fathers and future husbands. One girl, Joy, told her friend, "I declare, I wish Father Kenard had spoken sharply to us, he is so good and kind that it

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[22] Ballance, "Journal April 1, 1860-December 31, 1866," June 20, 1860.
[23] Ballance, "Journal April 1, 1854-March 31, 1860," May 22, 1854.
[24] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 41.
[25] See Chapters 2 and 4, pages 103-106 and 201-202, respectively, for discussion of motherhood prevailing in Shaker communities.

makes me hate petticoat government. I'd rather any day be governed by a man than a woman."[26] Despite efforts at strict gender separation Shaker children spent some time with both men and women.[27] Joy's comment reflects that the male caretakers and teachers she encountered had treated her and other Shaker girls more kindly than did the Shaker sisters. For Joy, gender equality had a negative impact with what she perceived to be overly strict women in leadership positions and emasculating the men. Joy's desire to be "governed" by a man reflects both a failure by the Shakers to change the embedded culture of the outside world's gender hierarchy to encourage a woman's independence from man. They could teach children Shaker gender ideology but they could not remove the impact the world had already made on these children. Many of these youth chose "worldly" gender roles over Shaker roles.

The transition from child to adult often served as an opportunity to leave or remake the community and abandon its original ideals. However, there was not a uniform age that defined one as no longer a child and now an adult. Rather different rituals in both rural and bourgeois United States as well as the four communities served as markers of adulthood. Marriage serves as the most clear marker for adulthood in the nineteenth century. But other markers were used as well, such as a boy leaving home for a job or a daughter leaving for university.

For children at the Oneida and the Shaker communities, a clear marker of adulthood was the transition from the Children's House and the Children's Order,

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[26] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 62.
[27] See Chapter 3, pages 172-173 for discussion of exposure to the opposite gender in Shaker life.

respectively, to adult living quarters. Oneida Perfectionist Jessie Kinsley recalled that when she and her cohort learned that they "were old enough to be good citizens of the big Community,"it was a "momentous change."[28] The community celebrated and acknowledged this transition. They were no longer children but functioning members of the Community. Shaker children moved out of the Children's Order and into the adult dwelling house at approximately the same age.[29] The anonymous author of *Fifteen Years a Shakeress* recalled that she and her friend, Joy, "were each fifteen when we were removed from the children's order and became young sisters."[30] Community members noted when the children moved out of the Children's Order.[31] Shaker census reports also organized their members by adults (over sixteen years old), those in a period of transition (ages twelve to sixteen), and children (under etc age of twelve).[32] Moving from the children's order to a family house signified a transition from childhood to adulthood. However, for Shakers this was one of many steps to adulthood and it would not be completed until the Believer took the covenant.

Another marker of childhood's end was attending an institution of higher education. College provided a transition from childhood to adult when one spent time apart from the community and the family for the first time. Of the four communities,

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[28] Jessie Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring: Jessie Catherine Kinsley, Daughter of the Oneida Community* edited by Jane Kinsley Rich and Nelson M. Blake, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 32.
[29] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 107.
[30] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 49.
[31] Ballance, "The Bluegrass Journal, April 1, 1854 - March 31, 1860," March 29, 1858, 233.
[32] *A Journal Kept by the Ministry Containing: Members Names and Birth Date, Annual Census, 1873-1880, missing 1871, Appointments, Ministerial Orders, Pleasant Hill and South Union, pg. 27, Few Weather Reports, Deaths,* Volume 16 of 40 Volumes, (Filson Club: Bohon Shaker Collection, October 24, 1868 - September 30, 1880), January 1869.

only the Shakers did not encourage higher education as they saw no added benefit from it.[33] Consequently, when formal education stopped children assumed a full workload at age sixteen, regardless of gender.[34] Shakers believed that education should serve to bolster one's labor in the community and therefore university education was unnecessary. Once graduated from the Children's Order, these new adults took on their work orders. A Shaker remembered her older sister, Minnette, was "appointed an assistant teacher" at this time.[35] Mormon Annie Tanner was only fifteen years old when she registered as a student at the University of Utah. She details her classes and favorite instructors but makes no observation of being younger than her classmates or going to college early.[36] It seems reasonable to assume that this young age was not abnormal but rather an appropriate transitional age in both Mormon and bourgeois life. Mormons, like much of America, considered formal education complete after eighth grade.[37] Oneida children were not much older when they attended higher education or began to learn a career trade. At the age of sixteen, Oneida adolescents received a sum of money to either attend college, preferably Yale Theological Seminary, alma mater of John Humphrey Noyes, or began their specific skill training. Since the establishment of Berea College in 1866 the community expected its children to receive a college degree. Even in 1855 when the college was

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[33] See Chapter 3.
[34] Graham, "The New Lebanon Shaker Children's Order," 107.
[35] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 37.
[36] Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography* edited by Everett L. Cooley, Brigham D. Madsen, and S. Lyman Tyler, (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1969), 39.
[37] Samuel Woolley Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), 15.

just an idea higher education was a priority. Like their contemporaries, the common age for Bereans to begin college was fifteen to sixteen years old.[38]

In the United States, marriage was the most clear transition from youth to adulthood. Practicing Shakers did not marry but rather took a covenant with the Community. This was a vow to their faith and allowed them to become a permanent adult member of the Community around the same age that bourgeois Americans entered into marriage.[39] For women this was at age eighteen and men at age twenty-one. This places the age of adulthood in the same general bracket as other Shaker markers and the other communities based on marriage or sexual activity.[40]

In the Oneida community, men and women did not marry. Founder John Humphrey Noyes saw marriage as a distraction from one's devotion to God and to devote oneself to another person would be a great act of philoprogenitiveness.[41] Instead, the community practiced Complex Marriage, where consenting adults participated in sexual activity and in the 1860s and 1870s, began relying on Stirpiculture for procreation.[42] The age that a child became eligible to choose to participate in sexual activities serves as a good marker of adulthood and equitable to marriage. Women recalled first "loving" a man in a "romantic way" at age sixteen. Jessie Kinsley remembered that this was a part of her "happy life" at Oneida and that

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[38] Former slaves tended to enroll at Berea College at an older age.
[39] [Slater?], *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, 44.
[40] See pages 230-232 for discussion of Shakers leaving their communities for marriage.
[41] The term describes one who is attached to his/her family members.
[42] See Chapter 1, pages 31-34 and Chapter 2, pages 81-83.

she loved three men during her time there. But she also noted that this was "always with reserve; unreserved love came when Community life was over and I married Myron," another former Oneida member she married after the community's dissolution.[43] It is impossible to know Kinsley's true feelings for the men she was with before Myron as she had reasons to downplay any attachments. First, in the community such attachments would have been seen as philoprogenitiveness and therefore shamed. Second, she wrote the book after the community's demise once living in bourgeois culture, influenced by its morals; Victorian Americans would have frowned upon her sexual activities. And finally, and most importantly, she wrote her memoir largely for her family and daughter. It seems unlikely that she would have wanted to comment on romantic feelings for anyone other than her husband. The fact that Kinsley married a fellow Oneida member was not uncommon. Many former Oneida community members married each other as they shared similar experiences and would not have to face scrutiny for multiple sexual partners that might have caused a barrier between a romantic relationship with a non community member.

Mormon women tended to marry around nineteen to twenty years old. At sixteen, some women recalled being courted and while the potential of marriage was not out of the question it required parents' consent; at that age she still remained a child.[44] Annie Tanner saw herself as quite young at nineteen to be married and noted that her future sister wife and Mr Tanner's first wife was twenty-one at the time of her

[43] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 38-39.
[44] Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough*?, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954), 109.

marriage.[45] John W. Taylor married his third wife, Janet Maria Woolley Taylor, when she was twenty years old. Mormon men, on the other hand, tended to marry for the first time in Mormon communities in their twenties.[46] Half of Mormon men did not marry until in their forties.[47] Compared to the other groups, marriage came later for Mormon men, partially due to the frontier life and the missionary service. They also needed established careers and income sources if they planned to support multiple wives. Using women's age, the end of childhood ranged from seventeen to twenty-one.

In Berea, citizens followed rural American marriage patterns, women married in their late teens, while men married later. Considering that many of the men had spent considerable time in college and had traveled the country as missionaries before marriage, it makes sense that they married in their mid-to-late twenties. Lizzie Rogers, one of the first teachers in Berea, had considered herself a young bride, marrying at age seventeen. However, this seems to be in line with marriage patterns of her community. But, Bereans frowned upon marrying younger than seventeen. One of the scandals of the Berea community was when Cassius Clay, an early but not long lasting supporter of the anti-slavery mission, married fifteen-year-old Dora Richardson in 1854. The marriage was short lived, as Richardson returned to her family. Clay excused the marriage by claiming he had met her and found her to "be

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[45] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 63-64.
[46] Tanner, *A Mormon Mother*, 63; Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, 30; Young*, Isn't One Wife Enough*?, 109.
[47] Stephanie Smith Goodson, "Plural Wives" in Claudia Bushman ed. *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, (Logan: Utah State University, 1976, 1977), 94.

intelligent, but uneducated" and "it had been his plan to procure a governess for her … His wish was to educate Dora and open a new world of opportunity for her."[48] Clay's behavior was unacceptable and at fifteen, Richardson was not yet an adult and unable to make such a decision. Despite no evidence of a legal divorce, young Dora Richardson did not stay with Clay for long and later remarried.[49] After the Civil War, Fee made education and higher education a priority for young women, who attended in their late teens and early twenties. Berea expected women to marry after they completed their degree. For Berea, higher education was a more clear marker of entering adulthood than one's marital status.

Mormons, Shakers, Oneida Perfectionists, and Bereans also faced challenges in their efforts to pass along their ideologies and beliefs to the new generations. The communities had failed to instill into their children their radical visions. Instead, they raised productive participants of American society at the close of the nineteenth century. Oneida children stayed within their community but rejected the ideals of Noyes including complex marriage and communal property ownership. They transformed Oneida into a successful capitalist corporation, married, and raised their children as bourgeois Americans. Children of polygamous Mormon parents grew protective of their mothers, especially once they entered the Underground. Daughters and especially sons saw their mothers left alone to raise children in seeming opposition to the duties of Mormon men. They eventually supported the end of

[48] *Lexington Herald*, January 16, 1867.
[49] *Richmond Daily Register*, January 6, 1960.

polygamy and a reworking of their community to match the rest of American society. Berea abandoned their integrationist goals. The second and third generations did not challenge the pressures of Jim Crow segregation in the South. Shaker children remembered their previous, non-Shaker life and chose to live it again when given the choice. Their education and work experience provided them with the skills that made them successful in American bourgeois and farm life.

The Oneida community began to falter in its final decade. While the children had been raised with communal values, their books, games, and education regularly exposed them to the outside world. Additionally, Oneida children learned of "the outside world's hostility" to their community; Pierrepont Noyes noted that when he was seven or eight he learned of "some agency" that "was about to launch a campaign for our destruction."[50] In 1876, John Humphrey Noyes relinquished his leadership to his son, Theodore, preparing the community to move into the next generation.[51] Noyes likely saw that his time as leader was limited and hoped that by choosing his son as his successor, he had secured the future of Oneida. Under the command of Theodore Noyes, the community felt a sense of "policing and espionage" that had been absent under the leadership of John Humphrey Noyes.[52] Theodore Noyes lacked his father's charisma and the trust of the community. John Humphrey Noyes had closely regulated and policed the daily life of each Oneida member. Yet the

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[50] Pierrepont Noyes, *My Father's House: An Oneida Boyhood*, (London: Butler & Tanner, Ltd., 1937),113. This would have been in 1877-78, just a year before the community dissolved.
[51] This transition was not made public until 1877 via the *Circular*.
[52] Kinsley, *A Lasting Spring*, 44.

community remained intact, and members did not complain of such supervision. For example, in 1875, John Humphrey Noyes instructed Tizrah Miller to change the name of her son with George Russel from Haydn [sic] to Paul. Miller "thought there were excellent spiritual reasons why this change should be made" and did not question Noyes's guidance.[53] Noyes could dictate every aspect of each community member's life but Theodore Noyes's continuation of his father's actions led the community to feel undermined and suspicious of leadership.

Upon the failure of Theodore Noyes's leadership, John Humphrey Noyes returned. But Theodore's leadership reflected a change in the community, it was moving away from the original goals and ideals. Between 1878 and 1879 the community changed in subtle ways. Pierrepont Noyes described how the meeting times remained the same as did the chores, but attention on children lessened, "We felt instinctively - at least I did - that the Children's House no longer occupied the important place it had always held in the interest of our elders."[54] On August 26, 1879 John Humphrey Noyes announced that complex marriage had ended and that members could marry, although he stressed that celibacy remained the ideal.[55] Noyes's announcement and the number of Oneida men and women who decided to marry marked the end of the community.[56] Corinna Ackley Noyes recalled that she

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[53] Tirzah Miller in *Desire and Duty at Oneida: Tirzah Miller's Intimate Memoir* edited by Robert S. Fogarty, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 110.
[54] Noyes, *My Father's House*, 150-51.
[55] John Humphrey Noyes considered celibacy as an option when first establishing the Perfectionist community but determined that complex marriage was a better option. Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 96-97.
[56] Fogarty, *Desire & Duty at Oneida: Tizrah Miller's Intimate Memoir*, 24.

learned of the community's end when "one day my mother told me I need no longer go to the Children's House but I could stay with her and she would take care of me all the time. That was wonderful but what did it mean?"[57] The children celebrated the opportunity to be raised by their mothers. Former members remained close to each other both in proximity and emotion.

The most dramatic change for Oneida was the abandonment of communal life. For over thirty years, Oneida members sacrificed personal property in lieu of communal ownership. The Oneida Community, Limited began before the official end of the community in 1879, producing canned fruit, traps, sewing silk, silverware, and chains for sale.[58] In 1889, the former Oneida children, now young adults, took control of the company; Pierrepont Noyes, his cousin George W. Noyes, Stephen R. Leonard and Grosvenor Allen, along with the older Theodore Noyes, guided the company to financial success.[59] Building on a foundation of a competitive spirit and dedicated work ethic that had been fostered by Oneida, Pierrepont Noyes guided this transformation. The former members lived in the same area, surrounding the Old Mansion House they once called home. But they no longer shared their property, instead each benefited from their role in a capitalistic endeavor with Oneida Co., Ltd., a company that was ran by Noyes's descendants until the mid twentieth century.

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[57] Corinna Ackley Noyes, *The Days of My Youth: A Childhood Memoir of Life in the Oneida Community*, (Kenwood, NY: The Oneida Community Mansion House, 1960, 1992. Reprint Clinton, NY: Richard W. Couper Press, 2011), 135.
[58] Walter D. Edmonds, *First Hundred Years, 1848-1948*, (Oneida: Oneida Ltd., 1948), 28.
[59] Ibid., 29.

The Mormons could point to several key transition points as markers of the end of their original society and culture. In 1890, Church President Wilford Woodruff issued his statement that communicated that the Church no longer supported the practice of polygamy. He stated the Church complied with federal laws against bigamy and polygamy and advised "Latter-day Saints to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land."[60] Later known as the Woodruff Manifesto, the revelation Woodruff received broke the Church from a decades-long practice. It also ushered in a period of inconsistency as the Church struggled with how to handle members who had entered plural marriage before October 1890. The generation coming into adulthood largely supported the move and the most well-known challenges came from older Mormons adding wives to an existing polygamous family. Another key moment in the Mormon transition was Utah's entry into the United States in 1896. As a state, Mormons lost some of the independence of their former territorial status. Finally, in 1897 the Church completely restructured its organization. Many of its affiliations and organizations that had previously run autonomously now came under the leadership and management of the Church. This allowed the Church to ensure that all parts of the religion operated in conjunction with each other and fulfilled the most current revelations, such as single marriage. Young Mormons operated under this new structure that shared many of same values of the American bourgeoisie. Those who resisted the change left to form the

[60] Wilford Woodruff, "Official Declaration 1" *Doctrines and Covenants*, October 6, 1890.

Fundamental Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, an entity that continues to practice plural marriage to this day and is often the subject of media and legal scrutiny.

While the citizens of Berea supported ending slavery and publicly spoke of breaking down caste, they did not always practice integration in their home.[61] This was detrimental to their future success. Their children could not adopt integrationist views when their parents sent mixed signals. White Berean youngsters might have had African Americans as fellow students, but African Americans were often not welcomed in their homes. By the 1890s, leadership boasted "that no colored student ever sat at their tables and colored students were never welcome at their homes."[62] Despite Fee's efforts, racism and prejudice still existed in Berea. The community had claimed to be radically anti-caste, yet like both Americans in the North and South Bereans lived privately segregated lives. By virtually bragging that African Americans were not welcome in their homes, the leadership of the community communicated a belief in racial hierarchy. In the public sphere they preached the importance of integration, but at home, where their children saw every action and behavior, such living was not practiced. The white children of the 1860s and 1870s, who sat side-by-side with African American students, had grown up to become the

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[61] For discussion on anti-caste, see Chapter 1, page 40.

[62] John T. Robinson, "Defense of Hathaway and the Negro Criticism of Frost's Admin" in Richard D. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866-1904*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 100. It is possible that this was in anticipation of the coming forced segregation but such legislation was still fifteen years away. Additionally, if Berea had been successful, the generation of the 1890s might have more strongly advocated integration, allowing African Americans into their home.

parents who refused African Americans into their homes like their segregationist neighbors. Berea wanted to limit distinctions based on race for children but they had failed.

Berea's goal of integration officially came to an end in 1904 when the institution of the Day Law ended Berea College's integrated education, but the change had been coming for several years. Second and third generation Bereans had moved away from their strong integration philosophy. While they did challenge the law, by 1904, Bereans had moved most of their energy to educating the neighboring Appalachian population, a goal that remained tantamount well into the mid-twentieth century. When William Goodall Frost took over Berea College's presidency in 1893, the community focus transitioned from integration to an Appalachian focus. The college had come to represent the Berea community as a whole, and under his direction, the original identity changed. He aimed to reduce significantly the number of enrolled African Americans from fifty-two percent to sixteen percent, leaving them "a minority on the campus for the first time since 1866."[63] Clearly this was the stewardship of one man, but he received support from the Board and community. Children who had grown up sharing a classroom with African American students agreed with President Frost and made no effort to challenge these changes. By 1901, African American and white students no longer met in the recitation room, played on the same field, or shared the same space.[64] Therefore when Kentucky passed the Day

[63] Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky*, 148.
[64] Frost to Melissa Parkinson, March 6, 1901, Frost Papers Berea College.

Law prohibiting integrated education, there was little real resistance from Berea. The once radical abolitionist and anti-caste community became a college town that supported its local population and thrived on an arts-and-crafts economy but whose ideologies matched those of its neighboring southern towns.

The Shaker communities dwindled in numbers through the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The Shaker population peaked in 1840, with over 2400 members in its eleven most populous communities who had the most accurate demographic records. By 1900, the number had dropped to only 645 members.[65] The Shakers continued to exist well into the twentieth century but could not sustain the twenty-three communities they had at their peak. By 1900, thirty-five percent of their communities had already closed. They still existed but with much more openness to the outside world. No longer could community members be easily identified by their unique dress, and they opened their schoolhouses to neighboring communities for a small tuition. By 1920, sixty-five percent of the communities had closed. And after 1940, only fifteen percent of the Shaker communities were still operational. The remaining Shakers maintained celibacy but continued to watch their population drop. They became more well known for their simple and functional furniture than for their unique religious, gender, and family views. The community at Sabbathday Lake in Maine remains the only operating Shaker village in the twenty-first century.

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[65] Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives*, 271. These communities include New Lebanon, Watervliet, Hancock, both Enfield communities (in New Hampshire and Connecticut), Tyringham, Harvard, Shirley, Canterbury, Alfred, and Sabbathday Lake.

The communities each came to an end with the nineteenth century. The belief and hope for reforming and perfecting American life that had begun in the 1830s-1840s came to a close with the pains of the Civil War, the economic panics of 1873 and 1893, the failure of Reconstruction, and the economic inequality of the Gilded Age. Turn-of-the-century Americans no longer seemed to believe they could perfect the United States and all of its components. Perfectionism was replaced by Progressivism that sought to improve selected groups and worked with organizations and the government. Challenges to Protestant Christianity such as the Mormons, Oneida Perfectionists, and Shakers no longer thrived while race remained largely unimportant to Progressives, leaving Berean activists without an audience. However, the failure to pass along their ambitious goals to their children really caused each community's demise. The grown children of each community expressed disillusionment that did not match the hope of their communal ancestors. Pierrepont Noyes's memoir, *My Father's House*, is tinged with a tone of regret and sadness, even as his wife saw the community with a more positive vision. While disciples of their father's beliefs, the Fee children never assumed the strong mantle of leadership to keep the community moving toward true integration. [Catherine Ann Slater]'s painful memoir, *Fifteen Years a Shakeress*, detailed a childhood lost and ended only with hope and happiness when she abandoned her Shaker bonnet and rejoined the outside world. But perhaps Samuel Woolley Taylor, a child of Mormon polygamy, best summarizes the disillusionment of his community. He wrote how his brother

took on responsibilities at seven years old: he was "curiously adult, a miniature man… This was the way with so many children in the Principle. They were babies, and then they were men; there was no childhood in between."[66]

[66] Taylor, *Family Kingdom*, 149; Principle is another term for Mormon plural marriage.

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