THE LIFE OF AMASA WALKER

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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1939

Approved by:

[Signature] Homer C. Hooker
Advisor
Preface

This biography of Amasa Walker grew out of the author's interest in the humanitarian reform movements of the first half of the nineteenth century, first as an undergraduate at Oberlin College, and later as a graduate student at The Ohio State University. Without the valuable cooperation of Dr. Francis Walker of Washington, D. C., grandson of the subject of this biography, this work could never have been completed in its present form. He was generous with every scrap of information concerning his grandfather which he possessed. His interest in the progress of the study has been constant.

Advice and assistance of very special importance have been rendered by Dr. Robert S. Fletcher of Oberlin College and by Dr. Carl Wittke, formerly of The Ohio State University and now Dean of Oberlin College. Miss Erna Stech of the Elmhurst College Library has aided greatly in securing many of the necessary references. Dr. Paul Crusius of Elmhurst College gave suggestions regarding the bibliography. My husband, Professor Franklin G. Moore of the University of Toledo, scrutinized the chapters dealing with economic problems, and my father, J. R. Mick of Bryan, Ohio gave much help in proofreading.

Dr. Homer C. Hockett, my adviser, has been very helpful; first, by accepting me as an orphaned candidate for the Doctor's degree and second, by his useful information and suggestions for this dissertation.

Toledo, Ohio
March, 1939
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1Wherever the title is in quotation marks the words are those of Amasa Walker.
INTRODUCTION

The one sustaining characteristic of Amasa Walker's life was his reforming spirit — it gave continuity to his entire life. Outwardly his adult life was divided into several distinct periods: he was a merchant in one period, a statesman in another period, and a political economist in still another. Yet through all three he was a reformer. Everything which he did was done against the background of his reform interests. That interest gave meaning to everything which he undertook in life. This biography has attempted to follow this continuous, unifying cord.

As a business man he was concerned with humanitarian reforms. He recognized that wealth carried with it certain social responsibilities. He never tried, however, to meet those responsibilities by money payments alone. He made himself personally a part of such self-improving reforms as temperance, lyceum, and health, for he believed that self-improvement was the beginning of national and international improvement. As a statesman his reform interests ran more to state and national improvement: abolish the institution of slavery and improve the Negro's condition; improve the status of women by guaranteeing their civil rights; discourage undemocratic secret societies, especially Masonry, and so improve the political opportunities of all Americans; provide a secret ballot; and improve the condition of the working class. As a political economist he strove to keep the world's moral, intellectual and political progress in line with its economic
progress. The international peace cause, cheap postage, free trade, "hard money" and education were all means to that end.

Examples we have in plenty of ministers, such as Theodore Parker or Samuel J. May, who were full-fledged reformers, or merchant-philanthropists such as Amos and Abbott Lawrence; even of merchant-reformers like Arthur and Lewis Tappan; college professors, too, contributed their share to the list of reformers adding such names as Calvin Stowe and Horace Mann; and the statesmen did as well, for in their ranks stood Charles Sumner. Walker contributed to the reform movement along three lines. He was a statesman as well as a merchant and in addition, a college professor and economist.

Walker has described the years between 1825 and 1850 as "the birth-period of remarkable reforms, moral, social and political. During all this time, the very atmosphere seemed surcharged with its electricity. Especially was this true of New England, where the great anti-slavery agitation found its leader, the peace cause its apostle; where earnest, eye, 'fanatical', men, and women too, offered themselves to the work with a devotion at the time deemed madness, but which in the future will be called heroism."¹

How well Amasa Walker fitted into the picture of the universal reformer in the age which he himself described is seen by his reference to no less than six reforms in a single letter: "God speed the Repeal of the Corn Laws," he wrote to an Irish friend and reformer,

¹The Congregationalist, Feb., 11, 1875.
"& God speed another 'Repeal' in which Ireland is much interested. We are going on with all our great movements. Last week I attended one of the meetings on the Reorganization of Society. The Temperance cause is going forward steadily & successfully. Tomorrow I am to attend the celebration of the event of the closing of the Last place for the sale of intoxicating drinks in the town I reside in.

"The Old Organization Antislavery Society has had its Christmas Fair & as you will see, & have been well patronized. The peace cause is I am sure advancing. Last Sabbath Mr. Beckwith ... lectured in the town most ably...."

These reform movements could not be separated; Walker did not try to do so; he chose, rather, to engage in all, or practically all of them. William E. Channing is credited with the statement that a reformer had to be an eclectic, for no one, as he believed, aspiring to be a reformer in any one particular cause should attempt the task unless he had a broad and deep sympathy for other causes. The mythological story of king Midas of Phrygia who turned everything he touched to gold has a biographical parallel in Amasa Walker who turned everything he did into a reform. He did not confine his reforming to the usual organized humanitarian causes. He made of his counting room a moral and commercial training ground. He supported a political party only so long as it had a reform to accomplish; that

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2 Referring to Home Rule for Ireland.
3 This was a loose organisation of some of the most radical reformers.
done, he moved on to another; he used his office as legislator to introduce a secret ballot reform law, and his office as Secretary of State to promote agricultural and educational improvements. Political Economy was not for him merely an informatory subject; it was in itself a reform through the dissemination and understanding of which human progress could be assured.

For all their optimism even reformers sometimes wearied of unrewarded labor. When as an old man Amasa Walker saw some of his ideas, particularly his currency ideas, gaining wide acceptance he was pleased with the prospect of success. His wife described the great fascination which Washington, D. C. held for him in his declining years. Once his ideas were respected there his wife could scarcely tear him away. So ingrained had the old reform habit become that he hated to leave Washington because "he thinks he is disseminating useful information and as he has a great fund of that commodity to draw upon he wishes to dispense as much as possible."5

Skeptical moderns can but record through history and biography ideas and deeds worked out in the faith that "Vox Populi" is "Vox Dei," that "the people never err" as the reformers fully believed. Amasa Walker lived and died in the faith that such a state could be realized.

5Mrs Amasa Walker to Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, Mar. 6, 1874, in letter collection in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker, Washington, D. C. Unless otherwise designated all letters referred to hereafter are in this collection.
PART I

EARLY YEARS
CHAPTER I
FAMILY AND EARLY TRAINING

Amasa Walker was a pure New England product. His first American ancestor was Captain Richard Walker who was born in 1611 or 1612 and came to this country about 1630. For the most part Amasa Walker’s forebears were of British stock with a small admixture of French Huguenot. Almost all of his ancestors arrived in New England in the first great wave of migration, before 1650. The men of the family were farmers, sailors and mechanics. Many of them moved into new communities, but their pioneering was done within the boundaries of New England. In 1748 Nathaniel Walker and his son Captain Phineas moved to Sturbridge, Massachusetts. The elder Walker built a house at the head of Walker Pond. Captain Phineas saw considerable military service being with General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham and with Ethan Allen at the taking of Ticonderoga. His military instincts, however, failed to be transmitted to his grandson, Amasa. Captain Phineas when not engaged in the defense of his country was a farmer and blacksmith.

The fourth son of Captain Phineas and his wife, Susanna Hyde, was Walter, the father of Amasa. Deacon Walter as he was always called, was born in Woodstock, Connecticut. Following in his father’s footsteps he was a farmer and blacksmith. Amasa Walker’s maternal grandfather Amasa Carpenter (originally spelled Charpentier), for whom he was named, died in the Revolutionary army.¹ He was a captain in the same company in the Revolution as was Captain Phineas Walker. The

Carpenters were descended from the French Huguenot families who formed a colony at Webster, Massachusetts. Priscilla Carpenter, daughter of the Revolutionary Captain Amasa, and Deacon Walter Walker were married April 3, 1798. They lived for a short time in Brimfield, Massachusetts. In 1799 they moved to the village of Muddybrook, now East Woodstock, Connecticut. It was here that Amasa Walker was born, March 4, 1799. The following spring the family moved to the North Parish of Brookfield in Massachusetts where Deacon Walter had bought a small place. The young Amasa was not taken to his new home until he was a year old. He was left in Woodstock with his grandmother.

Their house was, as Amasa recalled, an unpretentious dwelling, "a small, low house, old and of the color of the wood having but two rooms on the lower floor with a back room for putting away things." He remembered the house during his earliest years as "inconvenient, cold and uncomfortable." His father's blacksmith shop which was quite as big as the house was located in the rear and a little to the left of the house, at a distance of perhaps forty feet. Behind the house was a small old barn and the wood lot; beyond this were the fields. "The whole concern," recollected Amasa in later life, "though it looked interesting to my young eyes as 'my home,' did not make a very good show to people in general."3

Deacon Walter and his wife Priscilla worked hard and saved what they could from the proceeds of blacksmithing, farming, and "sticking card-teeth."4 Soon they were able to add to the five or six acres which

---D. Hamilton Hurd, comp., History of Worcester County, 541.
4This was "put-out" work from the card manufacturers at Leicester.
had been their original purchase. About 1807 they bought an adjoining lot from Reuben Gilbert and also the Bradshaw lot. A few years later they purchased the remainder of Gilbert's farm. "Poor, indolent Gilbert" spent too much for "that which was not bread", as his neighbors said, and "ran his property out." With these additions the family had a farm of around seventy acres. In 1808 the "little old shanty" of a barn which Amasa recalled as a small child was replaced by a large and sturdy structure. The fortunes of the family had so improved by 1810 as to permit the building of a new house. Deacon Walter's father gave some assistance in this project, and when completed, it was the best house in town.

While their father was at work in the shop the three children, Amasa, Walter born in 1801, and Freeman born in 1803, were busy "sticking card-teeth." Looking back upon this occupation as an old man Amasa wrote: "This occupation employed us a great part of our time, but it was a miserable business compared with the industry of the present day." In the first place it was a very unhealthy employment, and required close confinement in a sitting, stooping position, and in the second place as the price paid gave but a mere pittance, it required very close application to earn anything.

"Perhaps we three boys when 8-10 and 12 years old respectively could earn 75 cents per week! This is 75 cents altogether -- Poor wages, young America would think now a days! But our parents were but too glad to get even that employment for us, not that we were so poor as to suffer; but because we could thus help along in paying

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6Ibid.
7Ibid.
8Ibid., II, 11.
9Around 1867.
for our land, house &c, and because our parents judged, most wisely
that any occupation was better for us than idleness and roving about. 10

From his father Amasa learned to do all kinds of farm work.
The work in the fields with their father was a welcome relief to the
three boys after long hours of tedious "card-sticking". 11 In later life
Amasa attributed his poor health largely to this confining occupation. 12
Apparently Amasa had no interest in his father's blacksmith trade. He
was interested in farming to the end of his days and in his writings and
speeches made constant references to farm work and practices. He drew
many of his illustrations from farm life, but no similar references can
be found to the blacksmith's trade.

Going to school was no hardship for young Amasa. He attended his
first term of school in 1805. As he grew older his younger brothers
accompanied him on the mile hike to the school house. As the oldest
of the three he had to lead and "see to" the youngest. Their mother
got them off by eight o'clock and while the youngest was still small
the walk took them an hour. Amasa could not remember the time when he
was not at the head of his class or the chief rival for that place.
He sometimes had to alternate this honor with Ebenezer Strong Snell,
son of the Congregational minister. One of Amasa's proudest moments
in his entire school career came when he was awarded a certificate
which read as follows:

"This may certify that Master Amasa Walker is
at the head of his class.
[signed] Silas Haskell"

11Ibid., I, 13.
12Ibid., I, 17.
He carried the paper promptly to his mother and received further praise and encouragement from her.\textsuperscript{13}

The subjects pursued by the students in the Center District School were not numerous, but what they lacked in that respect they made up in thoroughness. Reading, writing and spelling occupied most of the time, and Amasa, at least, did not leave school until he had completely mastered the spelling of every word in Perry's Dictionary. All except the very smallest boys studied arithmetic; the "big girls" were deemed capable of going as far as the "Rule of Three", though as Amasa later recalled most of them never went beyond "Reduction".\textsuperscript{14} As a young student some of his teachers made a pronounced impression on him. Among them all he always accorded Harry Brigham the highest place. He was a North Brookfield boy who was attending college and teaching school in his winter vacations. He aroused so much admiration in some of his students that they wished to imitate him; especially in respect to his refined manners. He was a good influence for the impressionable twelve year old Amasa. Brigham encouraged Walker in public speaking and taught him to declaim. Amasa Walker seems to have laid a good foundation in that art because in later life he was singularly gifted along that line. He was a forceful orator, a convincing public speaker; indeed he possessed an almost uncanny power over hostile audiences.\textsuperscript{15}

The Walker boys made frequent visits to Woodstock, Connecticut, to see their Grandmother Carpenter, and other relatives and friends. Sometimes Amasa would stay two or three months especially if it happened

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., I, 17.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., I, 19-21.
\textsuperscript{15}Francis A. Walker, "The Honorable Amasa Walker, LL. D. "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XLII, 140-141 (April, 1898).
to be at a time when his home school was closed. The Connecticut schools were open longer so he often attended school in Woodstock. When he was not in Woodstock during the intervals between school he "recited" to the Rev. Dr. Snell, minister of the Congregational Church in North Brookfield. Dr. Snell like many other New England ministers in his day was a private tutor as well as a clergyman. Aside from self-education the only educational training beyond the common school level which Amasa Walker ever had came from Dr. Snell. William Cullen Bryant, the poet, Judge Samuel Cheever of Albany, New York, and Professor Ebenezer S. Snell, of Amherst College, were also students of Dr. Snell at the same time. During the winter of 1815 Amasa was too ill to go out of the house. While he was so disabled Dr. Snell came to the house and helped him with Latin which he was then studying.

Deacon Walter and his wife were ambitious for their son to have a college education. The father had a good common school education and had taught school for a short time in Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was always greatly interested in the schools which his sons attended. It was decided in March, 1817, that Amasa should begin a systematic preparation with Dr. Snell for college entrance. His main preparation was in Latin. He read six books of Vergil's Aeneid and several of Cicero's Orations in addition to the preliminary grammar and readings. The Vergil he read in nine weeks. His teacher told him that no student of his had ever read so much Latin in the same length of time.

17Tbid., I, 23.
18Tbid., II, 71.
19Tbid., II, 9.
20Tbid., I, 25; II, 69.
Latin he learned thoroughly and for all time. Charles G. Finney\textsuperscript{21} in writing of Walker's qualifications for teaching in Oberlin Collegiate Institute in 1841 declared that he "has read considerable Latin."\textsuperscript{22}

Amasa's enthusiasm for Latin outran his strength and his health broke completely before he had finished a year's work.\textsuperscript{23} His illness lasted for several months and he gave up all expectations of going to college. He always regretted that he had no knowledge of Greek and Algebra. Except for these omissions he felt that his educational equipment had satisfactorily met all situations in which he had ever found himself.\textsuperscript{24}

Throughout his life he was troubled by ill health. As a baby he had been very ill with a neck swelling. It finally disappeared but he was not always able as a child to take part in the outdoor games of the other children. Although his natural tendency toward reading and study was heightened by his physical weakness, he was, however, not altogether cheated out of a child's normal play and fun,\textsuperscript{25} for his illnesses seem to have been intermittent. Here is one of his youthful exploits: "Two little boys, one about ten, the other twelve years of age, went off one afternoon on a tramp, to see what they could find, and wandered down to the little brook that runs toward the west, upon the north of the village. Following the stream down through the alders,

\textsuperscript{21}Charles G. Finney was the great revivalist who later became President of Oberlin College. At the time this was written he was Professor of Theology at Oberlin.
\textsuperscript{22}Finney to Rev. Henry Cowles, Dsc. 22, 1841 (\textit{Cowles Papers}, Oberlin College Library).
\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Tbid.}, I, 27.
\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Tbid.}, 45.
they at length entered a dark ravine which they had never seen before. The trees (mostly hemlock) rose to a great height, and secluded[sic] the rays of the sun to such an extent as to give the place a very sombre appearance and the little fellows were much impressed with the solemn stillness of the place. Not a sound was heard except the croaking of a blue-jay in the trees.

"Looking around them they discovered in a large hemlock, far up in the branches, a huge pile of leaves, which they took to be a nest, the oldest boy said to his brother, 'Walter, now you boost'. He did so, with all his might, and Amasa mounted into the tree. Arriving near the great collection of leaves, he put his hand upon it, when out jumped several curious little animals -- or birds -- which sailed off across the brook. One of them was, however, caught by the boy on the ground, but it had been killed by the fall. What a curious creature it was! Not a bird, yet it had a sort of wings. It seemed to be, as the boys agreed: 'a squirrel with a great coat on'.

"After gazing about the ravine to their satisfaction, the boys went home, but took their captured animal with them. 'Mother, what is this?' inquired Walter; but Mother could not tell. Father, however, came in, and was appealed to. 'Oh, my sons! it is a flying squirrel!' Ah, that is the thing. Well, neither of the boys had seen a flying squirrel, so it was a great curiosity."26

Amasa was twelve when he made this important discovery. About the same time, the summer of 1811, which was a noteworthy one in his young life, preparations were begun to have a "Surtout"27 -- his first --

26 The North Brookfield Journal, July 26, 1875.
27 An overcoat.
made for him. The wool for the garment Amasa himself secured from a neighbor who was paying in wool for blacksmith work which Deacon Walter had done. The wool and the boy were both packed on the back of Jenny, the family horse, and taken home for his mother to sort and staple. The next step in the acquisition of his coat was a trip to the carding mill. In 1811 this was a new and wonderful invention. But the machine was slow and business was brisk so the work was not done for three weeks. His mother spun the wool into yarn and dispatched Amasa with the bundle to the weaver. Three weeks later he had the material, and was on his way with the flannel to the fulling mill. Here the material was to be dyed and dressed. Four weeks later Amasa, who was getting a little impatient by this time, set out on Jenny and brought the finished flannel home. It was a beautiful butternut color, so soft, and oh, so very shiny. He could already see himself in his glossy new surtout being admired by the other boys and girls. In the meantime, Aunt Debby, the dressmaker, had been engaged to come as soon as she had finished at Esquire Hale's. Amasa was again sent off on Jenny to bring her home with him. She collected her "goose," a tailor's iron, her great shears, thimble, and the other "fixings," and got on Jenny behind her young escort and they were on their way. The cutting, fitting, and basting began. Amasa was the center of everyone's attention. All three little boys were there to watch every move. By Saturday all was finished. How fortunate the next day was Sunday! Amasa wore his new coat to meeting and just as he had anticipated he was admired by all the boys and
girls. It was fortunate for him that the day was so fine for his audience was large. 29

29 Amasa Walker, Miscellaneous Articles, 3-9. This is a printed clipping, but the paper cannot be determined. This account has been included at some length because Amasa Walker in later life was fond of referring to it as an example of the primitive manufacturing process of that time in contrast with that of the middle nineteenth century.
Chapter II
KEEPIING STORE

The year 1814 found the Walker family seriously considering Amasa's future. His fondness for school led his ambitious parents to consider the possibility of a college education for him. He was much pleased with that prospect until it began to look as though a college education meant going into the ministry. His grandmother Carpenter was especially set on this course. His parents, too, were favorable. But at fifteen he relished neither law, medicine nor theology. The idea that college could prepare for any other profession or occupation than these three did not occur to any of them. Failing to warm up to this proposal his father had another in reserve for him. He proposed that Amasa learn the blacksmith trade with him and live at home. When he was of age he would give him half of the farm. But the honorable trade of his father and grandfather made no appeal to Amasa. He declared that he wanted to be a store-keeper.¹

Arrangements were made to give him a position in Colonel Henshaw's store in North Brookfield. On May 23, 1814 he was duly installed as clerk. He was greatly impressed by the dignity of his position. He worked early and late and took as much interest in the business as though it were his own. His employer appreciated his diligence and soon promoted him to "waiting on trade." His next promotion was to the position of bookkeeper, but he seems to have combined it with that of janitor and errand boy, because during the winter of 1815 and 1816

¹MS, Autobiography, I, 29.
he injured himself lifting loads too heavy for his slight strength. His injury forced him to remain at home during the winter months. It was at this time that he occupied himself by studying Latin and reciting to Dr. Snell. The college question was not altogether settled in his mind.

By spring he was sufficiently recovered to take another position. A Dr. Crossfield had opened a new store across the river in South Brookfield. Walker went to live with him while he clerked in the store. A few months later the store was burned to the ground. Aside from his illnesses this was his first great calamity. He was not at the store at the time, and his trunk containing all his worldly possessions was destroyed. Curiosities which he had carefully collected were in ashes. Digging around in the debris, he was able to find none of the money he had systematically saved except a few coins; all the paper money was gone, and to crown the disaster he was out of employment. He was fond, in later life, of referring to this incident to illustrate the difference between paper money and true money. He considered this experience one of his first lessons in political economy. From that time on he was an outspoken "hard money" man.

Dejection over this misfortune did not last long because his father secured a new position for him the day after the fire. The new place was in the store of Captain Moses Bond in North Brookfield. This success overjoyed him because Captain Bond's store was a first class

\[\text{2}\text{Ibid., I, 33; II, 69.}\]
\[\text{3MS. Autobiography, I, 31. See subsequent discussion of Amasa Walker's financial views, especially chapter XXII.}\]
establishment, large enough to boast two clerks besides the newcomer. He stayed there until the spring of 1817, when he left this work to begin serious preparation for entering college. It was at this time while studying Latin with Dr. Snell that his health broke completely and he gave up altogether the idea of a college course. Writing in his autobiography as an old man he expressed the belief that it was fortunate he never went to college for he believed himself better adapted to business than to the ministry, toward which college training would inevitably have led him.

For the next three years in the intervals when he was able, he taught district schools and worked in stores. At one time he taught in the same school which Fisher Ames had once kept. He taught in several different schools at various times and always claimed a great fondness for teaching. Had school teaching been looked upon in his day as a profession, he later declared, he would have found it greatly to his liking. If teaching had been his goal the prospects of a college education might have appealed to him more strongly when proposed to him at the age of fifteen.

Amasa's prospects for a long life, to say nothing of a successful one, looked very unpromising when he turned twenty-one. All of his undertakings up to that time, even though he had been temporarily successful in them, had been interrupted by recurring illnesses. Before he

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5Fisher Ames was a famous Massachusetts orator, elected to Congress in 1789 where his defense of Jay's Treaty brought him into national prominence.
became of age he had saved one hundred and thirty-six dollars out
of his wages as store clerk and school teacher. In 1820 Major Holt,
a West Brookfield store keeper, offered to sell him his store. Amasa
hesitated because he had so little money and because he was ill. At
the time the offer was made he was recovering from an illness which
had forced him several months earlier to give up his school teaching.
He discussed the proposition with his father who favored the plan
and loaned him about six hundred and fifty dollars which added to his
own savings enabled him to buy the store in partnership with Allen
Newell. In looking over the store Amasa noticed that much of the stock
was composed of unsaleable goods. He asked that three disinterested men
be appointed to appraise the value of the stock before a price was agreed
upon. This was done and the appraisers gave them what Amasa considered
a fair bargain.7 In business now for himself he worked even harder -- if
possible -- than he had worked as a clerk. His partner was as ambitious
as he and they divided their duties in such a way as to make Newell the
purchaser and Amasa the salesman. Their business prospered for almost
two and a half years. At the end of that time Amasa was offered a good
price for his interest in the store and sold out. He had put approximately
eight hundred dollars into the enterprise when he started out; when he
quit he took out three thousand five hundred and fifty dollars. In less
than two and a half years he had made a profit of considerably over twenty-
five hundred dollars. Such profits were almost unheard of in his commu-
nity. It is almost certain that no young man of his age in the community
had up to that time ever earned so much in the same length of time.

7Ibid., I, 39.
After years of business experience he himself always regarded this as a remarkable success. He attributed it to the fact that he and his partner paid "close attention to a business for which we were both well qualified."\(^8\)

After this successful venture he did not at once go into business for himself, but took an agency for the Methuen Manufacturing Company. While in Methuen he took an active part in the community life. He was superintendent of the Baptist Society the first year he was there, and of the Congregational Society\(^9\) the second. He and Timothy Claxton organized a literary society which lasted for many years. This was for Amasa the beginning of a long career in community leadership. His first experience away from his home community convinced him he was able to stand on his own feet, though his salary was but six hundred dollars a year. He stayed in Methuen two years, and when he left, the company offered to double his salary if he would remain with them.\(^10\)

But he was determined to move on. Boston, the Mecca of New England's commercially-minded youth, was beckoning him.

\(^8\)Ibid., I, 39.
\(^9\)Organisations corresponding to our present day Sunday Schools.
\(^10\)James Spear Loring, Hundred Boston Orators, 508.
PART II

MERCHANT AND REFORMER
CHAPTER III
A COUNTRY BOY IN THE SHOE BUSINESS

In 1825 Amasa went to Boston to sample the "greener pastures." In the 1820's the list of Boston merchants who had migrated from the country towns was large. By this move Amasa was joining the ranks in which Nathan Appleton, Amos and Abbott Lawrence, David Henshaw and J. K. Simpson were to be found.¹ He came to Boston with the proceeds of several successful years in business in his pocket. He did not have to start as clerk or errand boy as did many of the country boys who arrived in the city about this time. The shoe business, into which he chose to go, was at that time rapidly expanding in Massachusetts. He seems to have had some first-hand knowledge of the manufacturing of shoes. Tyler Batcheller, joined later by his brother, Ezra, was about this time beginning to manufacture shoes in North Brookfield on a fairly extensive scale for that day.² So in 1826 Amasa staked his savings and became a partner in the wholesale shoe business with Jonathan Carleton and his son, Charles G. Carleton. The company was known as Carleton, Walker and Company.³ In 1826 he married Emeline Carleton, daughter of Jonathan. She and their one child died in 1828.⁴

The place of business of the firm of Carleton, Walker and Company

¹Arthur B. Darling, Political Changes in Massachusetts 1824-1848, 6-7.
²T. & E. Batcheller became an important shoe company, and the two brothers became very rich merchants. Between 1830 and 1834 Freeman Walker was in partnership with them. Freeman Walker was Amasa's youngest brother. -- Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, III, 572-573.
³MS. Autobiography, II, 73.
⁴Ibid., 75.
was at 22 South Market Street. Their first sales were made to southern merchants. In 1825 there were no shoe manufacturers in Boston. All the business was done through the wholesalers, or jobbing houses as they were then more commonly called. Carleton, Walker and Company's sales for their first year were $25,000. Theirs was the biggest wholesale shoe house in the city at that time. When Amasa first entered the business it was the common practice to "consign" shipments of goods to commission merchants in New York, Charleston, Savannah, or Baltimore -- wherever the goods were going. This method of business, he later wrote, ate up a large share of the wholesaler's profits. Some of the Quaker shoe merchants of Lynn decided there was no sense in paying so much tribute to the southern commission merchants and they declared they would not consign their goods any longer. They wrote to their buyers and informed them of the new policy, but told them they would be ready to do business with them in their wholesale houses in Lynn. The Lynn Quakers were as good as their word, and stayed in their warehouses. The retailers found if they were going to satisfy the demands of their customers they would have to go to Lynn, or some other shoe center, and choose their own stock. In a few years the entire New England shoe trade was changed. Shortly after 1830 when this change in the wholesale system had been accomplished the profits of the shoe trade greatly increased.  

The profits of Walker's firm illustrate the improvement in the

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5 *Hist. of Suffolk County*, III, 318.
6 *Proceedings at the Opening of the Rooms of the New England Shoe and Leather Association*, 78, and *Shoe and Leather Reporter*, July 20, 1872.
shoe business at this time. In 1825 -- his first year in business -- his firm had sales of $25,000, in 1830, in business for himself, his sales totalled $30,000. By 1836 when all the business was done on the new basis his sales for the year were $600,000. In these years the shoe business was new, and very little was known about its possibilities. In writing and speaking of this period of his career in later life Walker always told amusing incidents showing how little was known of the business and how most people considered it a pretty poor business. He told the story of his partner, Elijah C. Emerson, going to a landlord in Pearl Street and asking to "hire" a store. When he was asked for what business the store was to be used the prospective landlord was very surprised to think that a shoe jobber could make money, and asked if he could afford to pay the rent. Taxes in those years, Walker declared, were very small, because the public apparently believed that a shoe dealer was unable to pay a high tax. He paid $72.75 in taxes in 1835 and $102.50 in 1836 -- the year in which his sales amounted to $600,000. Two other companies of about the same size, Joseph Whitney and Company and Cheever Newhall and Company, paid approximately the same amount in taxes. After the panic of 1837, however, taxes went up much higher while at the same time business was greatly reduced.

Between 1825 and 1829 Walker was in various partnerships. He dissolved his partnership with Jonathan Carleton in 1826. He and Charles Carleton then formed a connection with Alba Spear in New York, the firm being known as Spear, Carleton, and Company. Carleton and Walker also

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7Hist. of Suffolk County, III, 318.
8Proceedings, op. cit., 9-10.
had an interest in Weaver and Company in Richmond, Virginia. In 1829, however, he dissolved all his partnerships and continued in business alone.\(^9\) Thereafter his company was known as Amasa Walker and Company. At the time he went into business alone he had been in Boston four years. He later declared that in that time he had made no actual profits, but he had established a reputation and as he said "gained experience."\(^10\) That was the all-important something in which all early American businessmen believed. Frequently that was about all the young country clerks got for many years of twelve-hour, sometimes thirteen, even fourteen-hour days.

Amasa was alive to the intellectual and social opportunities which his new location offered. He improved every one of those opportunities, attending lectures, celebrations, political speeches and church services as often as he could. Before he had been in the city many months he wrote to his brother, Freeman, describing the laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill monument. That he was full of enthusiasm and keenly impressionable can be seen from this letter:

"Boston June 18, 1825

Dear Brother,

Yesterday was the evermemorable 17th June & the splendid celebration of the occasion equalled or excelled my most sanguine expectation. The day was ushered in by the discharge of cannon. The light troops began to assemble at 3 o'clock & about 10 the procession began

\(^9\)MS Autobiography, II, 75.
\(^{10}\)Ibid.
to move -- and for numbers & brilliancy of appearance has never been
excelled. The troops were of the finest description & made the hand-
somest display that ever I saw. The masons especially the higher order
looked grand, the Knights Templar were draped in the most superb black
uniforms I ever beheld, trimmed with laces & wearing jewels\textsuperscript{11} --
Then there was good Lafayette in a Barouche he was cheered the whole dis-
tance from Boston to Bunker Hill, the Old Revolutionaries in carriages
looked venerable & interesting -- Large Bands of music played Old Yankee
Doodle & other popular airs -- on reaching the Hill the ceremony of Lay-
ing the cornerstone took place after which there was a discharge of
Artillery. The company then repaired to a large Amphitheater erected
for the purpose with a forum in the center where prayer was offered then
Ode, tune, old hundred, with a full band, rich I tell you -- then the
great Webster presented himself & now came the best of the whole, but I
cannot describe the scene with justice, but if you will conceive the
place, the occasion, the survivors of the Battle, the old revolutionary
officers, Lafayette & immense concourse of spectators, you may well sup-
pose that it called forth all the eloquence of the speaker, oh, it
thrilled through my being to hear such touching allusions to the great
scenes that had occured on this celebrated consecrated spot. But when he
addressed the old Survivors of the Battle, they all rose & uncovered
their white heads, and if the sight was not melting and sublime I don't
know what could be, & when he said 'Fathers, fifty years ago this very
hour you were here, but how changed the scene', etc. etc. \textsuperscript{12} I
will only say that sometimes the tears ran from my eyes & sometimes I
\textsuperscript{11}This description is interesting in view of his later attitude to-
ward the Masonic Order. See chapter XI.
laughed, so carried away was I by the eloquence of the speaker & the interesting association of the place & occasion."12

12Amasa Walker to Freeman Walker, June 18, 1825, in Autograph Letter Book (see Bibliography).
CHAPTER IV

SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL MEAT

When first in Boston much of Amasa's social life centered in the church group. He joined Lyman Beecher's Hanover Street Church on coming to Boston and was soon acquainted through this connection with many of the orthodox Congregationalists in Boston. Describing his first years there he wrote that he "went to Boston to live in 1825 under very pleasant circumstances." He was "introduced at once into excellent society and plenty of it. Miss Carleton's family was one of the most prominent in the Baptist Denomination, and I was soon acquainted with the elite of that portion of the religious public."14

Hanover Church was organized in 1825; Amasa was an early member. In writing later of this church Walker recalled that Dr. Beecher's congregation was composed almost entirely of young men -- he recalled in fact but three or four who had grey hairs. He added the interesting fact that most of these young men were from the country.15 The stronghold of Congregational orthodoxy was in the country churches, for Unitarianism had made little headway in the country districts.16 Beecher recognized that he had an unusually large group of young men so he determined to organize them into a society. This organization was known as the Young Men's Hanover Association. The group included almost all of the men of Hanover Church and in addition young men from other churches.

13Emeline Carleton, whom he married in 1825. See page 20.
14MS. Autobiography, I, 151.
15Ibid.
16Arthur B. Darling, Political Changes in Massachusetts 1824 - 1848, 36.
in the city. Under the leadership of Lyman Beecher the Association interested itself in numerous reforms. At first they concerned themselves primarily with three subjects, intemperance, gambling and theatrical amusements. Amasa's first active interest in reform movements came through his association with this group. He became a leader in the Hanover Association almost at once. The work of the church and society together with the development of his business occupied most of his time from the very beginning to the end of his stay in Boston. Walker became interested in some of the orthodox-Unitarian legal tangles, and was instrumental in discontinuing the use of trust-deeds by orthodox churches. Most of the original meeting houses in Boston were in the hands of the Unitarians by 1825. It became necessary for the minority groups, usually the orthodox members, to erect new churches. In doing so it was customary to place control of the building in the hands of trustees in order to prevent them from ever becoming Unitarian. It was a very undemocratic system. The church had no control over the choice of a minister, even, unless the trustees ratified the decision. When the Hanover Church building was erected Amasa insisted they should do away with the trust-deed provision. Some of the timid ones hesitated, fearing that the old enemy, Unitarianism, would again raise its head. As Amasa later said they seemed to have little faith in the power of Truth, as they saw it, to prevail. The church had a long discussion on this issue. Finally the liberals led by Amasa won out. Shortly thereafter the trust-deed system was abandoned by the other orthodox Congregational Churches in the city.

17 MS. Autobiography, I, 151.
18 Julius A. Palmer, Hanover Church, Boston, 15.
19 MS. Autobiography, II, 35.
The first Lyceum in Boston was supported mainly by members of the Hanover Association. The Lyceum in Boston is said by some to have been the first in the country, though others claim that one was established as early as 1825 in Worcester, Massachusetts. The Boston Lyceum was organized in 1829. Amasa Walker appears as its first secretary, in 1832 he was made president of the organization. He was on the board of managers for fourteen years, in fact, until he left the city.

The Lyceum movement in the years following 1829 grew to enormous proportions. It exerted much influence in favor of self-improvement. Emerson by means of the Lyceum was enabled to reach many more people than he could have done had he remained in the church. He is said once to have remarked "My pulpit is the Lyceum platform." When he left the pulpit in 1832 he merely transferred his ministry to the Lyceum platform. It has been said that in this capacity he created a new profession, that of the lecturer.

The aims of the Boston Lyceum are illuminating and expressive of the reform sentiment of the age. Chosen in 1833 to deliver the Address to the Young Men of Boston interested in social and moral improvement Walker discussed the work of the Lyceums. "The pulpit," he said, "stands the guardian of Christian morals; our schools are the nurseries of learning to youth; but what shall keep alive among the great body of the people, a becoming interest in the improvement and cultivation of their minds through their whole lives?" The answer to that question, he believed was the Lyceum. The prime leaders in the movement had a supreme

20Ibid., Autobiography, II, 35.
21Ibid., 75; Loring, op. cit., 508-509.
22Ibid., 508-509; MS. Autobiography, II, 75.
23"The American Lyceum", Old South Leaflets, No. 139, 311, f.n.
24Delivered July 4, 1833 at Channing Place Church, Boston.
faith in the educability of man: "we think it more important that the many should be well informed, than that the few should be learned...."  

Specifically the Boston Lyceum wished, he declared, "to change the MORAL CHARACTER of our metropolis. We will not slander our own fair city. We believe she stands on as high an elevation as any other in the land. Yet is it not true, that even here vice finds a shelter, and profligates a home? ... Temptations are laid in every street, by which multitudes are enticed and destroyed. We hope by the influence of moral associations, to form among young men a virtuous public sentiment, to render every departure from rectitude unpopular and disgraceful. We hope to prove by actual demonstration, that great cities are not necessarily, as the proverb says, 'great sores'."  

In his first years in Boston Amasa's business naturally required his close attention, but he was always ready to divide his time between business and the reforms in which he was interested. This division of interest can be well seen by looking at a section of a chronology of his life which he wrote in later life telling of his important activities from year to year. For the years 1829 to 1839 it reads thus:  

"1829 Engaged very actively in getting up the Boston Lyceum -- was its first Secretary and took the laboring car in carrying it forward.  
1830 Devoting my time very earnestly to the building up of my business.  
1831 Do  
1832 President of the Boston Lyceum .... About this time I was made a Director in the Franklyn [sic] Bank.  
1833 Gave 4th of July oration before the Young Men's Societies of Boston in Channing Place Church -- published --

26Ibid., 12.
1834 Married Hannah Ambrose of Concord, N. H. June 23d.
Wrote series of Articles ...that called attention to the nec-
essity of a Railroad connecting Boston with Albany and the
Great West.

1837 Was a Director in the Western R.R. ....

1838 President of the American Physiological Convention.

1839 President of Boston City Temperance Society .... The first
Teetotal Society of B[oston]." 27

Every item of this list, with the exception of the reference to his
marriage, concerned either business or a reform movement.

Although Amasa's interest in the Lyceum began and belongs pri-
marily to his business years he continued his interest long after he
had retired from active business life. On retiring to North Brook-
field, his boyhood home, he discovered that a Lyceum already existed
in the town. He joined it at once, was the president for several
years and was at other times the unofficial leader in the organization. 28

The North Brookfield Lyceum was a very active organization, and was al-
ways well attended. It published a weekly newspaper which was called

The Depot. The women of the Lyceum contributed mainly to this pub-
lication. In writing of this association Amasa declared that it was the
most active association he knew of outside of Boston. He was well
qualified to pass such a judgment, for he himself was often on the
lecture platform. He had in that way come in contact with numerous
organizations. He was one of the most popular lecturers in western
Massachusetts. Elihu Burritt on one occasion asked that Amasa Walker
take his place at a peace meeting in Springfield, Massachusetts, be-
because he "would draw better" being very popular with the people of

27 MS. Autobiography, II, 75-77.
28 Loring, op. cit., 509.
that region, and would be able to do more good for the cause of peace, than he or any other. ²⁹ No less a person than Wendell Phillips, another great Lyceum lecturer, declared that the name of Amasa Walker ought never to be mentioned without honor in a New England lecture room "for he did much, labored most efficiently, to launch this system of lectures in Massachusetts".³⁰ During and after the Civil War Walker usually lectured on economic subjects; his earlier lectures were almost always on some one of the contemporary reforms in which he was interested. During the Civil War he lectured at the Amherst Lyceum on "The Financial Results of the English Revolution of 1688". The Amherst Express gave a lengthy description of his lecture and then made this comment: "During the Lecture it was whispered among the audience that Manassas was evacuated. After Mr. Walker had concluded Professor Vose [Chairman] read...the confirmation of the cheering news. It was received with hearty applause."³¹ At that moment the speech came in second.

The social aspects of the Lyceum were unquestionably one of its claims to success, but not the sole one. The North Brookfield Lyceum's claim to honor as an active organization came from the unusual group of speakers it was able to procure. No mystery surrounds North Brookfield's unusual roster of Lyceum speakers. Such men as Charles Sumner, Horace

³⁰From a clipping in Miscellaneous Scrap Book (see Bibliography), 24-25. The article concerns a speech by Wendell Phillips in Tremont Temple, April 17,1862. The paper and the date of issue are not given.
³¹March 14,1862.
Mann, Henry Ward Beecher\textsuperscript{32} and many more -- the best lecturers of the day -- came at the invitation of the society's chief member, Amasa Walker. He was widely acquainted. Because of his interest in such a variety of subjects and causes he knew most of the country's greatest political and literary men, its reformers and businessmen. Charles Sumner wrote him in 1846 in regard to a lecture in North Brookfield: "I am ready to start at 4 o'clock & to lecture as soon as I arrive, if you think it worth while. But I feel that I shall interfere with the habit of your people, by such an unusual hour. I throw myself in this matter upon your frankness & friendship. I shall visit Brookfield with great pleasure, because it is your home; but I have no desire to lecture anywhere & I hope, therefore, you will tell me frankly if it is best that the whole plan be given up.

"If you should conclude to have me lecture on Wednesday evng, I shall leave on the 4 o'clock train, & will be ready to speak as soon as I leave the carriage, without one minute's delay. My own journey will be a good illustration of my subject 'Employment of Time'.

Yours faithfully

[signed] Charles Sumner\textsuperscript{33}

Again in 1854 Sumner was invited to lecture in North Brookfield. He declined the offer, though as he said "your invitation tempts me."\textsuperscript{34}

In 1865 William Lloyd Garrison came to lecture to the Lyceum in North Brookfield; again it was Amasa who had given the invitation. Garrison wrote: "Dear Friend -- I am much obliged to you for your letter of the

\textsuperscript{32}All these men and many more lectured in North Brookfield. -- MS. Autobiography, II, 55.
\textsuperscript{33}Charles Sumner to Amasa Walker, Nov. 27, 1846, in Autograph Letter Book.
\textsuperscript{34}Charles Sumner to Amasa Walker, Oct., 1854 in \textit{Ibid.}
21st inst, and the overture contained in it. It will give me great pleasure to lecture in North Brookfield; and as you give me the choice of evenings, I will name Thursday evening, January 11th as the time. 35 Presumably some of the speakers brought to the North Brookfield Lyceum platform seemed a little too radical for a portion of the society's members, because the organization was finally disrupted by a faction which insisted on passing a resolution to the effect that "no lecturer be hereafter employed who is not evangelical in sentiments". Amasa and a majority of the group opposed the resolution, but the disruption caused over this issue finally dissolved the Lyceum. 36

Though in this instance the undertaking floundered on the rock of theological controversy in its prime the Lyceum was a common clearing house for all humanitarian reforms. It was a forum from which the most radical and the most conservative might be heard. When, as president of the Boston Lyceum in 1833, Amasa gave his speech to the Young Men of Boston eleven societies in the city united in the meeting. The term Lyceum was used in a broad sense so as to include all societies whose aims were the improvement of society members and society generally. Of the eleven societies associated in 1833 two of them called themselves Lyceums, one was a Bible society, one a literary society, two debating societies, two temperance societies, two library associations and one, the Boston Young Men's Society, had no special designation. 37 His final plea to this group was not for the Lyceum alone, but for several specific reforms as well: "...Let us prosecute our labors in

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[35 William Lloyd Garrison to Amasa Walker, Dec. 25, 1865 in Ibid.]
[36 MS. Autobiography, II, 55.]
[37 Walker, op. cit., 3.]
the cheering hope, that we shall contribute our part towards hasten-
ing that happy era, when it shall not be necessary to license seven
hundred persons in Boston, to distribute liquid poison daily, *for
the public good*; when every moral nuisance shall be removed, and the
cities of our land be no longer the abode of pestilence and death; when
a public sentiment shall be formed, before whose healthful and omni-
potent influence, vice and profligacy shall be banished from all places
of honor and trust; when mental culture shall be the absorbing object
of youthful ambition, and intellectual emulation be their *esprit du
corps*; when the taste of the community shall not require vicious and de-
grading amusements, not coarse and vulgar appeals to their passions;
when WOMAN shall stand forth in all her innate moral and intellectual
beauty, enjoying that silent, graveful, yet commanding influence, to
which, even in the most refined and elevated society, she has never been
permitted to attain; when the love of acquiring wealth shall be uni-
versally blended with a disposition to use it for the general good; when
the interests and feelings of our citizens shall be so united and har-
monious that no lines of invidious distinction can be drawn; when all
shall enjoy equal advantages, as well as equal right; and WHEN THE FREE
INSTITUTIONS OF OUR HAPPY LAND SHALL FIRMLY REST ON THE IMPERISHABLE
FOUNDATION OF UNIVERSAL INTELLIGENCE, AND PUBLIC VIRTUE.\(^{38}\)

After the Civil War, the term Lyceum and to some extent the organi-
sations were superseded by new and different organizations. Walker did
not deplore the passing of the old, but commended the work of the new
organizations which were similar in purpose to the old. He praised,
particularly, the Young Men's Christian Association whose progress he ob-
erved first in the early seventies in Washington, D. C. He compared its

\(^{38}\text{Ibid., 31.}\)
work to the work of the Young Men's Association at the Hanover Street Church in Boston. He was not alarmed by a change in name as many old persons would have been, but pleased at their similar aims.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{39}The Congregationalist, Jan. 8, 1872.
CHAPTER V

"ELEVATING THE FEMALE MIND"

Walker always gave much of the credit for the success of the Lyceum movement to women, who were admitted from the very beginning. Lyceums were co-educational institutions before colleges were. The preliminary meeting to consider the possibility of forming a Boston Lyceum was held in the vestry of Lyman Beecher's church in 1824.¹

The meeting grew out of the discussions of the Hanover Association as to how best to counteract the evil influence of the theatre. Walker and several others suggested a course of popular lectures on literary and scientific subjects. The young men became quite enthusiastic in their plans. Lyman Beecher, after listening to their soarings thought he would have to bring them back to earth. In his hard-headed way he got up in the meeting and told the members, many of them of his congregation, that their plan for a popular Lyceum reminded him of a very ingenious machine which a former neighbor of his had constructed. "It was a beautiful machine, a complicated machine, its object was grand, nothing short of perpetual motion. It lacked only one thing, it wouldn't go." And he added that their popular Lyceum "wouldn't go" either. Walker rose and spoke for the group: "Dr. Beecher has lost sight of the new motive power upon which we rely to make our Lyceum go, it is feminine influence. We propose not only to invite our young men to attend the Lyceum themselves but to bring the ladies with them." The experiment was considered worth trying by the majority.² It was undoubtedly the

¹It was formally organized the next year.
²Woman's Journal (Boston), May 23, 1874.
the presence of women which gave the Lyceum its strong social appeal. The Boston Lyceum began operations in Chauncey-place Hall, but it soon outgrew those quarters and moved to Tremont Temple. In a few years after the founding of the organization even this large auditorium would not seat all those who desired to purchase course tickets. Some lectures were repeated a second night in order to take care of the crowds.

In 1835 the Boston Lyceum debated this question: "Would the condition of Society and of Woman be improved, by placing the two sexes on an equality in respect to civil rights and duties?" The negative was upheld by three speakers, the affirmative, by two. Although debaters often spoke on the opposite side from which they believed, the affirmative on this question was, at least numerically, weak. The Boston Journal in writing of the debate declared that the Odeon was crowded and that women were well represented. They may have held their own in the audience but it is interesting to know that none were on the platform. The old arguments of physical and intellectual inferiority were brought out by the negative, that woman in public life would lose her attractiveness for men (an intolerable situation!). It was further urged that if woman took part in public life she would neglect her home and children.

Amasa Walker then spoke for the affirmative saying that the granting of equality in civil rights would improve society and woman. He declared that the fundamental issue involved in the debate question was the

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3Loring, op. cit., 508-509.
4Woman's Journal, May 23, 1874.
5The Woman's Journal, Aug. 21, 1875, describes this meeting by quoting from a contemporary account in the Boston Journal.
6Large public hall in Boston.
enfranchisement of women who represent half the population. He sketched the attempts of women to secure equal rights in England and referred to the Women's Rights movement in this country which, he was glad to say, had made some headway. He told the audience that in his opinion women should be permitted to meet without being mobbed as had been known to happen in the enlightened city of Boston.\(^7\) He declared that the exclusion of women from many profitable employments for which she was qualified and capable amounted to oppression. He also declared that although women had no civil privileges yet they were taxed for property which they owned and he reminded the audience that "taxation without representation" had caused trouble before and might again. He declared that for himself he saw nothing "horrifying" in the custom of allowing women to speak in public, or to take part in political affairs. The city had heard Fanny Kemble and Ellen Tree\(^8\) speak in public with no ill effects, he reminded his Boston audience. When women had the ability, he believed, that they should be allowed to hold professorships in colleges. He said that Mrs. Somerville\(^9\) of England was one of the three most distinguished mathematicians of the past century, and that Harriet Martineau of their own generation excelled in the difficult study of political economy. He declared finally that the "motive force" behind the Boston Lyceum had been the presence of women in the organization. The audience voted almost unanimously in favor of the negative side. Later Amasa de-

\(^7\)Walker seems to have been referring to an occurrence in Boston in 1835. At the time Garrison was mobbed, a mob by mistake attacked a meeting of the Female Moral Reform Society. -- Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, Report, 1835, 12-15.

\(^8\)Frances Anne (Fanny) Kemble was an Anglo-American actress and writer who attained great popularity in the United States. Ellen Tree was an English actress.

\(^9\)Mary Fairfax Somerville was a Scottish astronomer and physicist.
clared that he cast the only affirmative vote; apparently even his colleague forseak him. The Boston Journal made this interesting comment: "We could not but regret that as this question involved to a very important extent the interests of women, an invitation had not been extended to the ladies present to take a part in the discussion."\textsuperscript{10} It would be interesting to know whether "the ladies present" voted in the negative or whether they refrained "out of delicacy" from voting. There is nothing to indicate that they were prevented from voting.

Walker was always very outspoken on the subject of "female participation in lyceums" as his Speech before the Young Men of Boston showed. He declared at that time that the success of the Lyceum movement to that point, 1833, had been in great part due to their policy of "enlisting the sympathies and assistance of the female mind." Even the most advanced feminist of 1833 must have applauded when he declared: "We hold the truth to be self evident; that females are endowed with intellectual faculties; that they have a natural taste for rational amusements, that if opportunity be afforded, will participate in them with as much eagerness and pleasure as the other sex. This doctrine we knew was not long been believed; or if admitted in theory, has not been practised. To the scenes of splendor and gayety, to the temples of folly and fashion, ladies have for centuries been invited as companions; but from the halls of science, from entertainments of a purely intellectual nature, they have, in past times, been carefully excluded, by the lords of creation; whether from a belief in the maxim

\textsuperscript{10}Woman's Journal, Aug. 21, 1875, quoting from the Boston Journal, 1835.
of despots, that 'the more ignorance the more peace;' or from a mis-
taken apprehension, that the female mind was too weak to grasp the
truths of science, too depraved to enjoy rational pursuits, we will
not determine. Certain, however, we are of the fact; ladies, to all
intents and purposes, have heads, as well as hearts; intellectual
powers, as well as tender sensibilities; and that both these may be en-
listed in the cause of virtue and knowledge with great facility and
success. The application of this principle has contributed more than
any one thing to the universal popularity and general establishment of
Lyceums in every section of the United States, and will do more than
any other towards producing all those happy effects, which the friends
of those institutions so fondly and ardently anticipate. 11

The advocates of woman suffrage could always be sure that their
requests were presented when Amasa Walker was participating in any
meeting. As the antislavery men turned to John Quincy Adams to present
their petitions in Congress at this time, so the advocates of woman
suffrage were sure of a friend in Walker. In 1832 at the Massachusetts
Antimasonic Convention, to which he was a delegate, he presented a reso-
lution "that the ladies be invited to be present this evening, and that
the committee provide seats for their accommodation." 12 He was a delegate
in 1843 to the first world peace convention. He moved this resolution:
"That Christian women having as deep an interest as any other portion
of society in the progress of peace, owe to this cause the same aid they

11 Walker, op. cit., 18-19. This statement offers good evidence that
Walker was not influenced by the improved status of women in what he
wrote in later life about the importance of women to the Lyceum move-
ment.
12 Antimasonic Republican Convention, Mass., 1832, 5.
have with so much zeal and success rendered to kindred enterprises of benevolence and reform." The resolution was unanimously passed by the convention.13

Amasa seems to have taken no active part in the controversy over the "woman question" in either the American Antislavery Society or the New England Non-Resistance Society. In the latter instance, however, he did not ask as did George Beckwith and others to have his name withdrawn from the convention list because Abby Kelley and Mrs. Maria Chapman, both important reformers, were serving on committees.14 It was William Lloyd Garrison who was pushing the "woman question" into both the Peace and Antislavery organizations.15

Much later when Walker was in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853 Francis Jackson16 and others petitioned that the word "male" be removed from that part of the new Massachusetts' constitution which dealt with the requirements for voting in the state. Abby B. Alcott17 and others at the same time petitioned that the women of Massachusetts be permitted to vote on the amendments being made to the constitution. Walker was chairman of the committee on suffrage and gave these petitions considerable notice in his report: "The Committee feel that in making this Report they should not do justice to themselves

13Proceedings of the First Peace Convention, 40-41.
15Finally the American Antislavery Society split on the issue of women's participation. Garrison's opponents organized the American and Foreign Antislavery Society under the leadership of Arthur Tappan.
16A well-known abolitionist who was closely associated with William Lloyd Garrison.
17Wife of Bronson Alcott and mother of Louisa A. Alcott.
or to the intelligent and respectable petitioners, if they did not frankly state the reasons on which their conclusion is founded.

"The petitioners ask that women may be allowed the right of suffrage, in matters pertaining to political affairs. The request is a novel one, and so far as known to the Committee the first ever presented to any government or other political organization." The committee had given the petitioners several hearings at which they had contended among other things that women are taxed and are therefore entitled to representation, that as human beings they have human rights among which is the right to a voice in the government, that their ability and education give them as good a title to political participation as many who already exercise the elective franchise. But the committee reported that since less than 2,000 of the 200,000 women over twenty-one years of age in Massachusetts had petitioned it seemed that the majority of the women of Massachusetts "consented" to the government over them. Furthermore, the report pointed out that women did have the right of petition for redress of wrongs. The committee went on to report that on occasion women in the state had used their right of petition as when over 50,000 of them at one time petitioned the General Court to pass a law suppressing the sale of intoxicating drinks. The final recommendation made by Walker, as chairman of the committee, was that it was inexpedient to take any action in relation to the petition. 18 Neither this recommendation nor the report as a whole represented his reasoning alone, but rather that of the entire committee. Despite this report the friends of women suffrage could always be sure that they had a friend in Amasa,

and that their petitions would be heard. Perhaps his ardor had some-
what cooled since the 1835 Lyceum debate, perhaps other members of the
committee determined the report which was made to the convention.

Some of the credit for Amasa's interest in the rights of women
undoubtedly belonged to his wife, Hannah Ambrose, whom he married in
1834. She was the daughter of a well-to-do merchant in Concord, New
Hampshire. She was well educated and very practical as her correspond-
ence with her daughter clearly shows. She was interested in the same
reforms which occupied her husband during his business years in Boston
and later reform activities as well. She does not appear, ever, as a
leader in any of the reform organizations, not even those exclusively
for women. She gave, however, her support in unobtrusive ways. She
wrote Mrs. Maria Chapman, editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard: "Enclosed
are five dollars for the Anti-Slavery Standard -- I send it, not as a
member of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, but as a friend of the slave
--- and with the hope that it will truly be, what it professes to be --
an Anti-Slavery paper."¹⁹

In the same way she preferred to stand behind her husband.

Their interest in the women's movement outlived by far their Boston
chapter of the reform movement. Julia Ward Howe wrote Amasa in 1871
telling him where the Woman Suffrage Convention was to meet and when.
She invited him at the same time to be present at the meeting.²⁰ Just
two years before her death Mrs. Walker wrote her daughter that "the

¹⁹Hannah A. Walker to Mrs. Maria Chapman, June 30, 1840 (Weston Papers).
female suffragists — Mr. and Mrs. Blackwell" had stayed with them for a week. 21 In 1872 the Walkers were still interested enough in the suffrage cause to attend meetings while vacationing in Washington, D.C. Amasa wrote to his daughter: "The Woman's Suffrage Convention is also in full operation. I have attended once and your mother once, but we have not been greatly edified. It is the 'Woodhull' wing 22 of the movement." 23

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21 Nov. 6, 1873. The reference is probably to Henry Blackwell and Lucy Stone Blackwell though it might possibly refer to Dr. Samuel C. Blackwell and Antoinette Louisa Brown Blackwell, as both couples could be designated, "female suffragists".
22 So-called for Victoria Claflin Woodhull, 1838-1927, who advocated Women's Rights, a Single Standard of Morality, Free Love, and other "advanced" ideas.
23 Jan., 12, 1872.
CHAPTER VI
BUSINESS AGAIN

Business was not neglected because Walker gave so much of his time to reform movements. Before he had been in the city three years he was made a director in the newly chartered Atlantic National Bank and in 1832 he was made a director in the Franklin Bank along with David Henshaw, the Democratic leader in Massachusetts during and after the Jacksonian period. In 1836 the Shoe and Leather Dealers Bank was incorporated by the state legislature. This was the first money institution connected directly with the trade and attests the growth of the business. Amasa's business was keeping pace with the trade as a whole as can be seen by his increased banking interests. When the new bank was established Amasa Walker and Company was listed as one of the biggest of the original stockholders. They held one hundred shares at $100.00 per share. Eight others held a similar share, only two held more, the Boston Savings Bank with two hundred and fifty shares, and the Pacific Insurance Company with six hundred shares. When he first went to Boston the bulk of his trade had been with southern merchants; after a few years his sales in the West, particularly in St. Louis, became very large. One of his earliest and best customers there was John Warburton whose purchases from Walker, Emerson and Company in 1836 amounted to $20,000. Other St. Louis merchants followed his lead until Walker's 6

1Hist. of Suffolk County, II, 275-276.
2Darling, op. cit., 15, f. n.
3Hist. of Suffolk County, II, 296-297.
4He was now in partnership with Elijah C. Emerson.
company was doing a larger business than any other company in Boston. With a growing business in the West his attention was naturally turned about this time to the all-absorbing question of railroads. Every eastern city was vying with every other. Boston, Baltimore, and New York, were especially active in their attempts to become the largest coast terminus. In 1835 Walker wrote a series of articles in the Daily Advertiser (Boston) calling attention to Boston's need of a western railroad. He signed these articles "South Market Street." The immediate goal was to connect Boston with Albany. There was already in existence a short line between Boston and Worcester. He and other Boston merchants proposed to build a new line from Worcester to Albany. Largely as a result of Walker's articles, and, of course, the general interest in the subject on the part of Boston merchants, a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall in the autumn of 1835. Abbott Lawrence presided. Speeches were made by Edward Everett, Amasa Walker, Henry Williams and others influential in the commerce and government of the state. About Amasa's speech Wendell Phillips later declared: "Thirty years ago, in Faneuil Hall, in an assemblage of merchants, called to consider the question of building railroads -- I am old enough to remember when, thirty years ago, in Faneuil Hall,[sic] Amasa Walker prophesied that the boy was then living who would see such methods of travel as would carry a man from Boston to St. Louis in five days. The prophecy was received with shouts of derision and contempt. The boundless energy of New England and New York has stirred itself, and to-day you may go to St. Louis and back again

5Shoe and Leather Reporter, Jan. 4, 1875.
6Hist. of Suffolk County, II, 680-681.
7Darling, op. cit., 43-44, f. n. Walker was also interested in this regard because it would go through his home town.
8Hamilton A. Hill, Memoir of Abbott Lawrence, 11-12.
in five days." Abbott Lawrence told the audience that the western canals had improved Boston's trade enormously and so would a western railroad. Edward Everett also prophesied that railroads would within a short time be built to the far West. The next year as Governor he congratulated the legislature on the raising of the two millions for the capital stock of the company, to be known as the Western Railroad. Amasa had done more than his share in obtaining the necessary subscribers. During 1836 the state authorized the appropriation of one million dollars for the railroad. The corporation was organized that year and in 1837 Amasa was made a director. He served for four years, three years as director for the company, and the last year as State Director. The appropriation made to the railroad by the state carried with it the right to appoint state directors. As the appropriations were increased the number of state directors also increased.

In 1839 the road was not yet completed despite the state's aid. At the same time there arrived in the vicinity of Boston Dr. Silas Reed of St. Louis who had written three letters to Walker on the need of a continuous railroad line from Boston to the Mississippi, or to St. Louis. After reading the letters Walker saw that they found their way into the hands of the other directors of the Western Railroad. They all believed that the letters would help them in their application for more aid from the Massachusetts Legislature to finish the road. The company accordingly appointed a committee to publish the letters. At the same time another

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9 Clipping in Miscellaneous Scrap Book, 24-25. Phillips made this speech in Tremont Temple, Apr. 17, 1862.
10 Hill, op. cit., 12-14.
11 Loring, op. cit., 509.
12 Hill, op. cit., 14.
13 Joshua G. Holland, History of Western Massachusetts, 418-419.
committee was appointed at the suggestion of Walker to collect statistics and information concerning the cost and practicability of a railroad from Boston to St. Louis.\textsuperscript{14} Amasa was named on this latter committee but not on the committee of publication. However, he wrote C. G. Greene of the \textit{Morning Post} (Boston) on March 7, 1839 as follows:

"Enclosed I hand you a letter which I have received from a gentleman who resides at the West, but is now on a visit to this part of the union.

"The writer, Doctor Reed, formerly of Cincinnati, but now of St. Louis, is a person of great respectability & intelligence. His intimate acquaintance with the West, its gigantic plans of internal improvement & its boundless natural resources, abundantly qualify him to give information on a subject but partially understood, or appreciated by us here at the East. Should you think the publication of the letter would subserve the great cause of internal improvement, and be interesting to your readers generally, you are at liberty to give it an insertion in the \textit{Morning Post}."\textsuperscript{15} The letters discussed the ease with which railroads could be built in the flat West where abundant materials were available. The author declared there would be present none of the difficult engineering problems such as hindered the construction of a road in the East. He said that Illinois was building a road from Alton

\textsuperscript{14}[\textit{Silas Reed}, \textit{On the Subject of a Line of Railroads, From Boston to the Mississippi}, 3. This is one of Amasa's early attempts to collect statistics, an occupation in which he persisted throughout life. His scrap books were filled with odds and ends of statistical information on every conceivable subject. In 1848 he asked Albert Gallatin for figures on the quantity of precious metals in existence. Gallatin replied that he had "long since ceased to collect statistics". -- Albert Gallatin to Amasa Walker, Mar. 6, 1848 in Autograph Letter Book.]

\textsuperscript{15}[The letters were subsequently published by the \textit{Post} in pamphlet form. \textit{Ibid.}, 5. Internal Improvements was a "cause" to Walker.]
leading in the direction of Buffalo which could be connected with the Western Railroad out of Boston. "Very few in the East," he went on, "realize that the only links necessary to complete the great chain of road from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, are to be supplied by the state of Indiana and that portion of Ohio lying between Sandusky and the Indiana line. The distance is about 300 miles! A canal is at this time being built along the valley of the Maumee to its entrance into Lake Erie.... But no great line of railroad should be broken in upon by a canal substitute...."

He stressed the activity of Pennsylvania and Maryland in promoting railroads into Ohio and Indiana. He said that the people of Ohio needed railroads so much that they might be glad to connect themselves with Pennsylvania or Maryland, even though their preference would, he felt certain, be a connection with Boston and New England. Ohio's preference for a New England terminus he explained was due to the New England ancestry of that state's pioneers. The rivalry over railroads between New York, Boston and Baltimore was very keen and so his argument appealed to the merchants of Boston. In his last letter Reed discussed the possibility of aid from Congress. He declared that acres and acres of the public domain had been given for the construction of canals, the Miami, the Maumee, the Wabash, the Illinois and Michigan. The situations, he declared, were parallel. And he believed Congress would do as much for railroad development as it had done for canals. The duty of Congress in this matter was clearer in the case of railroads running through several states than in the case of the canals many of which were

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16Ibid., 5-6.
17Ibid., 7-8.
altogether within one state. If the Massachusetts legislature would appropriate the necessary money for the completion of the Western Railroad some of the western states, especially Ohio and Indiana would be stimulated to act.\textsuperscript{18}

Just after the publication of Reed's letters Walker went to St. Louis. Although his trip was primarily concerned with the Western Railroad he, no doubt, had private business there. His large sales to St. Louis merchants caused his special interest in a railroad from Boston to that city. This was his second trip in the interest of railroad promotion. Sometime before he had gone with several other directors of the Western Railroad to Albany trying to persuade the authorities there to take measures to aid in the construction of the railroad. On the second trip he and the others addressed mass meetings on behalf of the project.\textsuperscript{19} He spoke at the Court House in St. Louis urging that a continuous railroad between Boston and St. Louis be undertaken as soon as possible. On the same trip he stopped in Alton, Illinois and spoke again on the need of a railroad from Boston to the Mississippi. He declared that with the present means of transportation a merchant could never depend on having a prompt delivery of goods, some goods intended for the Fall sales had been known to arrive in the Spring. He said that at that time there was no regular route which could be depended upon, the lakes were circuitous and closed a part of the year, the Ohio River was often dry in summer and frozen in winter. A railroad would solve the irregularity of communication between East and West. "Then there will be no delay, no uncertainty. The whole distance, about 1500 miles,

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}, 11-12.

\textsuperscript{19}Francis A. Walker, "Memoir of Honorable Amasa Walker, Ll. D."

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XLII, 135 (Apr., 1888).
may be traversed by passenger cars in five days, probably less; and by
freight cars in ten or twelve at farthest," he prophesied.

"Perhaps it seems incredible to many," he added, noting the evident
surprise and amusement of his audience, "that the time for passing from
Boston to this place can be reduced to the short period of five days; but
let such recollect that when long lines of Rail Roads are put in opera-
tion, no stoppages will probably be made for eating or sleeping. Cars
of two stories, having accommodations for lodging, have already been put
to use in some parts of the United States; and those now ordered for the
Western Rail Road have the entrance on each end, by which means all the
cars in the train are connected together, so as to form a general com-
unication throughout, thus admitting of the arrangement of having the
meals prepared and put into a car at a given place, so that when the
train arrives, instead of stopping to dine, for instance, the car con-
taining the dinner can be attached to the rear, the train started, and,
while going at the rate of twenty or thirty miles per hour, the passen-
gers be making a comfortable dinner." 20

Walker has entitled one section of the first volume of his Auto-
biography, "Speculation". It is an interesting commentary on business
ethics of his day. Railroad expansion and banking he considered as
legitimate adjuncts to his shoe business but he stuck to the shoe busi-
ness for his profits. In later life, when he had retired from business,
his money was mostly invested in railroad and bank stock. The twenties
and thirties were great years of speculation for New England capitalists.
The shoe business coming into its prime in those years had many mer-
chants with surplus capital looking for profitable places of investment.

20 Ibid., 135-136.
Many of these shoe merchants invested — or speculated — in Maine lands between 1820 and 1830 — during the next decade they speculated mostly in southern and western lands. As an old man Walker looked back on this part of his career and wrote:

"I never had any taste for speculative operations and don't think I ever had any talent in that line if I had engaged in it.

"I have often been so situated that I might have entered into speculation with great apparent advantage, but my mind always revolted from them, even when in early life, and at a later period I grew absolutely averse to them."

His aversion grew out of his years of study of political economy. He came to the conclusion that there was no just or scientific basis for speculation. In this statement he aims, apparently, to convey the idea that even in his early life, before his careful study of the problem, he did not approve of speculation. In regard to the period of land speculation he wrote:

"When the Eastern Land mania raged ... I was in Boston engaged in mercantile pursuits. One gentleman in the same business with myself often urged me to take hold 'there was such a capital chance to make money'.

"Another ... urged me strongly 'as a matter of duty' to engage in operations by which I could not fail to make a great sum. I told them[,] no [,] that I had a good trade on my hands... by which I thought I was making money as fast as I ought to desire and therefore I must decline."

whose Book of Wealth, published in 1836, declared "The main design of this work is, to prove that it is the duty of all men, as the general rule, to become rich. That riches are blessings, which may promote our present and eternal welfare. And, therefore, men ought to procure them, and may lawfully enjoy them."[23] Hunt declared, and he spoke for a large class of pious merchants, as well as some of his own clerical profession, that the desire to acquire more property than was sufficient for personal needs was practically universal. "From this common desire," he asked, "may it not be presumed that it is a duty to be rich? One thing is certain; no man can be obedient to God's will as revealed in the Bible, without ... becoming wealthy." Even though this philosophy taught that wealth carried with it responsibilities in the line of philanthropy, Amasa apparently felt that another moral could be drawn -- at least in the case of the two gentlemen whose advice he scorned. For he wrote of them that the person "first named subsequently failed and I was one of his assignees ... and, the other gentleman" also failed and "his estate paid, I think, about 37½ cents on the dollar."[24] And then he added with hard-headed business reason, "I never had any faith in Maine Timber Lands."[25] But in the next sentence he is back again on his "high ethical plane": "The more I have seen ... of strictly speculative operations, the more I dislike them. They are not founded on any sound principles.

[25] Ibid. According to one source he built in 1834 a shoe factory in Minot, Maine (home of the famous peace reformer, William Ladd), the first in the state. -- Prof. and Ind. Hist. of Suffolk County, 318. No corroboration of this statement was found anywhere.
"Legitimate trade ... is directly connected with the production of wealth, and necessary to its greatest development, but speculative operations have no such character. They have moreover a bad influence on the mind. Persons who engage in them lose as a general fact, their relish for the ordinary means of acquiring property by common pursuits [it] becomes insipid, and seems unworthy of attention.

"A successful [sic] speculation differs in none of its essential moral features from successful [sic] Lottery gambling and its influence on the mind and heart is much the same.

"I think I can say so far as I recollect I never speculated in my life.

"I have bought and in large quantities goods and lands, and sold them out in small quantities. In this way I have as I think aided in production and accommodated others but the profits of speculative monopolies I have never shared."

Later economists refer to the entire period in which Amasa was engaged in the shoe business as "The Wholesale-Speculative Stage." He always looked upon his business, however, as "legitimate trade" directly connected with the production of wealth.  

27John R. Commons, American Shoemakers, 1648-1895, 66.  
CHAPTER VII

"A PLENTY OF COLD WATER"

Lyman Beecher's Hanover Street Church was the source of many interests during Walker's early years in business in Boston. He subscribed to Beecher's temperance doctrine of total abstinence. According to his own statement temperance was the first philanthropic cause to enlist his support.¹ His interest in it, it should be stated, however, was contemporaneous with his interest in the organization of lyceums. Apparently he did not look upon lyceum development as a full-fledged philanthropic cause;" because his interest in it undeniably antedated that of temperance. He bought a copy of Beecher's Six Sermons on Intemperance² and thus fortified began his first active temperance work: "Being about to visit North Brookfield ... I took with me the Six Sermons -- I read extracts from them to Father, and carried the volume up to Henshaws Store near by (where I served my time) and read from it to the moderate (not always very moderate) drinkers which in those days spent a great deal of time at places where spirit was sold.

"On leaving for Boston my good father who was certainly one of the best temperance men in the town, but like all others believed liquor necessary under certain circumstances, followed me to the door, and said 'he believed he would try and get his hay this season this year without rum.' The thing never had been done, but he had resolved to try -- In the month of August following I received a letter from him saying that he 'had made the experiment that he and Walter³ had gone through haying with-
out the use of spirit -- and that they never got the hay so easily
and were never so well'.

"This gave him and me great satisfaction. I wrote an anonymous
communication which was published in ... a Temperance paper ... in
which I gave an account of the experiment omitting all names of course.
This I think was the first article I ever wrote for the press."4

The Young Men's Association of Hanover Church held an interest-
ing meeting soon after Beecher's famous Six Sermons on Intemperance had
been given. The group met to consider the use of a new pledge. Some
of the group felt that the old pledge requiring the signers to abstain
from ardent spirits was unsatisfactory because wine and beer were being
substituted by those who had signed the pledge. Beecher's suggestion was
for the group to endorse total abstinence, but according to Walker’s
account of the meeting all the leading men in the organization opposed
pledging themselves against wine which they thought necessary on special
occasions. The group supporting Beecher, Walker said, were the younger,
undistinguished members who were at that time without influence. He,
of course, favored the Teetotal Pledge. When the vote was taken his
side won by a single vote, but there was so much opposition from the
others that the Total Abstinence Society they tried to form never really
functioned. Too many of the moderates remained in the organization.
But soon a group of the teetotalers formed the Union Total Abstinence
Society. Amasa was the first president of the organization.5 It was one
of the first total abstinence societies in Massachusetts, perhaps the
the first. The principle of total abstinence did not prevail in all

4 MS. Autobiography, I, 173. Hist. of Suffolk County, II, 681 says his
first article on temperance was published in 1826.
5 Ibid., I, 175-177.
the societies pledged to temperance in the country without a struggle. Finally it won over a majority of the societies in Massachusetts. The National Temperance Convention to which Henry G. Wright, Harrison Grey and Amasa Walker went as delegates from Massachusetts voted down the principle, however. Amasa and a few others in the convention supported Sylvester Graham, the prime mover in a contemporary cause, that of Physiological Reform, when he introduced the resolution in favor of total abstinence. It was not long, however, before the principle was accepted by most temperance societies in the country.

As late as 1840, however, the reviewer of a temperance book declared that although he was a temperance man and considered the cause a noble one he nevertheless felt that "a great deal of intellectual intemperance" had been exhausted in the cause. "Denunciation, violence, compulsory laws," he said, did not seem to him "to be the weapons best calculated to overthrow this evil." In writing of his part in this movement Amasa said: "I lectured in my poor way quite often and certainly enjoyed the work very much. It was the first reform I ever engaged in, and I gave my heart to it.

"When it had become a powerful movement and I felt my services were not especially required I enlisted in other objects; but from that day to this I have never ceased to feel a deep and abiding interest in the cause, and have always been ready to give a helping hand when

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6 Temple Recorder (Albany), II, June 4, 1833.
7 MS Autobiography, I, 179.
10 The peace and antislavery causes especially claimed his attention.
I thought any assistance was needed."\textsuperscript{11}

In 1833 in his speech to the young men of Boston, in which he had touched on so many reforms, he called the temperance cause "the most glorious that has ever called forth the energies of man; a moral enterprise the most magnificent the human intellect has ever conceived." The twelve hundred young men of Boston who have already enlisted, he declared, "can offer to new recruits no other advance pay than a pledge of total abstinence; no other wages than health and happiness; no other bounty lands than the prospective glory and felicity of our common country; and no greater rations of grog than a plenty of cold water."\textsuperscript{12} Such bursts of oratory show that he was not overstating the case when he declared "I gave my heart" to the temperance cause.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1834 he with John Tappan, Amos Lawrence and others recommended the Temperance Journal to the attention of all temperance men. They declared it was a cheap way, and the best, to be informed on the progress of the cause.\textsuperscript{14} In 1839 he was president of the Boston Temperance Society, a Teetotal organization, formed the previous year, and became, through it, very active in support of the Fifteen Gallon Liquor Law in Massachusetts. Between 1838, when the law was passed, and 1840, when it was repealed, temperance men, Walker among others, concerned themselves over the political aspects of the question.\textsuperscript{15}

His most active temperance work was done during his years as a business man, that is before 1840, but he always continued to be interested in the cause. In 1843 while in London, he spoke at a meeting

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{MS. Autobiography}, I, 179.
\textsuperscript{12}Walker, \textit{op. cit.}, 15.
\textsuperscript{13}See page 56.
\textsuperscript{14}Temperance Journal, II, June, 1834.
\textsuperscript{15}Walker's political career as a temperance advocate will be discussed subsequently; see pages 85-86; 101-103.
organized by Father Mathew and received from him one of his temperance medals for his work. During his visit in England he was much impressed by the lack of interest in the temperance reform by the nobility and clergy in that country. He felt that if those two groups could be awakened the cause would make greater headway. While in England Walker became acquainted with numerous English reformers with many of whom he continued to correspond. In the early stages of the Civil War he wrote his impression of the temperance situation in the northern army to an English temperance newspaper. He spent two weeks in the fall of 1861 inspecting the union troops. He declared that there were two kinds of camps, the neat and orderly and the shabby and disorderly ones. He gave it as his discovery that "the difference is owing in a great degree to the course which the commanding officers have pursued in relation to the use of intoxicating drinks. Where, as in a great many instances, the colonel has enacted 'a prohibitory law', and forbidden the admission of liquor into the camp, I find everything in the best of condition, the best health, the best order. Where there is no 'prohibition', the men are quarrelsome, disorderly, and slovenly. Where intoxicating drinks are excluded, the men save and send home their wages; where they are not, their wages are consumed. Some of the regiments of the first class have sent home, at a single payment 20,000 dollars to their families. There has never been, and never can be, I think, a more perfect illustration of the operation of 'a permissive prohibitory system'. Any colonel can prohibit. Some do, and we see the

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16 Theobald Mathew (1790-1856), famous Irish temperance reformer, member of the Capuchin Order.
17 *MS. Autobiography*, I, 179.
consequences, some do not, and we see the difference — a difference so apparent, that in many cases where the commanders are not themselves Teetotalers, they compel their soldiers to be so, in order to maintain good order, and have an efficient and well-behaved regiment.

"One of the most impressive sights I witnessed," he continued, "was the passage through this city [Washington, D. C.] of the 'People's Ellsworth's Regiment'." It numbered 1,065 men, all unmarried, all 5 feet 8 inches in height, or over, and all pledged not to use intoxicating drinks! Each town and city in the State of New York, with two exceptions, were represented in its ranks. Ellsworth, whose honoured name they bear, was a Teetotaler.

"The result of all my observation in regard to Temperance in this great army at Washington is, that the common sense of both officers and men is strongly in favor of Prohibition; and wherever it has been enforced with fidelity and vigilance (and it requires a good deal of both) it has been in the highest degree beneficial. Where Prohibition has not been made effective, the difference is so striking, as, I have said, must impress upon all minds the desirableness of having all intoxicants excluded, even on the ground of military discipline alone.

"I have written the foregoing in the belief that you would like to know how the Maine-law principle\(^{18}\) operates in the army of the United States..."\(^{19}\)

But while Walker studied the problem of temperance in two countries his wife wrote from North Brookfield (where all places for the sale

\(^{18}\)That is, the principle of prohibition.

\(^{19}\)Miscellaneus Articles, I, clipping from the *Alliance* (Manchester, England), 1861 (no issue is given).
of intoxicating liquor had been closed) \(^{20}\) to her daughter in Boston:

"I wish it will not be too much trouble that you would bring in
a bottle of whiskey -- I don't feel quite safe to be without it." \(^{21}\)

\(^{20}\) See page 3.
\(^{21}\) No date
CHAPTER VIII
"JOHNNY CAKE WALKER"

Health was always a subject of greatest importance to Amasa Walker. He espoused the temperance cause believing total abstinence had beneficial effects on his health. In fact, health was such an important subject to him that he devoted one entire section or chapter of his autobiography to "My Health". He complained constantly of ill health from his earliest childhood, until one is almost led to wonder whether he "enjoyed poor health". Such does not seem to be, however, a fair accusation in his case, though his wife adds an interesting side light about his health as an old man. She described to her daughter an ailment her husband had had. The doctor had been called, but could not come. Walker became very excited and was sure he was worse and insisted that another doctor be called, but for all his insistence he recovered very fast.¹ At another time she wrote more sympathetically: "Your poor father is suffering... He complained of his foot before we left home, but he is so much in the habit of making a good deal of an ado about little things that I thought but little about it."²

Amasa chronicled his own health history thus: "In Boston from 1825 to 1842 I had many attacks of illness, but was never seriously interrupted by them except in 1840 when I broke down in consequence of too much public speaking."³

¹May 8, 1875.
²Feb. 14, 1875.
³He was speaking in opposition to the National Bank Issue in the 1840 election. See pages 98-101. He retired from business in 1840.
"In 1843 (January) I was extremely feeble I could not work or play or even read and amused myself for weeks with the blocks I had bought for my children to play with, I was at Oberlin at this time and utterly despairing of much improvement we came back to North Brookfield to the Old Homestead. We arrived about the 1st of May and on the 10th I started suddenly for England.\(^4\) I spent over four months in travel but often interrupted by ill health and returned home in the month of October....

"My health was now [1844] comparatively good. In 1849 I again embarked for Europe.... Indeed from 1850 to 1854 both inclusive I think I enjoyed more health than at any other period of my life. Since that my health has rather failed and I now (1858) think I greatly need another sea voyage."\(^5\)

He was a great believer in the curative powers of travel, particularly of the Atlantic Ocean. After his third trip abroad in 1859 he came home and finished writing the chapter on "My Health" in his autobiography. He dated this entry January, 1861: "My health during the winter of 1858-59 was very feeble and the last of June 1859 I sailed for Europe. I visited the continent, travelled through France, Switzerland and Germany, and returned in September with health much improved and up to the present time have been able to perform more services in various ways than I should have believed possible -- Indeed the Atlantic Ocean is by far the most potent and successful Medical Practitioner I ever consulted. His treatment has often been very disagreeable and rough, in fact he seems to bear little attention to the whims of his

\(^4\)He went abroad to attend the First World Peace Congress.  
\(^5\)MS. Autobiography, I, 47-49.
patients, but in my case, ... he has been very successful. I have tried him three times and, if need be, should I think be disposed to apply to him again.\textsuperscript{6}

In the middle thirties Sylvester Graham came to Boston lecturing on the Laws of Health. Walker became one of his most faithful auditors, and one of his early and staunch disciples. Members of the new cult pledged themselves to give up narcotics as well as alcohol, and even tea and coffee. Walker having subscribed to the temperance movement had already forsworn alcohol. Graham was a sincere supporter of the anti-tobacco reform led by George Trask. Walker also supported this reform and wrote a eulogy of Trask when he died.\textsuperscript{7} He always deplored his father's inability to break off the tobacco habit and felt that it was one of the causes of his rather early death.\textsuperscript{8}

Always greatly concerned over his health, Walker considered very carefully the principles of Graham's reform and concluded that they were essentially right. He contributed to the cause and became an intimate friend of Graham, inviting him when in Boston to stay at his home often for weeks at a time. He adopted Graham's ideas in regard to exercise, fresh air and diet. The diet he held to with one exception and that was in regard to the use of meat. For a time he went without meat as Graham's system prescribed, but he returned to eating a limited

\textsuperscript{5}\textit{Ibid.}, I, 51. June 12, 1859 Mrs. Walker wrote to her daughter, Emma Batcheller, "...He has decided I think to go to Europe -- to sail the 29th. I dread it, the fatigue and suffering to him and the loneliness and anxiety to me [?] but it is best I think that he should go -- for his health seems to be failing and it has always been benefitted by a voyage."

\textsuperscript{7}Amase Walker, "Another Reformer Gone". \textit{The Congregationalist}, Feb. 11, 1875.

\textsuperscript{8}\textit{MS. Autobiography}, I, 45, f. n.
amount of it after a brief experimental period. Both Walker and Graham agreed that meat seemed to be necessary in his particular case. Walker always gave great credit to the Graham system for the prolongation of his life. Even the Atlantic Ocean, to which he paid great tribute as a healer, had to share honors with Graham. "I fully believe," he wrote in later life, "that his teachings saved my life and that I should not have lived to be 67 years if I had not been taught by him how to live."¹⁰

Walker's evaluation of Graham and his work shows that he was not unaware of Graham's peculiarities and what many regarded as his weaknesses: "Mr. Graham advocated nothing but what is now received as sound science in this country and Europe, if we except perhaps the question of animal food, about which there is a difference of opinion amongst learned men. Mr. Graham was a very peculiar man, very enthusiastic in regard to his philosophy, exceedingly industrious.... He had the reputation of being egotistical, and he certainly had a high appreciation of his own labors, not I think altogether unwarranted. I believe in the future his services to science and humanity will be esteemed more highly than at present. I think he was a sincere, earnest, and in his particular department a learned man. I respect his memory."¹¹

Unpopular causes held no terrors for Walker who noted with considerable satisfaction that Sylvester Graham had "raised a great breeze" among a certain class of persons who constitute themselves the "special conservators of the public morals when any vice is attacked...."¹²

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⁹This part of the Autobiography was written in 1866. He died in 1875. ¹⁰NS. Autobiography, I, 181-183. ¹¹Ibid., I, 193-195. ¹²Ibid., 181.
"breeze" was soon blowing about Amasa for as soon as he was convinced of the worth of Graham's ideas he began himself to lecture on physiological reform. He participated in health conventions and was soon known as an ardent Grahamite. About this time, that is, in the thirties, Walker's name was frequently before the public because he ran for several city offices on the so-called "Cold Water" ticket. His political opponents ridiculed him as a Grahamite, for want of any worse charge to bring, as Walker later declared. "Johnny Cake Walker" was one of his sobriquets -- a title he was pleased to bear. The skeptical politicians would have enjoyed reading in his autobiography that he retired from business in 1840 due to ill health. The entry concerning his retirement was preceded in the chronology of his life (in his Autobiography) by an entry for 1839 to the effect that he was President of the Boston City Temperance Society and for 1838 that he was President of the American Physiological Convention. The dietary habits begun under Graham's tutelage were with him no passing fad. He preferred plain, wholesome food always. In describing the pleasures he found in Aiken, South Carolina, while on a trip there in 1875 he wrote his daughter, "We have the best table we have seen any where, and find just what we want, especially good oatmeal and cracked wheat well cooked. The weather is very fine, about like the last week in May in Mass. The trees in

13 That is, Temperance Ticket. See discussion in chapter XI.
14 Graham condemned the use of white flour, recommending corn meal and whole wheat (that is, Graham) flour.
15 See Autobiography, I, 183.
16 Ibid., II, 77.
17 March 27.
blossom, and the birds in tune." As far as he was concerned the "cracked wheat" ranked along with southern sunshine, singing birds and blooming trees.

Reforms and reformers thrived on adverse criticism. As Walker declared before the First American Health Convention, "We know that those who act as pioneers in this cause must, like all other reformers, suffer ridicule, reproach and abuse; perhaps even peril fortune and life itself; yet we do not on that account feel at liberty to withdraw from the great and glorious enterprise."18

The first American Health Convention met in Boston in the Marlboro' Chapel on May 30, 1833. Amasa Walker was elected its president. In reading over the list of officers we are struck by two interesting facts, that all the officers in this "American" Health Convention came from New England, and that only two of the nine officers listed represented communities outside the immediate Boston vicinity. This circumstance is not to be wondered at particularly, for it was not the only "national" convention with representation from New England alone. Actually Graham's ideas which dominated the convention reached beyond the environs of Boston, for his system was followed in the Ohio college and colony at Oberlin, and Horace Greeley was a partial Grahamite.19 The second noticeable fact concerning the list of officers of this first Health Convention was that the names were relatively unknown to reform circles. Walker's name had by 1833, of course, been linked with many

19After 1840 his popularity waned, but during the 1830's numerous Graham boarding houses and stores flourished. David Campbell, a Grahamite, was in charge of the boarding hall at Oberlin. -- Robert Fletcher, Oberlin, 1833-1866, MS., vol. II, Chap. II.
reform movements. William Goodell, though not an officer, was there. His presence and Walker's make it impossible to separate the health reform from the other humanitarian movements of its day. Goodell, remembered primarily as an abolitionist, illustrates perfectly how the humanitarian causes were related in the minds of the reformers by his speech at the Health Convention. He declared that so long as men were slaves of their own appetites they could never hope to enfranchise the enslaved.

Walker, too, in his speech of acceptance as president of the convention, showed that he looked upon the Health, physiological, reform, as it was usually called, as but one part of the larger reform movement. Speaking as the convention's representative he declared "that the moral and intellectual nature of man can never be developed in all its perfection [of man's eventual perfectibility he and the other reformers had no doubt], and sustained in all its vigor, without an accurate knowledge of physiology, and a strict obedience to its established laws"; and further "that the blessed cause of human improvement, the spread of the gospel and the universal regeneration of the world, can never be successfully carried forward without the aid of the great work which we are now assembled to advance."

Membership in the Boston Physiological Society was open to women as well as men, again showing this reform's connection with others.

20*Proceedings*, First American Health Convention, 1838, 1. Freeman Walker, brother of Amasa, was also present at this meeting. *Ibid.*, 8.
23*The Proceedings* of the Second Annual Meeting of this group are included in *ibid.*, 12-15. The meeting was held at the close of the health convention and was composed of practically the same people.
in this case, Women's Rights, for the opening of membership in a society to women was tantamount to approval of the whole Feminist movement. As though to give an added inducement for women members annual dues for them were fifty cents while the men paid one dollar.24

The religious source of all the reform movements should never be lost sight of, and the physiological reform was no exception as can be seen by the resolution offered in the Health Convention by Walker: "Resolved, that the general impression that there must be just such an amount of physical suffering in the world, be the mode of living what it may, is the offspring of gross and culpable ignorance, and a practical denial of the established laws and goodness of the creator [sic]."25

Considering his activity in the physiological reform Walker might with reason have been expected to be interested in the moral reform which for a time claimed the attention of many of his fellow-reformers, especially Arthur Tappan. Apparently this was one of the few reforms in which he took no active part. That he was not blind to the problem can be seen from a letter which he wrote to Elisabeth Pease during his first visit to England.26 He deplored the injustice of the industrial system in England which brought misery to such a large class of people. Of his visit to Lancashire he wrote: "I saw man, aye, worse, I saw woman awfully degraded, bourn [sic] down to the very dust by the terrible system under which they live. I saw multitudes of that class of females which the world calls 'abandoned', and which are by a cruel world hopelessly abandoned to the deepest misery and the worst debasement.

24 Ibid., 15.
25 Ibid., 8.
26 Sept. 30, 1843 (Garrison MSS.) The letter was written from Llangollen, Wales.
"This ought not so to be. There is hope for the fallen. Despair should have no place in our bosoms. We should remember the example of Jesus, we should imitate him, and instead of casting out such unfortunate fellow beings should treat them with kindness and sympathy .... I did not contemplate introducing this topic but it came in to my mind and I have given vent to my feelings."\[27\]

\[27\]Ibid.
CHAPTER IX

"MY CLERKS: THE GOOD SUCCEED"

If perhaps in the maze of his many reforms we have lost sight of the fact that Amasa was still a business man he himself was guilty of no such neglect. In his mind the two could very well be carried out together. The list of merchant philanthropists in his day was long and imposing. Amos and Abbott Lawrence were the favorite examples. The list of merchants who espoused really radical reform movements was, however, much shorter. Arthur and Lewis Tappan and Gerritt Smith were prominent on the abbreviated list. Walker belonged to the latter group. Whether philanthropist or radical reformer, whether merchant or minister of the gospel, there was a common belief that piety paid dividends in the business world, a view uniquely expressed by Thomas F. Hunt in The Book of Wealth, already referred to. Hunt, a minister, described how he stopped to keep the Sabbath while on a temperance tour. He stayed at Ripley, Ohio, with the famous abolitionist, John Rankin. The following Monday night he lectured in the town and received twenty dollars. "I left Tuesday morning," he concluded, "no loser by keeping the Sabbath."

The reforming merchants had no desire to monopolize piety nor even success, which they believed to be its reward. They were generous in their distribution of this quality, but strict in the rules they laid down for its attainment by the clerks in their business houses. The regulations stipulated by Arthur Tappan and Company, though more strict than most, serve to illustrate the methods used to spread the principles of "right living." The clerks in that establishment were required:
"1) To be strictly temperate; 2) to keep away from theaters; 3) to avoid fast habits and bad companions; 4) to attend Divine service twice on the Sabbath Day; 5) to report at the store every Monday morning what church they had attended, the name of the clergyman and the text; 6) to attend prayer-meetings twice a week, and 7) never to be out after 10 o'clock P. M."¹

Amasa Walker has left no set of rules for the clerks in his warehouse, but how nearly the rules of Arthur Tappan come to applying in his case can be seen by a series of sketches he has left in one chapter of his Autobiography entitled "My Clerks."²

A wise young man wanting to get ahead in business was seen in the right places: "He [George Adams] was a young man from the country who attended worship at the Marlbor [sic] Chapel³ and I used to see him at the Lyceum and other meetings. I marked him in my mind as a likely fellow who would be faithful in what ever he attempted and accordingly when, I wanted a person to superintend a department of my business requiring fidelity, carefulness, and industry I sent for him. He fully met my expectations and remained about three years I think. He has since become famous as the Register and Directory maker of New England and New York. He has been very successful, and secured I believe a handsome estate."⁴

"A Reformed Theatre-Goer Makes Good" might well be the title of this next story. In 1826 while very new in his own business Walker

¹Edward Meville Vose, Seventy-Five Years of the Mercantile Agency
R. G. Dun and Company, 12.
³See pages 110-112. The Marlboro' Chapel was maintained in connection with the Marlboro' Hotel, a Temperance House. It was a Free Church, open to all denominations. -- Ibid., I, 95.
⁴Ibid., I, 75.
Walker hired Nathaniel Harris. He was absent but a week, when his father hired him as clerk at a salary of $800 for one year at the end of which time I took him in as partner, giving him as I think ten per cent of my profits. He was one of my successors... is now President of the Atlantic Bank, a man of wealth and character."

It was not impossible for ambitious young men to become partners in the firm if they had "learned the business" or married the employer's daughter. John C. Potter, originally employed by Amasa Walker and Company, also later became third partner in the firm of Allen, Harris and Potter, and in Emerson, Harris and Potter. From 1867 to 1870 he was president of the Shoe and Leather Bank in Boston. With such possibilities

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5Nathaniel Harris became a well-known Boston merchant. "Shoe and Leather Reporter, Nov. 4, 1875.
6See page 27 et seq.
7It was not uncommon for boys to start "learning the business" at fourteen or fifteen.
8In the firm of Emerson, Harris and Potter.
10Hist. of Suffolk County, III, 316-317.
before him stupid indeed was the clerk who failed to teach a Sunday
School class or persisted in "fast habits." Most of the stories Walker
has written in his Autobiography are of those who succeeded. Naturally
he felt proud of them and particularly so if he felt he had in some way
helped them to overcome temptations. In every story he wrote the moral
was clear: the good succeed. "But I have one sad case in my mind that
differs from all these.

"When my business had become very large I found I must have some-
one to take charge of the Books. I accordingly took a young man whose
father I knew as an excellent man, a trader in Vermont. This person had
been in the city some time before he came to my place, and as a Book
Keeper was as accomplished as any I have ever known -- I observed how-
ever ... that he chewed tobacco very freely and constantly. This I re-
gretted. I observed further that when his acquaintances called in to see
him they appeared to be fast young men. I did not like their looks.
They were gentlemen in their dress and address but I was sure they drank
champaign [sic], smoked cigars, and kept high company. So I began to
feel afraid that J. W. would get into bad habits if he associated with
such companions.

"However, he kept on, attended to his duties faithfully... and I
had no occasion [sic] to complain of him. After some two years he left
us to set up business in Chicago. We ventured to sell him a bill of
goods more on account of our friendship for him than our confidence in
him. He went to Chicago, failed and we got I think some fifty cents on
the dollar of our claim. Broken down in business he ... finally ... got
a commission in a Volunteer Company that went into the Mexican War. He
returned home safely, but his habits of drinking and smoking in which he
had by now become confirmed increased upon him, and brought him to a sad and premature end, and one who knew the circumstances of his death, told me he seemed entirely saturated with rum and tobacco. So ended, a young man who failed in the moral elements of his character, kept gay and dissolute company and died the victim of bad habits. He never had my confidence.\textsuperscript{11}

Walker's advice to young men starting out in business was to "Act well your Part." He declared that he had "seen a great many persons especially among the young in the course of life who seemed to act on the principle that it was not worth while to try to do well unless they were well paid, or had a good situation. There can be no more mistaken policy than this. It is injudicious, and often fatal to the interests of those who act upon it. The opposite principle is the true one. If you are illly paid work so much the more faithfully so as to raise your reputation, and secure a greater reward, when you next engage. If you work no more than the low wages you get who will offer you more?"\textsuperscript{12} He illustrated this philosophy by the example of a certain John Watson who was working for eighteen dollars a month at the Menthuen Manufacturing Company when he went to take charge of that establishment in 1833. The man really earned more than his eighteen dollars so he was given twenty-two dollars per month for the next six months. He finally became such a valuable man that he was paid forty dollars a month, and continued to improve until Walker finally told him he could earn more money elsewhere than his company could afford to pay him. He found another and better position and within two years was a foreman of a manufacturing company and earning one thousand dollars a year. Walker concluded his

\textsuperscript{11}IMS. Autobiography, I, 77-79.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., I, 83.
story: "Now it is certain that if Watson had been careful, as some
men would have been to earn no more than $18 per month when that was
his pay he would never have taken the first step in that career of
success which a different course secured to him."13

The most sought-after clerks in mercantile establishments in the
1830's were young country boys fresh from the district schools. They
were preferred to the city-bred because they were accustomed to hard
work and unaccustomed to high wages, they had not been contaminated by
city life, and if they went into such an establishment as Arthur Tappan's
or Amasa Walker's the chances were pretty good that they never would be.
Many if not most of the wealthy merchants of Walker's day had been them-
selves country boys, and their sympathy and interest were with these
ambitious newcomers. In almost every instance Walker's description of
"My Clerks" starts out with the information that such and such was a
country boy. He wrote thus of one young clerk by the name of Fellows:
"He came from New Hampshire or Vermont, a plain country boy, but evidently
well bred, honest and trusty. I kept him for a considerable time and
liked him well. On his leaving me he went to the State of Michigan,
where I hear he is permanently settled and makes a good citizen."14

The "honest face" of a country boy was sufficient recommendation:
"Another young man I ... took into my employ was Oliver Bennett.15 He
was fresh from the country. New Hampshire I think. I knew nothing of
him but his honest face was a good recommendation [sic] and upon that I
gave him employment.

"He began in the most laborious part of my business and did every-

13 Ibid., I, 83-87.
14 Ibid., I, 69.
15 Oliver Bennett was poken of as an important shoe merchant in the
Shoe and Leather Reporter, Jan. 4, 1875.
thing faithfully. My confidence in him increased and I gave him a higher and higher position until he held a responsible position as receiver, examiner and finally seller of goods. I heard good accounts of him when out of the store. His education being very deficient by my advice he attended evening schools, he attended church regularly. He was a member of a Sabbath School and a serious good young man.

"At length he told me he thought of going West. I said to him I was very sorry to lose his assistance but that I had no doubt it would be greatly for his interest to try his fortune at the West, and accordingly gave him letters of recommendation.... He went as far as St. Louis where he readily found employment.... He finally established a house of his own in St. Louis which continues to this date (1859) and is one of the largest in the western country. He is rich and generous too. His partner told me that Mr. Bennett gave $1500 last year to establish Sunday School Libraries in the western states."16

Walker wrote his chapter on "My Clerks" almost twenty years after he retired from business. After that length of time he looked back and wrote: "One thing I can say with confidence, and that is no young man who ever had my confidence while in my employ has failed of doing well in after life.

"I had young men temporarily with me in whose character I had little confidence and they all failed of success when engaging in business on their own account."17 A record, certainly! What of the clerks, these experiments in piety? "Your father had another visit last evening which rather interested us both," wrote Mrs. Walker to her daughter -- "the card of Col. Jas. Wallace Wilson ... was brought in, when the

16 MS. Autobiography, I, 73.
17 Ibid., I, 75.
gentleman was shown in he took a seat close to your father so that he could look right in his face and said "It is many years since I had the pleasure of seeing you" -- your father you know is not famous for remembering people and told him he did not recollect him. 'Well, I suppose you do not but in 1830 I drew a handcart for you you befriended me gave me employment and after awhile gave me a letter to Commander (I forgot who) at the Charlestown navy yard he introduced me to Loammi Baldwin (who was the greatest engineer at that time in Mass.)\textsuperscript{18} I studied engineering with him & have been at different times in the employ of \textsuperscript{[the]} government. Some years ago I went with my family to Ill. bought a farm have now a fenced farm of 600 acres well stocked. When the war broke out I entered the service of the government with my three sons -- two of them are majors and one a captain in the army' -- and then said 'I feel & have always felt that I owe my success in life to you & when I came to Washington & heard you were here I felt I must see you and tell you so'. Now wasn't it pleasant to your father?\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18}Loammi Baldwin, 1780-1838, George L. Vose, his biographer, declares he deserves more than any other man in this country to be called "the father of civil engineering in America".

\textsuperscript{19}To Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, Jan. 13, 1863.
CHAPTER X

A FORTUNE AND A PANIC

By 1837 Amasa Walker had made a fortune. His few years in business had been very profitable as those same years had been profitable to most other business men. The eastern merchants, Walker among them, awakened up to the enormous possibilities of frontier business in the 1820's. Walker's largest volume of trade with retailers was in the West and Southwest. His interest in railroads arose from his business interest in the West. This section he hoped to connect by rail to the East, Boston, if possible. His son writes thus of the extent of his business: "The scale of his mercantile transactions had been very extensive, and he had done more to open the trade of Boston with the South and Southwest than any other merchant of his generation...."

The western and southern traders who came to Walker's wholesale establishment twice a year were extended six months' credit. This was the common practice among mercantile houses. Letters of recommendation were nominally required, but with slow and uncertain mail service they frequently did not arrive on time or at all and the wholesaler rather than lose a customer often extended credit unwisely; again the uncertainty of communication made it impossible for creditors to inform themselves fully of the traders' business. Walker told of an experience which illustrates the easy credit terms of those days.

2Vose, op. cit., 5-7.
A trader, John Warburton of St. Louis, came to him desiring to purchase some goods on the customary six months' credit. Asked for his references, Warburton told Walker he had been buying at another Boston house. When Walker inquired of that firm for his customer's recommendations he was told that he had been extended credit because he was "good looking." This "reference" seemed to satisfy Walker too and Warburton became one of his heaviest buyers.\(^3\) Not all his experiences were so fortunate. Periodically he and other eastern sellers lost heavily because of the failure of southern and western retailers. Sometimes the cause would be crop shortage, again money stringency -- but it was quite as often the result of the merchant's own too liberal credit policy.\(^4\) When Jackson removed funds from the United States Bank in 1834 a depression resulted in the Northeast and business became distrustful. Amasa Walker joined with over three hundred and fifty other Boston merchants and formed an Association of Boston Merchants for Bankruptcy Agreement. Walker was on the permanent committee of twelve representing all trades.\(^5\)

For the next few years the West prospered as never before, unaware of the money famine in the East. Walker's business with that section continued to prosper until the West as well as the rest of the country was overtaken by the panic of 1837. With the causes of this unprecedentedly severe panic we are not directly concerned. To the general depression the injudicious extension of credit contributed its share, along with internal improvements, land speculation, Jackson's financial policy, the bankruptcy of many British merchants and crop

\(^3\)Shoe and Leather Reporter, Jan. 4, 1875.
\(^4\)Vose, op. cit., 5-7.
\(^5\)Hist. of Suffolk County, II, 129-130.
failures between 1835 and 1837. All the banks throughout the country suspended specie payments and numbers of mercantile houses failed. Just how many has never been told. The shoe business suffered severely.
Most of the shoe merchants of Massachusetts, where the trade was almost wholly centered, had speculated in western and southern lands. Many of them were not able to withdraw their investments in time to tide them over during the epidemic of business failures. Ninety percent of the shoe merchants of Massachusetts failed. Walker's financial structure was subjected to severe strain and trembled on the verge of ruin. But his aversion to speculation in any form, particularly land speculation which was so attractive to many in his line of business, had prevented him from investing heavily in lands, and when the panic broke he was able better to meet the emergency than many of his competitors. His extensive trade in Missouri, particularly with St. Louis merchants, played a large part in his successful battle with the depression. His trade in Indiana, Illinois and most of the Southwest went by the board, Missouri alone continuing to buy in something like its former volume. Fortunately his business with St. Louis was larger than with any other section, and he lost very little in that state. For this good fortune he always gave great credit to Thomas Benton, "Old Bullion" as he was called, because of his persistent opposition to banks in Missouri.

In this connection Walker has related an incident concerning the

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7See pages 50-52.
8Shoe and Leather Reporter, Jan. 4, 1875. Senator Benton was an influential anti-bank man. When the Senate passed a resolution censuring Jackson for his withdrawal of federal funds from the National Bank he induced that body to expunge the resolution from the record (1837).
dark days of 1837. A St. Louis merchant, one of his regular customers, came into his store to buy shoes. This was the conversation which took place:

"How many shoes will you take home this trip?"

"As many as I took last year, or more."

"But, why do you buy so freely in these hard times?"

"Because my customers want the goods, and can pay for them."

"How can the Missouri trade pay for shoes when all the rest of the country is bankrupt?"

"I don't know, unless it is because we have got no banks."9

Walker was greatly impressed by this statement and subsequently was to spend many years in studying the cause of panics, and especially the country's banking and monetary systems, subjects about which the panic of 1837 had set him thinking.10

Business did not prosper in the old pre-panic sense for a good many years. Before recovery was complete Walker had retired permanently from business. Between 1837, the beginning of the panic, and 1840, when he retired, he had sufficiently recouped his fortune to have met every cent of his obligations. His fortune was not nearly so large when he retired as it had been at one time. It was, as his son expressed it, "only a moderate competence, sufficient, however, for all needs."11 Ill health, rather than the ravages of the panic, was the immediate cause of his retirement.12 He sold his business to Emerson,

9Hist. of Suffolk County, III, 324.
10See pages 197-198.
Harris & Potter. His "moderate competence" was not for his day, so "moderate". Though he had retired from active business his investments and business interests kept him constantly concerned with business matters. In the year of his death, 1875, he was listed in his native North Brookfield as second only to the Batcheller Shoe Manufacturing Company as a tax payer. In 1854 he helped to organize the North Brookfield Bank, of which he was president. He was a member of the Boston Board of Trade in the years following the Civil War. He always maintained an active interest in the shoe business, was a frequent speaker at conventions of shoe men, and contributed to their newspaper.

Walker was full of business advice for his family and others. As his son, Francis A. Walker wrote: "he was very fond of giving advice; and it must be said, his advice was generally very good, for no man ever understood better the secret of success in life, either in business or in the learned professions." One of the last letters which Amasa Walker wrote was to his daughter concerning the business future of his grandson: "I hope Frank improves his time to the best advantage so that he will be able and disposed to take his place in the Counting Room by the time he is 18 years of age. He has as fine an opportunity, and as good prospects as any young man in Boston, if he is disposed to improve them, as I certainly hope he will be. I think I

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13 Loring, op. cit., 508.
14 North Brookfield Journal, Aug. 9, 1875.
15 1st. of Suffolk County, II, 682.
16 Edward F. Bond (for the Boston Board of Trade) to Amasa Walker, Jan. 11, 1866; Ibid., Jan. 29, 1867.
17 Proceedings at Opening of Rooms of the New England Shoe and Leather Association, Boston, May 14, 1870.
18 Shoe and Leather Reporter, July 20, 1872.
19 Francis A. Walker, loc. cit., 140-141.
shall write a letter, if you think I am right in my views as to what he should do." 20

Just fifty years before he offered this piece of advice he had himself entered into the shoe business in Boston. The changes in that trade and all others had been great in the interval, but through his constant study of currency and trade 21 he was well aware of their revolutionary character. His advice was not that of an old man thinking in the business terms of a by-gone day, but the advice of one who had kept abreast of the times. This is the more remarkable when we know that an almost complete revolution had taken place in the shoe business of after 1840. In fact that year, the year Amasa's retirement, marked the end of the stage which John R. Commons has called the wholesale-speculative period with the merchant capitalist in control. 22 After 1840 markets changed; the "jobbers" no longer sat in their warehouses and awaited the semi-yearly visits of the provincial traders. After 1840 there was an end of the apprenticed shoemaker. Thereafter a man learned but one process, and machines were invented which supplanted the tool manufacture of Walker's era. 1840 also marked the beginning of another tendency, unknown in the earlier period -- styles became all important and dictated to the manufacturers. The consuming public would no longer accept whatever the shoemaker made. 1840 marked not only the end of one period in the history of the shoe business, and the beginning of a new one; but it closed one chapter of the life of Amasa Walker, and marked the beginning of a new one.

21 See chapter XXII.
22 John R. Commons, American Shoemakers 1648-1895, 66-77.
PART III

STATESMAN AND REFORMER
CHAPTER XI

"Let the Blood of Morgan Speak!"

Amasa Walker's reforming spirit drew him into politics. The temperance cause had been the first of the reforms to enlist his efforts. This same cause first drew him into the political arena. Before 1829 when he aligned himself with the Antimasonic Party he had already been a Temperance or Cold Water candidate for city offices in Boston. "From 1829 to 1848 about 19 years I was almost constantly a candidate, that is a martyr candidate..., always in the minority."¹ He was reared among Federalists and when old enough to participate in politics he followed in his father's footsteps. His father acted with the National Republican Party, composed in part of the remnants of the old Federalists. In writing about his early political views Walker declared that he was greatly "taken with the idea of 'protecting American Industry.'"² In fact in his first political speech, made in Methuen in 1824, he spoke in favor of Protection. Years later he wrote almost apologetically, "Henry Clay was an object of my great admiration"³ because of his American System. Although Clay was a candidate in 1824 for President, Amasa, true to his New England and therefore Federalist upbringing, voted for John Quincy Adams. In the presidential election of 1820 he was just old enough to vote but was working in West Brookfield, where he had lived but a month so he was unable to take part in that election.⁴

On August 27, 1829, Walker made a speech in the Council Room of

¹MS. Autobiography, I, 99.
²Ibid., 101.
³Ibid., I, 95.

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Boston. This was the beginning of his active political career. In this speech he attacked the Masonic order as a political menace, and called for some kind of action.⁴ The Antimasonic party in Massachusetts was slower in getting organized than in some of the other states. There had been, however, considerable agitation over the subject before the sentiment was given a political character. In many ways Antimasonry in Massachusetts remained more a social, than a political movement. This may be seen by a resolution which was introduced into the Antimasonic Republican Convention of Massachusetts in 1833 by Walker. The resolution declared "That political Antimasons do not so much desire the mere triumph of party or the success of their candidates, as they do the triumph of the moral and political principle that secret societies are at war with the two fundamental principles of the social compact, viz. the supremacy of the laws, and the allegiance due to country...." A second resolution introduced by Walker went on to state that if any method for opposing Masonry could be devised which was an improvement over a political organization it should most certainly be tried. The implication was, however, that he was doubtful whether such an improved method could be found.⁵

It was no mere accident that Walker entered the Antimasonic party after a short political alignment with the Temperance party in Boston. The whole Antimasonic movement in Massachusetts was closely associated with the Temperance group. Many Temperance leaders hoped to accomplish several reforms through the medium of political Antimasonry. The friends of Temperance felt they had a real grievance

⁵Proceedings of the Antimasonic Republican Convention of Massachusetts, 1833. Incidentally the reference to "the social compact" illustrates that doctrine's wide acceptance.
against the Masons because they were reported to use wine in their celebrations. Walker even went so far as to declare in a public address that "every Knight Templar repeats this: as he drinks wine from a cup formed from the upper part of a human skull: 'as the sins of the world were laid upon the head of the Savior, so may all the sins of the person whose skull this was, be heaped upon my head in addition to my own, should I ever wilfully or knowingly transgress any obligation that I have heretofore taken, now take or shall at any future time take, in relation to any degree of masonry or order of Knighthood." Information published by "renouncing Masons" had spread the knowledge of these oaths among non-Masons.

Walker's Autobiography throws additional light on his reasons for joining the Antimasonic Party: "As soon as I examined the claims of Free-Masonry and its history I became fully satisfied that it was an anti-Christian, and Anti-republican institution that ought not to exist in a country having a free press and a free ballot." After 1829 his conversion was complete and he put all his reformer's enthusiasm into the crusade. His Oration Delivered at Stoughton, Mass., July 5, 1830 was without doubt his most fervid oratorical outburst against Masonry. In that speech he aimed to prove his contention that the Masonic Order was "Anti-Christian and Anti-republican." His opening charge was that "Freemasonry sits in the high seats of power, and walks through all the humble avenues of life. She presides at the altar of religion,

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in the hall of legislation, and on the bench of justice.9 Walker
based his charges mainly on two Masonic oaths which were very gen-
erally offensive to non-Masons as well as Antimasons. The first of
these oaths stated: "Furthermore do I promise and swear that I will
aid and assist a companion royal arch Mason wherever I shall see him
engaged in any difficulty, so far as to extricate him from the same,
whether he be right or wrong." A second oath which gave great offense
ran: "I swear to advance my brother's best interest by always support-
ing his military fame and political preferment in opposition to an-
other."10 The political implications of these oaths Walker declared
were clear; that they warred against "every principle of free govern-
ment, and are totally subversive of the doctrine of the equal rights
of man."11 He charged that the Masons' oath to support fellow-Masons
politically had resulted in an undue amount of officeholding among
Masons; in some places, he declared, it had been found that they held
ten times as many offices as their numbers warranted. In view of such
oaths he held that no one outside the fraternity could be said to en-
joy "equal rights."12

This same pledge he believed endangered the liberty of the press.13

On the subject of a free press he made impassioned speeches at the
Massachusetts Antimasonic Convention in 1830 and again in 1832.14 With

9 Walker, Oration at Stoughton, 7.
10 These two were the most offensive of the Masonic oaths. -- J.B.
McMaster, History of the American People, V, 119, f.n.
12 Ibid., 25-27.
13 Ibid., 15.
Proceedings of the Antimasonic Republican Convention, Mass., 1832.
Amasa Walker was a delegate to both conventions.
amusing irony he referred to the editor who did not have room for Anti-
masonic news, but can "find plenty of room for the wonderful and inter-
esting exploits of Sam Patch." "Yes, there is room enough for any thing
and every thing but Anti-Masonry, and some find room enough to amuse
even that."15 And he had more of the same in reserve for those editors
who objected to printing Antimasonic news for fear it would produce "an
excitement". "Mark the great kindness," he asked his audience, "of these
 guardians of the public weal. They take the people under their parental
care, and most humanely conceal from their view a subject which they
know will produce excitement. They virtually declare that the people
are not competent to decide on the merits of a question, which, if dis-
cussed, will arouse their feelings and passions. This sentiment is in
accordance with a certain doctrine, quite in vogue in the despotic courts
of Europe, that 'the more ignorance the more peace'. . . . I know, . . .
that there have always been found, in every age and every country, a few
kind hearted souls, what [sic] were willing to undertake the task of
governing and protecting the 'dear people', who, as they would have it
believed, were unable to take care of themselves. Noble kings and grand
prelates have, in every age, been ready to watch over the people and take
very good care of them; -- but, . . . in this country we have been taught
that the people are the sovereign, and that the only trouble they have,
is to get at the Truth, and rid themselves of their oppressors."16

To charge any person or group of persons with being undemocratic
in this age of Jackson was to make a telling charge, indeed. The opponents
of political Democracy (that is of the Jacksonian variety) were as will-

16 Ibid., 12-14.
ing to use the device as were its supporters. In fact much of the underlying sentiment in the Antimasonic movement was a distrust on the part of the common people of the Masons and their order because they were usually men of wealth, and often of high social standing.17

Pursuing his contention that Masonry was subversive of Free Government Walker reported for the Committee on the Disqualification of Masonic Oaths at the National Convention18 saying that the oaths came into "direct collision" with the oaths necessary for the discharge of civil trusts. Therefore, the committee reported, Masonic membership "must and does necessarily and absolutely disqualify any man for the faithful discharge of public trusts." He said he believed if this principle could be driven home to all classes of people, including Masons, they would realize that they could not be bound by oaths contrary to the principles of our government. "If this belief could prevail the country would be freed from two serious menaces to free government, a muzzled press and perjury in our courts of law where Masons now feel themselves oath-bound to espouse the cause of a brother, when engaged in any difficulty, so far as to extricate him from the same, whether he be right or wrong."19

So much for Walker's charge that Masonry was "anti-republican". His second major charge against the Masonic order was that it was anti-Christian." This belief was held by many of the Antimasonic leaders and was quite influential in its determination of membership and policy as was the first charge. If the Antimasons suspected all Masons of being wealthy social snobs they also suspected them of Unitarian heresy.20

17McCarthy, op. cit., 515.
18This convention was held in Philadelphia in 1830.
20This statement refers to New England Antimasonry, for outside of that section the Unitarian issue was not important.
It was but natural that the suspicion of heresy should be attached to
the Masons. The Unitarian revolt was strongest in the cities where
there was concentrated wealth, aristocratic power, and an undue pro-
portion of Masons. It seemed but logical that each was the handmaid
of the other. The country people comprised the largest bulk of the
membership of the Antimasonic Party. Walker's residence in the city
of Boston, his improving financial position, and his increasing fortune
might have thrown him into the opposite camp had not his sense of dem-
ocracy and belief in it been outraged, and his reformer's passion
aroused at the sight of a "cause." There were other reasons, too, ex-
plaining his Antimasonry: though he lived in Boston and made his for-
tune there he was essentially one of the country people, whose virtue
he thoroughly trusted, whose sons he hired as clerks, and whose reli-
gious orthodoxy he shared. Lyman Beecher, whose orthodox Hanover
Street Church Walker attended, was in all probability an Antimason. Some of Antimasonry's foes insisted that the movement was nothing more
nor less "than orthodoxy in disguise." And it is very certain that if
any party in our history deserved to be called the "Christian Party in
Politics" the distinction belonged to the Antimasons who used religion
as one of their strongest weapons.

The arguments tending to put Masons in an "anti-Christian" light
were used with the same telling effect as were the "anti-republican"

21 McCarthy, op. cit., 546-547.
22 See pages 94-95.
23 Unitarianism never made as much progress in the country as in the
cities: the countryside remained the stronghold of orthodoxy.
24 I am following here the opinion and account of McCarthy, op. cit.,
542, f. n.
25 Ibid., 541-542.
arguments, by leaders of Antimasonry on the orthodox, democratic, country people.

In his Oration in Stoughton, Massachusetts, to which reference has already been made, Walker scoffed at Masonry's claims to be the "handmaid of religion". "Not content with insulting the intelligence of man-kind by its pretensions of antiquity and science," he continued, "she arrogantly aspires... to be the favored handmaid of the meek and holy religion of Jesus Christ." He expressed the shock with which he had witnessed an exhibition of the Knights Templars degrees in Boston. "I saw," he declared, "the most ridiculous and vulgar farce intermixed with frequent readings of the most solemn passages of holy writ, with continual allusions to the most striking events of scripture history, and mock representations of the burning bush, and the resurrection of the blessed Savior!"

The sincerity of this religious conviction is hardly open to question. The Antimasons were reformers; the mother of this movement, and its contemporaries such as Temperance and Antislavery, was an awakened religious sentiment. Whether this sentiment was of the Finney-revival character or the more calculating Beecher variety is not important: the religious arguments and Biblical language were a part of the movement. Walker's question to the editors on the subject of a free press was typical: "How long halt ye between two opinions, if the Lord be God, follow him, but if Baal, then follow him!" The Masonic claims to Christian charity were ridiculed by Antimasons many of whose reform-philosophies incorporated an active and generous

26 Walker, Oration at Stoughton, 8-9.
philanthropy. Walker claimed that one Masonic Society in Boston had
given to charity over a period of eighteen years the whole sum of
thirty-five dollars, that in 1824 the Royal Arch chapter of Massa-
chusetts voted sixty dollars for charity for the ensuing year. Not
yet content, he added a final jibe: "This chivalrous band, each of
whom is armed with a sword and dirk, must surely perform prodigies of
valour, in distributing charity ... at the point of the dagger!" 28

Of the intemperate, unchristian and undemocratic character of
Masonry Amasa Walker was firmly convinced: "...its oaths war against
every principle of the equal rights of man. In tyranny, it vies with
the Inquisition, claiming and exercising even in this boasted land of
freedom, the same prerogatives which render that infamous ecclesiastical
tribunal the scourge and curse of miserable Spain.... Free Masonry claims
the right to punish offenders against her laws, and holds the lives,
liberty, and property of her members, at her arbitrary disposal. Do we
need evidence on this point? Then let the blood of Morgan speak! Do we
need 'more light' on this subject? Let the light be reflected from the
midnight fires of Miller's printing office, kindled by the hands of
Masonic incendiaries." 29

In the ranks of the Antimasonic party of Massachusetts Amasa
Walker stood high. From 1830 to 1834 he was a member of the Anti-
masonic Convention of Massachusetts, and served on numerous committees. 30
During these years he was the party's candidate for Representative to the

28Walker, Oration at Stoughton, 9-11.
29Ibid., 15.
30Abstract of the Proceedings of the Anti-Masonic Convention, Mass.,
1832; Ibid., 1833; Ibid., 1834.
General Court and for the State Senate. He was still a "martyr candidate." He had never yet won a political office. At the 1830 state Antimasonic Convention he was elected one of the twelve delegates to represent Massachusetts at the National Antimasonic Convention to be held in Philadelphia, September 11, 1830. Here for the first time he became acquainted with men who already had, or were soon to have, national political reputations. Let him tell his own story: "... In 1832 I was a delegate to the Antimasonic National Convention in Philadelphia, when I met for the first time Wm. H. Seward, then a young man and a member of the State Senate of New York, J. C. Spencer and other distinguished men from that state. Joseph Ritner afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania, Thaddeus Stevens now member of Congress, Wm. Slade afterwards Governor of Vermont and M. C. &c. Francis Granger afterwards Post Master General was the president and a finished presiding officer he made.

"In 1832 I was a member of the Anti-Masonic Convention when we nominated William Wirt as candidate for President and I voted for him in the following November." 

In the Philadelphia Convention he took an active part, speaking at length on the subject of the "interference of the Masonic oaths with the

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31 MS. Autobiography, I, 97.
33 He was in error about this date. It was in 1830.
34 John Canfield Spencer (1788-1855) was the special prosecuting officer to investigate the abduction of William Morgan. Previous to his Antimasonic affiliation he had been a Democrat; after Antimasonry died he became a Whig.
35 Again he is in error about the date. This was the Antimasonic Presidential Nominating Convention and was held September 26, 1831. This was the first National Nominating Convention in our history.
36 MS. Autobiography, I, 97.
impartial discharge of public duty." In the convention which nominated William Wirt Walker's first choice, and that of the convention, was Richard Rush of Pennsylvania. Apparently Walker had written him a letter asking if he would accept the nomination if it were offered to him because Rush wrote Walker September 21, 1831: "I must express my sincere hope, that my name will not be brought before the convention as a candidate for nomination to either the Presidency or the Vice Presidency." 

By 1834 the party was dying in Massachusetts. Each of the major parties did its best to capture the Antimasons' votes. Neither really succeeded, for the Antimasons could not agree among themselves and began from that time to disintegrate. Walker ran for Congress on the Antimasonic ticket that year. His Whig opponent was Abbott Lawrence, the famous merchant and philanthropist. As late as 1836 the party made some pretense to strength; though many of the Antimasons acted with the Democrats. In this election Amasa Walker was again a candidate for Congress, and though he received the combined party vote of Antimasons and Democrats he was defeated by Richard Fletcher, a conservative, and prominent Whig lawyer of Boston. From this time on the Antimasons were politically and socially dead. The "Cause of Morgan" was a lost cause.

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38 Richard Rush (1780-1859) was the son of the celebrated Philadelphia physician, Benjamin Rush. He held many political posts among them that of Ambassador to Great Britain, to France, and Secretary of the Treasury. He joined the Antimasons in 1829.
40 Arthur B. Darling, Political Changes in Massachusetts 1824-1848, 123.
41 William Jackson to Amasa Walker, Feb. 27, 1836. Jackson was a wealthy business man and reformer. He was an important Antimason, elected to Congress in 1833 by the combined vote of Antimasons and National Republicans.
42 The vote was 4600 to 2800. -- Darling, op. cit., 200-201.
For all Walker's high position in the party it must be said that political Antimasonry in Massachusetts was always comparatively unimportant. Antimasonry in Walker's state never produced such clever politicians as it did in Pennsylvania and New York. There was no one in Massachusetts to compare to Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward of New York and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. And this was true in spite of the fact that the movement was a New England movement, its leaders outside of New England were invariably of New England extraction, and the Democrats invariably referred to it as "a Yankee concern from beginning to end". 43 The Massachusetts Antimasons did count among their numbers John Quincy Adams, but his participation was not especially active. When Francis Brinley and Amasa Walker announced to him that the Antimasonic Convention of the State had nominated him for Governor in 1831 he refused the nomination because he was a friend of Governor Lincoln [Democrat] and would not oppose him. 44

Walker was always very proud of his connection with this party and proud of his association with its leaders. "In this party", he wrote in his Autobiography, "I had the pleasure to be associated with some of the best men of the age. Richard Rush, John Quincy Adams, William Wirt, William H. Seward and a great number of others who have been distinguished in the history of the country. I never acted with a more pure and disinterested party." 45

Of the principles of the party he was just as proud as of the men. Writing probably about 1858 he was able to say "I found my contest with

43 McCarthy, op. cit., 547.
45 MB. Autobiography, I, 103-105.
Free-Masonry wholly upon the ground that it was a conspiracy and taught
conspiracy as a science. My observation for 30 years past has fully
satisfied me of the correctness of the principle upon which I started.
so that I feel no occasion to retract the opinions I first entertained;
on the contrary [I] am more fixed in my determination to give no counten-
ance to any institution which binds its members by oaths of secrecy. 46

His final tribute was paid to the cause just two years before his
death. On the margin of his Oration Delivered at Stoughton, Mass., July
5, 1830, 47 by far his most extravagant and exaggerated denunciation of
Masonry, he wrote:

"I don't retract or ask pardon for any thing I have said in this
oration.

Sept. 11, 1873

[signed] Amasa Walker 48

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46 Ibid., II, 25.
48 This pamphlet is in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker, Washington,
D. C.
CHAPTER XII

"THE DESPISED DEMOCRATS"

"After the Anti-Masonic party was sold out in 1836 I joined myself to the Democratic party. I did so because I was opposed to the National Bank and Tariff and of course would not go with the National Republicans."¹ This is Walker's own statement of his shift in political allegiance. Walker's action in joining the Democrats was in line with the course taken by the majority of Antimasons though as a group they never officially joined with either of the parties. In writing of the dispersion of the Antimasonic party he declared "we went in different directions according to our convictions and tastes. I should naturally have fallen back into the National Republican ranks for I was a citizen of Boston all my associations were with members of that party and it had a vast majority in the city."²

"But I could not do that. I had become convinced that Protection was a fallacy, that free trade was the true interest of all nations.... And my own observations as a business man had fully satisfied me that a National Bank was a National curse. I did not then understand the philosophy of money, or of the nature of a mixed currency,"³ but I had

¹MS. Autobiography, I, 99.
²Darling, op. cit., 200-201. Darling is of the opinion that the Antimasonic party in Massachusetts was composed in the beginning mainly of dissatisfied Democrats, who on the dissolution of the party drifted back to their old moorings. He makes the statement that Amasa Walker was one of the Antimasons who had originally been a Democrat. -- Ibid., 92-93. This cannot be substantiated. What little political interest he had before joining the Antimasons in 1829 had been with the National Republicans, rather than the Democrats. For a discussion of this matter see pages 84-85.
³In 1841 he began the serious study of political economy. See chapter XVIII.
seen the practical operation of the National Bank, and I regarded it as a great central despotism, dangerous to the liberties, and injurious to the pecuniary interests of the people.

"I had therefore no alternative but to join the despised Democrats." 4

The National Bank issue gave him once again a "cause" (so essential to his reforming nature) to espouse and defend. His determination to act with the Democratic party was purely a matter of issues. He had no love for Van Buren, in fact, he found him quite offensive. He had no objection to the overthrow of the Democratic organization. "But the question at issue was 'Bank or no Bank' and I could not be indifferent -- I could not go for "Tippacameo [sic] and Tyler too'." 5 So in this campaign in which personalities and slogans played the most prominent part Walker based his entire interest in the issues: A good example, perhaps, of the reformer in politics. 6

Walker made his first speech in that campaign at Springfield, Massachusetts. There he explained the nature of exchanges and showed that if left alone "they would regulate themselves better than any Bank could regulate them." 7 After this speech, which seemed to make considerable impression on his audience, he received numerous invitations to speak on the sub-treasury plan. At one time he had between seventy-five and a hundred invitations, too many of which he accepted. His

5Ibid., 109.
6It was a matter of principle with the Whigs in 1840 to ignore issues: "Let him [Harrison] say not one single word about his principles, or his creed..." said Nicholas Biddle, conducting the campaign.
7MS. Autobiography, I, 111.
health broke down in consequence of too much traveling and speaking.\textsuperscript{8}

After all this strenuous participation he did not vote in the election, which was altogether in accordance with his feeling in this campaign. He had no interest in returning Van Buren, but he had done what he felt was his duty by speaking out against the National Bank and in favor of the sub-treasury system.\textsuperscript{9} He believed that the enlightenment of the public mind on this issue was far and away more important than the casting of a mere vote.

During these years of membership in the Democratic party Walker was entirely disinterested personally. Between 1836 and 1840 he was at the height of his business career. He was not seeking office from the party for he was not in a position to have accepted. "Yet," he said, "I suffered myself to be run as a candidate at the pleasure of the party, because some one must stand to represent the principles to which I was earnestly and heartily attached."\textsuperscript{10}

He was associated with David Henshaw, the Democratic leader in Massachusetts, in the Franklin Bank in Boston, a private bank.\textsuperscript{11} This connection might possibly seem to have indicated a personal interest in the bank issue, except for the fact that the majority of Boston bankers and business men favored the rechartering of the National Bank and most of his friends remonstrated with him for his stand, and were surprised "That I did not better understand 'my own interests.'"\textsuperscript{12}

In the course of one of his speeches in 1840 he declared that "not one

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., 113.
\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., 113. He went to Florida for his health the last of November, 1839, but apparently not until after election day.
\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., 109.
\textsuperscript{11}See pages 28, 44.
\textsuperscript{12}MS. Autobiography, I, 109.
in ten of those whom I meet in the city of Boston in the daily ... business concur with me in opinion, or look upon this great measure [i.e. the sub-treasury plan] with any other ... than ... reprobation and dislike. They indeed deem me almost or quite insane in advocating, as a business man, this measure which they ... regard as utterly at war with their interests.”

He was also assailed in 1840 from a totally different quarter and for totally different reasons. Walker’s abolition friends and associates objected strenuously to his stand in the 1840 campaign. They did not distinguish between his advocacy of issues and men. In October before the election the Massachusetts Abolitionist called attention to a resolution which the Young Men’s Anti-Slavery Convention at Worcester had passed in 1833. The Abolitionist declared that Amasa Walker as a member of the committee prepared this resolution which was subsequently passed: “Resolved, That MARTIN VAN BUREN, in avowing his determination never to give his official sanction to a law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, unless with the consent of the slaveholding States, performed a gratuitous work of exceeding meanness -- perpetrated an act of high-handed tyranny -- proved himself to be a DESPOT rather than a DEMOCRAT; and that his 'base bowing' of the knee to 'the dark spirit of slavery', deserves the most unqualified rebuke of every freeman; and until he repent, and bring forth fruit meet for repentance, renders him totally unfit to receive the suffrages of

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14This reform has not yet been dealt with. Walker was active in the Antislavery movement several years before the 1840 campaign. See chapter XIII.
15This was the organ of the Massachusetts Abolition Society.
"Now," declared the Abolitionist, "Amasa Walker is traversing the country, pledging himself, and getting others pledged to do all they can for Mr. Van Buren's re-election...."16 Such was the dilemma of a reformer espousing too many "causes"!

Although no amount of criticism could turn Walker from a course upon which he had embarked or a cause which he had taken up, he was never thoroughly at home in the Democratic party. His sojourn in that party's ranks was not without its "reform" interest, but the years 1836 to 1848 partook largely of the nature of a political interlude. He had been at one with his party on two issues, and only two: the Bank and Protection.

In state politics the question which mainly concerned him was the 1838 Liquor License Law. This law required that liquors be sold in quantities of fifteen gallons or more.17 The purpose of the law was to prohibit the retail trade in ardent spirits, specifically to eliminate the sale of drinks in saloons. The law was not passed as a party measure, in fact, both parties tried to prevent the issue from becoming a partisan one. Governor Everett, a Whig, had signed the bill and so gave the measure something of a Whig character. The Whigs were, however, far from unanimous in their support of the law particularly after popular dislike of the law spread. The city population of Boston objected most. The Democrats in the main took the position that the law was undemocratic, unfair to the poorer people (whom they claimed to champion) because they

16 The Massachusetts Abolitionist, II, Oct. 22, 1840.
17 It was often called the Fifteen Gallon Liquor Law.
18 The Boston Spy, Jan. 1, 1840. Darling, op. cit., 239.
were not able to buy liquor in large quantities. Walker and Robert
Rantoul, who favored the law, represented the minority group in their
party. Thus on this important state issue Walker did not follow the
majority of his party.

He took an active part in the fight to retain the fifteen gallon
law. When the law was but a few months old he and a number of others
wrote an article urging the people of the state to continue the law.
They argued that it was not, as its opponents claimed, oppressive to
the poor, but rather, helpful and good for them (an argument not un-
known to the twentieth century). Another argument of strangely modern
ring was advanced by Walker and others (among them Horace Mann, William
Lawrence, Samuel May, Edmund Quincy and Francis Jackson, all men of
humanitarian rather than political interests). It ran in part: "We
are sanguine in the belief, that this law will be attended with the
most beneficial results to the cause of temperance.... But we do not
pretend to the gift of prophecy, and we may find that we have been
mistaken.... We must not feel that the battle has been fought, and the
victory won, by the simple enactment of the law. We may not yet re-
tire from the heat... of the conflict. The law must be carried into
effect... so long as it remains unrepealed, its provisions are not to be
violated with impunity."

The course of partial-Prohibition in Massachusetts from 1838 to
1840 was not smooth. About fifty "friends of Temperance" meeting in
Marlboro' Chapel early in January, 1840 determined to Bolster up the

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19This account follows that of ibid., 240-241.
21Ibid., Aug., 1838.
law by calling a Temperance Convention. The meeting was for February 12, 1840. But before the convention met the bill to repeal the 1838 law was rushed through the Senate, as it had earlier been hurried through the House. The Spy, extremely sympathetic to the law, declared that it fell "through the treachery of its professed friends: DWIGHT, of Suffolk PHELPS, of Hampshire WILLIAMS, FOND, and WALES, of Norfolk WHITMAN, of Plymouth HOOPER and WHITMARSH, of Bristol All elected as Temperance men, basely deserted the Law, and voted for its repeal. They may be justly regarded as the Benedict Arnolds of the Temperance cause."

On the day set for the convention 1500 delegates arrived. Amasa Walker called the meeting to order and Samuel Hoar was made president. Instead of lamenting too much a lost cause the convention changed its emphasis and resolved among other things, "That although legislatures may promote or obstruct the progress of temperance; yet the chief reliance of the friends of temperance must be upon the influence of truth...." So ended Walker's political experience with Temperance.

For eight years between 1840 and 1848 Walker was nominally a member of the Democratic party, but he took very little active part. His anti-Bank campaigning had of course been ended by the election in November, 1840. The Temperance issues had been at least temporarily closed

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22 The Boston Spy, Jan. 6, 1840.
23 Ibid., Jan. 22, 1840.
24 The Boston Spy, Feb. 12, 1840.
25 The figures were those of the Temperance Journal, III, new ser., Feb., 1840. The Boston Spy (Feb. 19, 1840) claimed it was the largest convention ever held in Massachusetts.
27 For a further account of his Temperance work see chapter VII.
by the repeal of the 1838 law in October, 1840. At almost the same
time these interests terminated he retired permanently from business.28
During the next few years he devoted his time mostly to studying and
teaching political economy, and in advocating universal peace.29 In 1844
he declined, because of ill health, an invitation to address a Democratic
meeting in Boston of the friends of Lewis Cass. In the letter declining
the invitation he took occasion to set forth his reasons for believing
Cass to be the best candidate the Democrats could choose. His first
reason for supporting him was his qualifications; he had ability, educa-
tion, good taste, and had achieved his present position by his own ex-
ertions, Walker said. Second, his conduct in office had been note-
worthy. Walker commented particularly upon his high standing in France
where he had been minister. His third reason for approving him was
"because his name has never been before presented for the office of pre-
sident. He will be a new candidate -- one who has never been upon the
political course, and never run down by an opponent. There is a fresh-
ness about the name of Cass in this connection, which attaches to but
few of the leading characters of either party ...."31 His next reason
was the good, democratic practice, quite popular in this era, of "pass-
ing 'round the offices"; as Walker said, "General Cass will have a great
advantage over any person who has already served one term. The people
are unquestionably in favor of the one term principle. Office-holders
may not like the doctrine, but the people do. It is in accordance with
the genuine spirit of democracy."32 In the last reason for urging the

28See pages 81-83.
29Part IV of this work deals with these two topics.
30Walker had just returned from abroad and had apparently been favor-
ably impressed by the comments he had heard of Cass there.
31Boston Post, Feb. 10, 1844.
32Ibid.
nomination of Cass in 1844 the reformer and moralist emerges: "Mr. Cass," wrote Walker, "is a man of unimpeachable private character; and in this respect will contrast very strikingly and favorably with the person who will probably be his political opponent. This is a point on which the people feel more interest than some men would have us believe. He has never been a gambler or a duelist, and ... he never drank a drop of intoxicating liquors in his life." 

Cass was, nevertheless, passed over for James K. Polk, whose campaign centered around "The reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon," "fifty-four-forty or fight" and other similar expansionist slogans. Henry Clay, the Whig candidate, during the campaign inclined more and more toward expansion, as he estimated the strength of the expansionists. Many abolitionists who might have acted with the major parties refused to do so because both leaned toward annexation. Many of them, including Walker, turned to James G. Birney the Liberty Party's candidate. In spite of his vote for Birney, Walker kept his membership in the Democratic party, was, in fact, nominated by that party for the state senate from Worcester County in 1843 and 1844. "...In the latter year," he declared, "I wrote to the county committee after learning that I had been nominated that I should vote for Mr. Birney for President and that they had better withdraw my name and substitute another. They did not do so. I gave my vote as I had said I would for the candidate of the Liberty Party, not because I belonged to that party, but because I could not vote for any other candidate before the people." Even though he voted for the Liberty candidate and on one occasion at least addressed

33 He refers, of course, to Henry Clay, who was expected to be, and was, the Whig candidate in 1844.
34Boston Post, Feb. 10, 1844.
a Liberty party meeting he did not really join the party. He stayed in the Democratic ranks, because, as he said, he did not like "the exclusive policy" (in regard to slavery) of the Liberty party. As a matter of fact when the Liberty party was first organized in 1840 he had publicly declared that "the worst enemy of this cause [antislavery] cannot be any more disastrous to the Slave and the best interests of the Country, than to raise the standard of a third political party in favor of that object."  

In 1847 the Massachusetts Democratic Convention was held at Worcester, and Walker was still in the ranks. There were decided factions in the party; the majority group was led by David Henshaw and the smaller antislavery faction was led by Governor Marcus Morton. The majority group was able to pass a resolution supporting the president's (Polk's) administration. The convention even complimented the president for his services to the country in protecting the United States against Mexico. This resolution was just another way of complimenting him for an attempt to add extra slave territory to the country, the abolitionists believed. The antislavery minority in the convention would not allow this resolution to pass unchallenged. They lacked sufficient strength to block its passage, however. At this time Amasa Walker, still in the Democratic Party and a delegate to the convention, presented a resolution against the extension of slavery into territory which the United States might hereafter acquire. This resolution caused an uproar in the

36 The Christian Citizen, June 15, 1844.
37 MS. Autobiography, I, 115. His son's statement that "he joined the Liberty Party in 1844" (F. A. Walker, loc. cit., 140-141) seems to have had no other foundation than that he voted for Birney in that year.
38 Lynn Record Extra, n. d. [1840] (Clipping in MS. Autobiography, II).
39 This resolution was essentially the same as the Wilmot Proviso.
convention. The majority faction at once demanded that the resolution be tabled. Walker insisted on speaking in support of the resolution he had placed before the convention. There was so much opposition to hearing him that had it not been for the generous action of Benjamin Hallett it would have been tabled at once. Hallett had been associated with Walker in the Anti-Masonic Party; by this time he was high in the councils of the Democratic Party -- was in fact, floor manager of the state convention --, and although he did not support the resolution he insisted on Walker's right to be heard. After Walker spoke in favor of a strong antislavery stand in the Democratic Party the resolution was tabled. At that, Hallett remarked there would be time enough to consider the slavery issue when the territory had been added. "This," wrote Walker in later years, "was my last appearance in any Democratic Convention."40

40The accounts of Walker's Autobiography, I, 115, and Darling's Political Changes in Massachusetts, 343-344 have been followed here. The two accounts agree.
CHAPTER XIII

ANTISLAVERY ANTECEDENTS OF A FREE SOILER

Over the slavery issue Walker had broken with his party. At the same moment a new party was forming about that issue. It was composed of dissatisfied Whigs, Van Buren Democrats, Liberty men (whose "exclusive policy" Walker had disapproved) and some antislavery Democrats, among them Amasa Walker.\(^1\) The new organization called itself the Free Soil Party, from the main plank in its platform. Walker was a member of the National Convention of the new party which met in Buffalo and nominated Martin Van Buren.\(^2\) Of the desirability of the candidate he was far from convinced; of the platform, he had no doubt: "its grand, distinctive principle ... was 'All constitutional Opposition to Slavery.'" He approved everything about the new party except the candidate;\(^3\) even the name he thought was a "happy one." In fact this election presented for him an issue, "a new and glorious issue," which he could wholeheartedly support -- "Free soil for Free men: no more extension of Slavery." "I entered into the canvass of that year," he said, "with more heartfelt satisfaction than I had ever before experienced[. ] My whole soul was in it."\(^4\)

Amasa Walker's antislavery roots ran deep. His interest in antislavery as a reform antedated his interest in antislavery as a political

\(^1\)"Of the more prominent Democratic leaders Amasa Walker, and John Mills almost alone joined ... the Free Soil organisation." -- Darling, op. cit., 356.
\(^2\)F. A. Walker, loc. cit., 138-139.
\(^3\)The outright abolitionists thought they had secured a favorable platform, so were willing to accept Van Buren in order to get the support of the New York Democrats, the so-called Barn-burners. In spite of himself Walker seemed to be called upon to support Van Buren. See pages 98, 100.
issue by at least fifteen years. The country, especially New England, had been aroused on the evil of slavery by the publication in 1831 of Garrison's Liberator. There is no evidence to show that Walker was interested in the cause before that date. His own statement in this connection is that he "enlisted openly with Mr. Garrison in the anti-slavery movement when first commenced." Among his first public acts with the organized forces of antislavery was the giving of a speech at the annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. In the course of the address he compared the "unconditional emancipation" which that society espoused with the principles of the older Colonization Society, whose aims he felt were compromises. According to the Abolitionist he "demonstrated the criminality of the latter." Walker's first association was with the immediate emancipationists. This same meeting pledged the society to "instantly repeal" the existing slave laws and have "others enacted." And a few months later in the society's quarterly meeting Walker supported a resolution in favor of immediate abolition.

Walker has written in his Autobiography an interesting account of the transformation of the Marlborough Hotel from a grogery into an institution serving the interests of many reforms. This project was one of his earliest antislavery activities. "For several years after the antislavery agitation commenced it was quite difficult to get any place for meetings. The churches (in Boston especially) were hermetically sealed. I recollect[sic] that [the]young men of the Bowdoin Street Church wished

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5 Ibid., II, 21.
6 The Abolitionist, Jan., 1833.
7 Ibid.
8 The Abolitionist, May, 1833.
to hold a prayer meeting for the Slaves and applied to 'the
Comittie' for the use of its vestry, but it was denied, although I
offered $5 per evening.

"When Conventions were held it was very difficult to get any
room; indeed, at last it became impossible to get any public hall of
sufficient size. There were two reasons for this: One was that the
cause was an odious one, the other that there was danger that the build-
ing in which the meeting was held might be assailed by a mob and damaged.

"One year I cannot recollect which, (but I think about 1836)\(^9\) we
were utterly unable to procure a room and met in a loft of a stable in
the rear of the Marlboro' Hotel -- It was rudely fitted up, but answered
our purposes pretty well, and what was more it brought about an important
movement [;] for feeling the great emergency in which we were placed
without any H all in Boston that could be had for Free Discussion, the
project was started of building or buying one. A subscription was opened
among the friends of the object and I think I made the first and re-
collect I put down $1000. The efforts proved so far successful, that we
formed a company and purchased the Marlboro' Estate for several reasons
1st Because it was a great public nuisance, being one of the worst
grogeries [sic] in the city. 2nd Because it was very central. 3rd Be-
cause we could secure our object more economically than any other way.

"Our plan was to keep the Hotel as such only make it a model
Temperance and Christian House, and demolished the stable in the rear
and erect a Hall upon the site.

"The whole operation would cost a great deal more than we had
money to accomplish, so we hit upon the expedient (then I believe a
novel one) of making a mortgage to secure if I recollect aright 56 000

\(^9\) Actually the date was 1835.
dollars in notes of 100 -- 500 -- and 1000 dollars each. This we did.

-- a board of Trustees was chosen who were to hold the whole estate in
trust to secure the payment of principal and interest -- the trustees
making themselves as I recollect the matter, personally responsible for
the interest annually. I was Chairman of the Board and of course had
to take the laboring car so far as financial affairs were concerned. It
cost me many years of labor and a great pecuniary responsibility but I
never regretted the movement.

"We erected Marlboro' Chapel which became a very famous or in-
famous place for antislavery meetings and for the discussion of many
questions which were not in accordance [sic] with the public sentiment
of the day.

"It was anoble Hall, at that time the best for a popular meeting
in the city and was in great requisition.

"As a business operation it was a success [sic]. The property
paid fairly and the Trustees never suffered any loss.

"But we not only secured a Hall for Free Speech, but we formed a
Free Church.

"This seemed indispensable at that time worship was maintained
for several years. Doct Finny [Finney] and Dr. Mahan of Oberlin
occasionally preached for us. There was much religious interest and
many conversions.¹⁰ My opinion is that no church in the city was more
effective than this, yet if did not flourish, because it was a free
church. People would attend them as they came into the city to settle,
they would be converted, but join some of the 'respectable churches'.

¹⁰This is a good example of the close connection between the reform
movements and religious revivals, at least Finney-revivalism.
where they could have a pew exclusively to themselves and not be unpopular.

"The whole movement was a Protest against the Pro Slavery spirit of the age, both in the church and in the world at large.

"The Hotel became very well patronised by religious people of the highest respectability, on account of the excellent manner in which it was conducted.

"All Liquors were excluded --

"No use of Tobacco allowed --

"Prayers were held in the parlor of the Hotel morning and evening, and the service was very interesting -- there being always clergymen and other Christian men present to conduct the worship. Singing formed part of the service. For many years it was sort of a Christian Exchange.

"When the great object was attained -- when other Halls were opened to the discussion of the Slavery question and the Marlboro' Chapel was no longer needed, the building was rented to the Lowell Institute. I became released from all connection, and it has now (1867) passed into other hands.

"In helping to sustain the Free Church I expended considerable money and time but cannot regret that I did so. Indeed I look back upon the whole undertaking with great complacency, although for many years it made large demands upon my time and resources."11

Thus early Walker had identified himself with the radical anti-slavery leaders in New England. Although slavery did not for him become a real political issue until much later some of his abolitionist friends preceded him in forcing the issue. In 1834 he was a candidate for Congress

on the Antimasonic ticket. His Whig opponent was Abbott Lawrence, the well-known, wealthy merchant and philanthropist. Neither party and neither candidate was pledged to any anti- or pro-slavery platform, but a group of men, several of them members of the New England Anti-Slavery Society inspired by Garrison, asked Lawrence for an expression of his views in regard to slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The letter plainly intimated that upon his answer would depend the political support of the signers. In his reply Lawrence declared that slavery was a great moral question and promised to make a careful study of the problem, but said he would have to go to Congress unpledged. 12 This answer did not satisfy Garrison and he declared he would not support Lawrence. After the election he wrote an open letter to the colored voters of Boston saying that he respected Lawrence "as an honorable man and an enterprising merchant; but he had no claim upon you for your votes, for his letter was not... such as one as an abolitionist would have written. Moreover, there was another candidate in the field, who was and is your friend, and advocate, known openly as such -- a man of moral courage and a Christian -- AMASA WALKER. I gave him my vote; AND I think, as you valued your own welfare, he ought to have received your votes." 13 "...We do, indeed, need a Christian party in politics..." I know it is the belief of many professedly good men, that they ought not to meddle in politics; they are cherishing a delusion, which ... may prove the destruction of their country." 14 Later Garrison adopted a thorough-going non-resistant attitude disapproving of all

12 William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879... by His Children, I, 455-456.
13 The Antimasonic Party was sometimes spoken of as the Christian Party. See page 90.
14 The Liberator, Dec. 20, 1834.
political participation. In fact Walker may claim distinction of receiving the last vote which that great and individualistic abolitionist gave until 1871 when he cast a final vote for a local option law. 15

Walker was far from supporting Garrison’s views of slavery on many occasions. He did all he could to prevent the New England Anti-Slavery Society from declaring that it was the duty of its members to withdraw support from the United States government because it had a pro-slave character. Garrison was trying to make dissolution of the Union the main principle of the society in 1844. Walker opposed his course, and continued as the years went on to draw farther and farther from Garrison’s policies. During the early years he had been more often in agreement with him. He had reported at the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 that he constantly heard abolitionists denounced in State Street and had heard one man say that he wished he “had the Editor of the Liberator in an iron cage -- he would send him to the Governor of Georgia, who would know what to do with him.” 16

Garrison’s martyrdom could not help appealing to Walker as a reformer. Years after its occurrence he wrote most sympathetically of the Garrison mob: “As I was passing to my store after dinner, I observed a collection of people, perhaps 40 or 50 in front of the Anti-Slavery Office in Cornhill Washington St. I went to the spot and found the mob was threatening to pull down the sign of the Society.

“Conspicuous among them was a Mr. Dimmock who seemed to be the leading Spirit and the most active in creating excitement. The Mayor..."

15 That is the testimony of his children in William Lloyd Garrison, I 455-456.
16 Ibid., 323-324.
[Theodore Lyman] arrived upon the ground in a short time, but instead of ordering the mob to disperse he merely remonstrated and in mild terms desired them to desist. This only gave encouragement to the rioters and bursting into the building the sign was soon wrenched from the fastenings and thrown upon the pavement, upon this a great shout was set up and the mob which by this time was greatly enlarged became exceedingly b器具ous. I said at once they will now do their worst they feel that they will not be resisted and blood will be very likely to be shed. Garrison, as is well known, was soon seized, a rope put around his neck and but for the brave defense of some truckman he would have been hung upon the nearest lamp post. As it was, he was thrust into a carriage and put into Leverett Street jail for safe keeping.

"It was in the martyr age of the cause. That night the mob howled around my house but attempted no mischief." 17

In 1837 Walker had declared in the New England Anti-Slavery Society "We do not all feel perfectly pleased with all Mr. Garrison says," but that was no reason for failing to support the Liberator whose success was identified with the success of the cause. 18 For all these utterances Walker remained a member of the Democratic Party in good standing. In fact in the same year when William Ellery Channing, aroused by the murder of Lovejoy, petitioned the mayor and alderman for the use of Faneuil Hall, Walker was one of the Democratic ward representatives whose good name helped him secure the building after he had first been refused. 19 At this Faneuil Hall meeting Wendell Phillips first publicly affirmed the antislavery cause. Almost at once Phillips became one of

17LB. Autobiography, II, 47-49. This happened in 1835.
18Wm. L. Garrison, II, 122, f. n.
19Darling, op. cit., 247-248.
the most influential of the extreme abolitionists. The following year
the Boston Anti-Slavery Society was formed and he became its first pre-
sident. Amasa Walker and William Lloyd Garrison were among the vice
presidents, Edmund Quincy the treasurer. These were the same men whom
Walker later, in 1844, opposed on the question of disunion.

It was Walker's extreme good fortune to be able to differ with some
of his reform colleagues and yet maintain their personal friendship and
respect. This was no small accomplishment in an age of "moral issues";
when tolerance was looked upon as anything but a virtue; when "truth"
compromised meant damnation. Few, indeed, were the reformers, not of
Garrison's immediate following, who could in 1844, in the "thick of the
fight" between the two anti-slavery societies write as Walker did:
"Garrison looks well and is as clear and cool headed as ever and is
driving on as you will see by the Literature straight forward toward
the great end he has in view. He is a noble fellow. The more I see of
him the more I admire him and I hope he will long be spared to be a
terror to evil doers and a praise to such as do well." In the same
letter he referred to the "Old Organization Anti-Slavery Society" as
the "true Blues" and "no mistake."

This tribute had been paid a few months before his disagreement
over political disunion with Garrison and his followers in the New Eng-
land Anti-Slavery Society. He had parted company, however, with

20 Wm. L. Garrison, II, 243, f. n.
21 See page 114.
22 The American Anti-Slavery Society led by Garrison and the American
and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society organized in 1840, led by Arthur Tappan.
Webb was an important temperance leader, a member of the World's Temper-
ance Convention held in London, 1846. He wrote The Life and Letters of
Garrison long before that on the issue of non-resistance in the Peace Society. In 1838 it was clear that the Peace Convention was about to be divided over the issue of non-resistance. Walker submitted a modified substitute for the resolution which Henry C. Wright had introduced. Wright's resolution declared that "No government had the right to take the life of man, on any pretext whatever." He was supported by Garrison, Maria Chapman, Edmund Quincy and others. The disagreement over this matter led to the formation of the New England Non-Resistance Society as a separate organization from the older American Peace Society.

Many of the members in the New England Anti-Slavery Society who voted in favor of disunion were the same people who had formed this non-resistance organization. Walker remained in the older antislavery society, but he continued on friendly terms with those who revolted. He did not act as did Arthur Tappan, who sent back his copy of the Non-Resistant, organ of the seceding group, saying he would not be "instrumental in disseminating non-government sentiments." Despite their differences over political action Walker always took particular pains to "look after Henry C. Wright." While he was in Great Britain he wrote Richard Webb, "I am glad you are looking out for H.C. W. he needs watching, but I feel that you will exercise such an Espionage over him..." When Walker left England in 1843 he wrote in a final letter to Elizabeth Pease: "The more I see...

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24 Leader in the Non-Resistant movement in this country; see pages 223-235. Maria Chapman edited the Non-Resistant, which the group later published. She also edited the Liberty Bell. Edmund Quincy helped Mrs. Chapman edit the Non-Resistant and was for a time editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard.
26 Merle Curti, loc. cit., 47.
28 Jan. 5, 1844.
of H. C. W. the more I feel that he can do a great work in this nation if he will only do right. 29 By this he meant that he should conserve his health and energy. Later he wrote her again, "I hear rumoured that our mutual and much beloved friend Garrison may visit England this summer and I think it might be well perhaps for him to do so. He is labouring with great energy and effect in the cause to which he has devoted himself, and although he and myself differ somewhat as to measures we agree entirely I believe as to principles." 30

Up to 1840, then, Walker's course had been largely in line with the course of Garrison and others of the New England group. He differed from many of them, however, in his interest in the "practical" matters of government and politics. Up to 1840 slavery had not been a political issue and when in that year the Liberty Party had been formed on an abolition platform Walker had declared that such a third party would do more to weaken the cause than help it. 31 By 1844 he was more favorable to political action on the antislavery issue, voting for Birney, the Liberty candidate, but not joining the party. By 1848 with the creation of the Free Soil Party on a broad antislavery platform he was able completely to identify himself with the movement. In 1840 he had retired from business and gone to Florida for his health; thereafter he went to Oberlin Collegiate Institute as a professor for the better part of a year; in 1843 he went to England in the interest of the peace cause; in 1844 and 1845 he was again in Oberlin, and in the former year made an

29 Sept. 30, 1843 (Garrison MSS.).
30 Ibid.
31 See page 106.
extensive tour in the West.\textsuperscript{32} Before his withdrawal from business he
had been so closely occupied with commercial affairs as to have had
few experiences or contacts outside of New England. Antimasonic and
railroad affairs were the only interests which had taken him outside
of that section.\textsuperscript{33} The only reform movement he knew was the New Eng-
land brand. His experience in the next half decade gave him a glimpse
of movements and people elsewhere and doubtless modified his future
course. While traveling in the South in 1841 he was observant of the
institution of slavery, but didn't court trouble. As he himself de-
clared, "They never found me tampering with the slaves. During my
whole residence and while on my return via New Orleans and up the
Mississippi I never conversed with a slave upon his condition. I was
everywhere treated civilly, and I conducted [myself] civilly. I had
conversations with the Masters occasionally, and gave them—to under-
stand how I regarded Slavery but never said anything that would justly
give offence."\textsuperscript{34}

On Walker's return from Florida in 1841 he stopped in "the
pleasant city of Savannah" whose mayor had had business connections
with his wholesale shoe company. "He [the mayor] was very polite rode
out with me, and afforded me many facilities for seeing the place --
but I learned twenty years afterwards that I was well known there as an
abolitionist, and very closely watched all the time I was in the city."\textsuperscript{35}

In fact he had been well enough known as an abolitionist three years

\textsuperscript{32}All of these events will be dealt with in Part IV.
\textsuperscript{33}H e had made a trip to St. Louis in 1839 in the interest of business
and a Western Railroad; see pages 49-50.
\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Ms. Autobiography}, II, 61.
\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Ibid.}, 59-61.
before to receive an anonymous letter from Savannah. It was written at the bottom of a printed document issued from the mayor's office, "The Duties of City Constables," dated Savannah, October 28, 1837. Here was the note:

"Could I sell you one or Two wenches for a Speculation worth 600$ a piece for 400 --- I have a Boy Bob if you prefer for 1500.00 worth 2000$ if you are in want Inform Mr. Garrison So I may here [sic].

[signed] J. K. Lampee

Montgomery 12 miles from Savannah.\(^{36}\)

Walker's year in Oberlin considerably broadened his antislavery experiences. There he must have learned that the Garrisonian variety of abolitionism was not the only kind. According to family tradition Walker's house in Oberlin was a refuge for fugitive slaves. This is not at all unlikely as Oberlin was a well-known and important station on the underground railroad, being but a short distance from Lake Erie. From Oberlin he wrote to Francis Jackson\(^ {38}\) introducing a former slave:

Dear Friend

I write this to introduce to you the bearer Mr. Lewis Clarke. He was formerly a slave in Kentucky, but feeling himself a man took the liberty to leave his bondage and has resided in this place for I think about a year. His experience in relation to Slavery in all its practical bearings is very extensive, some more so than I have ever before met with. His talents for public speaking, considering that he is an unlettered man, are very remarkable; and his power over an audience is truly wonderful. He has done great good in this quarter by his labours, and it is thought that he would be highly

\(^{36}\) J. K. Lampee (undoubtedly a fictitious name) to Amasa Walker, June 15, \(1838\). This document is in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker, Washington, D. C.

\(^{37}\) From a conversation of the writer with Dr. Francis Walker.

\(^{38}\) Francis Jackson was a Garrisonian abolitionist. Walker had been associated with him in several New England societies.
useful at the East.

Mr. Clarke's character is good here, and he enjoys the confidence of the Christian public as a man of principle and one who can be in all cases relied upon. He has also 2 Brothers here who like himself has escaped from Slavery. Thinking that you would like to be acquainted with Mr. Clarke I have introduced him and beg you introduce him to other Abolitionists.

Yours truly

[signed] Amasa Walker 39

Walker visited in Philadelphia on his way west in 1844. He arrived there shortly after the Native American riots had occurred. 40 He described his reactions for the Christian Citizen. He was greatly impressed with the need for antislavery action. He believed the Philadelphia Quakers had neglected that issue. He was most severe in his criticism of this sect whose name was altogether bound up with the principle of Non-Resistance. "The poor Quakers of Philadelphia," he wrote, "must feel sadly mortified at the character which the city where they exist should be so deeply disgraced by the spirit of violence. It is however what they too well deserve. They have long ceased to bear testimony against the sins of the day. They have been content to wear the straight coat and the drab hat, to say thee and thou, and look demure and quiet; but that will not do. How much better are they than the denominations of Christians? I am sure I shall not say they are worse, but whenever any body of Christians cease to act for humanity ... their glory and usefulness [sic] have departed. 41

After 1844 almost all of Walker's antislavery activity was of a political nature. In that year, however, he wrote an article for the

39 Sept. 21, 1842 (Garrison MS.).
40 In 1843 there had been outbursts against the foreign-born, especially the Catholics, in Philadelphia. Still more serious riots occurred in the spring and summer of 1844.
41 The Christian Citizen, June 29, 1844.
Liberty Bell, a small book published yearly in the interest of the Anti-Slavery Fair held by the old antislavery organization. The books included short stories, essays and poems devoted primarily to antislavery; but women's rights, peace, temperance and other reforms were included. In the same volume in which Walker's article or story appeared there were contributions from James Russell Lowell, John Pierpont, Eliza Lee Follen, Edmund Quincy, Lucretia Mott, Harriet Martineau, Charles K. Whipple, William Lloyd Garrison, Maria Weston Chapman, the Duchess of Sutherland and some others.\footnote{All of these except the Duchess of Sutherland and Harriet Martineau were organizers of the annual Anti-Slavery Fair in Boston. Some of these names need further identification: John Pierpont was an outspoken Unitarian minister whose church took exception to his preaching. He was interested in peace and temperance as well as antislavery. Eliza Lee Follen was prominent in the American Anti-Slavery Society. James Russell Lowell wrote of her:}

And there, too was Eliza Follen,
Who scatters fruit-creating pollen
Where'er a blossom she can find
Hardy enough for Truth's North wind,
Each several point of all her face
Tremblingly bright with inward grace
As if all motion gave it light
Like phosphorescent seas at night.

Lucretia Mott was a reformer and Quaker preacher, and one of the women delegates from the United States to the London Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. Charles K. Whipple was associated with Garrison in the publishing of the Liberator. The Duchess of Sutherland was an English aristocrat who interested herself in American abolition of slavery. Some Americans were critical enough to suggest that she and her husband, the Duke of Sutherland, could have found a fertile reform field at home had they chosen to abolish "wage-slavery".\footnote{Edmund Quincy, Garrison, and Maria Chapman. Pierpont, on the other hand, disagreed with Walker in repudiating the disunion resolution. See pages 114-116.}
This is the story he tells in the Liberty Bell: "A poor mendicant once called at the house of a rich Bishop, not remarkable for his benevolence, and asked for food. The Bishop, after hearing his story, ordered his servants to bring the beggar a mouldy crust of bread. When he had thus satisfied his conscience by this act of charity, he proceeded to ask the hungry man whether he could read? No, said the beggar. Can you say the Lord's prayer? No, continued the mendicant. I don't know what the Lord's prayer is. Then you should know, said the reverend prelate; I will teach you, and you must repeat it after me. 'Our Father, who art in heaven,' began the priest. The beggar looked him full in the face, and asked, with great emphasis and emotion, Our Father, did you say? Aye, said the Bishop. Then, said the beggar, you and I are brothers. Why -- yes, replied the Bishop. Then, continued the beggar, how could you turn off a starving brother with a mouldy crust of bread?"

The story was not permitted to point its own moral, but taking it as a point of departure he sermonized on universal brotherhood. He asked whether the white brother will turn off his colored brother with a mouldy crust of bread. "The slave," he said, "does not ask his master to set him free. That would be useless, ... but he does come to us and asks for that liberty which is ... denied him."44

A man's views on slavery often determined other phases of his life in the decades before the war. The Congregational Church in his native North Brookfield split largely over the issue of slavery. The Union Congregational Church which was organized as the result of the division was very sympathetic to the abolition cause. Amasa and his brother, Freeman, 44The Liberty Bell, V, 117-121.
were both active in the Union Church. Amasa was one of the deacons and contributed heavily to the building fund and the church's support. The Ladies Serving Society of the church helped support with money and used clothing the negro refugee station and colored school conducted by Isaac J. Rice at Amherstburg, Canada, and abolition ministers were welcome at the Union Church. "Prof. Stowe preached today," wrote Mrs. Walker to her daughter, "& I think Miss Beecher was correct when she said he was a man in his own right not to be known merely as Mrs. Stowe's husband."

After the Free Soil Convention in Buffalo in 1848 plans were made for a state Free Soil Convention to meet at Worcester. Walker was a member of the group, was put on the committee of resolutions, and on the permanent state committee of which Charles Sumner was chairman. The new party got under way speedily. Walker was a candidate for the state legislature in that first year, and for the first time in his political history was elected. He had never before belonged to the majority party in his city or town. The legislature into which he went was largely

46 Freeman Walker to Hamilton Hill, July 21, 1850 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
47 No date. The split between the orthodox and the Union Congregational Church in North Brookfield persisted long after the war. It caused a social as well as a religious division in the community. Years later under the ministry of Joseph J. Spencer (See page 377) the Union Church became Episcopal. -- Conversation of Warren Bartlett of North Brookfield with the author.
48 Darling, op. cit., 352-353. October 23, 1848 William Cullen Bryant wrote Walker: "The fire which you helped to kindle when I saw you at Worcester last summer has become a mighty conflagration. You will yet I am sure have cause to congratulate yourself on the result of the proceedings of that day." (Autograph Letter Book).
49 MS. Autobiography, I, 115-117.
Whig, so although he was the Free Soil candidate for Speaker he was defeated. That he had not lost sight of the slavery issue in his new role may be seen by a letter written to one of his antislavery friends, "I am now in the Legislature -- we are getting on slowly. I am in hopes that we shall be able to do something for the cause of freedom, but our free soil friends are a minority and cannot do much." 50

50To Hamilton Hill, Jan. 23, 1849 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College). Hamilton Hill was the Secretary and Treasurer of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute.
CHAPTER XIV
COALITION POLITICS IN MASSACHUSETTS

If the Free Soilers were in a minority in the Massachusetts legislature in 1849 so were the Democrats. The situation had possibilities which both minority parties saw. They coalesced in Massachusetts. The combined forces in Worcester County nominated Walker in 1849 for the state senate\(^1\) and although he went abroad in the midst of the campaign he was nevertheless elected.\(^2\) Walker went to Europe primarily to attend the peace conference, but he kept in touch with the political situation at home and probably had a chance to discuss the rising fortunes of the Free Soilers with reformers from other countries, also with some of his own countrymen, for Charles Sumner wrote to his brother, "Mr. Amasa Walker, whom you remember in your childhood, a devoted advocate of Peace and Free Soil, has resolved suddenly to leave in this steamer to attend the Peace Congress. He is an admirer of you in advance. I hope he may be able to see you. He will tell you something of our Free Soil Movement...."\(^3\)

Sumner was a leading light in the Free Soil movement in Massachusetts. He had attended the Free Soil conference at the legislature in 1849 in the capacity of adviser. At this meeting Walker had been named as their candidate for speaker.\(^4\) The Free Soilers and Democrats had been drawn together partly because of their mutual hatred of Whigs who they believed represented the money power of the state. Sumner tried to link

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\(^1\)MS. Autobiography, I, 121.

\(^2\)Ibid., 121, II, 81. Amasa Walker's brother, Freeman, was on the Committee in charge of the North Brookfield Free Soil Convention. -- Massachusetts Spy, Sept. 5, 1849.

\(^3\)Edward L. Pierce, Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, III, 44.

\(^4\)Ibid., 186.
the Whigs' opposition to slavery with their subservience to corporations.

"It is easy to explain this," he said. "In corporations is the money-
power of the commonwealth. Thus far the instinct of property has proved
stronger in Massachusetts than the instinct of freedom. The money-
power has joined hands with the slave-power." The Democrats were
now out of power in Washington and so were more inclined to listen to the
antislavery arguments of the Free Soilists. The Free Soilists took every
possible occasion to promote the antislavery cause. Before sailing for
Europe in 1849 Walker left what might be called his final instructions on
state politics with Sumner. "Please say to our associates as my sincere
and earnest conviction that nothing but a firm and unwavering adherence
to the Buffalo Platform [National Free Soil Convention Platform] will
secure the grand object which as a party we have in view, and which [sic]
we should do all we can to consolidate the old Democracy of the country,
we can only unite with them on the platform distinctly avowed 'All consti-
tutional opposition to Slavery,' and a distinct pledge to vote for no
man for office not known to be disposed to use the influence of his
official station for removing the evil of slavery wherever the govern-
ment is responsible for its existence."

The Free Soil Convention of 1850 nominated Walker for Lieutenant
Governor. The same convention censured Daniel Webster for his part in
the Compromise of 1850. In his speech accepting the nomination Walker
commented, said the Worcester Spy, "with great severity upon the treachery
of those who had betrayed our noble state into the hands of the slave
power." Shortly after Webster's speech for the Compromise of 1850

5bid., 187.
6July 21, 1849 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
Walker had been invited to speak at a meeting in Boston of "the citizens of Boston and vicinity ... without distinction of party to express their strong moral reprobation of the sentiments entertained in the recent speech of Mr. Webster in the U. S. Senate." The invitation was signed by S. R. Howe, Wendell Phillips and Francis Jackson. Over the same episode Walker, then in the state senate, offered a resolution to the effect that Webster's speech "did not represent the sentiments of Massachusetts."

The resolution did not pass due to the majority of Whigs in the body.

The union of Democrats and Free Soilers which had elected Walker in 1849 was not complete throughout the state. Some of the counties, among them Worcester, had made a start in that direction. In 1850 more joint elections occurred so that when the legislature met the way was open for negotiations between Democrats and Free Soilers. A coalition was affected for the choice of state officers. As a consequence of the combination of the two minority parties they had a majority in both branches of the legislature. Some kind of union had to be effected because the Massachusetts law required a majority for election, rather than a plurality. The Whigs had only a plurality in the legislature. The coalition was simply an agreement between the Democrats and Free Soilers to divide the offices between them as fairly as possible, and cut out the Whigs. The Free Soilers were especially anxious to secure Charles Sumner's election to the United States Senate. In order to accomplish this, they were willing to give the Democrats the office of Governor. The Democrats were pleased with the prospect of state control. According to this arrangement -- "bargain," as the Whigs called it -- Summer became United

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8 MS. Autobiography, I, 121.
States Senator, George S. Boutwell became the Governor and the Democrat, Henry W. Cushman was made Lieutenant Governor. The distribution, with one exception, had been agreed upon during the campaign; they did not wait until the legislature met to make the decisions. Walker had been nominated by the Free Soil Convention in 1850 for Lieutenant Governor, and Free Soilers seem to have expected that that office would go to their nominee. Henry Wilson wrote Walker in December, "I have talked with many persons of all parties and I think all will go well. I have hardly seen a Freesoiler or Democrat who does not go for giving us the Lieut. Governor. I feel quite sure we shall arrange that to our satisfaction. It is right & just and expedient -- and men of common sagacity see it." But in the final adjustment, due to pressure from Democrats in Franklin County, the Democrats were given both Governor and Lieutenant Governor. In the reshuffle Walker was made Secretary of State. About this change of fortune he had this to say; "This was much the best arrangement in regard to the two offices, for I was much better pleased with the active and responsible office of Secretary of State than I should have been with the sedentary office of Lt Governor. Mr. Cushman was admirably adapted to his position and filled it with great dignity and propriety. I never regretted this disposition of the matter."  

The Whigs had tried in every possible way to break up the coalition. Their press denounced it as a bargain and worse. They were not, however, as Walker pointed out in a letter to Sumner, above trying to

9bid., I, 125-129.  
10Worcester Daily Spy, Oct. 4, 1850.  
12MS. Autobiography, I, 129.
deal with "Hunker" Democrats and "Shortsighted" Free Soilers who opposed the combination. 13

"The unterrified" Democrats, so-called, refused to vote for Sumner for the Senate. The struggle went on for several weeks with Sumner just failing of election by a vote or two. The count showed on several occasions more ballots than legislators. Finally a Whig member proposed that on the next vote sealed ballots be used. As soon as that was done Sumner was elected. In his position of Secretary of State Walker had what he considered the great honor to deliver his credentials of election to Sumner. This he did in person telling him as he did so that it was the most agreeable act of his official life, and urging him to be true to his antecedents, that is, antislavery convictions, on the floor of the senate. 14 His admiration and friendship for Sumner lasted until the latter's death. He kept him informed of party feeling in Massachusetts. He complimented him repeatedly on his stand in the senate on issues touching slavery. Walker was always proud of the stand which the coalition in Massachusetts had taken on slavery, especially in sending Sumner to the senate. "I don't know," he wrote in 1854, "what may be the future, in regard to our great struggle with slavery. Sometimes I greatly fear that we are doomed to sink down under a hopeless Slave Despotism, but I do not despair. If Nebraska be admitted & the Miss [sic] Comp. repealed as I expect it will be, I think there will be an immense effort made to colonize the new territory, with the friends of freedom.

"You are very fortunate in having Everett for a Colleague[sic]; his base deviltry [sic] & meanness make a strong contrast to anything like

13Jan. 3, 1851 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
14MS. Autobiography, I, 133.
common manhood & magnanimity."

In his letters of commendation Walker more than once informed Sumner that his course had the approval of the coalition which had elected him, as well as that of "all good men of all parties." He commended him especially for his firm antislavery stand in the Nebraska controversy. Of Wilson's course in the senate he wrote Sumner: "We think Wilson has done well in the Senate, and I hope that he will not feel himself [bound?] by any party or organization. He has no strength except when he speaks frankly his own convictions.

"I regret his K. N. [Knownothing] affiliations -- they make him something a little less than a man -- Oh, it is a great thing to be a man, to be under no obligations except to humanity; to be obliged to do no dirty work, or to cringe, or fawn, or equivocate."

Such unstinted praise no doubt helped enlarge Sumner's own ego. Walker helped Sumner in various ways; he compiled a list of Massachusetts newspapers for him, he got his speeches published in newspapers of the state, and on one occasion, at least, sent him "a trifle" which he told him to use in distributing his speeches wherever they were most needed.

Perhaps one of the most interesting bits which emerges from the Walker-Sumner correspondence is the advice Walker gave Sumner in regard to the use of classical quotations of which the senator had a seemingly inexhaustible supply. Walker reported to Sumner in this letter...

15Apr. 25, 1854 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
16Ibid., July 2, 1854; Mar. 14, 1855. (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
18Dec. 16, 1851 ( " " " " )
19Apr. 25, 1854 ( " " " " )
a conversation which he had had with Thomas Bulfinch who wanted him to ask Sumner the next time he wrote where to find a certain long Latin quotation he had used in a political speech. Bulfinch declared he was well enough versed in the "threadbare variety" but Sumner did not confine himself to those. Then Walker added that Bulfinch had said "you may also hint" that every Latin phrase he used lost him a friend. "That is it displeases so many of his readers who do not understand it that the combined displeasure may be safely reckoned at one friend lost per quotation. Still I should be sorry to see him eschew all classical quotations, but he ought to know the expense to his popularity at which he indulges himself, or treats his educated readers to them." Judging from Sumner's subsequent career he thought the price of Latin quotations not too high to pay. But in spite of his admitted pride of oratory and vanity of person he seems not to have been offended by Walker's advice, which he so conscientiously had given. For me humorous remarks followed Walker's account of Bulfinch's conversation.

The strength of the coalition government in Massachusetts lay in the rural counties. The Whigs had clear majorities in Boston and some of the smaller industrial cities. The Democrats and Free Soilers were especially dissatisfied with the system of representation in the state, which was giving more and more power to Boston and other industrial centers. Governor Boutwell called attention to "the inequalities" in representation in his inaugural message in 1851. In that year a joint committee drafted an amendment changing the basis of representation so that

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20 Thomas Bulfinch (1796-1867) was a Boston bank clerk, but a literary man of distinction as well, especially well versed in mythology.
21 Dec. 16, 1851 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
22 Ibid.
each town would receive a representative regardless of size and enlarging the "mean increasing number." This amendment required a two-thirds vote which it was unable to get. The Whigs, especially the Whig press in Boston, opposed this measure which would have increased the power of the rural counties at the expense of Boston. The next move made by the coalition was to pass a bill for calling a constitutional convention. It was voted on at the regular state election in November, 1851. The bill was defeated. But Boutwell persisted and in the next year the proposition was again presented to the people and this time the result was favorable to calling a Constitutional Convention in 1853. But in this 1852 election the coalition government had been defeated, and the Whigs came into control. Though the new Governor Clifford hinted that the act should be repealed it was not done, and preparations were made for calling the Constitutional Convention. From the start the Whigs opposed this convention.

Just a few days before the convention met Boutwell wrote Walker a letter marked "private" saying, "I fear that our friends do not anticipate that danger in the matter of the convention which to my mind is apparent. Our opponents are at work in secret & every effort will be made to elect when they can & defeat when they cannot elect. You must see to your neighborhood without delay. Let there be no failures." And in Walker's county there were "no failures." Worcester's delegation included Amasa Walker from North Brookfield. Boutwell failed of election in his own town, Groton, but was appointed by the convention as a delegate from Berlin. A vacancy occurred in that town because Henry Wilson had taken the precaution to run in both Berlin and Natick. Being chosen in both he resigned one and made it possible for Boutwell to be appointed

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23 Feb. 28, 1853.
as the delegate from Berlin. 24

Through the Democratic and Free Soil press the minority parties pointed out some of the constitutional changes which needed to be made. They declared that the constitution should be changed so that more officials were elected directly by the people, that the sessions of the legislature should be limited to one hundred days, that state elections should be held on the same day as national elections, and that most important of all, the system of representation should be changed. The coalition tried to arouse the country towns on the issue of representation. A legislative report signed by Amasa Walker was published which showed from census figures how the representation of the cities and large towns had increased in 1850 over 1840. The report predicted what the representation would be in 1850 and 1870: the rural county of Franklin, for example, with nine representatives in 1850 would have but two in 1870. Similar predictions were made for other small counties. 25

Despite its partisan paternity the Constitutional Convention of 1853 was not composed of mere partisans. George S. Boutwell declared it was the "ablest body of men that ever met in Massachusetts," 26 and one of the recent historians of the state has said that it "undoubtedly contained the most brilliant assemblage of orators the state has ever seen." 27

24A provision of the convention permitted delegates to be chosen from other than their own towns, an uncommon practice in this country. The coalition favored this provision for it gave some of their leaders from Boston and vicinity where they could not be elected a chance to be delegates from the country towns. Benjamin F. Hallett, a Democrat of Boston, sat for Wilbraham; Charles Sumner, a Free Soiler of Boston, sat for Marshfield and Anson Burlingame of Cambridge, a Free Soiler, was sent from Northborough. -- James Schouler, "The Massachusetts Convention of 1853," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XVIII, 2nd series, 1903, 1904, 34-35.
25This account follows Samuel Eliot Morison, A History of the Constitution of Massachusetts, 41-44.
26Schouler, loc. cit., 33.
27Morison, op. cit., 45.
The legal profession was well represented by Rufus Choate, Marcus Morton, Sr. and Jr., Simon Greenleaf, Charles Sumner, Joel Parker, Henry L. Dawes, Robert Rantoul who had been in the 1820 Constitutional Convention, Richard H. Dana and others. Radical antislavery men such as Garrison, Whittier, Phillips and Howe were not present, though Benjamin F. Butler and Charles Sumner, later identified with the radical Republican regime, were. Amasa Walker was perhaps as close to this group as any member of the convention, he and the representative from Brookfield, the Rev. William B. Greene. Greene shocked the convention by a speech in favor of Woman Suffrage. Walker had never stood with the non-resistant group, who voluntarily cut themselves off from political contacts. He had been, however, associated intimately with them, particularly before 1848 when he became active in the Free Soil politics. Although Walker’s committee on Qualification of Voters did not report favorably upon the petition of Wendell Phillips and others to have the word “male” stricken from the qualifications, Walker, who made the report, as chairman, gave considerable attention to their demand and declared it was worthy of consideration. There was not much chance for reform ideas to be aired at this convention which was concerned with political and constitutional problems, but Walker found an occasion to get in a speech on the peace movement, in which he was then very actively interested.

Walker was one of those methodical, conscientious individuals, who as a member of the convention was always on hand for all business.

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28 All of these men were famous lawyers and judges. -- Hugo A. Dubuque, "The Centenary of the Supreme Court of the United States." The American Law Review, XXIV, 393 (May-June, 1890).
30 Ibid., I, 20.
be it great or small. His name was never listed among those absent. From the first motion in the convention to find a more suitable hall for meeting, which he made, to the final motion to adjourn "without day" (also his) he followed the proceedings. Four questions in particular interested him: qualifications of voters, representation, plurality and elective judiciary. Walker was made chairman of the committee on the qualifications of voters. This committee was not looked upon as one of the most important, and yet one of the most significant improvements of the 1853 constitution over the old one was the chapter on the qualifications of voters and elections. The tax qualification for voting was done away with so there would be universal manhood suffrage. The residence requirement was set at six months. A second provision called for a secret ballot. The constitution required that all ballots must be placed in sealed envelopes "of uniform size and appearance." They were to be furnished by the state. Still another item of importance was the provision for the first time in the history of Massachusetts for the registration of voters.

The subject of representation was the one which had caused the coalition to call the convention. It seemed quite clear from the first

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31 The Journal of the Const. Convention, Mass., 1853, 7. When the convention was called it was to meet in the State House, but the Whig legislature was still in session when it first met and gave no evidence of cooperation or of adjournment. The legislature did adjourn in a short time and their hall was then used; in the meantime a small room in the State House was used.

32 Ibid., 423.


34 The Constitutional Propositions Adopted by the Convention, 1853, 26. The Democrats had tried to pass a bill in the 1843 legislature of Massachusetts to establish a secret ballot. -- Darling, op. cit., 299. See chap. XV.
that if any decision was reached on the issue a compromise between the two extreme views would be necessary. The coalition was calling for representation for each town, down to the very smallest, while the Whigs whose strength lay in Boston and the populous, industrial towns wanted the representation to be based on population. All the important orators of the convention participated in this discussion. After listening to the arguments pro and con Walker finally declared in a speech that he was willing the question should be compromised. His sympathy naturally was with the country towns whose cause the coalition was sponsoring. He expressed his belief, however, that all the towns could not have annual representation if the larger cities were to have proportionate representation unless the membership in the legislature was increased. This, he declared, was as objectionable as the present defects in representation, because the house would become unwieldy. The people of the state, he said, were calling for the number of legislators to be reduced, not increased. He declared that he had worked out a plan in his own mind which he had hardly dared to divulge, because of its unconventionality. He presented the plan, as he said, not as one on which they were to act, but as a suggestion. He proposed to divide the towns into two classes. The first class would be composed of all towns which at that time had one or less than one (due to alternate voting) representative annually. Towns in this class would continue to elect their representatives and those representatives would have one vote each in the legislature. The second class included all those towns having more than one representative a year and their representatives in the legislature would have two votes. The number of representatives could thus be reduced and yet all would be fairly represented. He knew that this plan was so novel that it would certainly be condemned, but he had still another suggestion in
reserve. It was to district the entire state for purposes of representation, under such a plan several small towns would be combined into one district, the medium sized towns would become districts of themselves, and cities with large populations would be divided into several districts, depending on their size. His plea was not so much that one of his plans should be adopted as that an effort be made to arrange a suitable compromise between the two extreme views. He did, however, go on to say that he agreed with Boutwell, a fellow coalitionist, who had just spoken against basing representation completely on population. This he held would be unfair and unwise.  

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Charles Sumner supported the plan for dividing the state into districts for purposes of electing representatives to the House. Sumner did not occupy the place of prominence and influence in the convention which his Free Soil friends probably coveted for him. In fact the chief result of his long and oratorical speech in favor of the districting proposition was to cause the convention to pass a rule limiting all speeches to one hour.  

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The reactionary stand taken by the so-called liberal coalition seems most illogical. The conservative Whigs were quite illogical in their demand for representation by population. The last thing they wanted to do was to give the industrial classes a voice in the government, yet the principle which they upheld at this time ultimately did that very thing, and was the means of their own undoing. Their desire for representation based on population was not due to a disposition to

36So reported in Schouler, loc. cit., 39.
give the growing industrial classes and immigrants a voice in government, but to the hope of giving the mercantile interests that much more power. The whole convention was in many ways a backward-looking group, the liberals supporting a reactionary policy to please their rural constituents, the conservatives defending a liberal system of representation to increase their own power. Massachusetts was even in 1853 an industrial state, yet there were but thirty-five artisan members in the convention; it was a state with an enormous foreign born population yet but seven members were of foreign birth, one Irishman representing the thousands of his countrymen. In contrast, forty-two manufacturers, sixty-five merchants, seventy-three lawyers and one hundred and twenty-eight farmers were members of the convention.\footnote{Morison, op. cit., 45-46.} They did not form a true picture of the state, any more than the political alignment on the issue of representation was a true indication of any fundamental interest.

In the final draft the district system was adopted as the basis for apportionment of seats in the senate. The districts were to be of equal population. Representation in the house was to be based on towns classified roughly as to population. Towns of 1,000 or less inhabitants were to elect one representative in the valuation year, while towns between 1,000 and 4,000 were entitled to one representative annually. There were to be two representatives each year for towns between 4,000 and 8,000; three for cities between 8,000 and 12,000. A city of 12,000 inhabitants was to receive four representatives and cities larger than 12,000 were to receive one representative for every 4,000 inhabitants over and above the 12,000.\footnote{The Constitutional Propositions Adopted by the Convention, 1853, 2-17.} The final plan though a partial compromise
showed the influence of the coalition majority in the convention. The minority report of the committee made by William Schouler provided for combining the small towns and districting the large cities, a plan similar in some respects to the one which Walker had suggested. 39

The parties were just as inconsistent on the issue of plurality as on that of representation. The conservative Whigs defended the principle of plurality simply because it was expedient for them to do so. The Whigs could feel quite sure of a plurality at this time. In fact they could have filled the state offices in 1850 when the coalition between the Democrats and Free Soilers took place had it not been for the constitutional requirement of a majority vote. This had thrown the election of Governor and other officers into the house and prevented the Whigs from controlling the state offices. The coalitionists, on the other hand, were quite as selfish in their stand against plurality; only because of the majority ruling had they been able to control the government, and in the immediate future, anyhow, only by its continuation could they hope to be again successful. The committee on elections reported in favor of the plurality system declaring it was the only practical and efficient system. Walker presented an amendment to the motion to change the word "plurality" to "majority" thus completely reversing the motion and making it propose the same rule as had obtained under the old constitution. 40 Walker spoke in favor of the old majority system saying he favored it because it was already established in the constitution (though he and his party wanted to right the injustices of the constitution by a new one), not because he venerated the "rust" of the

40 Ibid., 305-306.
document, but because he believed the majority principle was the only democratic system. This argument was used by his fellow coalitionists, but it was not until he argued in favor of the majority principle because it would aid third parties that he faced the issue squarely. For all his pounding away on the idea that the plurality system would undermine the democratic principle of majority rule, that was not the compelling reason for his stand, but rather the tender regard he had for third parties. For, as he said "the majority principle ... gives a man his full power; under it his vote always tells." He did not need to feel that he was wasting a vote or choosing between two evils as would inevitably happen under the plurality system. Since 1830 third parties in Massachusetts had been of real political influence, sometimes holding the balance of power. The Free Soilers, particularly, recognized that the majority system had been the patron of those third parties.

At one time in the voting on the plurality system there was a tie, but it was broken by the coalition chairman, Benks, and the plurality system failed. As finally incorporated in the constitution the provision called for the continuation of the majority system for all officers except councillors, senators and county officials. There was a provision -- a sop to the Whigs -- that the legislature at any future time could either go back to the old plan or adopt full plurality with one year's notice. The Whigs never really accepted this "compromise" and it was one of the major factors in the final rejection of the constitution by the people. Most of the Whigs in the convention rejected the document

Ibid., 235-241.
Ibid., 240-241.
Speech by Edward L. Keyes of Abington. -- Ibid., 245-246.
Ibid., III, 134-153.
they had helped to draw up. Their attitude had become apparent before
the convention ended.\footnote{Ibid., 562-563.}

One of the most prolonged discussions of the convention was over
the issue of an elective judiciary. On this issue the conservative
Whigs stood solidly opposed. Rufus Choate made a famous plea in favor
of an appointive judiciary. It was an eloquent oration full of fine
language and good reasoning. As soon as he had finished Amasa Walker
got the floor to explain that he too would vote against the proposal
for an elective judiciary. In general the coalitionists favored it and
he seemed to feel an explanation was in order. His speech was, to say
the least, an anticlimax to the one which had preceded it. He based
his reason for voting against an elective judiciary on the ground that
the people had made no authorization on this subject prior to the call-
ing of the convention, also he did not believe the people would sanction
the motion for popular election of the judiciary. He himself, he de-
clared, considered the voters perfectly capable of choosing judges,
but thought it would be unwise to go beyond their authorization.\footnote{Ibid., II, 611.} Already he was beginning to think of the practical consideration of se-
curing the adoption of the new constitution. The coalition did not
push this issue, Henry Wilson and other leaders felt with Walker the
political unwisdom of the move.\footnote{Ibid., 703-704.} Walker did propose, in lieu of the
more thorough-going popular election of the judiciary, to limit the ten-
ure of judges to a ten year term. He presented a motion to this effect,
but neither the proposed change in tenure nor in manner of election
carried. 48

The finished product, the revised constitution, was presented to the people to be voted on November 11, 1853. The entire Whig party, as had been foreseen in the convention, threw its weight against adoption. A few of the Democratic-Free Soilers deserted, but the propaganda of opposition was carried on mainly by the Whig members of the convention and the Whig press. Abbott Lawrence, it is claimed, hired forty-one orators to travel throughout the state in the interest of rejection. 49

The Whigs constantly called the attention of the voters to the fact that the whole convention idea had been "put over" on them by the coalition: "The egg from which the Constitutional Convention was hatched was laid in the General Court in 1852. The people had voted, in 1851, that they would not have a Constitutional Convention. But the friends of the people, the exclusive, extra friends of the people, came to the conclusion, either that they did not know their own minds, or that they would change them in the course of a twelvemonth. Accordingly, not daunted by their rebuff, and with a perseverance worthy of the saints, the Coalition Legislature of 1852 determined to put anew to the people the question which they had answered in the negative two months before. Had a Whig Legislature thus presumed upon the ignorance or fickleness of the people... what an airing of vituperative epithets we should have seen ...." 50 The constitution when put to the people was voted down, and although there was no indication that the slavery issue was playing

49 Morison, op. cit., 63.
50 Discussion on the Constitution, Mass., 1853, 122-123. This quotation is from "The Letters of Silas Standfast, to His Friend Jothan", written by George S. Hillard, and printed first in the Boston Courier in October and November, 1853.
any part in the Constitutional Convention, Walker, at least, and probably other Free Soilers had not lost sight of their goal. He wrote Sumner in December after the November election: "Well, we have lost our amended Constitution, the Whigs have got Massachusetts ...; and now what? I have not met any of our political friends since the catastrophe, but I hope & trust there is but one feeling and this is, to rally with firmness around our standard and hold fast to our political principles. Doubtless the slave power will make new aggressions[sic], and if so the people will be aroused and the Free Democracy, the only true democracy will rally with a force & power hitherto unknown. And the position in which you are placed, (thank God), will enable you to do battle, as you will, I feel assured, with the monster Slavery in his very citadel."51

51Dec. 8, 1853 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
CHAPTER XV

THE SECRET BALLOT REFORM

His political connections during the ascendancy of the coalition in Massachusetts gave Walker an opportunity to promote some practical reforms. Although the stand of Walker and others of his party on many issues in the Constitutional Convention was reactionary and illogical for a liberal party, they did promote one very liberal reform, that of the Secret Ballot. In that cause Amasa Walker played the leading part. The arguments used in favor of the secret ballot show the coalitionists to have been not altogether unmindful of the growing industrialization of the state. They recognized the large influence which employers held over employees in matters of politics. The decade preceding the formation of the coalition government had witnessed some close party battles in Massachusetts. The evil of intimidation increased as the parties ran closer and closer.

This was one of the problems the Free Soilers and Democrats proposed to solve in 1850. One morning early in the session Amasa Walker sat talking in the office of Charles Sumner. The conversation turned to the problem of securing the voters' rights by a secret ballot.1 They discussed the attempts which had been made in England. There the reformers had failed because of the powerful opposition of the industrialists. They discussed the bill which had been introduced by the Democrats in the Massachusetts legislature in 1843, a measure which had

1Printed party ballots were then in use, and because they were not uniform it was obvious to anyone how a voter was voting.
failed by but one vote. But that proposal did not satisfy Sumner and Walker anyhow, for the bill had provided only that the ballots be uniform and that they be rolled up when deposited to prevent onlookers from seeing how the ballot had been marked. Suddenly while in the midst of their conversation Walker declared that a plan had occurred to him. He believed it would prevent intimidation at the polls. Sumner inquired at once what he proposed to do. Walker replied that the ballots should be placed in self-sealing envelopes and then deposited in the box. Sumner agreed that his idea was a good one. Walker went at once to the senate and wrote and offered an order calling for the appointment of a joint committee of house and senate to report on what measures could be taken to secure a secret ballot for the voters of the commonwealth.

The order named Walker and one other as members of the committee from the senate. It was concurred in by the house and five members from that body were added. Walker was chairman of the committee and author of the Bill for the Better Security of the Ballot which it reported. It contained the following provisions:

1. All votes for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Senators, and Representatives, Electors and Representatives were to be put in sealed envelopes furnished for the voters and deposited in the ballot box.

2. The Secretary of State was instructed to provide self-sealing envelopes of a uniform kind for all voters. These were to be delivered before the

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2In addition to the provision for secrecy it provided to keep the polls open after sunset so that workingmen could vote after working hours. -- Darling, op. cit., 170-171.

3From the fly leaf of Sealed Ballots Act in Walker's handwriting and signed with the initials "A. W."

4Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Senate Document, No. 39, 1850.
election of the election clerks.

3. Increased compensation to the election clerks for the added work.

4. A clerk who neglected his duty was to be fined not less than five hundred dollars, nor more than five thousand.

5. The selectmen were to get the envelopes from the clerks for the polls.

6. The election officers were to count the envelopes to determine the whole number of voters. If there were two or more ballots sealed in one envelope marked in the same way all but one vote was to be thrown out; if two or more ballots with different markings were included in one envelope all ballots were to be thrown out.

7. The voters were to hold the envelope so the inspector could see whether more than one vote went in the ballot box.

8. Envelopes were not to be used before October 20, 1850 in the elections.

9. All acts inconsistent with the Sealed Ballot Act were repealed. Although a majority of the members on the joint committee reporting the secret ballot bill were Whigs, the party as a whole was not favorable to the plan and it was defeated in the senate in 1850. The next year backed by the growing strength of the coalition it passed with a good majority.

A little incident in the legislature that year had helped the secret ballot cause. The Democrats and Free Soilers had agreed to divide the offices between the two cooperating parties in order to exclude the Whigs from the state offices. According to this plan Charles Sumner was to be made United States Senator. When the time came, how-

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5Ibid.
6Amasa Walker, The Test of Experience — (Tracts on the Ballot; No. 5), 13-15.
7See pages 127-129.
ever, some of the proslavery Democrats refused to vote for him. In
voting the ballots sometimes outnumbered the members of the legisla-
ture; finally a Whig member remembering the defeated Secret Ballot
bill of 1850 proposed the use of sealed envelopes. At once the count
was correct and Sumner won. The incident made a good talking point
for the secret ballot, and undoubtedly helped put it through in 1851.8
After the law had been in operation a year some amendments were adopted,
one in regard to the acceptance of unsealed envelopes and another con-
cerning the counterfeiting of state's envelopes. A selectman was not
permitted to accept an unsealed envelope, however, if he did so such a
vote was not to be thrown out by reason of its being open. A fine of
not less than fifty nor more than five hundred dollars was provided for
any one who should try to counterfeit the regular election envelopes.
At the same time these amendments were added the committee considered
the advisability of extending the law to include all town and municipal
elections, but it was considered inexpedient to enlarge the law at that
time.9

The responsibility of executing the new law was largely in the
hands of the Secretary of State. Walker occupied that office in 1851
and 1852 and took great pride in the operation of the law. He declared
that the results of the new law were altogether satisfactory in all 321
towns and cities in the state. One of the arguments against the law had
been the expense. The Secretary's Annual Report showed that the cost
was $419.51 or about three mills per person who voted in 1851.10 Walker

8MS. Autobiography, I, 131.
9Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Documents, No. 91, 1852.
10Walker, The Test of Experience, 16. This office gave Walker's craving
for statistics a good outlet.
always contended that the law was practical and popular. He believed that it was its popularity with the voters in the state which prevented the Whigs when they came in power in 1853 from directly repealing the law. The law they passed provided that "Any voter might use the envelope or not as he should choose." This provision emasculated the law, but that was exactly what the Whig party intended it should do. Since the Whigs opposed the envelope system they suspected every voter who sealed his envelope of voting against the Whigs. Thereafter the law could not be called a secret ballot law. 11

In the Constitutional Convention of 1853 the committee on the qualifications of voters, of which Walker was chairman, reported favorably on a provision for the secret ballot. It passed the convention because the Whigs were in the minority. The Whigs had no love for this proposition to begin with and they hated it still worse when a sealed ballot was used by the convention to elect a coalitionist to fill a vacancy in the convention. 12

Walker was one of the chief spokesmen for the secret ballot on the floor of the convention. Because he had been so closely connected with the law in 1851 he was referred to by a Whig opponent as the "friend of the people" who showed his friendship by insulting the manliness and independence of the laboring man. 13 In supporting the secret ballot Walker called it to the attention of the convention that in England a similar attempt was at that very moment being made to secure secrecy in voting. Joseph Sturge, John Bright, and Richard Cobden were some of the

11Ibid., 16-17.
12Schouler, loc. cit., 35. See pages 133-134.
reformers interested in this movement in England. He described to the other members an arrangement he had seen when in England aimed to secure a secret ballot. The invention came as the result of an offer of five hundred pounds sterling by the Association of the Vote by Ballot for the discovery of the best method of balloting. The plan of which he spoke and which he saw demonstrated was a mechanical device which resembled a sentry box. The voter stepped into this and deposited his ballot through a hopper in view of the inspectors who could see that no more than one ballot was cast. He was not favorably impressed by the device because he believed it would be too slow and had too much machinery connected with it. The sealed envelope, he declared, was far more simple and economical. Walker reminded the Whigs in the convention that although they had won the state elections in 1853, they had failed to get a majority of members in the Constitutional Convention. He attributed this reverse to popular disapproval of the Whig's stand against the secret ballot law.\textsuperscript{14}

This proposal failed, of course, with the rejection of the entire constitution, but Walker continued to be regarded as the leading authority on the secret ballot in Massachusetts. His proposal of the law while in the senate, his execution of it as secretary of state, and his championship of the principle in the convention earned him that title. In 1849 he was in England for the second time renewing his contacts with some of the reformers he had met while there in 1843 and meeting new ones.\textsuperscript{15} He grew interested in the ballot reform at that time. He continued to keep in touch with the English movement, long after the law had been repealed.

\begin{footnotes}{14}Ibid., 594-599.\end{footnotes}

\begin{footnotes}{15}See pages 249-257.\end{footnotes}
in Massachusetts. He wrote to John Bright about the outcome of the secret ballot issue in the 1853 convention. Bright replied to his letter saying the material had not reached him in time to be used for the ballot discussions in Parliament, but he declared he would have "many opportunities of making use of it." He asked him to send a newspaper account of the proceedings too. "The question makes progress here," he said, "but in our country opinion moves very slowly." 16

Walker's aid and information was again sought by the English reformers in 1855. In that year the secretary of the Society for Promoting the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot wrote him asking for information saying that they were "informed by our friend Elihu Burritt that you are the author of that Act [An Act for the Better Security of the Ballot, 1851]." 17 The letter asked him to discuss the effect of the law on factory operatives, debtors and others who might be coerced for economic reasons. The secretary of the society declared that the society was very favorably impressed by the Massachusetts law and was "labouring to secure its establishment in this country." 18 Amasa in view of these foreign expressions of interest must have remembered the Biblical reminder that a "prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

The letter which Walker wrote in answer to the request was subsequently published by the Society for Promoting the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot as one of its series of Tracts on the Ballot. In England

17His opponents also gave him credit, a doubtful one, to their way of thinking, of being "the father of the Secret Ballot Law. --Discussion on the Constitution, Mass., 1853, 131 quoting [George S. Hillard's] "Letters of Silas Standfast to his friend Jotham."
18Walker, The Test of Experience, 9-10. This correspondence is published in this pamphlet.
the fight was not merely to secure a secret ballot, but to secure a ballot. Disraeli and others declared that the prevalence of bribery in American elections was proof of the failure of the vote by ballot. Walker declared in his letter to the English reformers that in general the ballot worked well, that there was no thought of adopting the viva voce mode of voting in Massachusetts. Walker deplored the 1839 law in Massachusetts which required that the ballot should be deposited "open and unfolded." This provision completely destroyed the idea of a ballot, he believed, and made it no better than viva voce voting. It was not a really true ballot system. The plan of reformers, was to restore the original meaning of the ballot, that is, make it a secret ballot. They did not want to get rid of the ballot system, but merely to improve it. Walker urged the English to be sure to secure a sealed ballot whenever they secured a ballot at all, and to allow no "half-way measures" to be substituted. He declared that the ascendancy of moneyed interests in Massachusetts exceeded that in any other state in the union, that the large influence they could wield, as they frequently chose to do in the political field, made a secret ballot imperative for the protection of the many factory operatives in the state. In this respect the situation in Massachusetts resembled that in England. Writing, as he knew he was, to a group of reformers who were interested in other reforms as well as that of the ballot he stated that "the friends of freedom" felt that all antislavery efforts were being "paralyzed by the controlling influence which the Conservative Pro-slavery party [Whig] was able to exert upon the masses by their power of intimidation at the polls."19 According to that statement the secret ballot was looked upon as a means to the Free

19 This account represents in condensed form the arguments in Walker's pamphlet, The Test of Experience.
Soilers' ultimate goal, the abolition of slavery -- "Free Soil for Free Men."

For purposes of argument it was brought out in the debates in the 1853 Constitutional Convention that Rhode Island had passed a law providing a secret ballot modeled after the original Massachusetts law. A few years later the Rhode Island law was followed by an optional law similar to the law which the Whigs passed in Massachusetts in 1853 permitting the sealed envelope to be used or not as the voter chose.

In 1859 Walker was in England for a third time. Interest in the ballot issue was then still keen. While there he spoke to the Ballot Reform Society giving a history of the secret ballot in Massachusetts. In the course of the speech he told the story of being in Summer's office when the plan to use sealed envelopes occurred to him. His speech was reported in the Morning Star (London) and the same issue commented editorially on his speech and on the ballot reform movement in England. The article referred to the 1851 ballot law in Massachusetts as "Mr. Amasa Walker's law." The article pointed out the similarity between conditions in England and the industrial state of Massachusetts and ended by urging that adequate provision for secrecy be made if, and when, a ballot law was passed for England. The Morning Star felt itself justified in accepting the judgment of Walker because he "is a gentleman who has been legislator, senator, State secretary, and in various other capacities

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21John R. Bartlett, Secretary of State of Rhode Island, to Amasa Walker, Apr. 15, 1855; May 5, 1856. A sample envelope used in Rhode Island has been saved in Walker's scrap book, Sealed Ballot &c. It is a yellow envelope about five by two and a half inches in dimension.
22See pages 62-63.
23Years later he recorded the same story on the fly leaf of one of his scrap books, see page 146, f. n.
has been intimate with the representative system of his native land. His testimony in favor of the Ballot is conclusive and emphatic on every point...."

Apparently the opponents of the ballot felt they were being outdone by the reformers so they printed the next month a letter from another American. This letter proved that the secret ballot was not satisfactory in Massachusetts. It was written by Richard H. Dana and addressed to Lord Radstock, and published in the *Times* (London). His article also claimed to be a history of the working of the secret ballot in Massachusetts. He stressed the impracticability of the Massachusetts law in actual operation, a point on which he was at complete variance with Walker's account to the Ballot Reform Society. "The self-sealing, he charged, "was not always secure. Envelopes got opened in the box, in tumbling out the ballots, and lost their contents, and thus were rejected. To remedy this the authorities were required to keep a supply of gluten at the polls to aid in the sealing. Stiff-fingered labourers complained that they could not manage the envelopes, the self-sealing, and the gluten, and the very name of gluten became a by-word and a jest." Dana explained the law's repeal in this way: "What with the interest which political committees and the employers have in ascertaining how men vote, what with the preference of many, and the willingness of most to have their votes known, and what with the inconvenience of the system itself, it fell into disfavor." He declared that when the Whig law making the use of the sealed envelopes optional was passed the law "died a natural death." In bringing the subject to date he declared that although

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24 *Morning Star* (London), July 22, 1859.
the liberal party (Republican) was in control in the state an attempt to revive the secret ballot law in 1859 had failed.

Walker, who was still in Europe, did not allow this article to pass unanswered. He wrote a letter the the Times refuting Dana's History of the Ballot in Massachusetts. He declared that Dana's statements to the effect that envelopes opened in the tumbling and the ballots were lost out was a mistake. He said the opponents wanted that to happen, and predicted that it would happen, and its friends had feared it might happen, but no such difficulty ever arose. He further declared that there was no provision in the 1851 law requiring the authorities to provide gluten at the polls. "What confused the mind of Mr. Dana," he suggested, "in this case probably was, that certain disaffected opponents of the sealed ballot did, in derision of the law, at the first trial, carry gluten pots to the polls, but there was no use for them, and those who thus acted only made themselves ridiculous." 27

There is no doubt that the secret ballot idea, particularly the idea of gummed envelopes, which had not been in use for purposes of correspondence very long at that time, was the subject of much ridicule. After the whole issue had died down in Massachusetts a Lowell newspaper referred to Amasa Walker as "a good authority in all matters relating to 'coalition' and 'gluten'." 28 As for the failure of what Dana called the liberal party, that is, the Republican party, in Massachusetts to pass a favorable secret ballot law now that they were in control of the government in the state Walker said it was due mostly to the present

25 Times (London), Aug. 27, 1859.
26 This statement is verified by the provisions of the law.
27 Times (London), Sept. 17, 1859.
composition of the Republican party. The former Whigs, he said, who comprised the largest part of the Republican party were the original opponents of the secret ballot and were still. Furthermore the same urgency was not present in 1859, he wrote, because the Republicans had such an overwhelming majority in the state that there were no longer contested elections as there had been between 1840 and 1855.  

Australia's experiments with a secret ballot Walker closely followed. He believed they had succeeded in providing a really secret ballot, though one which was unnecessarily complicated. In speaking before the Ballot Reform Society in London in 1859, he declared that the Australian ballot could never hope to compete with the sealed envelope method in the United States. He thought that it called for too much machinery and required too many functionaries and would be very expensive. This latter disadvantage which he foresaw, has proved with experience to be very true. For the Australian ballot is an expensive voting method. The high cost, he thought, would eliminate it in this country as a competitor of the envelope system, a system he considered both efficient and economical.  

29 *Times* (London), Sept. 17, 1859.  
CHAPTER XVI

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

After his retirement from business Amasa Walker left Boston and city life and after a short period in the South and in Oberlin, Ohio, went to live on his family estate at North Brookfield. There he was able to indulge his interest in agriculture. He took great pride in his orchards and fields. His home was the scene of much hospitable entertaining. Reformers by the score were entertained there, as well as men in public life. Charles Sumner, William C. Bryant, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucy Stone Blackwell and her husband; Calvin Stowe and Harriet Beecher Stowe, David A. Wells and many, many more enjoyed the hospitality of his rural home. In the summer of 1848 the Congregational Church of North Brookfield held a big celebration in honor of its pastor and first citizen, the Rev. Thomas Snell who had completed fifty years of service to his church and community. Amasa Walker arranged the ceremony and entertained many of the important guests on this great occasion for his pastor and former tutor. Thomas Snell had influenced the course of Amasa's life greatly.

Dr. John Pierce has left an account of this celebration and of Walker's home: "On Monday, 26 June, 1848, at IV P. M., I took the care for N. Brookfield to celebrate the jubilee of the Rev. Thomas Snell, D. D., who attended mine on 15 March, 1847. I had been previously invited to the house of Professor Amasa Walker of that town. I found him in an

1Dr. John Pierce was born in 1773, graduated from Harvard in 1793, was pastor of the Congregational Church in Brookline, Mass. for fifty years. In 1848 he and the Rev. Thomas Snell were two of the seven ministers in the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational ministers who had served for fifty years in the same church.

2In North Brookfield, after his teaching at Oberlin, he was usually referred to as Professor Walker.
elegant new house, standing on a pleasant elevation, with ornamental trees and a paved passageway in front. He has a noble farm, inherited from his father, of 85 acres in the homestead. The barn and outhouses indicate a first-rate farmer. His garden is spacious and well stocked with vegetables and the choicest fruits. The invited guests walked in a procession from Walker's house to the church and there listened to a sermon by Dr. Snell which lasted one hour and twenty-six minutes. The sermon was broken once by the singing of a hymn composed for the occasion by William C. Bryant, a nephew of Dr. Snell. Walker had invited Bryant to the ceremony and had asked him to compose this hymn. Bryant was most modest about the verses he sent, saying "Perhaps they will not answer the purpose. If they do not I pray you to commit them to the flames without ceremony -- or if they should want attention -- you may either alter them yourself or ask somebody to do it, or refer them back to me for amendment." A second service was held in the school yard.

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3He had remodeled and enlarged his house in 1846.
5William C. Bryant and Amasa Walker had studied Latin together with Dr. Snell.
6William C. Bryant to Amasa Walker, June 7, 1848 (Autograph Letter Book).

This is the hymn which he enclosed in the letter:

Thy love, Oh God! from year to year,
Has watched thy faithful pastor here,
Till fifty years of toil have now
Engraved their token on his brow.

Fast have the seasons rolled away;
A moment in thy sight were they
Yet while their rapid course was run
What mighty works thy hand has done

While empires rose, and, at thy frown
In sudden weakness crumbled down;
What barriers, reared by earth and hell,
Against thy truth, gave way and fell!
nearby. This service was largely attended and presided over by Walker. 7

In 1856 Walker helped organize and was the president of the North Brookfield Agricultural and Horticultural Society. He wrote its first report. One of the aims of the society was to hold an annual exhibit. An important feature of the first fair was a "Town Team" composed of 81 yokes of oxen. The fair was meant to be purely educational, promoted for the encouragement of improved methods of agriculture and in the interest of rural life. The president, reformer that he was, mentioned with satisfaction in his report that the exhibition was "quiet and orderly" and "so far as known to the Board, there was no racing or gambling to mar the pleasure of the occasion." 8 The Walkers took great interest in these exhibits and took many prizes on their entries. Mrs. Walker entered two bouquets. They exhibited 26 varieties of pears and received first prize on their entry of "the best six varieties of pears, they entered 16 kinds of peaches, but had to take a second prize on this collection. They won first prize on their Isabella grapes, and also entered a second kind of grapes, "earlier and finer than the Isabella" which William C. Bryant reminded Amasa he had promised to send him for transplanting.

--cont. Meanwhile, beneath thy gracious sight
This flock has dwelt in peace and light
By living waters gently led
And in perennial pastures fed.

Oh, when before thy judgment seat,
The pastor and his flock shall meet,
May thy benignant voice attest
This welcome to thine endless rest.

The original copy of this hymn and the letter are in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker, Washington, D. C.

They entered quinces and tomatoes, too, and 57 varieties of apples (this number in 1856 must have been accidental!). Amasa received first prize for a pair of yearling steers and for the best sample of wheat.\textsuperscript{10}

While Walker was secretary of state he had a good chance to advocate the reorganization of the Agricultural Societies in the state and stimulate an interest in scientific agriculture. This was one of the reasons he looked upon the secretary's office with more favor than that of Lieutenant Governor, for which he had been originally slated.\textsuperscript{11} As secretary of state he could do something; as Lieutenant Governor he would have been altogether ornamental, he felt. For several years before he became secretary of state it had been the custom to have a joint meeting of the local agricultural societies in the state. They published a report of the various organizations. In 1851, he, as secretary of state, presided over the meeting at which the reports for the societies for the year 1850 were to be made. Walker suggested to the meeting that their information and reports would be more useful if they adopted uniform reports for the local societies. He proposed a plan whereby this could be accomplished. He insisted on uniformity not only of reports to the state, but uniformity in methods and standards of judging animals, crops etc. He declared that some societies judged cows by the amount of milk produced, others by butter production; some societies judged corn by weighing the corn on the cob and estimating the bushels, a method so inaccurate, he said, that there could be no measure of satisfactory comparison with the corn in other counties judged by other societies in another way. At another time he proposed that a plan for uniformity and

\textsuperscript{10}\textit{Report}, N. Brookfield Agr. and Hort. Soc., 1855, 3-8; 15. \textsuperscript{11}See page 129.
accuracy in judging and reporting the results of the contest be adopted and that the societies be made to conform to a common standard and set of specifications on penalty of losing the annual grant made by the state government to encourage the county agricultural societies. Since state funds were being expended in this enterprise Walker felt that intelligent returns should be required to insure scientific agricultural improvement. He declared that the common schools had to make reports and agricultural societies would benefit by a similar plan.

At the same time he started an agitation for agricultural education which did not materialize for some time. He declared that agriculture was entering upon a new era, an era in which science was leading the way. Heretofore agriculture had been largely ignored in scientific researches, but advances were beginning. He declared that in Europe a number of schools for agricultural chemistry and other practical subjects had been established and were usefully functioning. As a first step he advocated the formation of a State Board of Agriculture. Such a Board, he declared, should correspond in composition and duties to the more familiar State Board of Education. This board, he believed, should have power to hire a full time secretary to obtain and diffuse agricultural information throughout the state. Another suggestion was the employment of an agricultural chemist to analyze soil and suggest improvements and proper crops for each locality. The Board of Education, he said, had given new interest in, and vigor to, the state common schools, and the same, he believed, could be done for agricultural education, and it was not too much to hope that very soon a "grand NORMAL SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE" could be established.  

12 Walker, Transactions of Agr. Societies, Mass., 1850, vii-viii. Frederick H. Fowler in his Agriculture of Massachusetts, 8-10, considers this proposal of Walker's as a step forward in the agricultural development of the state.
H is proposal caused the formation the same year of a voluntary association calling itself the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture. At a meeting of this group Walker again discussed the need for uniformity of judging and reporting and urged the legislature to take some action in regard to the state agricultural societies. He reiterated his arguments in favor of a board of agriculture with a full time secretary. In 1852 while the coalitionists were still in control of the legislature in Massachusetts a state board of agriculture was established; its duty was "to investigate all such subjects relating to improvement in agriculture in this commonwealth, ... and hold in trust, and exercise control over any donations or bequests that may be made to them for promoting agricultural education or the general interests of husbandry." The board was empowered to employ a secretary of agriculture whose compensation was not to exceed fifteen hundred dollars a year. The board was to be composed of one member from each of the agricultural societies in the state receiving state funds, and three members appointed by the Governor and council. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor and secretary of state were to be ex officio members. Following Amasa Walker's suggestion a law was passed providing that no society was to receive state funds unless it had met all the requirements laid down by the board of agriculture and made all the reports required by law. It was passed in 1853 and secured the desired uniformity of society methods and reports which Walker had been advocating.

15 Walker, Transactions of Agr. Societies, Mass., 1852, 781-782. The first secretary was Charles L. Flint, -- Ibid., iii-iv.
16 This law is included in Ibid., 782.
Previous to 1851 a serious disease, a rot, had actually threatened the entire potato crop in the state. The legislature in that year approved a measure to grant a thousand dollar reward to any person in the state who could satisfy the Governor and council by a test of at least five years that he had discovered a remedy for the potato rot. Walker, as secretary of State conducted an investigation for the state. A large number of letters were sent out to farmers in Massachusetts to secure if possible their ideas on the cause of the disease. Some of the answers received were brought together in a report which Walker wrote. Many of the cures suggested were strange and wonderful, an interesting commentary on the state of scientific agricultural information of the time and must have caused Amasa to urge even more strenuously the establishment of agricultural schools and the appointment of experts to enlighten the farmers of the state. One remedy suggested was to "take equal parts of hen-manure and loam, mixed, one quart in each hill at planting." Another farmer declared that the air needed to be cleansed, "build fires in the middle of the field, about nine o'clock in the evening, when there is no wind, twice a week, from the middle of July to time of ripening." Another informant declared that the disease was a mildew and could be remedied by covering the blossoms with earth as soon as they began to fall. A "sure" remedy was to sprinkle pulverized gypsum over the potato hill. Failing that, take "one tablespoonful of common soot, some quantity of pulverized flower of sulphur, and as much carbonate of ammonia or hartshorn as can lay on a ninepenny [an interesting standard of measure!] applied to the top of the manure in each hill." Some of the more

17 Walker, The Cause and Cure of the Potato Rot, 2.
more plausible cures included the use of charcoal in the hill, plant-
ing sprouts instead of the bulb, the theory being that the infection
came from the bulb. About the only suggestion endorsed by two per-
sons was the application of slack-lime to the vines. It was the be-
lief of those who prescribed this measure that the cause of the trouble
was a bug which fed on the leaves and could be killed by lime. But
some of the correspondents were resigned to the fact that the days of
the potato were numbered. As one Dr. James E. Smith reported in learned
style: "The unanimous experience of naturalists agree in testifying
that every organized creature has its limit of existence. In plants it
varies from a few months to as many centuries; but of all, the days are
numbered." A Bostonian, perhaps better versed in theology than agricul-
ture wrote: "The Almighty made the races of animals and vegetables to
be healthy, but if his laws respecting them are violated by an inferior
cross fecundation, or want of due care in the selection or prevention of
seedlings, or any other extraneous circumstances or agents, we may ex-
pect to find them involved in general ruin." This view would seem to
indicate a belief in "Fall from Grace" rather than "Original Sin": An-
other saw the hand of God in the potato rot. He declared that this
disease like cholera is "a scourge for the sinful in order to amendment [sic]."

"Let us be up and doing: there is work to be done" might have been
one of Walker's mottoes. He reminded an audience of farmers on one occasion
that they no longer had to subdue Indians and forests as did their Pilgrim
ancestors, but there were plenty of places where they could "improve, per-
fect and adorn." One of the great needs of Massachusetts he told them was
to know how to enrich their native soil. Farmers, he said, had "more land
than manure".\textsuperscript{19} He declared that he did not feel it was visionary to suppose that in the near future farmers would understand the problem of soil chemistry. He said the idea of sending farmers to college to learn such things was not possible or practical, nor was it necessary to wait and send their sons to college. The farmers must receive their information on agricultural improvement by Home Education he believed. He was altogether skeptical of the desirability of sending farmers to college for "colleges are made for professional men, not for the people, and their mission never was and never will be to educate the millions."\textsuperscript{20} Obviously he was not aiming to make of the farmer or agriculturalist a professional class. His proposal for "home education" was somewhat akin to the modern Farmers' Institute. His proposal was for the farmers to organize clubs or associations, meet frequently during some convenient season, discuss agricultural interests, buy good agricultural books, read and discuss them at the meetings, secure outside speakers on chemistry, agriculture, geology etc. This part of their program would amount, as he said, to a kind of Farmers' Lyceum which might organize regular classes of study for the most ambitious. As for the expenses of such an undertaking that was easily solved by a peace man: "Why not extend to the farmers as much aid as it \textsuperscript{[sic]} gives to its military, and expend $30,000 per annum, if need be, in learning men to farm, as to fight?"\textsuperscript{21}

In 1859 Walker was again back in active Massachusetts politics. He was a member that year of the Massachusetts house of representatives.

\textsuperscript{19} Walker, \textit{Address to Worcester South Agr. Soc.}, 8-9; 19-20.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 11-12.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 13-15.
now under the guiding influence of the Republican Party. In that year a cattle disease, known as pleuro-pneumonia or rinderpest broke out among several herds of cattle in the state. It was brought to North Brookfield in May, 1859 by cattle imported from Holland. Within a short time it had affected numerous herds. Walker and others got up a petition to the legislature asking that some measure be taken to stop the spread of the disease. Much to Walker's disgust the legislature delayed 35 days before doing anything. Finally it appointed a commission of which Walker was made chairman. The commission had authority to kill every animal which was sick or had been exposed to the disease. Around North Brookfield the disease was completely wiped out because the farmers cooperated with the authorities; in another section, Belmont, the farmers opposed the commission and tried to balk their work and the disease made more headway. In all, the commission had to kill 870 head of cattle, but it succeeded in exterminating the disease.22 Several years after this outbreak in Massachusetts it became a serious menace in England. It was called the Cattle Plague. Walker wrote in a Farmers' column in the New York Independent an article suggesting that Congress should enact a rigid quarantine, and require foreign cattle coming into this country to pass a probationary period on "some island in the harbor before allowed to land," or better yet prohibit all importation for a time.

And so to the many reforms which Amasa Walker felt himself called upon to sponsor and promote is added that of agricultural improvement.

22 The Independent (New York), Nov. 16, 1865. Walker wrote the commission's report. His son, Francis A., then a young man, acted as secretary of the commission. -- MS. Autobiography, II, 85.
23 The Independent, Nov. 16, 1865.
"We will not blame those who have gone before us for "skinning the land" he charitably told an audience of farmers. "It was not their mission to found Agricultural Societies, but a Commonwealth."  

Chapter XVII
INTO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND OUT

Walker's political realignments had been frequent, but that was a prevailing tendency in the three decades before the Civil War. The Free Soil opposition to the extension of slavery in the territories had numerous supporters outside the immediate party. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed this opposition was voiced more loudly than before and everywhere throughout the country meetings of anti-Nebraska men were held. John C. Whittier urged Walker to join in the movement, which he was supporting, to petition the general court in Massachusetts for a jury trial in all cases involving personal freedom (a personal liberty law) "get Whigs & Democrats to sign and by means of the Anti-Nebraska feeling virtually nullify the fugitive slave law."¹ The feeling was not confined to any one party in the North. In Boston, as everywhere else, the possibility of forming the anti-Nebraska men into a single party was being discussed in 1854. "You will see by the newspapers," wrote Walker to Charles Sumner, "that an effort is making to form a Freedom Party in this State. A conference is to be held on the 7th at Boston. I am invited to attend & shall be present if possible. How successful we shall be time alone can determine."² By September 8 the anti-Nebraska men in the state were meeting in Boston as the new Republican Party. There was present a good proportion of Free Soilers in-

¹The date of this letter is illegible (Autograph Letter Book).
²July 2, 1854 (Summer Letters, Harvard University). This meeting of a "Freedom Party" was held one day after the name "Republican had been adopted at Jackson, Michigan.
cluding Sumner and Walker, but more Whigs. But it was the new Know-
nothing or American Party, organized in 1853, which swept the state
in 1854, electing every state senator, a majority in the lower house,
and the Governor and the United States senator. Walker had no use for
this party though he wrote Sumner that he thought Henry Wilson, the
Kn0wnothing candidate, had made a good record in the United States Sen-
ate, but he regretted "his K. N. affiliations, they make him something
a little less than a man."  

Though the Knownothing movement was an attempt to distract the
attention of the voters from slavery to aliens it did not succeed in
its purpose for long. Within a short time the Republicans were in con-
trol of Massachusetts. In 1857 Walker was again in the state legisla-
ture, the candidate of the Republican Party. During this term Elihu
Burritt, better known for his peace work, spoke in the legislature on
compensated emancipation. Walker introduced him to the assembly. Al-
though Walker and Burritt were closely associated in the world peace
cause Walker apparently took no very active part in Burritt's agitation
for compensated emancipation. Burritt wrote of this occasion: "This
was a great day for me -- one to be remembered. Friends Walker and
Blanchard went with me to the State House at 7. It soon began to fill
rapidly; and when I arose to speak, hardly a seat remained unoccupied.
Mr. Walker presided and introduced me with a few remarks. Most of the
audience were men and members of the Legislature. I spoke with a good

3George S. Merriam, Life and Times of Samuel Bowles, I, 122.
4No date, but obviously 1855 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
6See chaps. XIX and XXI for the peace work of Walker. Burritt began
writing on compensated emancipation in 1855. In its interest he pub-
lished a periodical called North and South. -- Merle Curti, The Learned
Blacksmith, 120.
deal of animation and was listened to with close attention. Mr. Walker
took a vote on the appropriation of the Public Lands to the extinction
of Slavery, and the Ayee! were almost unanimous. Not a No was heard.
This was a great meeting."7

In the same year a state Disunion Convention was called to meet in
Worcester by the more radical of the abolition group. Walker received
an invitation to attend but he declined the invitation in a letter which
set forth his views on the subject of disunion. His letter and the
letters of a number of other important antislavery men were published in
the appendix to the Proceedings of the convention. He declared that he
was not afraid to hear the question discussed, in fact, he believed it
was a problem which would sooner or later have to be faced by the en-
tire country. He said the press would denounce the movement and he ad-
mired the courage of those who proposed to consider the problem. In
fact he declared it seemed to be the business of the press and politicians
"to cry up the Union, and cry down" anyone who questioned the continued
prosperity of our country" while the dead carcass of slavery is bound
to the living body of freedom."8 In view of the subsequent stand of
the Republican Party, under whose standard Walker was now acting, this
opinion regarding the preservation of the Union is very illuminating.
"For one, I must confess, I am sick of so much cant about 'the Union: '
I know perfectly well that it is feigned and false -- that those who in-
dulge in it do it because they think they must, and lest they should be
themselves damned as 'disunionists' -- a name of reproach they dread,

7Ibid., 136. The Blanchard to whom he referred was J. P. Blanchard of
the American Peace Society.
far more than that of 'traitor to freedom.' Our political men seem to feel, that, so long as they insist that they are in favor of the Union, at all hazards and in every emergency, they are safe; hence they are constantly shouting, at the top of their voices, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' This sentiment was not uncommon among Republicans in 1856 and 1857. "No one thing," he continued, "...is so threatening to all our great interests as the blind idoltry which the press of the country, whether literary, political, or religious, pays to 'the Union'; nothing is so calculated to enslave the people, stupify the public conscience, and destroy all true manhood." He said he looked upon the Union as a means, not an end; as long as it served the interest of progress and freedom it deserved support, but when it became the instrument of tyranny and oppression it should be repudiated. He said he was committed to the Union, that he wanted the two sections to remain in harmony under one government; provided the great ideas of the Declaration of Independence can be fully realized by it, but certainly not otherwise." Walker declared that he was determined that "freedom shall be national" though he admitted the possible necessity of allowing slavery to exist as a "local institution," without countenance from the federal government. And then he emphasized this statement: "Slavery and freedom are absolute and irreconcilable antagonisms, that cannot by any human possibility coexist." This statement should be

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9 Ibid., appendix 1-2. In 1852 Wendell Phillips declared that the old answer to the Westminster catechism to "What is the chief end of man?" had been changed from "To glorify God and enjoy him forever" to "The chief end of Man is to save the Union." -- Wendell Phillips, Speeches before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 1852, 20.

read with another statement in mind -- a statement made the following year in Springfield, Illinois -- "A house divided against itself cannot stand'. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

Concluding the letter Walker stated that he had been actively engaged in antislavery work for twenty-five years and he was more convinced than ever of the oppressive nature of the chattel slave system. "While I live, therefore, whether acting in the moral or political field, in the Church or State, I hope and intend to be found faithful and true to the great interests of humanity. Under the banner of Freedom I have hitherto fought, and under that banner whether inscribed with Union or Disunion, I intend to fight to the last." 11

Calvin E. Stowe had answered the invitation to the Disunion Convention in this way: "If I were in despair as to the Republic, as you seem to be, I should take the course which you adopt. But, when I reflect that the really determined, aggressive slaveholders of the country are probably less than 150,000 ... when I perceive that their cause is sustained entirely by falsehood and violence ... I cannot help thinking it is the part of wisdom to hold on and vote ...." 12 Amasa Walker also chose "to hold on and vote" despite his friendly expression of interest in the Disunion Convention. In 1859 he was again elected on the Republican ticket to the house of representatives, and in 1860 he was elected as a delegate to the Chicago Republican National Convention. He had not been present at the state convention when he was elected as a delegate and he was not especially enthusiastic about taking part in it.

11Ibid., appendix 3.
12Ibid., appendix 18-19.
He wrote to Charles Sumner that his only motive in going was to be sure that the "great question at issue," slavery, was not ignored, and to prevent the nomination of "some man that will need to be introduced to the American people for the first time, as an antislavery man." He was afraid that such an attempt might be made. He declared that the party had plenty of well qualified and well known men who were entitled to antislavery support and he would do his part to secure the nomination of some such person. It seems likely that his first preference was for William H. Seward, with whom he had been associated in the Anti-masonic movement. The nomination of Lincoln, however, was quite satisfactory to him and as a member of the electoral college in Massachusetts in 1860 he voted for him.

Soon the entire country was in the midst of war. He did not look with favor, though a peace man, upon the Virginia Peace Convention early in 1861, before the inauguration of President-elect Lincoln. Walker wrote Sumner that he was glad he had not approved of the convention movement. He declared he was in favor of "Inauguration first, adjustment afterwards." He informed Senator Sumner that Massachusetts would probably send delegates to the convention to forestall their "Brother Hunkers." His attitude on this question was typical of Republicans

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13Apr. 7, 1860 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
14MS. Autobiography, II, 85. During the years of the war Walker often did not agree with Lincoln's policies. After Salmon P. Chase's appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States he said he could forgive the President for all his "past sins of omission" in consideration of the one good deed of appointing him Chief Justice. — Amasa Walker to Salmon P. Chase, Dec. 8, 1864 (Chase Papers).
15See chap. XI for Walker's stand on participation in the Civil War.
16Feb. 4, 1861 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
generally. The next year his Republican affiliations secured him a place in the United States House of Representatives. He was elected in 1862 to fill out the unexpired term of Goldsmith F. Bailey, who had died in office. This was his only experience as a federal office-holder. War or no war petty politics still went on, and of it Walker had his share in his short term in Congress. There were the ever-present office-seekers including John Pierpont, a fellow reformer in the antislavery and temperance causes, who kept urging him to help secure him the position of Assistant Librarian in the Library of Congress, "the height of my earthly ambition." Rumors were circulated in Worcester County after his term in Congress that he had received salary which belonged to the heirs of G. F. Bailey whose place he filled. When he heard of the rumors he published a letter in a local paper which had been written by the Comptroller of the Treasury Department showing he had received pay only while in attendance, minus a few deductions for non-attendance. On another occasion he intervened by telegraph in behalf of a good Republican, "one of the most efficient men in Worcester county," who was about to lose his post office appointment.

Despite the volumes of talk by Republicans about the Civil War being a war for the Preservation of the Union Walker's main concern was

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18He was a candidate for the nomination to Congress in the Republican convention in 1868. -- George F. Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years, I, 193.
19John Pierpont to Amasa Walker, Jan. 7, 1862. Pierpont had been made a chaplain in the army in 1861 but he found the work too strenuous, so wanted a change. He did not receive the Library appointment, but secured a clerkship in the Treasury Department, a position he held until his death in 1866.
20Clipping in Deposit Book, probably from a Worcester paper, no date. The implication of the article was that the heirs of the deceased Mr. Bailey had originated the rumor.
21Amasa Walker to Charles Sumner (Telegram), Nov. 28, 1863. (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
still, as it had been in 1857 when invited to the Disunion Convention, the abolition of slavery. He believed that must be the inevitable result of the war if the Union forces won. He endorsed the Emancipation Proclamation which was issued while he was in Congress. In one of his speeches before Congress Walker took occasion to analyze the causes of the Civil War. He declared that it was the expanding cotton market calling for increased production, which demanded more labor which in turn caused the war. The South recognized that it would have to resort to the slave trade to secure the necessary labor supply, otherwise free labor would come in and compete with slave labor in cotton production. The war, he said, was "primarily a contest between free and slave labor, whether the workers, who in the future develop the Texas and Mexican cotton fields, be 'degraded African slaves' or free laborers from European countries." He was determined to see the final outcome of the war the triumph of free labor, and he warned his audience against thinking that slavery would be abolished no matter which side won. He was convinced that the abolition of slavery would come only in case the Union forces succeeded.

While in Congress he also took an active interest in the financial bills, particularly the uniform bankruptcy law. He had favored the bankruptcy law of Massachusetts which had been passed in 1840. He declared that Congress should not think of this law as beneficial to debtors alone, for it was just as helpful to creditors. He said that as

22 Amasa Walker, Cotton, Not Slavery the Immediate Cause of the Rebellion, 8.
23 Ibid. The well-known political economist, Edward Atkinson, wrote to Walker a letter supporting his speech on the cause of the war. He declared that the lack of southern prosperity was due to the fact that "their standard of value has been a negro and not a dollar". -- May, 15, 1863.
a creditor in the 1837 panic he had favored such a law and it had worked satisfactorily in Massachusetts and he believed a uniform federal bankruptcy law would be desirable especially in view of the fluctuating character of the United States currency. 24

Several days before Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse Walker had written to Sumner that everyone was rejoicing in the "glorious prospect of a speedy termination of the war, but then will commence the great moral and political struggle which shall determine the status of the Freedmen. I fear it will be a long & violent one, but trust it will be ended aright." 25 Throughout the entire period of Reconstruction Walker was almost constantly out of harmony with the majority of the party in which he maintained a nominal membership. Why he remained in the party under such conditions was probably well expressed by one of his friends who explained the strength of the Republican Party when he said "loyal men will put up with almost any thing sooner than go with rebels & copperheads." 26 Walker's position on political reconstruction can best be summarized by saying that he endorsed every policy which was sponsored by his friend, Charles Sumner. He wrote to Sumner early in 1866 that his speech urging Congress to protect the Freedmen was exactly what should be done, that it was madness to talk of admitting the secession states back into the Union (President Johnson's plan would have admitted the southern states after a short time and on easy terms) until the freed negroes could be guaranteed in their rights. 27 After Grant's

24 Congressional Globe, 37 Cong., 3 sess., 226. For a discussion of his currency views see chap. XXII.
25 Apr. 5, 1865 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
26 J. Y. Smith to Amasa Walker, Apr. 12, 1866. Smith was an economist from Milwaukee, Wisconsin devoted, as was Walker, to free trade and sound currency.
27 Jan. 5, 1866 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
election Summer was at constant odds with the administration first by his denunciation of President Grant’s proposal to annex Santo Domingo and later by thwarting the progress of the arbitration of the Alabama question between the United States and Great Britain. 28 Walker watched with considerable satisfaction what he believed to be the administration’s failures to reconstruct the South. He had his own explanation of Congressional reconstruction, “the most disastrous blunder, both for the North and South, that was ever made in all history” he called it. The whole trouble, he believed, was due to the anxiety of the government to get the seceded states back into the Union. It could have been avoided, in his opinion, if one “single blunder” had not been made in the Senate in 1862. In that year Senator Sumner offered a resolution stating that those states which had seceded from the Union and were in revolt from the government had forfeited their rights as sovereign states and their status was that of a territory of the United States. This was the State Suicide theory of the seceded states and it was advocated by Summer after the war as well as in 1862. On the subject of rebel punishment Walker was as determined as Sumner himself. He went so far as to say that the Republican Party which had “saved the country in its hour of imminent peril” should have the fruits of the “great and bloody struggle.” 29 The majority of the radical Republicans in Congress would have seconded this sentiment, but they believed they had strengthened their party by their reconstruction policies. Why did Walker, who had so little in common with the Republican Party, write in that vein? It

28 For Walker’s attitude on the Alabama question see page 286.
29 Clipping in Articles on Political Economy, I, 72-77. The publication cannot be determined, the date of the issue is Feb. 2, 1871.
is difficult to be sure, but a postscript to a letter which he wrote to Charles Sumner in 1868 may provide a partial explanation: "I nominate you, to my own mind, for President in 1872 then I hope the Republic will be fully restored with perfect guarantees for the freedom of all, and then, and not till then, would it be fitting and proper that Charles Sumner should be president. Then I hope and expect that he will be I may not live to see the time, but I have faith in its accomplishment. But do not," he warned him with good common sense, "I pray you as a friend, get the White House on the brain as poor Chase has done. It makes a perfect fool of any one who has it, and is fatal to all high aspirations.

Now -- excuse me in all this -- I write it, because I feel it.

Yours A. W." [signed]  

In every possible way Walker tried to promote the political fortunes of Sumner. His letters to him are full of political advice, information as to how his most recent speech has been received in Massachusetts, requests for bundles of speeches so that he could distribute them "where they will do the most good." The friendship between Walker and Sumner was much deeper than a political friendship as can be seen from the feeling of other members of the Walker family for Sumner. Mrs. Walker, who from 1866 to 1875 frequently listened to the Congressional debates and followed them with great intelligence and interest, as can be seen by her letters to her daughter, admired Sumner no less than her husband. On one occasion after Sumner's death she wrote her daughter

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30Sumner died before Walker. See pages 179-183.
31Salmon P. Chase.
32Nov. 9, 1868 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University). This postscript followed a letter of congratulation on Sumner's election to the United States Senate for the fourth time.
about an incident which took place about the time that Sumner had been
suspended from chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee by Grant’s ad-
ministration; because he denounced the Santo Domingo project and held up negotiations with England over Civil War issues: "Mr. Emerson
[Ralph Waldo] was at our house and expressed as much wrath as his feeble
nature is capable of -- and said there was strong talk of taking Mr.
Sumner's bust down from the State house -- that it ought to be done. I
took the liberty to tell him that whoever should do that thing would be
more ashamed of it, than of any other act of their lives, don't you think
they were glad they did not attempt it."^33 The state legislature of
Massachusetts did, however, censure Sumner in 1872 for his conduct in the Senate.

Summer died while the Walkers were in Washington where after 1866 they frequently spent the winter. The story of his death and funeral has been described by Robert Batcheller, young grandson of the Walkers.

"Washington, D. C.
March 11, 1874

Dear Mother --^34

"Probably by the time this letter reaches you, the particulars of the death of Chas. Sumner you will have read in the papers.

"This morning we saw in one of the morning papers that he was sick, seriously so, we merely thought that he would be confined to his room for several weeks, but at noon as I was at lunch Grandpa entered the din-
ing hall and asked if we had heard the news we said 'no' he then told us

^33Apr. 3 [1874]. This account contrasts strangely with the much quoted statement of Emerson that Sumner was the "whitest soul I ever knew". -- Ralph W. Emerson, Miscellanies (Complete Works, XI, 251).
^34The letter was written to his mother, Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller. Robert was visiting his grandparents in Washington at the time of Sumner's death.
that he had been up to his house, had seen Chas. Sumner, and that when he saw him he was dying he had seen him, and told us that every time he breathed he groaned, and it was evident to all that he was dying. Immediately after lunch, he went up to Mr. Sumner's house, to hear how he was, at 10 minutes to three he died.

"The Senate and House adjourned immediately, and they will do so to-morrow probably.

"Grandpa also called on Schurz [Carl] who feels the loss badly.

"In the evening papers it said that Grandpa had been to see him.

"The day before I was in the Senate and saw Mr. Sumner, he was lying down on a sofa.

"It is curious that the last day of his life the resolutions rescinding the censure, was presented by Boutwell. 35

"I am very glad that I was introduced to him and had a very pleasant chat with him, also that I saw him the last day of his life, that is in the Senate.

"The funeral will probably be Saturday, and I think I shall go if I possibly can.

"Grandpa called on Sen. Sumner last night to give him some petitions to present to the Senate, but he was engaged in eating a dinner with several gentlemen who brought the Resolution [rescinding the censure], at nine o'clock he was taken very sick and has sunk rapidly since.

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35 The resolutions of censure had been passed in 1872 by the Massachusetts legislature when Sumner introduced a bill in the Senate to remove the battles and citizens from the army Register. Sumner declared such a practice perpetuated Civil War hatred. John G. Whittier had been instrumental in getting the resolution rescinded in 1874. March 10, 1874 the rescinding resolution was reported in the Senate. Sumner insisted against his Doctor's orders in attending the session.
"We are all well

"Your aff Son

[signed] Robert Batcheller. 36

With the funeral services he was greatly impressed. At the top of the letter which follows he had written this special instruction:

"Please keep this letter, for me till I get home and oblige."

"Washington D. C.
Mch 13, 1874

Dear Mother

"This morning Grandma a lady boarding at the house named Mrs. W. S. Walker, and I started at 8:30 in the morning to go to the Capitol to see the funeral services of Charles Sumner. We were detained three quarters of an hour because of the galleries being closed, at quarter of ten they were opened and everybody made a rush to get seats, we got the very seats we wanted, and had to wait to 12:30 at about half past eleven the Senate began to fill up, that is the side to be occupied by Senators, before this however the galleries had begun to be uncomfortably [sic] full at quarter past twelve the members of the House of Representatives and wives took their seats in front of the president of the Senate, among them were Benj. F. Butler and wife, Buffington, Grandpa and others. 37

"Very soon the the arrival of the Judges of the Supreme Court was announced, and then came Chief Justice and all the other assistant Justices.

"In came the President of the U. S. and the cabinet and took front seats.

36 Letter to his mother, Mar. 11, 1874.
37 James Buffington was a member of Congress from Massachusetts, 1869-1875. Walker was not a member of the House. He may have been seated with the House members for he had been formerly a member, and was a personal friend of Summer."
"At half past 12 the committee of arrangements and the pall-bearers came in the latter being colored police the chaplain of the Senate Mr. Sunderland preceding them.

"After they had put down the coffin, the chaplain of the House Mr. Butler (not Benj.) read the regular burial [sic] service and made a short prayer.

"Then the chaplain of the Senate read some very appropriate verses, and made a very fine prayer, then the exercises closed by a few remarks of Mr. Carpenter the House then filed out, all the rest did the same except Grant and his Cabinet who filed out into a side room.

"We then came home.

"The Senate Chamber and most of the Capitol was draped with black, and the Chair of Charles Sumner had crape tastefully arranged and only a small boquet [sic] of flowers on his desk.

"The committee of arrangements wore considerable crape quite well arranged.

"Grandpa had some put on his arm.

"The coffin was beautiful one and had a glass top as that the whole body was visible, I did not care to see the body, though it laid in state, in the Rotunda.

"There was a long procession of colored people, followed the hearse from the house to the Capitol.

"The galleries were crowded dreadfully seat and aisle being full as could be, the floor of the Senate being ditto.

"The coffin and body was taken immediately to the railway station, which started at three.

"The services ended at one o'clock having taken \( \frac{3}{4} \) an hour."
"There were several generals present among them Sherman, McDowell and others."

"The Senate adjourned until next Tuesday at 12 o'clock because some of the most important Senators would be with the body of Charles Sumner."

"I think that there will be Eulogies [sic] by Senators after Tuesday. I shall try to get them, if possible." 38

"We are all well. It is very disagreeable [sic] weather now.

"My love to all."
"Write soon."
"Your Aff. Son [signed] Robert Batcheller"

"F. S. Be sure and keep this letter till I get home." 39

The personal friendship and high political regard held for Sumner by Walker does not, however, explain his disapproval of the whole Congressional plan of reconstruction. His abolition antecedents gave him a large sympathy with the freed negroes. He was determined that they should be protected in their rights by the federal government. He believed that the southern states were gaining back control too soon and without proper safeguards for the freedmen. In this attitude he was open to the same criticism as was Sumner that he was more anxious to humiliate the former rebels than to improve the former slaves. But his humanitarian interest in slavery developed long before his political interest; the attitude of his entire family was first of all concern for the negro. Freeman Walker, brother of Amasa, also an ardent abolitionist and general reformer, took the occasion of the dismissal of a certain

38He was right in thinking eulogies would follow Sumner's death. On April 27 L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi praised him in an outstanding eulogy.
39Mar. 13, 1874.
cadet Smith, colored, from West Point to write a protest of this action and incidentally record his own feelings in regard to racial discrimination. He declared that "his complexion was more against him than his standing" in West Point. "If he had been assigned a place with the 'groom and gardner', there would have been no difficulty at West Point. The boys there might even have said that he was 'the likeliest negro they ever knew'. 'Nobody objects to negroes in their proper place'.

It is only when they claim to be men, entitled to all the rights of men, and such respect as their character ought to entitle them to, that the trouble begins."

Mrs. Walker wrote of her visits to a colored school in South Carolina. She said that it seemed as good as a northern school of the same grade, she reported that the teacher said the colored students were "anxious to learn, want no holidays & would be glad to remain in school much longer than their parents can keep them there when they get able to earn their living they are taken out to go to work."

While on the same visit she reported with more satisfaction than regret seeing negroes in the legislature of South Carolina. The Walkers were entertained by Governor and Mrs. D. H. Chamberlain while there. Mrs. Chamberlain "came in her carriage and took us to the State house where we saw the colored people in their glory as legislators of the haughty state of South Carolina. The proportion of whites is much greater than in former legislatures I should think nearly half were white, & black and white looked

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40 Springfield Republican, Aug. 7, 1871. The article is signed "Consistency", but Amasa Walker has left a note (Miscellaneous Scrap Book, 82) that Freeman Walker was the author.

41 To Robert Batcheller, Apr. 2, 1875.
respectable" "The Speaker of the house is colored the lieutenant governor, who is president of the Senate is rather a dark malatto [sic] -- as he took the speakers chair during the time the two houses were together he appeared self possessed and dignified.

"It was rather amusing to hear a really elegant gentleman speak of the honourable member from so & so the said honourable member being black as the ace of spades." She then wrote approvingly about Governor Chamberlain's administration saying he was firmly resisting "rascally jobs" and was popular with the community, even his political opponents. In supporting Chamberlain the Walkers were not following the radical Republicans, a majority of whom criticized Chamberlain's reconstruction administration severely. 42

The issue on which Amasa Walker disagreed most vociferously with the Republicans was their financial and commercial policies, particularly the tariff and currency. These two specific problems occupied his attention at the very beginning of reconstruction. He corresponded with an economist friend on the possibility of contracting the currency and lowering the tariff, but his friend wrote back without hope: "What a pity the loyal party of the Country should be so wrong ... on every thing but questions connected with the rebellion." "...The loyal party is all wrong upon questions of Commerce & finance and there seems to be no help for it." 43  He urged repeatedly that the two most important things for Congress to do after the war were "to take off the high tariff

42 Governor Chamberlain followed the corrupt scalawag, F. J. Moses, Jr. Because of his honest dealings Chamberlain was for a time supported by South Carolina Democrats, but in 1876 they supported Wade Hampton, a Democrat, and South Carolina came under white domination with his election.
43 Letter from J. Y. Smith, Apr. 12, 1866.
and contract the currency." He believed it would be impossible to secure immediate resumption of specie payment, but believed it could be done in "successive installments." Senator Sumner had introduced such a bill in 1872, but the plan did not prove acceptable to the radical Republican Congress. He had nothing but contempt for the so-called "inflation" bill which was passed in 1874.

But John Sherman's bill for resumption in 1875 did not suit him any better. In fact he called it a fraud, purporting to do something it would not do: to contract currency. He picturesquely called the bill "an arrant humbug, a down-right imposture, an insult to the people, and a fraud upon the country." He had urged his friends in Congress to attempt to have Summer's 1872 bill substituted in the place of the bill which was passed in 1874, but to no avail.

Walker believed that a lowered tariff was also essential to the country's welfare, but believed that currency reforms would have to accompany a reduced tariff to make it effective. He argued that until a currency was on a par with gold there would be no justice and no

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44Newspaper clipping in Articles on Political Economy, I, 31-33. The newspaper is not clear, the year is 1859.
45Boston Post, Feb. 15, 1872. Evening Gazette (Worcester, Mass.), Oct. 14, 1873. There is good evidence pointing to Walker as the originator of this bill. Sumner asked Walker why the term "compound interest notes" should be used rather than "interest bearing notes," and added "Please answer." Apparently Walker explained to his satisfaction the superiority of the expression "compound interest notes" because that was the designation used in his bill. -- Charles Sumner to Amasa Walker, Dec. 10, 1873 (Post card sent from Washington, D. C.).
48John F. Jones to Amasa Walker, Jan. 25, 1875. Jones was a United States Senator from Nevada to whom Walker had written concerning the currency bill.
merit in a lowered tariff. In his opinion currency reform had to precede tariff reform. He corresponded, nevertheless, with those whose primary concern was the tariff, as William Grovenor, who believed if the "tariff ring" could be overthrown, currency reform would follow. Walker was a close personal friend of David A. Wells, with whom he agreed on the desirability of free trade. Wells had been first appointed Chairman of the National Revenue Commission in 1865 by Lincoln. In 1866 a Bureau of Statistics was established under his department and Walker's son, Francis A. Walker, who had distinguished himself in the Civil War, was made its special commissioner. Wells', office was finally abolished by Grant in 1869 after he had made a report in favor of free trade. Wells, who knew Walker intimately, having spent several summer vacations with him, asked him whether he should take the chairmanship of the Commission to Revise the Tax Laws of New York. He had been offered that position by the Governor. "Some of my friends," he wrote, think it will look like going over to the Democrats, & advise against it. But the Republicans while abusing me, seem to think they have a preemptive claim on me for all time to come."51

If "loyal men would put up with almost anything sooner than go with rebels & copperheads" for the first years after the war, the time came when one "loyal man," at least, was ready to break with the party which "had saved the country." An accumulation of grievances undoubtedly prompted Walker's move away from the Republican party. He

49Cincinnati Commercial, Aug. 14, 1873.
50William Grovenor (St. Louis) to Amasa Walker, June 16, 1871.
51To Amasa Walker, June 29, 1870.
52See page 176.
believed that the party in power in Congress had been too lenient with the former rebels, too quick to allow them back in the union, negligent in protecting and guaranteeing freedmen's rights, extravagant in their military occupancy of the southern states and remiss in all their financial obligations to the country. He accused the President and his party of deliberately foisting corrupt government on the southern states, and enormously increasing their debts and then upholding this whole regime of theft by military occupation.  

Amasa Walker was a part of the anti-Grant movement which joined with the Democrats in 1872 in nominating Horace Greeley for the presidency. Early in that year Mrs. Walker wrote to her daughter: "I am getting much interested in the present political outlook. I read a daily democratic paper and not enough on the republican, that is the administration side, to neutralize its influence on my mind. So I am decidedly anti-Grant...." How favorably disposed she was to some of the leaders of the new Liberal movement can be seen by her statement that Schurz and Trumbull were men "on whose integrity not a suspicion has ever rested," and she deplored Thomas Nast's caricatures of them saying his singular genius was not being used "to so good a purpose now.

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53 Newspaper clipping in Miscellaneous Scrap Book, 15. Mrs. Walker complained to her daughter that material improvements in Washington, D. C. had been corruptly purchased; that taxes had been increased until many poor, hard-working people had to give up their homes, unable to meet the exorbitant assessments. Feb. 2, 1874.

54 Mar. 6, 1872. Three years later (Mar. 1, 1875) Mrs. Walker wrote these gossipy details of Mrs. Grant's last reception to her daughter: "Mrs. Grant looked homelier than ever -- & Mrs. R [Richards, apparently the wife of the Secy. of the Treasury] said was most dowdly dressed. I did not observe. After we had been in the east room some time Mrs. [?] and Mrs. Fred Grant each leaning on the arm of a gentleman came in and commenced promanading -- the people who were walking back and forth instead of continuing to do so formed a line on each side of the room, several deep, and watched the two young couples who went up and down the room as if they were the only people in it. It was so absurd that I left the room and went to the conservatory."
as he was in rendering Tammany hateful."55

Walker felt the need of explaining his most recent political realignment, this time with the anti-Grant or Liberal Republicans and the Democrats. He declared in a statement in 1872 that he did not deny the former Democratic Party's connection with the institution of slavery, but now, slavery had been annihilated and that criticism could no longer be leveled at the party. Besides, he was of the opinion, that the rank and file of the party had always detested slavery, they were forced into subserviency to slavery by the party leaders. He compared the situation of the ordinary Democrat before the war with the present situation in the Republican Party where the majority were "being dragooned by their leaders into the support of a man they believed to be unequal to his position, and the indorsement of a system of corruption they wholly detest." He assured the readers of his newspaper articles that they had nothing to fear from a possible Democratic victory. All propaganda to this effect he declared was deliberately aimed to keep a corrupt party in power on its past record alone. In September during the Presidential campaign of 1872 Walker compared the Liberal reform movement embracing Democrats and Liberal Republicans to the formation of the Free Soil Party in 1848. Call the party what they would, he said, the important consideration was the fact that it was the party which stood for progress and reform. The "party of the future, the true democratic party" he declared, was the party which "will demand civil service reform, and the one-term limitation,56 a simple and reformed tariff, and a sound currency, and a gradual, moderate, annual reduction of the public debt." All these

55Samuel J. Tilden, the lawyer, and Thomas Nast, the cartoonist, discredited, and drove from power, Tammany Hall.
56This "reform" harks back to his previous Democratic days when he supported Lewis Cass partly on that issue. See page 104.
desired qualities he believed would in time be incorporated in the program of the liberal movement he sponsored in 1872. 57

The really big scandals of Grant's administration took place in the second term and almost all of them came to light after he had been reelected in 1872, but even before the election the corruption of the party and the administration was common knowledge especially in Washington. As early as March of the election year Mrs. Walker wrote to her daughter from the capital: "I think you would have enjoyed the debates in the Senate this winter -- they brought out lots of ill feeling and lots of truth with a great deal of excellent speaking -- I hope no occasion will arise for any more debates of the kind [and none of the major scandals had yet "broken"! ] -- but what a terrible mass of corruption there is in this 'best government the world ever saw' -- I feel like saying with Mr. Trumbull 'God pity the worst government.'" 58

In a campaign article in the Springfield Republican Walker elaborated on the corruption of the party in power, and declared that they had been in for twelve years and are daily growing more corrupt. Robbery was rampant during the war, he declared, but what was worse it did not stop with the war but was still going on as anyone who wanted to find out the truth knew. 59

The selection of Horace Greeley by the Liberal Republicans and Democrats for President in 1872 was not a happy one for the reform element in the combined party. Walker, who had advocated free trade for almost

57The Springfield Daily Republican, Sept. 18, 1872.
58Mar. 18, 1872.
59Springfield Republican, Oct. 18, 1872.
half a century found himself called upon to support for President of
the United States probably the most outspoken proponent of protection-
ism in the country. He recognized that this was an unpleasant predic-
ament, but he solved the problem to his own satisfaction by placing
other reform issues first. In a letter signed "Free Trader" to the
Springfield Republican he explained his vote for Greeley. "Now, it is
often asked, can a free trader or one who desires a strictly revenue
tariff, give his vote and influence in favor of the most evident and
persistent protectionist in the country?" His answer was that the Cin-
cinnati (Liberal Republican) Convention's platform remitted to the
people and to Congress the question of free trade and protection. Thus,
he said the matter was free from executive interference, besides he be-
lieved that a monetary reform putting currency on a par with gold would
have to precede any reduction of the tariff in order to provide any re-
lief to the people. Since neither of the parties were pledged either to
currency or tariff reform he would vote for Greeley who was backed by
a party interested in other reforms of which he approved. 60

By 1873 there was still considerable interest in the liberal re-
form movement in politics. When in that year William S. Groesbeck su-
gested the formation of a new political party to be called the Liberal
Democracy, one of whose cardinal principles was to be free trade, Walker
took exception to his exclusiveness. He declared that he was well dis-
posed toward such an organization but there were two doctrines which
should precede, and certainly accompany free trade; they were currency
and railroad reform. Those two issues he believed were more important

60 Springfield Republican, Dec. 26, 1872.
and pressing at that moment than free trade.\textsuperscript{61}

Amasa was quite jubilant over the Democrat victories in the 1874 Congressional elections. His friend Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield Republican agreed with him that "there is something stimulating about the recent election results," but another friend, J. H. Seelye, professor at Amherst College, was not so optimistic. "The election," he wrote Walker, "of which you speak with such satisfaction I do not yet altogether welcome." "It is not ... a very great honor to be associated with such blockheads as a currency debate brings to light in Congress," he reminded Walker.\textsuperscript{62} Mrs. Walker was disappointed when stormy weather prevented her from seeing the new senators sworn in in 1875. "I wanted to see Andy Johnson,"\textsuperscript{63} she wrote to her daughter, "and to judge as far as I could be their looks whether the new Senate is an improvement upon the last. It would take half a dozen good ones to fill Carl Schurtz\textsuperscript{sic} place," she opined. Commenting upon the Massachusetts delegation in Washington at that time she mentioned having heard Henry L. Pierce's speech on the Force Bill and was glad he came from Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{64} With the frank and keen intelligence which characterized her remarks on political subjects she declared she was far from proud of their state delegation. "We were surprised," she wrote, "to

\textsuperscript{61}Cincinnati Commercial, Aug. 14, 1873. See pages 369-371 for discussion of railroad reform. William S. Groesbeck of Ohio had been one of President Johnson's counsels in his impeachment trial.


\textsuperscript{63}Andrew Johnson was elected to the Senate in 1874. His election was a striking vindication of his course. While in the Senate he denounced Grant's reconstruction policy and his third term aspirations.

\textsuperscript{64}Pierce was a Republican member of Congress, but found himself out of harmony with his party before long and resigned his office in 1877. He had been elected in 1873. He was twice mayor of Boston, 1872 and 1877.
hear of Mr. Buffington's death -- that is the third of our delega-
tion this winter and ... it is no great matter as far as the public
service is concerned & I dont know as he is an exception. Mr. Buffing-
ton was a mere cypher & Alvah Crocker a great fool."67 On the subject
of Massachusetts politicians during the reconstruction years she spoke
without charity and without qualms, as shown by this little pen picture
of Massachusetts politics:

"I hope you have got reconciled to Simmons and his patron and his
patrons servant, Grant -- Butler looks more like a bloated toad than
before. He considers [sic] the governorship secure. Freeman [Walker,
brother of Amasa] in his letter says we cant help being jubilant over
the matter -- those who have assumed to govern the state find they cant
have things in their own way. Perhaps it will be nice to pit the
roughs against decent society perhaps it wont -- Anne street rejoices --
Beacon street mourns and is mad -- Boutwell tried to sit on two stools
and succeeded in the usual fashion -- The dictator says Boutwell has
been a dead weight upon him ever since he made him Governor in '52; now
the cord is cut and he thanks his master, whoever that may be. Poor old
Massachusetts! I hail from New Hampshire."68

Between 1872 and 1875, the year of his death, Walker had drifted
away from the Republican Party. His ideas, while far from universally
accepted by the Democrats, were considered with much greater respect.

His wife wrote to her daughter in 1874 that it was "quite pleasant to

65See page 181, f. n.
66Alvah Crocker was Representative to Congress from Massachusetts
from 1872 to 1874. He was a large manufacturer and railroad president.
67To Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, Mar. 7, 1875.
68Ibid., Mar. 6, 1874.
him after striving so long to get attention to his theories [particularly his economic ideas] to find so many now ready to accept them, and treating them, and him, with so much respect." The whole reform movement beginning in 1872 aided greatly in the building of better relations between the North and the South. And the insistence with which Walker and others urged sound money and lower tariffs helped materially to turn men's minds from past grievances, and cause them to forget old rancors. The editor of the Norfolk Virginian wrote to Walker that thirty years ago the people of his state, and he presumed the same was true of Massachusetts, could not be induced to study economic science. He said this state of affairs was the result of the blighting slavery agitation "which dwarfed all politics into the question 'are you for or against the Fugitive Slave Law!'" He declared that in the entire state of Virginia his was the only paper in "constant advocacy of real money & free trade. It is an uphill fight I have and one to which I am induced solely by love of the truth & certainly by no possible hope of profit. It will advance fast, when once this nightmare of sectional partisan politics is gone. Relieve us of the carpet bag thieves and our people will have time and will to discuss larger themes, as when Virginia brought forth Jeffersons & Madison. Doubtless the same relief of the Northern mind from sectional & special partisan politics will allow Massachusetts to rise from its level of Butler and Boutwell to its former plane of Franklin." 70 In 1874 Manton Marble of the New York World espoused the cause of Hard Money and Free Trade declaring: "The Democratic press of the country, in season and out of season, daily, semiweekly, and weekly, must set before their

69Mar. 6, 1874.
70Dec. 23, 1874. The editor's name seems to have been John Hampden Chambulasque [? ]
readers the few established truths of political economy from which the absolute need of Hard Money and Free Trade to a nation's prosperity flows, by easy demonstration."71 And Amasa Walker, defender of the Union, friend of Charles Sumner, and advocate of negro suffrage had so far forgotten the past as to support a newspaper which had been suspended during the war, had belittled the Emancipation Proclamation and opposed negro suffrage. Such an eradicator of past enmity was Hard Money and Free Trade that Walker congratulated the editor of the World for sponsoring these measures. But Walker had, after all, once been convinced of Democratic principles. His was a return to the fold. As he said, "The old Democracy always made sound economic issues. It was right in its great conflict with the National Bank and the advocates of Protection.72 That was what gave it strength and stability. There is a still greater opportunity now to do a noble work for the country, and achieve great and lasting success. Will the new Democracy avail themselves of it?"73 A few days before his death Walker wrote Marble rejoicing in the platform which the New York Democrats had adopted at the Syracuse Convention. He did not live to see Governor Samuel Tilden of New York, whose stand on the currency question he so admired, nominated by the Democrats in 1876. He had foreseen his nomination, however, because he wrote to Marble that he was the "most conspicuous candidate for the next Presidency." After a unique political gyration he died confidently anticipating "the renaissance of the Democratic Party."74

71 The World (New York), Dec. 11, 1874.
72 For Walker's views on these issues see page 97 et seq.
73 The World (New York), Dec. 11, 1874.
74 Newspaper clipping in the back of MS. Autobiography, II.
PART IV

ECONOMIST AND REFORMER
CHAPTER XVIII

PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

The panic of 1837 turned the minds of many people in the direction of economic studies. What caused the panic was a question asked by everyone. Amasa Walker said the only answer he could get from those who thought they knew was the one which blamed the panic on Andrew Jackson's "tinkering with the currency." This answer did not satisfy him. He looked up the best works on political economy which he could find and decided he would solve the problem for himself. In 1838 he read Francis Wayland's new work on political economy.1 He found the book as he said simple and helpful and for the first time in his life got some notion of the meaning of the term, political economy. In 1840 Walker retired from his shoe business because of ill health and also because it was no longer financially necessary for him to continue in active business. In the Fall of that year he went to Florida for his health. He stopped in New York on his way South and bought a copy of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations. About the most that he knew about this revolutionary work in the field of economics was that it was being severely ridiculed in the United States by many because of its advocacy of Free Trade. For five months while he was recuperating in St. Augustine he studied The Wealth of Nations. Thereafter his interest in and study of political economy never waned. Soon after his encounter with Adam Smith he began reading J. B. Say, Ricardo,

1Francis Wayland, Elements of Political Economy, published first in 1837. It was the standard text in colleges where political economy was taught for a number of years.
Malthus, Chalmers and McCulloch, and the American writers, Carey and Sedgwick. He became very interested in all subjects relating to economics, but his preference was always for the subject of currency which had started him on his career as an economist.

In 1842 he was made Professor of Political Economy and General History in Oberlin Collegiate Institute. As a Boston paper commented on his appointment, "Mr. Walker is a gentleman of superior talents and acquirements -- of great independence of mind, and an elevated moral character. His connection with that institution, we doubt not, will promote its usefulness, for he is well qualified to discharge the duties of the Professorship." The comment that he could probably promote Oberlin's usefulness is significant in view of the fact that it was looked upon at this time by most people as a dangerously radical institution. In and around Boston Walker was known to be definitely bound up with the radical reforms, but his reputation as a sound business man commanded the respect of everyone regardless of their opinion of his other activities. From Oberlin's side his appointment was most probably due to his reputation for reform, and his interest in and support of the new college. In 1840 when the institution was in danger of failure due to the losses of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, the main financial stays of the school, two agents of Oberlin, John (Father) Keep and William Davies were sent to England to seek aid. They took with them a document signed, as Harriet Martineau said, by the most important abolitionists in the United States.

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2Say was a French economist, the others were all British economists. McCulloch, Walker met in England in 1843. He asked him for a list of suggested readings in political economy.
3MS. Autobiography, I, 155-159.
5Oberlin had been founded in 1833.
Walker was one of the reformers who had joined in asking aid for Oberlin at that time. The indelible stamp of reform had been impressed on Oberlin from the first; not merely was it a stronghold of abolitionism, but of many, if not most, of the other humanitarian reforms as well. The document asking for aid described Oberlin in this way: "From our knowledge of the Professors at Oberlin, of the spirit that pervades the Institution, and of the mighty influence, young as it is, which is already putting forth, we feel solemnly moved to duty, and sweetly constrained by love of the truth, and honour for its faithful avowal, to give our emphatic testimony in favour of the Oberlin Institute. We believe it to be accomplishing more for freedom of thought, speech, and conscience, more for the great cause of human liberty and equal rights, the annihilation of prejudice and caste in every form -- more to honour God, to exalt his Truth, and to purify a corrupt church and ministry, than any other Institution in the United States."

Here, Walker with his already advanced reform interests and his new interest in political economy could fit in most advantageously. He moved his family to Oberlin and gave his first lectures on political economy in the winter of 1842-1843. He looked upon his teaching and writing in this field as one more chance to improve mankind. Some of his

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6 The list of those who had signed the document asking aid for Oberlin reads as though it were a roll call of the humanitarian reformers in the 1840's. In addition to Walker, there were Arthur Tappan, James G. Birney, John G. Whittier, Joseph Southwick, Ellis Gray Loring, Henry B. Stanton, Samuel J. May, William Lloyd Garrison, Angelina D. Weld, Sarah Grimké, Theodore Weld, Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, Gerritt Smith, David Lee Child, Maria W. Chapman, Wendell Phillips, Francis Jackson, Alvan Stewart, Joshua Giddings and many, many more. --[Harriet Martineau], The Martyr Age of the United States of America, with an Appeal on Behalf of the Oberlin Institute in Aid of the Abolition of Slavery, xiii-ix.
friends thought he could have spent his time more profitably in something else, and he admitted: "Doubtless I might have made money by giving myself to business, or I might have laboured in some other cause connected with human welfare, but I worked where I thought there was the most need of work, where nobody else was working and though I may have accomplished little I fully believe I have done more good than I could have accomplished in any other way."7

Walker's appointment to Oberlin was not one of his own seeking; the faculty of the college appointed him to the position. The appointment was delivered by Charles G. Finney, Professor of Theology in Oberlin, while on a trip to Boston late in 1841. The Oberlin brethren weighed very carefully the choice of professors who were to instruct and therefore influence their students. Finney was intrusted with the final task of appraising Walker. How carefully he was scrutinized can be seen by a letter which Finney wrote back to a colleague in Oberlin. Apparently some of the faculty had been fearful of his political affiliations for Finney wrote back that he had never been a party man, that he had "always refused to go with either party & taken much pains to correct what he supposes to be wrong in both parties. In some things he has gone with one party & in others with the other party. You have no reason to fear I think that Bro. Walker will dabble with party politics at Oberlin." Obviously Finney was thinking in terms of the two major parties, because Walker had been very much a member of the Antimasonic Party whose reform principles probably appealed to, rather than repelled, the Oberlin group. Concerning his scholarly qualifications there was not so much discussion as of his qualifications of character. "He is a self-

made man," wrote Finney after interviewing him, "Of a very philosophi-

cal turn of mind. A pretty good English scholar. Has read consider-
able Latin." Walker’s sojourn in the realm of political economy had
been brief in 1841 but already he had very fixed ideas on the subject
as can be seen in this same letter of Finney’s. "His views of politi-
cal economy," he wrote, "are unlike anything ever taught in any school
so far as I know. He maintains with us that true political economy
must consist in national & individual obedience to the law of God."

Finney continued that he was pleased to find that this view was being
adopted by statesmen, that John Quincy Adams had insisted in a speech
which he had heard while in Boston that "nations in their intercourse
with each other were bound to conform to the law of equal love." The
peculiar twist which Finney gave to Walker’s view of political economy
was not so farfetched as can be seen by Walker’s own statement in 1850
that the "moral bearings of this science [i.e. political economy] make
it admirably adapted to those schools in which the young receive their
earliest and strongest impressions. Its teachings are eminently pacific,
and in harmony with the benevolent spirit of Christianity."  

Walker considered Oberlin’s offer carefully for a time and then
wrote to Hamilton Hill, of the faculty, that he had decided to accept

8"I am glad to hear that you have begun the study of Latin", wrote
Walker to his grandson in 1873. "Amo, amas, amat [sic], amamus, amatis,
amant. Is not that right? I loved Latin very much, and you will, the
more you study it. It will give you a knowledge of the origin and mean-
ing of many English words." And in the margin of the letter he wrote:
"Lege, legere, Lectum, hence legibly &c." To Robert Batcheller, Feb. 11,
1873.

9To Henry Cowles, Dec. 23, 1841 (Cowles Papers, Oberlin College Library).

10Amasa Walker, "Political Economy, As A Subject for Common Schools."
The Lectures Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, 1850,
43-44.
the offer. He trusted that his health would improve, but he did not propose to go until Spring in order to avoid the harmful effects of winter to his "delicate health." In accepting the position he wanted the college to understand that he was "but imperfectly prepared to discharge the duties ... even in regard to the subject of Political Economy alone." As for General History he informed them that he would not be able to deliver lectures on that subject the first year. He was aware of the peculiar demands made upon the professors by Oberlin, for he wrote in his letter of acceptance that he hoped he should be able to unite "his heart and interests as fully with the dear Institution as those who are now so devoted to its welfare." 11 Finney did not leave him in doubt as to what was expected of him in Oberlin. This can be seen by a letter which he wrote back to his colleagues containing the account of his talk with Walker: "He knows fully what we expect of him if he goes there. He calculates & wishes to conform to Oberlin habits of living. 12 To sell his furniture & get it made there &c &c." The simple living required at Oberlin doubtless held no terror for Walker who had espoused temperance, years before, had been President of the Health Convention in 1838 and in general followed the dietary and other principles laid down by Sylvester Graham. 13

In considering the advisability of offering Walker a place on the Oberlin faculty his politics, abolitionism, temperance, and physiological

11 Jan. 17, 1842 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College) Hamilton Hill was Treasurer of the College. He was an Englishman who had been sent over by the English philanthropists who answered the request of Dawes and Keep for funds for Oberlin. He was to supervise the finances of the institution and represent their interests. See pages 198-199.
12 To Henry Cowles, Dec. 23, 1841 (Cowles Papers, Oberlin College Library).
13 See chapters VII and VIII for his activity in the temperance and health reforms.
ideas had been investigated and found adequate. "With respect to his religion," wrote Finney of him (no inconsequential point in the eyes of the great evangelist and professor of theology), he thinks, that he was converted some twenty years ago, & in saying recently that he had had no religion & that he must be converted, &c., he did not intend absolutely that he never was converted. He was unable to attend meeting much for some time. He regrets this much & so do I. I have told him that we do not want him there unless he has the spirit of doing good & that should he go without that spirit he will be very unhappy there as well as useless." And adding this note of hope he left the subject of Walker's religious qualifications: "His business talent is said to be peculiar. His piety will I trust improve."

Through these years Oberlin was in dire financial need. There was no doubt that it was hoped by the Oberlin fathers that Walker's invitation to come to Oberlin would end by a promise of financial support. This was another subject which Finney discussed in his letter to the Rev. Henry Cowles while Walker was considering the appointment. Finney reported that he had not applied to Walker for a loan to the Institution. He said he was waiting to broach that subject at the suggestion of "Brother Sears" who knew him well and thought the matter of a loan to Oberlin should not be discussed until he could become "acquainted with the brethren & see whether the Institution meets his ideas of the wants of the church & the world." Before going to Oberlin Finney wanted to be sure

14To Henry Cowles, Dec. 23, 1341 (Cowles Papers, Oberlin College Library).
15Ibid.
16Henry Cowles was Professor of the Literature of the Old Testament in 1341. Later he became a trustee and editor of the Oberlin Evangelist. "Bro. Sears" was Willard Sears of Boston, a great friend and benefactor of Finney and Oberlin.
that Walker had disposed of all wealth which was not necessary to his support. Apparently he and others of the Oberlin group could think of at least one place where it could be advantageously used. "I talked with Br. W. about his money," wrote Finney, but Walker had not then decided what disposal he would make of his business, nor whether he would go to Oberlin. 17

As a college subject political economy (economics) was not widely taught in colleges in 1842. Its first appearance was at Harvard in 1820, Yale introduced it in 1824, Dartmouth in 1828 and Princeton in 1830.18 The text most frequently used in the early college courses was Francis Wayland's Elements of Political Economy, a book which Walker had read with much interest soon after it was published in 1837. Occasionally Jean B. Say's work was used. Say was a French economist whose works Walker had become acquainted with after his introduction to Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations.19 Walker complained long after his appointment to teach political economy in Oberlin that the subject had "rarely been a study in any of our lower seminaries of learning, & even in our colleges little attention has been given to it." He looked upon this situation as unfortunate. He believed that it was "the science which of all others should receive the most careful and critical attention of an American student, because he is to hold the ballot, and his opinions will influence the legislation of the country." 20

17 To Henry Cowles, Dec. 23, 1841 (Cowles Papers, Oberlin College Library).
18 Robert S. Fletcher, Oberlin, 1833-1866, MS. From a chapter entitled "Students and Teachers."
Walker's way of teaching the subject was to make it an extremely practical subject, to make applications, referring especially to such governmental policies as national bank, protective tariff, slavery and other contemporary problems. That he did this in his first course of lectures in political economy we know because one set of lecture notes taken by a student in his first class has been preserved. The notes taken were very incomplete and rough, but they give a good idea of the character of the course he offered. The course was given in a series of forty-seven lectures to the seniors of the college and to the theological students. From the notes on his first course of lectures it can be seen that his primary interest was in banking and currency. He devoted twenty of his forty-seven lectures to that topic. He had been moved to investigate the general field of political economy by his desire to understand the cause of the panic of 1837. His experience as businessman and banker provided him with plenty of practical illustrations in this field. These he freely used.

He began his course by a history of the science of political economy. He believed that the common feeling that labor was disgraceful had hindered the cause of political economy; that the whole philosophy of the ancients was opposed to such a science. For a time agriculture "was contended to be the only source [sic] of wealth" when people began to consider that wealth consisted in gold the first step toward the development of the science of political economy was made. The recognition that "mercantile trade is [to] the great advantage to [sic] a nation" -- helped in the formation of the new science. Walker credited Adam Smith with being

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the father of political economy, because he established the principle
"that labor is the source of wealth, and stressed the importance of
the division of labor."

In his second lecture he asked and answered the question, "What is
political economy?" He answered his question by saying that "it was a
science of wealth." This answer called for an explanation of wealth
which was said to be "all objects of value" with the parenthetical nota-
tion, "all notes & paper money have no value." The next question which
logically arose from this answer was what is value? "It is just what an
article will fetch." The remainder of that lecture and a part of the
next was devoted to value. 1. From what source do articles receive
value. From the amount of labor which it costs -- exception -- suppose
I find a diamond. 2. The value of many articles depends upon its scarcity
[sic]. Illustrated by wood -- 3. Price? The quantity of money which
is freely parted with for the article, the greater the supply the less the
price the less the demand the greater the value[?]" His definitions as
seen through a student's notes are interesting: Cost he defined as "the
amount of labor which it costs to produce" an article. Capital is "ac-
cumulated productions of labor which is employed [sic] in the production
of wealth." The only source of wealth, he believed, was labor or industry,
though wealth could be produced by modifying nature. To illustrate this
last point he showed that man did not create matter, but could "manu-
ufacture it into useful articles which becomes wealth."

In his lecture on capital he distinguished between fixed (fist, as
the notes read) capital and circulating capital. A farmer's barn was

---This early comment on paper money is interesting in view of his later
determined stand in favor of "Hard Money". See chapter XXII.
fixed capital, his stock, circulating capital. Likewise a merchant had both kinds of capital. Productive capital was capital which had been "united with labor" and "is in progress of augmentation"; non-productive capital "is that which is lying at rest or does not produce wealth." Six of his lectures were devoted to the subject of capital and labor. One of the six discussed the ethical implications of the possession of capital. In the first place he taught that the capital of nations increased and that it should increase, similarly the capital of the individual man should also "be increased to a reasonable extent. The final note of the lecture being to the effect that "we know that Christianity teaches to increase wealth." Concerning the economics of labor he taught that there was a "natural price of labor," it was "that which will enable the laborer to subsist on what he earns." The circumstances which modify the relative value of labor were five in number, the "agreeableness or the inconstancy... Trust [chance?] of success -- The difference between the labor of the sexes."

Of his twenty lectures on banking the notes on one lecture on the "Moral evils of Banks" are suggestive of his economic philosophy and proof of Finney's statement that Walker maintained that "true political economy must consist in national & individual obedience to the law of God." 24

"Moral Evils of Banks

I. Its effect on bank officers:

1. Handling large sums of money not their own.

2. Handling paper money --They said it is made so easy.

23See page 70.
24See page 201.
3. They seeing others speculating and receiving large salaries.

4. The money belongs to no particular individual, i.e., in the bank.

5. Why not borrow and make something himself, i.e., steal it out of the bank.

II. Its effect on bank directors:

1. To-speculate on their own account

.............

5. For party and political purposes.

III. On the People at large

1. Speculation.

2. Crime.

3. On the churches.

IV. Its influence on slavery.

1. Slavery is a destructive machine.

2. It cannot compete with free labor.

3. Paper money sustains it by obtaining goods etc., with northern money. 856 millions the South is in debt to the North. The South 3 millions in debt to Lynn for boots & shoes.

4. Ohio paying 87 millions to support slavery....

The Oberlin abolitionists were doubtless pleased that the science of political economy as taught by Amasa Walker, proved slavery to be an economically unsound institution; also a morally corrupt one. The lectures on banking delivered in the winter of 1842 and 1843 should be seen against the background of the presidential campaign of 1840. In that campaign Walker had been actively supporting the Democrats because of

25 While in Congress Walker made a speech showing that the fundamental conflict of the Civil War was between free labor and slave. See page 175.

26 An example of the application of his statistical information.
their opposition to a national bank. "...The question at issue was 'Bank or no Bank' and I could not be indifferent ...."27 He had taken a very active part in the campaign, speaking in all parts of the state, in fact he spoke so much that he overtaxed his physical strength. But he had had a chance in those political speeches to formulate his ideas and become practiced in the art of expressing himself on the subject of banking. His familiarity with that phase of political economy was well shown by the large proportion of his lectures devoted to banking.

The last two lectures in the course treated credit and interest. Credit, Walker believed was "a stimulus to industry" because "it enables those who cannot use property to assist others." Credit, defined as "the use of property without paying for it immediately" had a definite value, Walker believed, but dangers as well: "The idle can rob the frugal. It holds out temptations to be too expensive. Farmers' credit is sometimes injurious. It many times induces men to enter into speculation. It operates as a tax. Merchants must charge more for [because of ?] bad debts."28

27See page 98.
28All the notes from Walker's first lectures on political economy were taken from William A. Westervelt, MS. Notes on Political Economy, Chemistry and Pastoral Theology, 1842-1843. (Oberlin College Library). Lewis Tappan, a contemporary business man and reformer, had this to say about credit: "The supposed gains, under this system, are very fallacious, while the net gains in the long run, under the cash system, would be much more lucrative to the individual and more beneficial to the community. Besides, it is not easy to determine what one's income or actual gain really is, when the credit system so generally prevails. This uncertainty affords a pretext too often for giving as little as possible to the cause of God or man. If the cash system were generally adopted, more money would be paid into the Lords treasury, and it would be a great restraint upon the feverish and almost insane spirit of speculation ..., [discourage] neglect of families, ... neglect of their own souls and the souls of others and ... the ruin of body and soul! Lewis Tappan, Is it Right to Be Rich?, 13, f. n.
Walker went to live in Oberlin in 1842 taking his family with him; but by the spring of 1843 after about ten months there he became so ill that he went back to North Brookfield. All future contacts with Oberlin were in the form of brief visits for lecturing, for he made North Brookfield his home after 1843. It seems probable that Walker was in Oberlin and lectured there in 1844 and 1845. In the former year he and Mrs. Walker took a trip through the "West," attending peace conventions, and seem to have gone to Oberlin on the same journey. While on this trip he visited Philadelphia about whose sights he wrote to his friend Elihu Burritt. The letter was published in *The Christian Citizen*, which Burritt was then editing. His attention had been very unfavorably attracted to Girard College which was then being built and which he declared was "truly a 'great lion' of pride, folly and senseless extravagance." He had no hopes that the institution would ever be anything but a "public nuisance". He ended by scoring the benefactor "who loved his money so well, that he could not bear to expend it under his own inspection; but chose to entrust it, when he could no longer hold it" to someone else.

After seeing this institution so peculiarly fortunate he must have been comparing it in his mind, if not in his letter, to Oberlin, which at that moment was calling upon him for help.

A few months before his visit to Philadelphia he had written an Oberlin colleague, "your account of the present presure [sic] which is now felt at Oberlin has pained me much & I have raised 100$ for you to

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30J. H. Temple, *History of North Brookfield*, 387. Another evidence of his presence in Oberlin in 1844 is a reference made by John Todd, of Tabor College, Iowa, in a letter to Amasa Walker, June 1, 1866 in which he said he and other Theological students had attended the lectures on political economy which Walker gave in 1844. Todd was in the Theological Seminary from 1841-1844.
31*The Christian Citizen*, June 29, 1844.
be used in "buying flour & other necessaries for the faculty." His brother, Freeman, had given ten dollars, three other friends of Oberlin gave forty dollars, and Amasa made up the remaining fifty. "I intended," he wrote, "to get 200$ but I found the Brethren rather poor at present owing to the large expense they incur at the Marlboro' Chapel." 32 Finney had cautioned his colleagues against asking Walker for donations, or loans, before he had a chance to become acquainted with conditions at Oberlin, but after he had spent almost a year with them the restraint was off as can be seen by their request for a fifteen hundred dollar loan for buying wheat. He wrote them that he had not so much unemployed money, but he would raise two hundred dollars for them to buy wheat. The conditions on which he loaned the money show his businesslike methods: "My conditions would be 1st that the money should be laid out in buying wheat. 2nd That the wheat should be kept till wanted & then sold at the market price for cash only -- 3rd That what ever profit there might be should be paid over to the Oberlin Education Board -- 4th That the amount & interest should be remitted to me. If there should be a loss in the operation I will bear it. I may be able to send a larger sum," he ended. 33

In 1845 Walker went to Oberlin for a short course of lectures. He asked President Mahan to allow "Bro Hoisington" to take his classes "and go through with the elementary parts of the Science." Then he would come on later and lecture on the practical application of political economy to business, legislation &c &c." 34

32To Hamilton Hill, Jan. 15, 1844 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
33Ibid., Dec. 16, 1843 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
34Ibid., April 17, 1845( " " " " ). "Bro. Hoisington was William H. Hoisington. He was a student in Oberlin from 1833 to 1842. He was an assistant teacher in 1838-1839. There is no record as to whether he gave some of the lectures in political economy in 1845 or not.
"Bro. Hoisington" left for Oberlin early in May and presumably gave the lectures, though this is not certain. Walker seems to have come on sometime later, for he had been there and had returned to North Brookfield by the first part of September. While in Oberlin this time, in addition to giving his lectures, he helped put through a plan whereby the faculty of the college were to depend altogether on the income of the college for support. 36

Although in later years Walker wrote that he gave a course of lectures in Oberlin every year from 1842 to 1848, when he resigned, there is evidence to show that he was not there in 1846. 37 In September of that year he wrote to a friend in Oberlin: "I should have been delighted to have come out to Oberlin & meet the Students for two or three months but my engagements absolutely prevented." 38 In 1847 he went out to Oberlin for his last series of lectures there. 39 In the next year he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives and resigned his professorship. 40

Walker served actively on the Board of Trustees and the Prudential

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36 Amasa Walker to Hamilton Hill, May 8, 1845. Amasa Walker to William Dawes, Sept. 6, 1845 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College). Dawes was financial agent of Oberlin.
37 Ibid.
38 In his Autobiography (volume I, page 159) he wrote "I gave Lectures each year at Oberlin (I think) till 1848 when in the fall of that year I was elected to the Legislature and resigned my professorship." Most of the shorter accounts of his life say he delivered yearly lectures at Oberlin, as does also James H. Fairchild in his Oberlin: The College and the College. 1833-1882, 291. Robert S. Fletcher in his Oberlin, 1833-1865, MS. states that college records show him to have been there only in 1842-1843, from a chapter entitled "Students and Teachers."
40 MS. Autobiography, II, 79. His name and salary were listed in the college ledger until 1850. (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
Committee while in Oberlin. The salary of six hundred dollars a year was regularly credited to him but he never drew it out. As James H. Fairchild expressed it in his history, Oberlin: The Colony and the College: "The same salary was credited to him as to other professors, but there was never any less in the treasury for his coming."

For the next few years he was not teaching nor connected with any school, but his interest in the promotion of education, especially political economy, did not lag. While a member of the Massachusetts legislature in 1850 he introduced a measure to require that a Webster's Dictionary be placed in every school in the state. He had had occasion to refer to it and was greatly impressed by its definitions and information. It made him think it should be placed where every school child could have access to it. He was a member of the committee on Education so he wrote to the publishers to get their reaction. At first they were inclined to disapprove of the proposal because of the unfavorable comments it would make among competing companies. However, the next day George Merriam, the publisher, came to Boston saying he was satisfied that it would be a safe thing to do. In the committee hearings, as was to be expected, objections to the measure were raised because of its reference to one particular company. The bill which was finally passed permitted each district to choose the dictionary it would use. Massachusetts led the way for other states by this law which Walker believed greatly aided the cause of common school education. The law aided the dictionary companies too, an item which did not escape him: "My friends

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41 Fletcher, op. cit., from chapter entitled "Students and Teachers".  
42 Daily Journal, Oberlin College, 1842-1848; Oberlin College Ledger, 1842-1850. (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).  
43 Walker wrote in his Autobiography (II, page 55) that 14,000 Websters were called for to 1500 Worcesters, the company which objected to the bill as it was originally drawn.
the Merriams made a fortune out of the measure but then they gave a quid pro quo to the public and besides", he added with typical reformer's logic, "they use their wealth for the best interests of mankind as generally as any rich men I know of." 44

Walker's interest in the welfare of the common schools of Massachusetts was not a passing enthusiasm which died when he got out of the legislature. In the Constitutional Convention of 1853 he favored an amendment which would prevent state funds from ever being used to support or partially support sectarian schools. He ventured the hope at the same time that soon they could have a system of state colleges and normal schools "as free to all, as any other institution of learning." 45 While Secretary of State he had advocated the establishment of normal schools of agriculture. 46 During the Civil War years he interested himself in the educational appropriations of the state, helping to set up an agency for the Massachusetts State Board of Education. When there was danger that retrenchments would be made in 1862 by cutting out the agency, and reducing the appropriation for Normal Schools Birdsey B. Northrop, agent for the board of education, appealed to him for support. 47

Perhaps the thing which most interested Walker in the development and progress of the common schools was the course of studies. He was highly pleased as a Grahamite and teetotaler when the state legislature added physiology and hygiene to the list of required subjects in the

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44MS. Autobiography, II, 53.
46See page 161.
47Letter to Amasa Walker, Feb. 5, 1862. Northrop helped start a free school system in Massachusetts and establish compulsory attendance.
common schools. Speaking before the American Institute of Instruction in 1850 Walker said, "It is not an age, ... for the building of pyramids, and cathedrals, and castles, and palaces, but for the construction of canals, and railroads, and steamships. It is a utilitarian age, and the absorbing idea is WEALTH." With this introduction Walker then showed that political economy was a suitable subject for study in the common schools. As Adam Smith treated the subject, he admitted, it was too complicated for adoption. Say and Wayland, however, had simplified its teachings so much that, he felt, with a few more modifications it would be acceptable for common school use. The reasons he gave for introducing the subject into the schools reveal his faith in the reforming powers of political economy. The science of wealth, he said, taught that all wealth was the result of labor. Even capital he defined as accumulated, or past, labor, which in order to be useful must be joined with present labor. Nowhere, he said, could students better acquire a belief in the dignity of labor than through a study of political economy. Since labor created wealth it should be free to enjoy wealth. The false standards of slavery and serfdom, both of which deny to the laborers the fruits of their own labor, would be revealed by a study of political economy.

If students and people generally understand this "oppression would disappear from the face of the earth." Political economy would teach students to seek to change our institutions under which "labor is down-trodden and oppressed." Capital which should be labor's partner, not its competitor, has all too often acted as the oppressor. Students

48Amasa Walker, "Political Economy as a Subject for Common Schools." Lectures Before the American Institute of Instruction, 1850, 25.
would be taught to condemn, as "our science condemns," all laws which grant advantages and favors to capital at the expense of labor (protective tariff especially). Furthermore, Walker believed, that political economy imparted "good morals and Christian ideas "to the young. 49

The addition of another subject in an already crowded schedule Walker admitted was not desirable without the introduction of two other simultaneous reforms. In the first place, better teachers were needed and could be secured, he believed, by increasing teachers' salaries. In the second place, the school year should be lengthened to make room for such new subjects as political economy. The average school year in 1849 in Massachusetts, he pointed out, was seven months and twenty-four days. In his opinion schools should hold nine or ten months. The increased school year he thought would be acceptable to students if they could study practical subjects and to teachers if salaries were increased. 50

Walker did not confine his curriculum criticism to the common schools. He questioned the advisability of requiring all students, regardless of their interests and intended profession, to study so much Greek and Latin. He believed it was a waste of time for most students to spend so large a proportion of their time in the study of classical languages. He enjoyed Latin himself and encouraged his grandson to study it, 51 but he thought that many other subjects would be much more useful to a majority of the students. In his later life Walker welcomed the tendency in both colleges and public schools to introduce vocational

49 Ibid., 39-45.
50 Ibid., 43-49. Walker was a great friend of the teaching profession. He encouraged them in their State Teachers' Association. -- Ibid., 50-51.
51 See page 201, f. n.
From the time Walker stopped lecturing at Oberlin until 1854, when he gave a special course of lectures at Amherst College, he was not connected with college teaching.\textsuperscript{53} The public schools, because of his participation in state politics, had occupied his attention in the educational field. Middlebury College, largely because of his services to the state's educational system, conferred on him the M. A. degree in 1852.\textsuperscript{54}

Lecturing to the students in a conservative New England College, as Amherst was, was a different matter from lecturing to students at radical Oberlin. There, political and economic, even religious radicalism was the expected and accepted order, but in Amherst Walker wrote that he "had to use great caution least I should frighten the students with my heretical opinions." On the subject of the currency he was especially careful. He began by showing the evil effects of the English system of currency. This criticism the class accepted, he said, without comment. Then when he had finished his discussion of English currency one student obligingly (for that was what he hoped would happen) asked how England's currency differed from ours in the United States. Walker then drove home his point by saying that in its effect and nature it was exactly like our own, "only of a better quality!" He then explained that its quality was better because it had a larger proportion of specie behind it. Walker was pleased with his pedagogical device for he had taken the class by surprise and convinced them "before their prejudices were excited."\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{52}Amasa Walker to Amasa Walker, Jr., May 8, 1852.
\textsuperscript{53}Amasa Walker to Charles Sumner, Sep. 25, 1854 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
\textsuperscript{54}Amasa Walker to Amasa Walker, Jr., May 8, 1852.
\textsuperscript{55}Amasa Walker to Charles Sumner, Sep. 25, 1854 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
In 1859 Amherst College again invited Walker to give a course of lectures. These he began early in 1860. They continued for several months, because he did not finish with the course until the first part of April, when he wrote Charles Sumner he had just completed what he thought had been the "most successful & satisfactory" course he had ever given. 56 Walker continued each year, thereafter, to give in Amherst a course of lectures on public economy until 1869. 57 He was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1867. 58

"I do not regret that I have given many years of my life to Political Economy I think I have done right in so doing," wrote Walker in his later life. 59 The ignorance of the people of the country in regard to the science of wealth he considered a calamity; also there were so few people "to labor in the cause." 60 His own inclination was in the direction of that study, but his interest was not a personal and selfish one, for he tried to propagate its truths. After he had given a course of lectures in Oberlin College in 1845 he wrote back to a colleague there that on his return he found his affairs suffering from his absence and want of attention "but I can not regret that I went out for I enjoyed myself greatly & I hope did some good." 61 The more he studied

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56 Dec. 20, 1859; Apr. 7, 1860 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University). Amasa Walker's son, Francis Amasa, received his degree from Amherst College in 1860. -- General Catalogue of Amherst College, 42.
58 E. S. Dwight, Secretary of the Amherst College Board of Trustees, to Amasa Walker, July 11, 1867. General Catalogue of Amherst College, 67.
60 Ibid., II, 37.
61 To William Dewes, Sept. 6, 1845 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
the more he used his "voice and pen." "...If I have even in a humble measure aided in diffusing knowledge upon the subject, I feel that I have been thus far a public benefactor...."

CHAPTER XIX

THE PEACE MOVEMENT BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

"That there is to be a time of universal peace throughout the world," said William Ladd, "no one doubts, who believes the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures .... 'When the wolf shall dwell with the lamb; and men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, neither shall they learn war any more, but they shall sit, every one, under his own vine and fig tree ....' 'Peace on earth and good will toward men' was ... the song of the angels ...." \(^1\)

Of this premise the early peace reformers did not lose sight. Christianity, the reformers, including the peace reformers, believed, should be a practical working system. The teachings of Christ they interpreted to meet national and international problems. The church which was a decisive factor in this second quarter of the nineteenth century was called upon by the reformers to tackle the social problems resulting from the world's material change. The peace reform was the most distinctly international reform of any of the major humanitarian movements of the pre-Civil War period.

Amasa Walker belonged to the second line of peace men so far as time of entrance into the movement was concerned. To William Ladd belongs the credit for attempting and organizing a national peace society. He was a wealthy man, a graduate of Harvard and a citizen of Minot, Maine. In the latter half of the 1820's he had promoted and became president of


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the American Peace Society. He was aided in these first years by
Noah Worcester, Samuel J. May, William E. Channing, Thomas S. Grimké,
Lewis Tappan and many others. In the next decade new workers were added
to the ranks of those interested in the peace cause. In this second
line came such men as William Jay, John G. Whittier, William Lloyd Garr-
ison, Amasa Walker, Francis Wayland, Gerritt Smith, Charles Sumner,
Elihu Burritt and others. By his own statement Walker joined this move-
ment about 1832 and never ceased to interest himself in it until his
death. The early peace men were almost without exception interested in
other reforms. Ladd had been more exclusive in his interests than most.
William Jay, who for a decade was president of the society, was extremely
active in the temperance movement. Sumner considered himself the ex-
ponent of two primary causes, antislavery and peace. Gerritt Smith was
a radical abolitionist, and Garrison, though a sincere peace man, looked
upon antislavery as the most pressing reform to be urged. Walker and
Elihu Burritt while far from being exclusive peace men in their humani-
tarian interests probably more than the others looked upon this cause
as their first concern. Burritt's other reform interests never really
rivalled his peace affections; one, Ocean Penny Postage, was in many ways
a derivative of the peace movement; and the cause of compensated emanci-
pation which engaged his attention briefly in the fifties was temporary
when compared with his more lasting peace affiliations.

Walker declared that in the thirty years between 1832 and 1862 he
spent "more time and money in laboring to advance it [i.e. peace] than
in any other reform movement." Walker said he was drawn to the peace
cause because of his great interest in the broad, world scope of the
movement, and because it was not so popular or prosperous as most of the
other contemporary reforms. Burritt, too, felt that the biggest difference between the peace cause and others was its world character, while antislavery, temperance and the rest could be dealt with as individual problems. While in some respects the peace movement suffered from the diverse interests of its sponsors, the same could be said for every other cause of the day. It was a part of the entire system of humanitarian enterprises of the first half of the nineteenth century and cannot be seen apart from them. Some of the active peace men were practical men whose opinions in business and legislative councils counted for something. In fact, small as the active peace following was, it had as good representation in government councils as any cause with the exception, in the last years, of antislavery. The influence of Charles Sumner, Free Soil and Republican Senator from Massachusetts, was always to be felt in favor of peace in these years. His best expression of peace sentiments was to be found in two speeches hailed by peace men everywhere, "The True Grandeur of Nations" and "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations." Both Guritt Smith and Amasa Walker put what weight they could exert in favor of peace; Walker in Massachusetts and Smith in Congress.

From the time that Walker entered the American Peace Society there was a controversy in progress over the justice of defensive warfare. William Ladd and most of the earliest peace workers at first admitted the right of defensive warfare. In writing about Ladd's stand Elihu Burritt declared that he held the same position in regard to war.

\footnote{\textit{MS. Autobiography}, II, 23.}
\footnote{Elihu Burritt, "Introduction" in John Hemmenway, \textit{The Apostle of Peace}, 6-7. Burritt sent this "Introduction" to Amasa Walker for corrections and approval before he let it be published. -- Merle Curti, \textit{The Learned Blacksmith}, 177-178, quoting Elihu Burritt to J. B. Miles, Sept. 20, 1871.}
\footnote{Guritt Smith was elected to Congress in 1853. He believed in compensated emancipation.}
as did the first temperance advocates who did not object to moderate
or occasional drinking. Both peace and temperance men, said Burritt,
soon saw how "the fatal precedent will plead with the voice of grow-
ing appetite."\(^5\) In coming to the position that all war was unlawful
and inconsistent with the teachings of Christ, Ladd had been influenced
by one Henry C. Wright. In 1823 Andover Seminary had given Wright a
license to preach. From that time on he had interested himself in Wo-
men's Rights, Temperance, Antislavery, Christian Education, and to a
lesser extent in Peace. However, in 1833 he is said to have taken William
Ladd to task because of his countenance of defensive war -- had done so
in spite of the fact that Ladd was the best-known exponent of peace and
Wright comparatively unknown to the movement. Ladd had, no doubt, been
pondering this question for long. At any rate very shortly he took the
radical position and condemned all wars, defensive as well as offensive.\(^6\)
The American Peace Society had been evading the issue for several years,
but Ladd, as editor of the society's periodical printed arguments on
both sides of the case. But in 1836 while acting as an agent of the
Peace Society Wright had denied the right of "a civil magistrate to pun-
ish by the sword" and Ladd had been forced to announce that such a
principle he held on his own responsibility. The Peace Society, through
the executive committee, dismissed him from his agency. He had not,
however, lost caste, in fact in that year he had succeeded in revising
the constitution to outlaw defensive war, and most of the members, in-
cluding Amasa Walker continued to remain in the society. Even the con-

\(^5\)Burritt, op. cit., 13.
\(^6\)This account follows Merle Curti, "Non-Resistance in New England."
The New England Quarterly, II, 35-36 (Jan., 1929) who credits Wright
with considerable influence over Ladd in the matter of his position on
defensive war.
\(^7\)Ladd edited The Harbinger of Peace, 1823-1831.
servative correspondiing secretary, George Beckwith, concluded that it
was better to stay in the old society, that it should be broad enough
to include all the friends of peace.⁸ The biggest defection was to
come, however, from the radical non-resistants rather than from the
conservatives. In 1833 at the annual meeting Wright, supported by
William Lloyd Garrison who went the whole way with him on the issue of
non-resistance,⁹ got a motion passed to call a peace convention during
the year.¹⁰ In the years preceding the calling of the peace convention
Walker had become one of the outstanding members, a vice president and
also held a position on the executive committee, along with Charles Sum-
nier, George C. Beckwith, Ralph Waldo Emerson and others. ¹¹ Previously
he had been on the Peace Society's board of directors from Massachusetts.¹²
The committee in the winter of 1837 and 1838 conducted a course of
lectures on peace in Boston, at which Emerson, Channing, Ladd, Samuel
J. May, Henry Ware, Jr., ¹³ Rufus Stebbins;¹⁴ and Amasa Walker were the

⁸Dr. William Allen of Bowdoin left the society because of its "radical-
ism" at this time. --Curti, Non-Resistance in New England." The New
⁹Garrison secured the adoption of this sentiment in the American Anti-
Slavery Society in 1833: "Our principles forbid the doing of evil that
good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to re-
ject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage ....
Our measures shall be such only as the opposition of error by the potency
of the truth -- the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love -- and
the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance." -- Ernest Crosby,
Garrison The Non-Resistant, 30-31.
¹⁰Curti, loc. cit., 41-42.
¹¹Advocate of Peace, June, 1837, William Ladd, An Essay on a Congress of
Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to
Arms, appendix, No. 9. Edson L. Whitney, The American Peace Society A
Centennial History, 42.
¹²American Advocate of Peace, I, June, 1835.
¹³Ware was an important Unitarian minister who succeeded Noah Worcester
as editor of the Christian Disciple.
¹⁴Stebbins was also a Unitarian minister interested in temperance and
antislavery as well as peace.
speakers. Due to lack of funds these speeches were not printed, with
the exception of Emerson's which survives as his well-known Essay on
War. Throughout the thirties Ladd was usually acknowledged as the
leader of the cause. As President of the American Peace Society his
contact with Walker and other members of the executive committee was
very close. He was frequently in Boston in the interest of the cause.
When there he made Walker's house his home. Walker admired most his
singleness of purpose and undivided interest in the cause of peace, a
rare characteristic in most of his fellow reformers. As for his great-
est contribution to the cause, aside from his promotion of a national
peace organization, Walker thought it to be his insistence on international
action: the advocacy of a "High Court of Arbitration, and a Congress of
Nations." Walker, himself, gave much of his attention to this point
while a delegate to the 1849 World Peace Convention.

Walker was one of the members of the committee to arrange for a
Peace Convention to be held sometime in 1838, and he took an important
part in the meeting. In fact he was conspicuous enough for Merle Curti
in describing the convention to list him as "among those who most markedly
enjoyed the gift of tongues" in the convention. Others similarly described
were Wright, and Garrison, prime movers in the calling of the meeting,
Jendell Phillips, Adin Ballou, Bronson Alcott, Abbey Kelley "in her modest
dress," and William Ladd. The convention met September 13, 1838 in

15Whitney, op. cit., 46.
16See pages 25 3-256.
17Other members of the committee were Samuel J. May, Chairman, Henry C.
Wright, George Trask and Edmund Quincy. -- Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L.
Drummond, eds., Letters of Theodore Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and
Sarah Grimké 1828-1844, II, 686.
18Curti, loc. cit., 43. All of these were well known names in reform
circles.
the auditorium consecrated to reforms, the Marlboro' Chapel.

Wright introduced a resolution to the effect that "According to
the Gospel of Christ no man and no government, had the right to take the
life of man, on any pretext whatever." The resolution carried, but not
without protest. Amasa Walker moved that a resolution declaring that
human life was "inviolable and can never be taken without sin against
God" should be substituted for the one offered by Wright. Ladd supported
Walker's substitute motion, but they were defeated by a radical majority.
This was not the end so far as the Non-Resistants were concerned. They
pushed their advantage farther, and voted to form a new society based on
"non-resistance to enemies in all cases whatever." A new organization
was formed inside the framework of the 1863 peace convention. Walker,
who ultimately voted against them, was President Pro Temp of the conven-
tion and one of its vice presidents. 19 The Non-Resistants, who had a
majority, drew up a constitution in which it was declared that the mem-
ers "cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can
we oppose any such government by a resort to physical force. We recog-
nize but one king and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of Mankind. We are
bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world, the subjects
of which are forbidden to fight, in which Mercy and Truth are met to-
gether, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. We register
our testimony, not only against all war, but against all preparation for
war." The constitution admitted women as members, a good indication that
the Garrisonian reformers were in the ascendancy. Walker and Ladd both
considered themselves believers in non-resistance yet they could not go
the whole way with the new Non-Resistant constitution. Ladd was slow to

part company with the Non-Resistants for, as Garrison said, he went nineteen-twentieths of the way with them. Despite Walker's close connection with those instrumental in calling the meeting he finally broke with them. It was expected before the meeting met that "only pretty thorough men", would attend the convention. Expecting to have things their own way the radicals planned their tactics in advance. Garrison wrote to Edmund Quincy asking him and George W. Benson "to lay your heads together and concoct a Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution .... Especially try to fix upon a name of the association -- something that shall convey the idea of the principle of the movement: the anti-man-killing principle." He wrote him also that Wright and May were going to find a name too and "I [Garrison] shall apply to Amasa Walker here to assist me in concocting something of the kind...." The name, the "Non-Resistance Society" was Garrison's suggestion it seems likely, chosen in all probability without Walker's help. Samuel J. May who was chairman of the committee asked Garrison to give a report on the principles of Christianity and forgiveness of criminals. Walker was asked to prepare a report on military parades and titles, other "thorough men" were likewise requested to make reports, the assignments all being "inter nos," as May wrote Garrison. For all his thoroughness, however, and Walker was listed among the radical pacifists in 1838, he could not agree with the majority on re-

20 Curti, loc. cit., 45-47.
21 Edmund Quincy was a Garrisonian abolitionist, contributed to the Liberty Bell, edited the Anti-Slavery Standard, became a member of the Non-Resistance Society and contributed to its magazine, the Non-Resistant. Benson was an important peace reformer.
23 This is the story told by Garrison's children in Ibid., 229.
24 Ibid., 223.
fusing to use the franchise. He informed them he could not see the propriety of refusing "to exercise the franchise, or to take part in the civil duties and responsibilities of society."\textsuperscript{25} The new Non-Resistance Society grew slowly and was not very generally approved. The American Peace Society, whose executive committee Walker continued to serve, did not accept it, nor did the New York Peace Society.

The disturbance caused by the formation of the Non-Resistance Society and Ladd's death in 1841 reduced the strength of the American Peace Society. A committee composed of George C. Beckwith, Walker and J. P. Blanchard issued a call for funds in 1841 through the \textit{Advocate of Peace}. They gave the death of Ladd as the cause of reduced contributions. He had himself contributed generously to the support of the society, the same paper carried a notice of his bequests, sixty dollars a month for life to his wife, two thousand dollars to his relatives and the remainder was to be given to the Peace Society.\textsuperscript{27}

J. P. Blanchard, George C. Beckwith and Amasa Walker were the leaders who in the early forties took the place of Ladd. It was they who consulted with Joseph Sturge, the English reformer, when he was in this country. Sturge visited the United States primarily in the interest of the antislavery movement, but he was connected with the peace movement in England too. The American Peace Society called a meeting to give its members a chance to meet Sturge. Walker was chairman of the meeting and Blanchard was chosen secretary. In his address to the society Sturge suggested that it would be a good plan to begin working for a con-

\textsuperscript{26}William Lloyd Garrison by his Children, II, 242. 
\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Advocate of Peace}, Aug., 1841. The amount to be turned over to the society was not mentioned. \textit{Ladd died in April, 1841}. 

vention of the friends of peace of all nations. This world convention
should consider the pressing problem of the best method of settling
international disputes. The meeting resolved to accept the suggestion
of Sturge for a world peace convention to meet sometime in the future
in London. The executive committee was charged with the duty of con-
sulting and corresponding with peace men in other countries who were
interested in the proposal. 28

On his return to England Sturge presented the American Peace
Society's resolution incorporating his suggestion to call a world peace
conference in London to the London Peace Society. The committee of the
London Society was favorably disposed and in 1842 decided to call such
a convention. In the preparations Sturge played an important part. The
meeting was called to meet in London in June, 1843. 29 In this country
Walker did his part in building up interest in the coming convention.
After Sturge had made his proposal to the American Peace Society Walker
wrote an article in the Advocate of Peace called "The Cause of Peace
Practicable" in which he showed that there was no justification for
the feeling -- which many held -- that peace was an "impractical" cause.
He said it was every bit as possible as the abolition of the slave trade
had been when Wilberforce first began agitating for it. Then finally,
he argued, the peace movement could be made much more practical by
calling a "Congress of Nations."

In the time between the recommendation of the American Peace Society
for a world convention in 1841 and the actual meeting in 1843 Walker, as
professor of political economy, went to teach in Oberlin. The reform

28 Joseph Sturge, A Visit to the United States in 1841, 173-175.
29 Henry Richard, Memoir of Joseph Sturge, 352-353.
interests of Oberlin had first attracted Walker's favorable attention while his show of interest in the institution and his reform activities had led Oberlin to offer him a position. In going there he had a fertile field for peace work. The peace cause had been comparatively neglected in Oberlin, not apparently because of lack of interest, but because other reforms, especially abolition, temperance and coeducation had preempted the field. In speaking of his coming to Oberlin James Fairchild in his history of Oberlin wrote that in "one respect he went beyond even Oberlin radicalism in his principles of reform. He was a 'peace man,' not an ultra 'non-resistant,' but he regarded war, under all conditions, as sinful. His coming was the occasion of earnest but friendly discussion of the rightfulness of defensive war."  

There were two schools of thought in regard to peace in Oberlin. One group, the followers of the New England Non-Resistance Society led by Henry C. Wright, William Lloyd Garrison and Adin Ballou, had organized on June 18, 1840, before Walker's arrival, the Oberlin Non-Resistance Society. The society was composed wholly of students, and did not have the institution's stamp of approval. The faculty took no part in this organization, in fact, some of them denounced the organization (basing their criticism probably on the character of some of the other reforms urged by their New England Non-Resistance leaders) as "anarchistic."  

The conservative pacifists though more numerous and important, did not organize a society as soon as the Non-Resistants. Walker's leadership and encouragement seems to have been the signal for the larger
group of pacifists in Oberlin to unite in a peace organization. One hundred and fifty colonists and faculty, perhaps some students, signed a call for this first meeting. It was held in the chapel, March 21, 1843, and was called to order by Hamilton Hill, the Secretary Treasurer of Oberlin, but Amasa Walker was elected the permanent chairman, with Henry C. Taylor, editor of the Oberlin Evangelist, as secretary. A constitution was brought forward for consideration, but the proposal for its adoption met with much discussion. Without doubt the Non-Resistants had a good delegation present and their objections held up the meeting. Since no conclusion was reached in the first meeting in regard to the constitution a second meeting was called for March 25. At this meeting the committee on the constitution, of which Walker was a member, presented a new constitution which was adopted. "Believing that the moral wrongs," stated the constitution, "and evils involved in war are immensely great, and that their appropriate remedy -- under God -- lies in regenerating the public sentiment of Christendom on this subject, we ... organize ourselves into a Peace Society." Their declaration further read: "We believe that the Spirit of War is utterly opposed to the Spirit of the gospel .... The manner in which nations prepare for war in time of peace, we hold, ... engenders the war spirit ... and rests our main national defense on ... the sword, rather than man's innate conviction of right, and God's protecting providence." What more perfect statement of the reformers' belief in the perfectibility of man through a guiding providence could be found? Refusing to go the whole way with the Non-Resistants the constitution made this declaration in regard to civil

32See page 202, f. n.
government: "Living as we do, under a government whose principles and laws in respect to war we cannot approve, we feel bound, 1. To labor by all appropriate means, for the correction of whatever we deem wrong; and 2. To yield obedience to Civil authority so far as it does not seem to us, to conflict with the authority of God and no farther."

In writing a memoir of Amos Dresser, Walker wrote favorably of his peace convictions, thereby furnishing a good statement of his own views. He stated that Dresser took the "highest ground in regard to war," that is, that all "war is sinful for whatever purpose declared or waged." He "is not a technical non-resistant," he wrote, "and does not affiliate with those who repudiate the ballot-box and all connection with government." 35

Without doubt Walker had been interesting the Oberlin reformers in the coming world peace conference for at the same meeting at which the constitution was adopted delegates to the international conference to be held in London that summer were elected. Three of the four chosen were officers in the society and connected with the Oberlin Institute: William Dawes, president of the newly formed society and two vice presidents, Hamilton Hill and Amasa Walker. In addition Henry C. Taylor, editor of the Oberlin Evangelist and all-round reformer, was the fourth delegate elected to represent the Oberlin Peace Society in London in June. 36

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33 The account of the meeting, the constitution and a list of officers were published in The Oberlin Evangelist, May 10, 1843.
34 Amos Dresser had been one of the first students at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, he later went to Oberlin. He was an active temperance, abolition and peace reformer.
35 Amasa Walker, Memoir of Rev. Amos Dresser, A Descendant of Robert Cushman, the Puritan, S. Henry C. Wright, however, considered Dresser a non-resistant. -- Curti, loc. cit., 48.
36 The Oberlin Evangelist, May 10, 1843.
The general date fixed for the congress had been determined at a meeting of English workers on May 14, in London. The meetings were held in Freemason's Tavern June 22, 23, 24, 1843 and attended by 18 of the 36 Americans who had been appointed as delegates. Just 6 of the 334 delegates appointed represented continental Europe, the remaining 292 were British peace men. Walker was the only one of the delegates elected by the Oberlin Society to attend the congress. Though he was listed on the roll of the convention as a representative of the American Peace Society, being a member of that society too, in the Proceedings he was always referred to as professor of political economy at Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Walker took an active part in the organization discussions of the congress. From the moment he seconded the motion to make Charles Hindley, M. P., president of the meeting until he joined in presenting a peace memorial to Louis Philippe of France, at the end of the congress, he was occupied with the promotion of the cause. He was one of three American delegates elected as vice presidents of the convention. All three of them, John Tappan of Boston, Thomas Cock of New York, and Walker were vice presidents of the American Peace Society.

This first convention was important mainly because it was the first one of its kind. Joseph Sturte had worked very hard to make it a success. In the midst of the preparations the secretary of the London Peace Society, the Rev. N. M. Harry, died suddenly. The problem of find-
ing someone to carry out the arrangements was a difficult one, but the committee of the society chose the Rev. John Jefferson, and he did a creditable piece of work.\textsuperscript{41} The newspapers, for all the importance with which the reformers looked upon their work, paid little heed to the meeting. As a matter of fact the topics discussed were not of a very practical character in the main. The cause had not yet enlisted in its active support such men of affairs as Richard Cobden and John Bright. They, and many others, in England were more occupied with more pressing and immediate causes, the franchise reform, the Anti-Corn Law League, prison reform and antislavery. The whole tone of the 1843 convention was dominantly religious. The deeply religious atmosphere which pervaded the meeting can be seen in one of the important speeches of the meeting. The speech was given by the Rev. John Burnet and he discussed "The Essential Sinfulness of War, and Its Direct Opposition to the Spirit and Precepts of Christianity, the Prosperity of Nations, and the True Interests of Mankind." The subject was considered still farther when the paper was referred to a committee on the Sinfulness of War of which Walker and eight others were members.\textsuperscript{42}

H. T. J. McNamara, a British delegate, read a paper on "The Practical Means of Carrying out Those Principles, and Also Particularly to Notice the Suggestions which have been Laid before the Public by Judge Jay, and the Late William Ladd, Esq., and State the Facts of which These Suggestions May be Supported or Otherwise." The writer of the paper supported Judge William Jay's proposal to insert a clause in all conventional treaties between nations, binding the parties to submit all differences

\textsuperscript{41}Richard, \textit{op. cit.}, 352-353. 
\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Proceedings} of the First Peace Convention, 1843, 8-9.
of an international nature to the arbitration of a friendly power or
powers. 43 A resolution favoring Jay's plan had been passed in 1841
by the American Peace Society at the meeting where Joseph Sturge
suggested the calling of a world peace conference. 44 McNamara pointed
out that Jay's plan for international arbitration was a practical and
simple one. He believed further, and proposed, that if the arbitration
proposal were adopted it would lead to the adoption of another plan,
that is, to William Ladd's proposal for a "Congress of Nations", and a
"Court of Nations." He believed that a congress "consisting of wise and
good men of all countries" should undertake to remodel the present code
of international law. The Court of Nations would be set up to deal with
international disputes which could be settled judicially. McNamara's
paper asked the world convention to consider the possibility and practi-
cability of this plan. In the meantime he asked peace men to try to se-
cure an amendment to the international law code, and try to prevent war
by petition whenever a threatening situation arose. Further, peace
men, declared his paper, could and should at once begin to discourage
military parades and the building of military monuments for they both
tended to "foster the war-spirit." They could set to work at once to
repeal all laws for compulsory military service, and to remove unnecessary
restrictions on trade and commerce, which helped to hold nations apart
and engendered distrust and suspicion. 45

43 Ibid., 21-22.
44 Sturge, op. cit., 175.
45 Ladd's plan was set forth in his book, An Essay on a Congress of
Nations.
46 Proceedings of the First Peace Convention, 1843, 21-22.
This paper was also referred to a committee for recommendations. The committee, of which Amasa Walker was chairman, included also Amos A. Phelps, of the American Peace Society, the author of the paper, Joseph Sturge, and a few others. It recommended "to governments, members of legislative bodies, and public functionaries, the adoption of the principle of ARBITRATION for the adjustment of all international differences and that stipulations be introduced into all international treaties, to provide for this mode of adjustment...." Furthermore the committee recommended that the convention should keep in view the eventual establishment of a CONGRESS OF NATIONS "to settle and perfect the code of international law," and a HIGH COURT OF NATIONS, "to interpret and apply that law for the settlement of all... disputes." These recommendations were adopted and in addition resolutions calling for the organization of more peace societies, the use of the press to popularize peace ideas, opposition to military training in schools and colleges and protests against the manufacture of war weapons.\textsuperscript{47}

Two British delegates withdrew from the convention because they did not approve of the meeting's resolutions to call upon "the governments of this world" to put down war. They declared this was going beyond the function of the congress, their plan was first to make men Christian and then call on "individual Christians" to put down war.\textsuperscript{48} So despite the extremely religious atmosphere of the convention there were two who withdrew thinking the principles of Christianity had not been applied far enough.

Before the end of the convention Walker and four others were chosen

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., 33-34.
\textsuperscript{48}Ibid., 20-21.
as a committee to present a copy of the resolutions which had been adopted to the King of France, Louis Philippe, at his palace at Neuilly. The interview was arranged through Guizot, the prime minister, who introduced them. Louis Philippe received them cordially and encouraged them by saying, "I think the time is coming when we shall get rid of war entirely in all civilized countries. They are beginning to learn more wisdom."  

Walker remained in Europe, most of the time in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, until October of that year before returning home. He took part in public meetings while visiting there and had a chance to come in contact with many of the English reformers. In a letter which he wrote to Elisabeth Pease, the English reformer, when he was about to leave England he recorded some of his impressions while traveling there.

"I have seen," he wrote her, "a great deal in the character of the people to admire and love and much in their institutions to deplore." The oppression of the working classes especially in the great industrial centers about Lancaster, depressed him. He believed the political and economic life of England was determined by a great oligarchy which perpetrated all manner of injustices. "Your nobility," he wrote, "I have come to regard in the same light as our slaveholders. I put them in the same category. What do you think of that?"

Henry C. Wright, one of the prime movers in the New England Non-Resistance Society, was in England in the same summer as was Walker.

50 He spoke at one large meeting in Exeter Hall along with George Beech with and John Tappan. -- Advocate of Peace, Oct.-Nov., 1843.
51 Sept. 30, 1843 (Garrison MSS.)
They traveled and spoke together for some time. Wright remained in England after Walker went back. A large part of Walker's letter to Elizabeth Pease had to do with Wright. Wright had gone to England attempting to win over the London Peace Society to the side of non-resistance. Wright continued to be a member of the American Peace Society and attended most of its meetings even after the formation of the Non-Resistance Society in 1838.\(^5\) Despite their differences over non-resistance the two were very great friends. Walker had great respect for Wright's ability, but was afraid that he would neglect to care for himself and become ill when he had no one to protect him from himself. As he wrote Elizabeth Pease "his mania for writing and speaking are so great that unless you and his other friends here keep a constant eye upon him he will inevitably sacrifice himself." He asked her to try to convince Wright that carefulness should be with him a "matter of conscience," and to "keep him from becoming a suicide" (by which he meant, of course, killing himself with peace work). Having discharged his responsibility in regard to his fellow worker, Wright, Walker sailed for home, October 4 on the Hibernia.\(^5\) Walker continued to keep in touch with Wright's work in England where he continued to work even after Garrison in 1844 wrote him that their Non-Resistance Society had "had only a nominal existence during the past year .... It is without an organ, without funds, without agents, without a publication."\(^5\)

After his arrival in the United States Amasa continued more

\(^5\)Sept. 30, 1843 (Garrison MSS.).
\(^5\)Curti, *loc. cit.*, 51-52.
actively than ever to promote the peace cause. He was living in North Brookfield, devoting himself for the first time in his life almost exclusively to humanitarian reforms. He had now no active business cares and was not teaching as he had done the year before. Soon after his return he helped celebrate the closing of the last groggeries in his native town, attended the Anti-Slavery Fair in Boston and brought George C. Beckwith, secretary of the American Peace Society, to his town to lecture on peace. In January he went with others of the committee from the American Peace Society to Washington, D.C. and held public peace meetings in the capital. They also presented the memorial adopted by the London Convention in regard to the insertion of an arbitration clause in treaties between nations to the President of the United States.  

Into his own North Brookfield Peace Society Walker put much effort during 1844. The Advocate of Peace carried an article in that year about that society. Deacon Tyler and Ezra Batcheller, the shoe manufacturers, were prominent in the North Brookfield society; "their venerable and excellent Pastor," wrote the Advocate, "had always welcomed our servants with cordiality to his pulpit." Dr. Snell, the pastor, referred to, was listed as early as 1835 as one of the New England ministers pledged to preach at least once a year on the subject of peace. In addition there was Walker, about whom the Advocate wrote: "Prof. Walker, when in health, is a host in himself ...." The large contributions made by the North Brookfield Peace Society were especially encouraging to the American Peace Society 55

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55 Amasa Walker to Richard D. Webb, Jan. 5, 1844 (Garrison MSS.).
56 Advocate of Peace, Feb., 1844.
58 Advocate of Peace, Feb., 1844.
1844 saw considerable strife in the American Peace Society. The secretary, George C. Beckwith, leading the moderates, declared that defensive war was justifiable. Walker, Elihu Burritt, Samuel J. May and others refused to accept this principle. The previous year Walker had been active in discussions on this subject with the majority of the members of the American Peace Society and participated to some extent in the more radical organization, the Non-Resistance Society, in this year; he never ceased being a vice president of the older organization. When Adin Ballou became president of the Non-Resistance Society in 1843 he took measures to resuscitate its publication, The Practical Christian. Walker wrote to him in 1844 that the paper "breathes a good spirit." He told him he thought that it was worthy of its name, that it did really advocate practical Christianity. He complimented Ballou for his stand on "all the great interests of humanity," especially peace, which he considered "the crowning 'glory of Christianity.'"

In 1845 Walker was actively participating in the American Peace Society and introduced a resolution in the annual meeting to call a world conference in Boston on the last Wednesday of May, 1846 "or at such time as may be deemed expedient on consultation." This convention never took place due to the war feeling over the Mexican War. In 1846 Elihu Burritt was not so well known in the peace movement as were many others. When in that year he went to England for the first time Amasa

59 Record of the American Peace Society, MSS., passim.
60 Newspaper clipping in Sealed Ballot & Co. The letter seems to have been printed in the Practical Christian sometime in 1844, as the letter was dated, Oct. 1, 1844.
61 Whitney, op. cit., 85.
wrote a letter of introduction for him to Elisabeth Pease. He asked her to see that he met the English reformers, saying that he was greatly "beloved on this side of the Atlantic and I think will be esteemed by the good every where he is known."62 Burritt began lecturing on peace in 1845 in western Massachusetts and helped edit the Advocate of Peace.63 In that year he was invited by the literary societies of Oberlin to be their commencement speaker. This choice without doubt seems to have been influenced by his good friend, Amasa Walker. Burritt declined the invitation because of ill health, but he wrote that he had planned and anticipated the tour all year and hated to give it up. He was especially sad to be deprived of a chance to see "my dear friend Prof. Walker, whose heart beats true and strong to the cause of humanity."64

Walker and Burritt were closely associated in peace work throughout 1845 when they together with six other friends of peace "without any special authority from the American Peace Society" conducted a series of peace lectures in western Massachusetts. In addition to Walker and Burritt, Blanchard, Coues and Aaron Foster took part.65 Meetings were held in North Brookfield, Chicopee, Westfield and finally at Hartford, Connecticut.66 About this time Burritt consulted Amasa Walker, Samuel Coues and J. P. Blanchard concerning a plan of his devised to present peace propaganda in the newspapers. Burritt wanted to furnish 26 original articles each week, for as many papers, "one in

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62June 14, 1846 (Garrison MSS.)
63Whitney, op. cit., 80.
64"Oberlin Evangelist", Aug. 14, 1845. Walker gave a short course of lectures in 1845 in Oberlin. See page 211.
65All of these men were active in peace work and connected with the American Peace Society.
66Advocate of Peace, Jan., 1845.
each state of the Union." He argued that if the articles were sent as manuscripts to the editor they would receive more attention than a printed article sent out from some Boston Peace Office. He also urged that the articles should be sent as manuscripts for individuals in different states, not have all of them come from New England. The New England attitude toward the Mexican War was not popular in many parts of the country and apparently Burritt realized it, but the others vetoed his plan and he wrote in his diary "I went back to the Marlboro' chagrined and disheartened at the issue of what I thought to be a magnificent system of effort."\footnote{Merle Curti, The Learned Blacksmith, 42-43, quoting from Burritt's Journals, MS., Friday, Jan., 31, 1845.}

In 1846 the Worcester County Peace Society was organized with Amasa Walker president and Elihu Burritt corresponding secretary, but the year was an uneasy one for the cause of peace. The Oregon and Mexican questions caused a great deal of dissention in the American Peace Society. At the annual meeting in that year Amasa Walker was one of the speakers. \footnote{Catherine A. Frederic, Phases of the Movement for International Peace in the United States 1846-1860, MS. In this work the author has compiled a convenient list of speakers, officers etc., of the American Peace Society between 1846 and 1860.} Some of the radicals there demanded the dissolution of the federal union and called for a policy which would block the government's war aims. The conservatives were shocked by such suggestions. The trouble came to a head a month later when Couse, the president, Blanchard, the treasurer, Amasa Walker, member of the executive committee and a good many more officers and others resigned their offices. Elihu Burritt who was then editing the Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood finished out his year and then turned...
the paper over to the conservatives headed by George S. Beckwith. It was a strange coincidence which permitted Burritt to sail for England on the boat which carried the news of the settlement of the Oregon question. He had decided in the summer of 1846 to visit England for three months and consult with the peace reformers there. Before this he and an associate had set up another peace organ, The Christian Citizen which was published in Worcester, Massachusetts. The friends of peace in England were soon after his arrival working with him on plans for a League of Universal Brotherhood. Walker's letter introducing Burritt to Elisabeth Pease had commended him to all good English reformers with whom Amasa had become acquainted while in England in 1843. He warned her against letting Burritt speak too much. "Like your friend, H. C. W[right] he is in feeble health, and needs much advice, for like him he is very impulsive, but unlike him has small power of endurance in public speaking." Joseph Sturge, as Walker wrote his friend, Hamilton Hill in Oberlin, was Burritt's main helper in England. Burritt's plan to form a League of Universal Brotherhood based upon the signing of a peace pledge had probably been formulated before he left the United States. While he was editor of the Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood (the changed name of the paper might indicate something) he conducted an exchange of letters between English and American merchants. The plan had first been suggested by Joseph Crosfield, a merchant of Manchester, in the Manchester Times.

Whitney, op. cit., 81-82.
69
70Mihu Burritt, Ten-Minute Talks on All Sorts of Topics, 20-21.
71June 14, 1846 (Garrison MSS.).
72Ibid.
73Sept. 13, 1846 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
Burritt had these letters reprinted as "olive leaves" and sent to newspapers all over this country. \(^74\) The source of Burritt's idea for the League of Universal Brotherhood, especially the idea of the pledge, may very likely have come from his friend, Amasa Walker. He has by some been given credit for originating the plan. \(^75\) Whether or not the germinal idea came from Walker or not, he always took great interest in Burritt's organisation and in his paper, *The Christian Citizen*.

Before Burritt had been in England very long Walker wrote to an Oberlin friend, "I suppose you see Mr. Burritt's paper and observe how grandly he is getting on in England. He writes me by every steamer and his letters are most cheering." \(^76\) He then enclosed a Pledge of Universal Brotherhood which he asked his Oberlin friends to please fill "with additional names in Oberlin." When they had a good list there he wanted to have it published in the *Citizen*, he wrote. He said Burritt had asked him particularly to get signatures for the League's pledge among the students at Oberlin. \(^77\) In a letter to the same man earlier he had written that Joseph Sturtevant was "at his right hand" and he believed the League of Universal Brotherhood was a project which would go and "be a great blessing to the world." \(^78\)

Those who signed the peace pledge were not necessarily members of peace societies. This is the pledge: "Believing all war to be inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and destructive of the best interests of mankind, I do hereby pledge myself never to enlist or enter

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\(^74\) Whitney, *op. cit.*, 85-86.
\(^75\) *Oberlin Evangelist*, Sept. 26, 1849 gives Walker credit for originating the idea of the League of Universal Brotherhood, and the pledge against war.
\(^76\) Unfortunately none of these letters have been found.
\(^77\) *To Hamilton Hill, Dec. 6, 1846 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).*
\(^78\) *ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1846 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
into any army or navy, or to yield any voluntary support or sanction to any war, by whomsoever or for whatsoever proposed, declared, or waged. And I do hereby associate myself with all persons, of whatever country, color, or condition, who have signed, or shall hereafter sign, this pledge, in a League of Universal Brotherhood, whose object shall be, to employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of all war, and the spirit and manifestations of war throughout the world; for the abolition of all restrictions upon international correspondence and friendly intercourse, 79 and of whatever else tends to make enemies of nations, or prevents their fusion into one peaceful brotherhood; for the abolition of all institutions and customs which do not recognize and respect the image of God and a human brother in every man, of whatever clime, color, or condition of humanity. 80

In 1846 Walker was very busy enlarging and remodelling his house, and did not go out to Oberlin to deliver his lectures on political economy. 81 The business of house building was unpleasant to him and "has almost entirely prevented me," he wrote, "from doing good in every direction. I hope however soon to be relieved so as to have my time and means more at my command." 82 He encouraged as much peace activity at home and among his Oberlin friends as he could. He wrote William Dawes, the financial agent of Oberlin in 1846, that George Sturge 83 and other English reformers were not satisfied with Oberlin's peace work. "I ... tell thee freely," Sturge had written Walker, "That I am a little dis-

79 This led to the espousal of the Ocean Penny Postage cause. See chapter XX.
80 Burritt, op. cit., 21.
81 Amasa Walker to Elisabeth Pease, June 14, 1846 (Garrison MSS.), and Amasa Walker to Hamilton Hill, Dec. 6, 1846 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
82 Ibid.
83 Whether he meant George Sturge or Joseph is not quite clear. It is entirely possible that there was a George Sturge who was also interested in reforms, but his name is not known as is that of Joseph Sturge if so.
appointed with my Oberlin friends about it [peace]. How is it that there is so little interest taken in the subject in the Institution? It is now I believe a year since I wrote and offered a certain sum for a prize essay in connexion with this subject .... I really thought it would have been a fit subject for the students at Oberlin and the other colleges, and to be open to young Ladies too .... Do be kind enough to see that our friends do not sleep over the subject."  

Walker seconded Sturge's sentiments and suggested that the faculty or trustees at once call the attention of the students to this matter. Walker, knowing the strict religious views held at Oberlin, suggested that if any of the faculty and students disapproved of the prize essay "on the score of exciting emulation, the sum might be equally divided among all the competitors, if thought best."  

His reminder to his Oberlin friends to keep up their peace work may have had some effect for by the next year an Oberlin branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood with Hamilton Hill as secretary had been organized and had made a report to Walker which pleased and encouraged him greatly. For several years after 1846, when Burritt began organizing the League of Universal Brotherhood and securing signatures to the pledge, Walker's main peace activity was through this organization and in its interest. He was the president and addressed the first annual meeting of the American branch of the League. He expressed the

84Mar. 29, 1846 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).  
85Ibid.  
86May 31, 1847 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).  
87Auguste Visscher to Amasa Walker, "Président et aux membres du comité de la Ligue de la fraternité universelle," Feb. 24, 1849. This letter is in the possession of Miss Lucy Walker, Brookline, Massachusetts. (She is a granddaughter of Amasa Walker).
opinion that a large part of the temperance movement's success was due
to the pledge which the friends of temperance signed. This pledge, he
said, was "the foundation of the whole movement." Those who signed
the pledge, he said, not only believed the use of intoxicating beverages
was "injurious but sinful." It was his opinion, therefore, that the
same pledge principle could be used just as effectively in the peace
cause as it had been used in the temperance work. A pledge which re-
quired the signers to practice "the great cardinal principles of Chris-
tianity" would be a good means of uniting "the public sentiment of various
countries" against war and the war spirit. 88 An interesting device used
by peace advocates were gummed paper seals about the size of a small
postage stamp on which was printed some peace quotation. These stamps,
or seals, were then used by peace men to seal their envelopes. At least
two varieties of peace seals were used by Walker, one with this quotation:
"He who makes war a profession, must violate every precept of the Gospel."
Another read: "'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called
the children of God.'" The Savior." 90 Walker frequently wrote upon
league of Universal Brotherhood stationery too. It had a picture of a
white hand clasping a black hand at the top of the page with the League's
pledge printed below. 91

Walker watched the progress of the peace movement in England with
great interest. Burritt wrote him "by almost every mail" he wrote to a
friend, and kept him informed of his work in England. 92 Burritt had

88Burritt's Christian Citizen, June 17, 1848.
89Seals a letter of Amasa Walker to Hamilton Hill, Dec. 6, 1846 (Treas.
Office, Oberlin College).
90Seals a letter of Amasa Walker to William Dawes, Mar. 29, 1846 (Treas.
Office, Oberlin College).
91Amasa Walker to Charles Sumner, n. d. (Summer Letters, Harvard
University).
92To Hamilton Hill, Jan. 23, 1849 (Treas. Office, Oberlin College).
gone out in 1843 intending to stay three months. He actually stayed
two years. He hoped to bring back Henry Vincent, the famous English
peace advocate, when he came home in 1849, but Vincent's first trip
to the United States was not made until 1866. Vincent had been
brought to the attention of peace men in all countries by his famous
speech in the world's peace convention in Brussels in 1848.

The Brussels conference was called as a result of Elihu Burritt's
work with the English peace reformers. They had planned to hold the
meeting in Paris, and had gone there to make arrangements, but the revo-
lutions of that year caused the location to be changed from Paris to
Brussels. Joseph Sturke was still at Burritt's right hand helping him
whenever possible. Henry Richard became secretary of the London Peace
Society in 1848; about that time Richard Cobden and John Bright began
to participate actively in the peace movement. These names added
enormously to the prestige of the peace cause. And although the con-
ference in Brussels did not meet where it had been scheduled it was a
satisfactory meeting at which seven countries were represented. The
British delegates predominated although Auguste Visschers, a Belgian,
was chairman of the meeting. One of the significant recommendations
made at this gathering was that Britain and the United States should
lead the world in disarmament. This motion certainly showed the effect
of the cooperation of peace men between the two countries.

93Ibid.
94William Dorling, Henry Vincent, 58.
96Henry Richard, Memoir of Joseph Sturke, 425. Gavin B. Henderson,
"The Pacifists of the Fifties." The Journal of Modern History, IX
(Sept., 1937), 317.
97Ibid.
The League of Universal Brotherhood in England had united with
the London Society to make the Brussels Peace Congress a success. The
two united the following year in the calling of another peace congress
this time in Paris. Henry Richard, the secretary of the London Peace
Society and Elihu Burritt of the League of Universal Brotherhood made
the arrangements together with an international committee composed among
others of the famous Frenchmen, Frédéric Bastiat and Victor Hugo; Auguste
Visschers, a Belgian and President of the Brussels' Peace Congress,
Richard Cobden and other well known English reformers.

In the United States both the American Peace Society and the
American branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood participated in
the Paris Peace Congress plans. The Worcester County Peace Society
which Burritt and Walker had organized in 1846 before Burritt's departure
for England was the nucleus of the League in this country. Walker had
been president of the original organization and continued to hold that
title after it came to be known as the American branch of the League of
Universal Brotherhood. Walker was active in rounding up delegates
for the congress. He wrote Sumner in the spring of 1849: "...We want
you to go. If that cannot be then we wish you to aid us by inducing
some of your friends to go. We would want Prof. Longfellow. Can't
we get him? The prospect now is that we shall have a fine delegation.
Tickets will be furnished in Train & Co. Sailing Packet for $100 out
Aback ...." And he ended his plea, "Won't you speak to Longfellow
about going to Paris?"

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99 See pages 240-241.
100 Auguste Visschers to Amasa Walker, Feb. 24, 1849 (In the possession
of Miss Lucy Walker, Brookline, Massachusetts).
101 May 8, 1849 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
Although Burritt, Jay and others besides Walker urged Sumner to attend the conference and he was elected by the American Peace Society as a delegate he did not attend the congress. Walker also urged Edward Hitchcock, President of Amherst College, and an influential reformer to attend the Paris Congress, secured for him, in fact, an appointment as a delegate. But Hitchcock too declined the offer, as he said, due to his "broken constitution." Two delegates attended the conference from Oberlin, one of Walker's early fields of peace labor. Hamilton Hill, and President Mahan both attended the Paris meeting.

In the June Christian Citizen Walker outlined a tour for the peace delegates, "thinking that some of our friends who may go out as delegates to the Paris Congress may like to make a tour through different parts of Great Britain." He outlined a 12 or 14 day trip, outside of the time to be spent in London and Paris and estimated the cost would be about $75.00. "It is presumed," he wrote in the same article, "that many of the delegates will go from Paris to Brussels and visit the field of Waterloo. It is easily done, and one is made a better peace man by contemplating the scenes and circumstances of deadly strife, the fortifications and battlements of past ages, and the modern enginery of human destruction."

Walker was corresponding secretary of the American Committee for a Congress of Nations and he did his work thoroughly. Throughout June,


\[103\] Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1849, 99.

\[104\] Burritt's Christian Citizen, June 23, 1849.

\[105\] Ibid., May 26, 1849.
the month before he sailed for the Paris Congress he addressed peace
meetings in numerous New England towns trying to stir up as much inter-
est in the world congress as he could. Twenty delegates sailed for
the meeting in Paris from the United States. This congress like the
preceding one in Brussels was dominated largely by the British.

It included men of a more practical bent than the first World
Congress in London had. In Paris Walker came into contact with Cobden,
Bright and Bastiat whose economic, as well as peace, ideas he admired.
Although the congress was not generally hailed by those outside the
movement it did have many times more influence than the other world
congresses had had. And this was true in spite of the fact that one
writer described the meeting as "an assembly of persons who appeared
to be mainly intent on speaking bad French and making themselves gen-
erally ridiculous. It appears that their object is to abolish all war,
but owing to their political predilections they would only abolish
war when waged by sovereigns against rebels, and not when the case was
reversed." That the sympathy of the members of the congress was
with the numerous revolting minorities about that time cannot be doubted.
Walker wrote Summer after the congress was over that the next object of
Cobden and other English reformers (whom Walker described as "A more
spiritual set of men I never saw") was to organize public meetings in
England to protest against loans being made to the Austrian and Russian
governments to put down the Hungarian revolutions.

106 Ibid., June 9, 1849; June 23, 1849; June 30, 1849.
107 Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1849, 99.
108 H. Anderson, loc. cit., 322, f. n., quoting E. S. Cayley, The Euro-
pean Revolutions of 1848, I, 147, f. n.
109 Sept., 27, 1849 (Summer Letters, Harvard University).
The practical character of the Paris Congress is seen in its consideration of such problems as taxation and war, free trade, disarmament, the establishment of a court of arbitration and a Congress of Nations. Comparing these topics with the narrowly religious agenda of the 1843 London Congress the movement's progress can be determined.\footnote{See pages 232-238 for a discussion of the 1843 convention.}\footnote{Henderson, loc. cit., 321.}\footnote{Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1849, 52. See also pages 301-303 for some of Bastiat's other economic ideas.} John Bright advised his friends not to trouble themselves over the abstract question of whether all war was unlawful and immoral but to consider first the practical questions involved in war. And the French political economist, Bastiat, after showing that large armaments necessarily entailed heavy taxes which because they were not proportionate inflicted injustice "upon the poor to the advantage of the rich" added a further practical note. Speaking for his fellow political economists Bastiat said: "Religion and morality do not endeavor to discover whether the interests of men are antagonistic or harmonious. They say to them: Live in peace, no matter whether it be profitable or hurtful to you for it is your duty to do so. Political economy steps in and adds: Live in peace, for the interests of men are harmonious, and the apparent antagonism which leads them to take up arms is only a gross error. ...It is consoling to think that duty and interest are not two hostile forces ...."\footnote{See pages 232-238 for a discussion of the 1843 convention.}\footnote{Henderson, loc. cit., 321.}\footnote{Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1849, 52. See also pages 301-303 for some of Bastiat's other economic ideas.}

Cobden, too, supported the principle of disarmament saying that even from "the lowest point of view, as a question merely of finance" they were justified in holding a Convention of Nations. "It is time
that the people interfered, and the governments of the world ought to tender you their thanks for having, by this fraternal shaking of hands across the Atlantic and the Channel, facilitated that process of disarmament which is called for alike upon every principle of humanity and sound policy." Cobden warned the assembly that it would not be a simple matter for the congress to teach governments such a simple "arithmetical lesson" because many people in all countries are poking fun at it calling the delegates "fanatics, Utopians, theorists, and dreamers."\(^{113}\) Years later Walker wrote about Cobden's participation in the congress calling him the most influential peace man then living. His "aspirations for universal peace," Walker wrote, "and his full belief in the practicability of its realization, were the natural result of the philosophy which led him to the promotion of commercial intercourse between different states. He saw the folly of war in the same light that he discovered the folly and wickedness of all restrictions upon trade."\(^{114}\)

The Paris Congress went on record as unanimously favoring arbitration and a Congress of Nations. Elihu Burritt gave a long paper on the subject.\(^{115}\) According to the rules there were to be no more manuscript speeches after Burritt's on the subject of a Congress of Nations; hence since Walker's speech followed Burritt's, it must have been an extemporaneous speech. He spoke in favor of a Congress of Nations which, he said, had for years been contemplated in the United States. The immediate thing for advocates of peace to do was to prepare public opinion to the point where governments could not afford to resist the popular petitions and

\(^{113}\)Ibid., 54.

\(^{114}\)Advocate of Peace, May-June, 1865.

\(^{115}\)Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1849, 65.
would appoint delegates to a preliminary convention. He suggested that the ratio of representation be fixed at one delegate for every million of inhabitants. The question naturally arises, he admitted, how can international disputes be settled by a Congress of Nations? He answered his question by saying that as things then stood there could be no settlement; not until a new code of international law had been drawn up and accepted. This would be the first task of a Congress of Nations. Then to make such a code useful "a High Court of Arbitration, or Adjudication" would be necessary. It would be a common tribunal "to which all parties can appeal and by whose decisions all parties will abide."

The problem of drawing up an acceptable constitution for these two institutions would be a delicate one. He suggested that in brief the constitution should include a preamble stating the aim of the confederation to be the securing of permanent peace between the subscribing nations. It should include, further, a provision for appointing delegates from the member nations according to population. He believed that the Congress should have stated times of meeting, perhaps but once in three or five years. Only problems dealing with a nation's external relations should be considered by the High Court of Arbitration; but the decisions should be binding upon all nations which ratified the constitution.

The calling of a preliminary congress would be largely for revising the code of international law. Walker thought that not country would refuse to send delegates to such a congress. He admitted, however, that there might be objection in some quarters to the idea of a Congress of Nations. Some would object on the ground that nations would have to bind themselves beforehand to laws which such a congress might
enact. But no nation could be asked to come under such an obligation until the preliminary congress had met and outlined the course of action and the responsibilities which membership in such a body would entail. There would be no compulsion attending the ratification -- some nations would, and some would not, he pointed out. Some would insist that such a congress and court would interfere in domestic customs and relations, he knew; but he answered them by saying "if the United States, as a people, saw fit to disgrace themselves by tolerating a system of chattel slavery, it would not be a matter with which the congress or high court could interfere."

Some of the weaker states said Walker might fear the creation of a great central power in this Congress of Nations which might conceivably endanger the liberty and independence of the small state members. This would not result from the confederation he proposed because it relied upon a concentrated moral power, rather than upon brute force.

Writing on this same subject a little later he compared this Congress of Nations to the United States union where the smaller states were far from swallowed up. The close analogy between the two situations, he said, probably explained why the people of the United States were more able to believe in the workability of a Congress of Nations. 116 To the objection that some governments would refuse to go into it and so defeat the whole object he had this to say: "Governments are no longer absolute to such an extent that the will of the people counts for nothing. Governments can not afford to ignore the voice of the people. Know-

116 Advocate of Peace, Mar., 1850.
ing that the majority of its people favors a Congress of Nations "what nation," he asked, "will stand out and refuse to enter this League of Peace?" The possibility that the people themselves would object to such a project did not enter his mind nor his argument. He believed that self-interest would draw finally all nations into the plan for if the nations outside saw member nations reducing taxes and taking monies which were formerly spent for armaments and using them for the economic and social improvement of its people none could resist the force of such logic. A Congress and a High Court of Nations were the ultimate goal of American peace men, said Walker. They did not expect that it would come at once. In the meantime they had favored disarmament in the separate nations and favored arbitration as a measure which would be immediately effective, but still they looked forward to and would "hasten the time --

"When the drum shall throb no longer,  
And the battle flags be furled, 
In the Parliament of Man,  
The federation of the World."  

The French government had thrown open the gates of the city to the delegates of the Peace Congress, and had allowed them to enter the country without customs inspection. They were conducted through the palaces and gardens at Versailles, presented with complimentary tickets to the art galleries, libraries and public buildings of Paris. The minister of Foreign Affairs, de Tocqueville, gave a "grand soirée" at the Hotel des Affaires Étrangères to which all the delegates of the congress were invited. Then as a final gesture the minister of Public

Works, Lacrosse, ordered the great fountains of Versailles and St.
Cloud to play. The exhibition was ordered for a Monday and was spec-
ially arranged for the American and British guests for such an ex-
hibition ordinarily took place but four times a year, and then always
on Sunday. The Report of the Paris Congress declared: "Next Sunday
is one of these days; but as the English and American visitors could
not go to visit any mere sight on the Sabbath, the Minister of Public
Works has been so considerate as to fix a second day to suit the
religious scruples of the persons to whom he wished to show politeness."\textsuperscript{118}

This congress was more practical and not so strictly religious as the
London Congress of 1843:

\textbf{As if to emphasize the especially close connection between the}
American and British peace movements the delegates of the two countries
met in a special session for a dinner at the end of the Congress' 
regular session. The dinner was given by the British members of honor
of the Americans who had crossed the Atlantic for the meeting. Cobden
presided, and spoke, as did Burritt and others. Amasa Walker ended the
meeting by reading a poem on peace and cooperation which had been
written by Elnathan Davis, a delegate from Massachusetts. The final
stanza read:

\begin{quote}
And now, adieu! Be every bosom filled
With one great purpose -- \textit{war shall pass away}.
Let every heart with this high prayer be thrill'd --
"Oh, come the dawn of earth's millennial day!"
May God's own spirit every breast inspire
With Cobden's tireless zeal, and Burnet's soul of fire!\textsuperscript{119}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{118}\textit{Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1849, 56, 89, 96-97}. Burritt, Ten-
Minute Talks, 26-27.
\textsuperscript{119}\textit{Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1849, 95-96}. John Burnet was an
enthusiastic peace man, a delegate from England. He had been a member
of the 1843 congress too. See page 234.
Back home after a few months of traveling on the continent and in the British Isles Walker made it his concern to see that the ideas of the congress were made known in the United States. In 1849 Sumner made his, what later came to be, famous peace speech to the American Peace Society. He sent it to Walker to be corrected and revised. In doing so Walker asked him in regard to one particular passage which he proposed to change: "You do not, I suppose, wish to admit that defensive war is ever justifiable?" In regard to the same passage he told him to use his own judgment about its treatment "but I am particularly desirous," he admitted, "that you should not seem to admit, that a recourse to war under any circumstances is to be contemplated." The revision which Walker made making his stand on defensive war quite clear was accepted by Sumner. But in the meantime the editor of the Citizen got a copy of the first draft and before he had heard the speech which Sumner delivered wrote a review of it in the Citizen. This review was extremely critical. He condemned Sumner's stand because he had not condemned all war, defensive war included, in strong enough terms. Sumner has highly indignant and wrote to Walker to inquire who this man T. Drew, Jr. (the editor) was, anyhow! Walker explained to him that he had tried to dissuade him from writing the article before the speech came out. Presumably Walker felt certain that Sumner would accept his suggestion to declare defensive war unjustifiable. He probably knew, too, what Drew's reaction to the original speech was, or would be. "But he disregarded my advice entirely," wrote Walker to Sumner, "and I feel

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120 July 4, 1849 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
121 July 7, 1849.
somewhat injured as well as yourself. Mr. Drew is very impetuous & not always judicious, though I think him a well meaning man." At the same time he wrote that he expected to write a review of the address for some magazine, and while he would say what he felt, "it will be one that will be satisfactory to my friend Sumner." 122 The outcome was that the editor of the Citizen wrote to Sumner and explained how the mistake had been made and later retracted his criticism of Sumner's stand on defensive war. 123 Four thousand copies of this same speech were reprinted by the American Peace Society in 1854 for distribution. 124

The 1850 Congress was held in Frankfort, Germany. Many of the members present had been in Paris too. Walker did not attend but he was the most active worker in the Connecticut Valley region and succeeded in getting several delegates to go from the United States. Charles Sumner was chairman of the American committee of the congress and every effort was made to arouse interest in and secure delegates for the congress. 125

After first-hand experience with the Mexican War the American peace men saw the value of enlisting the support of practical statesmen. Their aims as seen in the Paris Peace Congress and those following show the change in emphasis. The international congresses were practical feats after all, and the movement in America to secure stipulated arbitration definitely indicated a growing realization that matter-of-fact men of affairs had to be won over to insure the success of the broader movement.

122 June 12, 1849 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
123 T. Drew, Jr. to Charles Sumner, June 11, 1849 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
125 Advocate of Peace, issues for 1850.
In the United States Senate Charles Sumner, though he turned his attention more and more toward the slavery issue, was the peace men's main stay in Washington. Early in 1851 Walker suggested to Sumner that the time was opportune for a speech from him in the Senate on the Hungarian situation. No one could do so much good for the cause of peace as he, Walker told him. And then gently hinting what was expected of him he wrote: "You will, I take it, go for the most hearty and full sympathy for Hungary ... and at the same time against anything like a belligerent attitude" from the United States. "For one I am beginning to feel very anxious in regard to the war fever that is rising in the country. Nothing can be more insane, but I think all this can be met and you are the man to do it. I don't feel the least misgivings as to our peace principles. Far from it -- I never felt their power and truthfulness more than at this moment."\textsuperscript{126}

In 1853 the American Peace Society held its twenty-fifth anniversary meeting in Boston. The preoccupation of this meeting with practical peace plans can be seen in the list of elected officers of the society for the ensuing year. William Jay, whose name had been associated with such practical measures as stipulated arbitration and revision of international law codes was reelected president; among the vice presidents were Charles Sumner, Amasa Walker, Samuel Fessenden and Gerritt Smith, all of them at the moment in active political life.\textsuperscript{127} At this meeting Walker made one of the principal speeches in support of a resolution declaring that the successful peace efforts of the peace

\textsuperscript{126} Jan. 3, 1851 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
workers in Europe, especially Great Britain, offered the American co-workers encouragement. Walker was greatly cheered by the prospect of his English reform friends working so earnestly for the abolition of the British defense system. The thought of these men transferring their "anti-corn-law zeal and energy to the cause of peace" thrilled Walker more than any other action could possibly have done. "...They are the very men who, a few years ago, met in 'a little upper chamber' in Manchester, to devise measures for abolishing the atrocious corn laws, and giving cheap bread to the people -- the very men ... who established the free trade policy of England!"

And he ended by taking this optimistic stock of the peace cause's new position: "We have no cause whatever to despair. We have labored long in sowing the seed, in preparing the public mind for the abolition of the war-system. That preliminary work is mainly done. We are now entering upon a new era. Our principles are to be applied." The voice of the people could compel the governments of Christendom, he told his audience, to stop their mad armament race and "by mutual consent, reduce their military establishments, agree upon arbitration treaties, and PREPARE FOR PEACE."129

Although the next year William Lloyd Garrison publicly burned a copy of the constitution of the United States and said, "The Union must be dissolved," Walker went quietly on working toward his goal of dis-armament, a Congress and a Court of Nations. In 1856 he delivered the annual address to the American Peace Society and in 1859 he presented

128 Ibid., 18.
129 Ibid., 8, 14-16.
to the London Peace Society the resolutions passed by the American Peace Society calling for "mutual and simultaneous disarmament of all nations." This was the first time such a resolution had been passed in this country. The London society had previously tried to have the question brought before the English people. Walker's visit in England made possible this gesture of cooperation between the two countries on the disarmament question at this moment. In little more than a year the Civil War had begun.

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Advocate of Peace, Aug., 1860.
CHAPTER XX

CHEAP POSTAGE REFORM

Richard Cobden, the free trade and peace advocate, once declared that "the introduction of cheap postage had rendered a violent revolution for the overthrow of the Government in England forever impracticable." If "cheap postage has rendered a bloody revolution in England impossible is it too much to expect that such a system between the United States and Great Britain would in time "render a bloody war between the two nations unimaginable," asked the peace reformers in England and America? Increased correspondence was bound to "deepen the currents of mutual sympathy and friendship" between peoples, the argument ran. The cheap postage or penny postage movement as it was called in England, developed as a subsidiary of the peace movement in both England and the United States.

One of the most striking and agreeable innovations which Amasa Walker noted on his first trip to England in 1843 was the cheap postage system which had just gone in effect there. He told his English friends it was the only institution in England in which he could have complete faith. "It contrasted with everything else," he explained, "in a country where monopoly and heavy taxation meet you at every step ...." Because the American system was far more expensive and inefficient than theirs he wrote a series of articles in one of the reform papers suggesting that a uniform two cent postage system be adopted in the United States.

2Ibid., 23.
The articles were later (according to his Autobiography) published in
tract form by the Boston Anti-Slavery Society and widely circulated.  
A short time later he wrote another tract on the same subject.

Walker was greatly impressed by a story which he and Elihu Burritt,
whose name is more closely associated with the cheap postage reform
than is that of Walker, told concerning the origin of the movement in England.
Rowland Hill (later Sir Rowland Hill), who originated the system and worked
for its adoption for years, went to a post office where he overheard
a poor working woman ask the postal clerk for her mail. She was told
she had a letter, but that it had two or three shillings due for postage.
She returned the letter and said she had not the money. Hill
asked her from whom she expected a letter. She told him it was from
her son in Australia. Hill offered to give her the money to get the
letter, but she told him it was not necessary since she and her son had
an understanding that he should write once a month if he were well and
if the letter came to the pose office she would know that he was well
without reading the letter or paying the postage. The story deeply
affected Hill who perceived the social implications of such a situation
and from that day he urged a reduced postage rate.

On his first trip to England in 1846 Elihu Burritt, as Walker had
been, became interested in postal reform. In 1847 and 1848 he spoke
to one hundred and fifty public meetings in England, Scotland and Ire-
land. This time he was urging a reduction in ocean postage. His propo-

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3MS. Autobiography, I, 145-147. These tracts were not located. Walker,
though not positive, was of the opinion that his articles were the first
to be published on the subject in this country (Ibid., 149), but in 1840
Barnabas Bates of New York published an article in Hunt's Merchant Mag-
zine, II (Feb.) in which he described the English system inaugurated by
Sir Rowland Hill and suggested a similar system for this country. Walker
did not visit England until 1843 therefore his articles must have been
published considerably later than the one by Bates.

tion called for carrying a letter across the sea no matter what the distance for one penny (English) or two cents in American money. This two cent rate would be added to the inland rate on each side. England had already reduced the rates in England and Burritt urged that eventually a letter should and could be carried from any point in England to any point in the United States for six cents. His reform, the reduction of ocean postage, he called Universal Ocean Penny Postage.

Burritt looked upon this reform as an essential part of his plan for world peace. He kept in touch with Walker on this subject as well as on the cause of peace. Joshua Leavitt, peace and antislavery reformer, took great interest in this movement winning in 1868 a prize offered by the Cobden Club of England for the best essay on improving the political and commercial relations between England and the United States. Leavitt contended that cheaper ocean transportation, including cheaper ocean postage, was the best single means of developing better Anglo-American relations. In New York Barnabas Bates became secretary of the Cheap Postage Association. Burritt once referred to him as the "Rowland Hill of America." In the Senate Charles Sumner, who is better known for his antislavery and peace sentiments, introduced a motion concerning cheap ocean postage. Walker congratulated Sumner for sponsoring the movement and wrote him he thought it was a wise political

5Burritt, Ten-Minute Talks, 22-23.
6Elihu Burritt to Charles Sumner, July 15, 1853 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
7See page 263, f. n.
8Leavitt, op. cit., 7-13, 37, 40.
9See page 264, f. n. The Daily Spy (Worcester), Aug. 24, 1850.
10Elihu Burritt to Charles Sumner, July 15, 1853 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
move, that the measure was likely to be popular. Walker helped get up
some petitions favoring cheap postage in Boston and started one in North
Brookfield too. About the same time (1852) he had a resolution favoring
cheap postage introduced into the Massachusetts house of representatives.11

The next year Burritt, back in the United States, opened a series
of meetings on penny postage in the town of his friend and fellow-worker,
Amasa Walker. He spoke three or four times a week getting up a petition
wherever he went. These petitions he sent on to Sumner in Washington.12
The petition which Burritt and Walker got up at the North Brookfield
meeting was sent to Sumner by Walker with the remark that the "object
is doubtless a desirable one, but what the prospects of its accomplish-
ment may be is better known to you than to us."13 Walker who was in poli-
tics on his own account at this time was not quite so sanguine as was
Burritt, who spent all his time in 1853 speaking and writing on the
postage reform. He organized a committee in Boston headed by the re-
former Samuel G. Howe. He went to Washington to press its case there
and found Sumner, of course, favorable. Senators Stephen A. Douglas
and Lewis Cass also promised to support the measure, but before it came
up the Kansas-Nebraska bill appeared and swept everything before it.14

In 1855 Burritt's paper, the Citizen of the World had an article
on penny postage saying that an effort was again to be made to introduce
the measure in Congress by Sumner.15 The same issue carried a sample
petition to Congress on Ocean Penny Postage. The statement of the petition

11Amasa Walker to Charles Sumner, Mar. 20, 1852 (Sumner Letters, Har-
vard University).
12Elihu Burritt to Charles Sumner, Dec. 7, 1853 (Sumner Letters, Har-
vard University).
13Dec. 8, 1853 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
14Burritt, Ten-Minute Talks, 43.
15Citizen of the World, Jan., 1855.
as to why Ocean Penny Postage was desirable showed its close connection with the peace movement. "The undersigned, inhabitants of [ ], in the State of [ ], respectfully represent," the petition read,

"That they are fully of the opinion that the present high rate of sea-postage on letters, are a very serious restriction upon the friendly and commercial correspondence between the United States and other countries, and in other ways detrimental to the best interests of the community. They therefore earnestly request your honorable house to adopt the requisite measures for reducing the ocean postage of letters to the uniform charge of [ ] cents, which has already been established between the United States and Australia."

The Ocean Penny Postage reform had its special stationery as did the League of Universal Brotherhood. The emblem was a ship on the sail of which was printed: "The World's Want and Britain's Boon OCEAN PENNY POSTAGE." Below the ship was written "all ports are open whereas'er she goes Friends hail her welcome, and she has no foes."

In 1864 an important reduction in postal rates was made but Walker was not satisfied with it because it did not abolish the franking privilege. England abolished franking entirely and he thought it would be difficult if not impossible to make the post office department self-supporting until that move had been made. When the subject was under consideration in Congress Walker urged Sumner "amongst other good things I hope you will abolish the franking privilege." He wrote him he thought

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15Ibid.
17From the stationery used by Elihu Burritt to Charles Sumner, Nov. 7, 1857 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
the people were demanding that move. Like his interest in almost every cause in which he enlisted it was a lasting allegiance which he felt for postage reform. As late as 1870 he wrote to Sumner, still in the Senate, "I want to talk with you about your project for a uniform one cent postage. It is the best, and, as I think, the only practicable, solution of our Post Office difficulties. I hope you intend to press it next winter at Washington as I now hope to do. I shall be happy to do any thing I can to advance that object."  

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19 Jan. 18, 1862 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University). The following fall he was himself elected to Congress. — MS. Autobiography, II, 87.  
20 Oct. 3 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
Chapter XXI

PEACE LOYALTIES AND THE CIVIL WAR

The first indication of Amsaa's reaction to the Civil War, which was for him a conflict between peace principles and abolition sentiments, can be seen in this letter to Charles Sumner early in 1861:

"Rumor says that you have not given your approbation to the Virginia Convention movement. I am glad of it. I do not expect any good from it. We ought not I fear to recognize such a movement at this time.

"'Inauguration first, adjustment afterwards.'—But we shall probably send delegates from this State by vote of the Legislature: If we do not the Brother Hunkers will send on a delegation which would not be desirable."¹

Others too urged Sumner to have nothing to do with this quasi-official Peace Conference. Walker and the others feared, apparently, that the free states would compromise with the slave states and at this stage in the development they were of the opinion that it was better to let the South "go in peace" as Horace Greeley expressed it. And as Sumner said in the early days of the war "Let the slave states take their curse with them."² Both Walker and Sumner were confronted with conflicting loyalties, loyalty to the extermination of slavery, and loyalty to the peace cause. The state of affairs which had existed between the North and the South, one slave and one free, had been, they both believed, an armed truce, little better than war. Even though they and others like them, as Emerson,

¹Feb. 4, 1861 (Summer Letters, Harvard University).
²Merle Curti, Peace or War, 51.

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Wendell Phillips, Joshua Giddings, Henry Ward Beecher and Horace Greeley at first favored peaceful secession they did not do much to bring the issue about, but permitted the more conservative members of the American Peace Society as George Beckwith in particular to encourage the feeling that the society was concerned only with international wars. Walker, it must be said, did not capitulate completely and bestirred himself more than most. He published articles in the newspapers advising Congress to call a general convention composed of delegates from all the states. This convention, he proposed, should consider but one question, "What states are willing to go on together under the old Constitution?". The action taken by the convention should then be referred to the people of the states for ratification so that the states so wishing could withdraw from the Union. In 1862 speaking before the American Peace Society he declared that he believed still that that "was the true course to be pursued." Those states desiring to could have seceded, "not that they have any right to do so," as he said, "under the constitution." The loyal states could well afford, he believed, to allow the southern states to form their own union "and develop the natural consequences of that inhuman and unrepugnant institution upon which they proposed to found their new confederacy." After the war was well under way he declared: "I am no apologist for this war, or any war. I place all in the same category .... I am ... of the opinion that no good will be secured which could not have been more advantageously obtained without a resort to the sword."3

At the same time, in the same speech, that he made this clear

3[Amasa Walker], Speech before the American Peace Society, 1862, 10-11.
statement of position, he showed his own uncertainty and the quandary of his mind by declaring that the American Peace Society could not be expected to do anything in this situation. "The society was not formed for intervention," he pleaded, "but prevention...." In many ways his reasoning seemed to argue in defense of inactivity, doing so against his own conscience. "Suppose," he said, "that ... we had appointed ... a delegate to visit the President ... and induce him to close up the war just begun. The first question which the President would naturally ask would be, 'What is the object ... of your association?'" The answer, he said, would have to be that the society aimed to prevent war between nations by inducing them to submit all disputes to arbitration.

"But ... this is not a war between nations, it is merely an effort on the part of the government to restore its supremacy...."

He asked what members of the peace society could answer if outsiders asked them if they recommended "surrender to the rebels." He did not answer this question except to say that it seemed to him not "the province of the society to interfere." And by implication one gathered that war was preferable to "surrender to the rebels" -- and this despite the fact that he ended his consideration by admitting the war to be "a foul blot on the best half of the 19th century. War is always in direct antagonism to the gospel of Christ ...." And as if to bolster his own courage, "I am no apologist for this war, or any war."4

In the early months of the war his friend Elisha Dorr, refusing to budge one inch in his peace principles, had feared and detected the influence of this argument upon Walker. In May, 1861 he wrote their

4Ibid., 10.
mutual friend Henry Richard, secretary of the London Peace Society, that he hoped he could arrest Walker's "honest mind from the insidious drifting that has carried nearly all our peace friends into the wake of this war." "It has indeed been a sifting time here," Burritt wrote his English friend. By 1864 good peace men, non-resistants even, such as William Lloyd Garrison and Henry C. Wright, sustained the government during the Civil War saying that the "preservation of the Republic, the destruction of slavery, and the rights of the laboring classes everywhere depended on the reelection of Lincoln." Adin Ballou, another non-resistant, was among the minority who refused to be "sifted." J. P. Blanchard also stood firm.

"I have almost trembled for dear Walker," wrote Burritt to Richard in 1861. "Men who we thought stood strong & firm upon the rock, have been washed away. His [Walker's] nature is warm and impulsive, and all his sympathies run out so exuberantly for a struggle for freedom versus Slavery. His son is an adjutant in the army, and every influence works to wash him into the rushing current of popular sentiment. This is entre nous seulement." Burritt declared that Amasa's position concerned him more than that of any other for "he is my dearest friend on this side of the water." He lamented the habit of so many of the peace men in the United States of "working up fictitious premises." He referred to the argument that the Civil War was not an international war and therefore not properly the concern of the peace society. Beckwith, he wrote,

6Curti, loc. cit., 56.
7Curti, Learned Blacksmith, 140, quoting Elihu Burritt to Henry Richard, May 26, 1861.
through the Advocate had helped commit the society to "this quicksand footing." He assumed, Burritt remarked, that the "Northern army of half a million is only a sheriff's posee." 8

This time was for all peace men as Burritt said, "a trial hour." It was for Burritt whose adherence to his former peace principles brought criticism from those who like Beckwith, felt such an attitude to be disloyal to the union. The same was true of Burritt's feeling for those who set up "fictitious premises" as he called them. Garrison and Wright were assailed for adherence to a government which they had denounced, English peace men deplored the lack of activity in American peace men and American advocates misunderstood the intentions of their former British co-workers. Walker was assailed from both sides, by those who believed him too favorable to the war 9 and those who accepted his statement that he was "no apologist" for the Civil War. 10

As Burritt pointed out to his friend, Henry Richard, Walker's son (Francis A., always referred to by the family as Frank) held a commission in the Union army almost from the beginning of the war. 11 That he approved of his son's course did not necessarily follow as is well illustrated by this personal letter to his other son, Robert, before his enlistment:

"My Dear Son

"I have had a large experience in regard to War since I came here, have visited all the line of Encampment in both sides of the Potomac, and happened to arrive at Poolesville[?] just as the poor fellows of the

8 Ibid., 138-139.
9 Henry Richard to Amasa Walker, no date [1862 or later].
11 Amasa Walker to Emma Batcheller, July 26, 1861.
15th Regiment returned to their tents. It was a sad sight to see the Regiment so cut up. Some 300 went & seventy or more of that number are mutilated in the hospital; the balance are missing, drowned, or prisoners, or perhaps some wandering on the Virginia shore. I spent 3 days with them, & in the neighborhood. Visited Edwards Ferry and saw the troops over the River, where they expected a fight every moment. Saw Genl McClellan & Banks often.

"I was very anxious about Frank, & supposed his Brigade was on the march to the scene of action & hunted for him, but found Genl ______ were still at Brightwood -- I really wish you could have seen what I have, and I am sure you would never enlist into the army. You have no idea of what actual war is. I trust however that you feel that your health & the condition of our family it is not your duty to be a soldier. To say nothing of the battle field, the hardships of the camp, the bivouack [sic], & the march are dreadful.

"Frank is well & has just as pleasant and desirable position as a man can have in the army. I saw him at a Brigade Review, mounted with his uniform & he certainly made an elegant appearance. He is much liked where he is, and the 15th Regiment remembers him with much affection -- I shall leave now in a day or two for home if no new movement takes place -- Show this letter to Emma Walker's daughter & give my love to her and her husband & the three children.

Your Affectionate Father"12

12Oct. 26, 1861. Why he was in Washington, from which this letter was sent, at this time is not clear. Robert Walker later enlisted and was in 1864 reported by his colonel, George L. Wells, to have been killed at Newmarket, May 15, 1864 (Letter to Amasa Walker, May 17, 1864). The report, however, was a false one. According to family tradition he lay for three days on the battle field wounded, recovered, and returned home at the end of the war. — Conversation between Dr. Francis Walker, Washington, D. C, and the author.
Accepting the inevitability of the war, as Walker eventually did, he began to build up a philosophy that this Civil War was to be the last of all wars, the final contest which would be the means of teaching nations "to learn war no more" and finally overthrow "the great moloch." One event, in particular, he declared in his American Peace Speech in 1862, would certainly abolish the whole war-system. He referred to the battle between the rebel Merrimac and the Union Monitor. He believed that "in a single hour" the supremacy of the English navy, "the mistress of the seas," had been annihilated. The day of the iron-clad conflict, he declared, was one of the great days on the "calendar of human events." "When the Merrimac emerged ... she announced to all the world ... an entire revolution in naval warfare. When the Cumberland went down, she carried with her the present navies of the world. The blow which crushed her sides, shattered the wooden walls of England, and converted her seven hundred armed vessels into useless hulks."

He believed, he said, that when iron-clad ships began fighting each other there would be no end, because neither side could be defeated and the battle would rage on until one or both sides were out of ammunition. The whole prospect of such fighting was completely useless and absurd. He predicted that because of the invention of iron-clad nations would be led to modify and ultimately abolish the war system. "... The child is now living," he predicted, "that will see the barbarism of war among civilized nations abolished... the present century will not close before it will be apparent ... that this great system of violence and blood is passing away."

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13 [Walker], Speech before the American Peace Society, 1862, 1.
14 Ibid., 11.
But Walker's English reformer friend, Henry Richard, could not share his enthusiasm that the Civil War with its iron-clad battleships was a "war to end war." He wrote Walker that he could not see that England's navy had been diminished by the naval events of the Civil War. In fact he feared, he said, it would but increase England's strength, because no country could compare with her in the advantages she possessed for building up a new iron-clad fleet. With her "abundance of coal, iron machinery, skilled labour and capital" she would almost immediately regain her naval supremacy.

Richard told Walker that he was sorry to see in his Peace Society Address (1862) that he still clung to ---"forgive me for saying so --- the old fallacy about this conflict not being a war in the proper sense. I do wish most earnestly my dear friend," he implored, "that you would shake your vigorous mind free of the poor technical quibble to which it pains me most deeply to see, our friend Dr. Beckwith clinging with so desperate a tenacity. Call the 'bloody business' in which you are engaged by whatever name you will" it is an "affront and an outrage to the principles of the gospel, on which the Peace cause must be made to rest ...." He said the American Civil War had smashed every argument the peace movement had ever worked out. "If we now speak of a federation of states, or of a court of nations, or of friendly arbitration of mutual disarmament of free trade, or of social, commercial and religious intercourse, or of the diffusion of education and Christianity, as a means of preventing War, we are pointed with a sneer to your country...."

The only compensation which Richard could see in the whole situation was the possibility that Europe would become so disgusted that they would be made more than ever to abhor war. "The Spartans," he wrote, "were wont
to make their slaves drunk in order to teach their children to abhor drunkenness."

The Americans, he continued had made themselves "drunk with blood, and the spectacle " may cause Christian men, in Europe especially, to "abominate the example." Asking that the harshness of some of his expressions be forgiven he closed by saying he hoped with Walker that a revised international law code would check and restrain warfare, particularly naval warfare, in the future.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1863 Walker was again a speaker at the meeting of the American Peace Society. By this time he was not quite so sure that the entire war system would be abolished in the lifetime of those then living as he had been the previous year. He declared that his faith in the ultimate triumph of peace principles was just as great as it had ever been, however. Much of his speech was similar to the one he made in 1862. He still considered the development of iron-clad vessels a revolution in methods of warfare which he hoped still would bring the abolition of all war nearer. He reiterated his stand that the American Peace Society was not called upon to interfere in a governmental function or in a civil war. He did admit, however, that it was unfortunate that the country was so well prepared militarily. The stores which the rebels were able to capture had prolonged the war, he believed. And, he continued, that the whole incident proved his contention that the building of battleships, and the manufacture of munitions in peace times encouraged war.\textsuperscript{16}

As the war wore on Walker came more and more to see the Union's

\textsuperscript{15}This letter was not dated but was written probably in 1862, just after the 1862 Peace Society meeting at which Walker spoke. This is the meeting and the speech to which Richard refers.

\textsuperscript{16}Amasa Walker, \textit{The Suicidal Folly of the War-System} (Speech delivered before the American Peace Society, 1863), \textit{passim}.
side and to justify its action even to the point of war. In 1863 in
the House of Representatives, for example, he scoffed at those who de-
nounced Lincoln as a tyrant and declared that if he "erred at all ... he
was too lenient toward political offenders."17 Although in 1864 he de-
plored the terrific armament expenses and proposed mutual disarmament
as the only solution of the nation's financial insolvency 18 nevertheless
the next year he made an impassioned plea "that the nationality shall be
restored in all its integrity -- that at whatever cost of blood and
treasure,

"These States shall be, One nation, sovereign, independent, free."

This sentiment was a far cry from his letter to the committee of the State
Disunion Convention in 1857 saying he was sick of so much cant about "the
Union." 19

By the last year of the war his loyalty to the union's cause seemed
to be solidly established though he continued to profess that he believed
a great change in public opinion would take place on the subject of peace,
due to the sad experiences of the war. He wrote to Sumner in 1865 that
he as a peace man entirely approved of every move Sumner had made; that
he expected to see Sumner take the leading part in the forthcoming peace-
movement as he had done "in the great antislavery struggle of the present."
The peace movement, he believed, would be Sumner's "crowning work, the
grand culmination of your labors as a public man." 20

Even though he said he rejoiced in the prospect of a speedy peace he
could make such a patriotic appeal as the following:

17Amasa Walker, Cotton, Not Slavery the Immediate Cause of the Rebellion, 8.
18Amasa Walker, "The National Revenue." Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, L,
98 (Feb., 1864).
19See page 170.
20Apr., 5, 1865 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
"We have able generals who know how to fight battles and follow up victories, men who have no fears whatever of hurting the rebels, or destroying their property, when necessary.

"We have brave and veteran troops, who instead of being employed in guarding rebel orchards and hen roosts, are marching in serried ranks to those great victories and achievements which are to decide the fate of their country.

"By the will and fiat of a mighty people the war cannot end, or even relax, until all who once formed the American nation shall be reunited under one government, in one great and glorious destiny."21

Again his shift of feeling can be seen in his attitude toward Henry Richard, secretary of the London Peace Society. In the first years he had remained friendly with him, and though they did not see eye to eye on the duty of the American Peace Society he seemed to respect his opinions. During the last year of the war his feelings had so far changed as to cause him to censure Richard most severely. Writing to Sumner, who was also dissatisfied with Richard's course, about him, he said he had "been quite dissatisfied with the Peace men of this country for not making active efforts to prevent the national government from using coercive measures." He accused Richard of being in sympathy with the rebellion and called Sumner's attention to a sentence he had written in an editorial in an English paper: "One side has been defending slavery in the name of freedom, and the other preaching extermination in the name of philanthropy." "That," declared Walker, "is Mr.

20Apr. 5, 1865 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
Richard's view of our great contest for freedom and civilization!" 22

The loyalties of both Sumner and Walker were unquestionably divided between peace and antislavery. But Walker wrote to Sumner that as a peace man he could recall no single act of his in the Senate which was "in any degree inconsistent with ... the cause of peace. And he believed that when the final chapter of the war's history was written peace men in this country will be found to "have been loyal and patriotic as well as truly pacific." 23

After the war was over Walker's sympathy for the negro for a time pushed his peace loyalties still farther into the background and made him support Sumner's plan to guarantee full rights to the freedmen. He encouraged Sumner to protest against the President's plan for allowing the southern states to come back into the union on fairly easy terms. 24

Occasionally in the immediate post-war years a flash of Walker's former peace enthusiasms can be seen as in an article in the Advocate of Peace on "Lake Armaments." He spoke of the President's notice to terminate the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1815. The treaty, he pointed out, provided that it would not be ended by either party without one year's notice. Walker hoped as the article said, that before the year was up there would be no reason to fear rebels or Canadian sympathizers on the border and that the treaty would be restored to the mutual and permanent advantage of both countries. 25

22 May 20, 1865 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
23 Ibid.
24 Amasa Walker to Charles Sumner, Jan. 5, 1866 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
25 The Advocate of Peace, May and June, 1865.
Reminiscent of his lyceum and temperance interest as well as peace was an article of his on "Suitable War Monuments." He began by saying that the state of Massachusetts would probably soon start spending millions of dollars for the erection of war monuments. His suggestion was for the same amount of money to be used to build some kind of community hall which could honor the memory of the soldiers and at the same time be used "a kind of club house especially for young men in the town and keep them away from the taverns which is their only place of resort often in many towns." "Monuments of stone," he wrote, "were very well in the days of the Pharaohs, in dark and barbarous ages [some of Walker's English peace friends doubted the world's improvement], when there were no securities for civilization and its works...." It was a waste of money and human labor, he ended his article, to build useless monuments when "the interests of the living" could be served by a community hall and at the same time honor be done to "the memory of the dead."

By the 1870's the American Peace Society had become a dignified organization, but not a very active one. Many of the active members had died and more still had grown inactive with age, but a few of them continued on. As Elihu Burritt wrote to a friend in 1877: "...I intend to work for the cause to the last." By 1877 he felt almost alone, particularly since his "dearest friend on this side of the Atlantic," "dear Amasa," was gone. Sometimes little groups of the peace men could get together and discuss the problems which interested them all. David A. Wells wrote to Walker in 1871 saying that he hoped he would spend the summer at the same place where they had both been the pre-

26Newspaper clipping from Deposit Book, it seems to have been written in 1865 or 1866 and may have been from the Congregationalist.
27Curti, Learned Blacksmith, 235, quoting Elihu Burritt to Joseph Cooper, May 10, 1877. Cooper was an English Quaker philanthropist.
vious summer, as he and Samuel Bowles\textsuperscript{29} were going. He suggested that he bring Burritt along "then we could have a great time in discussions."	extsuperscript{30}

Every effort was made to maintain the prestige and dignity of the peace organization and though their budget was very limited they were rich in names, Andrew Carnegie, David Dudley Field, Dorman Eaton, Charles Sumner, Amasa Walker and others. Walker believed firmly in making use of the names of their important members. Writing to J. E. Miles, the new secretary of the American Peace Society, in 1871 when Miles took over that office Walker advised him from his years of experience: "You must get as many of the most respectable and well-known names you can to be present" at some of the meetings he was organizing in that year. Walker suggested that Josiah Quincy would, he thought, "accept an invitation," it should be seen to that Charles Sumner gave "the benefit of his cooperation" to the meetings and though "he cannot be depended upon to make a formal speech Elihu Burritt" must be invited "so that his name may be associated with" the meetings under the new secretary.\textsuperscript{31}

Walker tried to render what aid he could in a business capacity and as a speaker for the cause. Throughout 1870 and 1871 he was in charge of settling up the William Ladd legacy from which the American Peace Society was to benefit. In 1870 he reported to the society that from the estate he had in his hands for the society, about $1,200.00 was invested in United States bonds, and that he had been drawing dividends.

\textsuperscript{29}Samuel Bowles was editor of the Springfield Republican. The paper supported Lincoln, but repudiated Grant and went for Greeley in 1872. He gave Francis A. Walker, son of Amasa Walker, a place on the editorial staff when he was a young man.
\textsuperscript{30}July 13, [1871].
\textsuperscript{31}July 14, 1871 (American Peace Society Library).
on two shares of Exeter Manufacturing Company shares which he estimated to be worth about $500.00 each. 32 At the same time Walker and Burritt were conducting peace meetings throughout New England with their old-time enthusiasm. Their primary aim was of course to spread interest in the peace cause but in 1871 the society had on hand a money-raising campaign which was of great, though secondary concern. 33

Walker was also busy with his pen for in 1871 the Advocate of Peace carried a continued story, "Le Monde," in the children's section which "to render it more especially acceptable to our youthful readers, it is now presented with illustrations." Le Monde was an island on which in primitive days lived several patriarchal families. One father and his sons began to make swords "to defend themselves" from the rest. The other families followed suit and their differences, now frequent, were settled "by resort to arms." Then the father who made the first sword invented a rifle "to protect his family from insult" (by that time "insult" had become a very important word on Le Monde). The rifle soon did not satisfy the inventive military genius of the father so he built a cannon. The sons in the family complained at the added work and expense but the father urged them on by telling them "what a sensation it would make in Le Monde!"

But the neighbors spied on the cannon building and soon had cannons as mighty as the first man and then "every one listened to the roar of cannon." The father ordered his sons to build a cannon bigger than his neighbors had and at that the sons rebelled. They went in a body to

32Ibid. Amasa Walker to William C. Brown, recording secretary of the society, Jan. 16, 1870. (American Peace Society Library). The settlement was drawn out because Ladd's nephews contested parts of the legacy. 33Ibid. 32Curti, Learned Blacksmith, 178-179; 132; 184-185, quoting Elihu Burritt to J. B. Miles, Oct. 9, 1871; Oct. 19, 1871 and Nov. 15, 1871.
their father and tried to convince him that they were no safer, "relatively" than they had been with one sword, no safer, in fact, than when they had had no defense at all. The father was indignant at their impudence and ordered more cannon built. But the boys called a meeting of all the sons on the island and they agreed they would make no more arms, but instead make useful implements. Family quarrels stopped and prosperity came to their island. What "was absurd ... in Le Monde ...
... must be just as absurd in the great family of nations."

We are exiled here in Le Monde," he ended his story, "far from the rest of the world, and the results of our experiences may never be heard of beyond our little island; but could they be known, it does show ... the falsity of the old maxim: 'In time of peace prepare for war!'"34

The Franco-Prussian War was the point of departure for much of Amasa's renewed interest in disarmament. In June, 1870 the executive committee of the American Peace Society appointed Charles Summer and Amasa Walker representatives to the Evangelical Alliance meeting at which the subject of peace was to be discussed. They were asked to address the meeting and present the principles of their society.35

In writing to Summer about this proposed meeting Walker suggested that it might be a good time "to say a word for peace since it was an international organization and would have representatives from the European countries there." In the same letter Walker referred to the "terrible outbreak in Europe" saying he believed it gave the whole

34 The Advocate of Peace, Apr. - Sept., 1871.
35 William C. Brown to Amasa Walker and Charles Summer, no date, enclosed in Amasa Walker's letter to Charles Summer, July 26, 1870 (Summer Letters, Harvard University).
question of general disarmament a renewed interest. "I expect," he
wrote, "that great good will come to the peace cause by this movement
of Louis Napoleon, and that public attention will be called as never
before to the impolicy of keeping such vast standing armies, by which
the peace of Europe and the world may be disturbed at the caprice of a
single man." 36 So Walker was greatly pleased when Sumner decided to
speak upon the "Great Duel between France and Prussia." He hoped, he
wrote to Sumner, that his new lecture would "form a counterpart to the
'True Grandeur of Nations.'" 37 Still looking for that war which was
going to end the whole war system (his prediction in the Civil War
failing), 38 Walker believed that from the Franco-Prussian war would
date the "fall of the war system -- the establishment of Permanent Peace
by universal Disarmament." 39 When the "Franco-Prussian Duel" appeared
in the papers Walker was full of praise for it and its author. The
speech met fully, as he wrote to Sumner, his "wishes and anticipations." 40

The following year Walker wrote an article on the "Moral of the
Franco-Prussian War" in Lippincott's Magazine. He praised Napoleon III's
plan for an international disarmament Congress. He blamed the congress'
failure on England's refusal to accept the proposition and believed that
its lack of success explained the Franco-Prussian War. 41 Distinguishing
between the British government and the British people (as has since
been done in another connection with singular publicity) Walker inveighed

36 July 26, 1870 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
37 A famous speech on peace which Sumner delivered in 1845.
38 See page 275.
40 Ibid., Oct. 8, 1870.
against "that heartless aristocracy which controls her [Great Britain's] destinies." The same men who "sympathized with American rebels and fitted out Alabamas" were the ones who refused to accept Napoleon III's disarmament proposals, he charged. England's complicity did not, of course, he admitted, free Napoleon of blame. The whole war was proof to him that there could be no security in Europe while standing armies were constantly increased and military preparations continued.

Despite his censure for Britain's conduct during the war Walker was pleased when the Alabama claims case was referred to the Geneva Tribunal. With John Bright he hoped that it would "offer an example to the world in wise conduct on the part of the Gov'ts. of two great nations" which he hoped the world would follow.

In 1872 after urgings from his peace friends Sumner introduced in the Senate a resolution declaring that "in the determination of international differences arbitration should become a substitute for war in reality as in name." In the next year he introduced another similar resolution asking that arbitration be adopted as a practical method of settling disputes so that war will no longer be regarded "as a proper form of trial between nations." While this resolution was before the Senate Walker who had encouraged Sumner to assume the leadership of a renewed peace movement appeared before the Senate committee and spoke for the measure which was unanimously passed in 1874 much to Walker's satisfaction. Summer, however, died a few months before the

\[\text{Notes:}
42\text{Tbid.}
43\text{Tbid., 325.}
44\text{John Bright to Amasa Walker, Dec. 3, 1872.}
45\text{Amasa Walker to Charles Sumner, Oct. 8, 1870 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).}
46\text{Advocate of Peace, June, 1874 Amasa Walker to J. B. Miles, Jan. 28, 1874 (American Peace Society Library).}
resolution passed.\textsuperscript{47}

In March, 1872 Walker suggested the idea of an International Peace Congress to Burritt. He believed that the time was highly favorable, though he recognized that the responsibility of such an undertaking was great. Elaborating further upon this proposal to J. B. Miles of the American Peace Society Walker suggested that though the society should take the lead, an independent committee should be set up including men outside of the peace society if possible. He urged Miles to work with Burritt and to consult at once about the possibility of such a congress\textsuperscript{48} with the result that in October of that year the executive committee of the American Peace Society issued a call for an international peace congress.\textsuperscript{49} As an example of the prestige of the names associated with the peace society in these years the names of some of the members of the committee who signed the call are interesting: John G. Whittier, Elihu Burritt, Reverdy Johnson, Amasa Walker, Mark Hopkins, Theodore D. Woolsey, Henry Ward Beecher, and others. James B. Miles, secretary of the American Peace Society was sent to Europe to seek cooperation among various peace men scattered throughout Europe. He was introduced to European reformers by some of the veterans of former congresses, by Amasa Walker who asked John Bright to grant him an interview and help him meet other reformers who would be interested in another international peace congress, by Elihu Burritt who wrote for him a general letter of introduction to Auguste Visschers, president of the Brussels Congress,

\textsuperscript{47}The story of these Senate resolutions is told in Merle Curti, Peace or War, 94–96.
\textsuperscript{48}March 22, 1872 (American Peace Society Library).
\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Ibid.}
and other European peace men. 50

In accordance with Walker's early suggestion to Miles a separate committee was formed, the International Code Committee of America. J. B. Miles, secretary of the Peace Society was also secretary of the special committee. His trip to Europe had been encouraging and the committee agreed to hold a code congress in Brussels. 51 Visschers approved the choice and became chairman of the congress which was held in October, 1873. 52

Plans were soon under way in this country for a second international code congress this time to be held in Geneva. The arbitration resolutions which had just passed Congress Walker considered would produce a favorable influence upon the plans for the Geneva Congress as he wrote to J. B. Miles. Apparently, however, he felt the cause needed more than Congressional moral support so he sent along a draft for one hundred dollars for use of the peace cause. 53

Amasa Walker's son, Francis A. Walker, was appointed one of the delegates to the 1874 Geneva Congress by the International Code Committee. 54 The younger Walker had been interesting himself in his father's favorite cause, after his Civil War experiences. He wrote in 1869 an article, "Is It a Gospel of Peace?" for Lippincott's Magazine in which he charged that the clergy as a profession had deserted the peace cause. 55

51 Advocate of Peace, July-Aug., 1873.
53 Amasa Walker to J. B. Miles, Jan. 29, 1874 (American Peace Society Library).
54 Francis A. Walker to J. B. Miles, July 4, 1874 (American Peace Society Library).
Amasa Walker may himself have considered the possibility of going to Geneva for in the summer before the congress met in September Burritt wrote urging him to "make up one of your clear, strong practical speeches before you go." This letter of Burritt's is almost pathetic: two old men devoted to a cause, unwilling to cease striving. Burritt was not sure that Amasa intended going for he wrote him that he hoped he and his son had decided to go. "How glorious it would be," he exulted, "for you and I to go once more abroad on this great mission! to see the old friends who remain, and to bear our testimony to the cause after twenty-five years since our Paris Congress!"

In the end neither Walker nor Burritt went. Burritt got as far as Oxford, New Hampshire on his way to Quebec where he intended to embark when he became too ill to make the trip. "I feel sad," he wrote to his co-worker, "that I must give up the European trip, as I was anxious once more to speak, to appear for our great cause. But I now feel that my day is over for such journeys and labors in foreign lands, and that what I do hereafter must be at home with my pen."\(^{57}\)

One more congress Amasa Walker lived to see planned for, but he declined both the invitation to the preliminary meeting of arrangements by the committee and the invitation to be a delegate to the Hague International Congress.\(^{58}\) He had hoped to the last to be able to attend

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\(^{56}\)July 11, 1874.  
\(^{58}\)James B. Miles, secretary of the International Code Committee to Amasa Walker, no date (American Peace Society Library). This was an invitation to attend a meeting in New York, Dec. 3, 1874. Amasa Walker to James B. Miles, May 14, 1875 (American Peace Society Library).
the Hague meeting but he was not able. Instead while the Hague Congress convened he enjoyed a visit from his "good friend" Elihu Burritt with whom he discussed the next president, currency and certainly peace.60

59 Ibid.

60 Amasa Walker to Manton Marble, Sept. 18, 1875 quoted in an undated clipping from the World (New York) in MS. Autobiography, II.
CHAPTER XXII

THE SCIENCE OF WEALTH ACCORDING TO

AMASA WALKER

Amasa Walker once said of Richard Cobden that "It was his thorough knowledge of the teachings of political economy which made him so decided and earnest in his advocacy of the cause of peace. He saw war to be the great destroyer of wealth, the chief obstacle to the extension of commerce, and to the enfranchisement and elevation of the masses." The same could as truly have been said of Amasa Walker. He said of himself that he had always been "addicted to statistics and facts connected with questions of trade and finance." But more than that he was convinced of the importance of the subject and depressed by the "general ignorance of the people in regard to it." He heartily approved a contemporary description of political economy which called it a "philosophical science which, next to the Gospel, whose legitimate child it is, will do more than anything else, for the elevation and fraternization of our race." The Science of Wealth, or political economy (our economics) as it was usually termed, answered so many questions in the right way, Amasa Walker felt. To the question, "Shall labor be free?" Political Economy answers yes; and by her awards, slavery and serfdom and every form and degree, of oppression, would disappear from the face of the earth." Shall capital "overreach the rights

1Advocate of Peace, May-June, 1865.
2Amasa Walker, "Political Economy as a Subject for the Common Schools." Lectures to the American Institute of Instruction, 1850, 44-45.
3Ibid., 40.
of labor?" This, too, "our science condemns," 4 "...If the establish-
ment of justice and right, if the promotion of permanent and universal
peace, and a practical recognition of the brotherhood of man, be a
sacred theme then is Political Economy a sacred Science." 5 The impli-
cation of such statements was clear: the subject should be made common
knowledge, and this could best be done by studying it in the schools
and colleges. It was making headway slowly in colleges; Walker him-
self helped in that direction by his teaching in Oberlin and Amherst. 6
He also advocated its inclusion in the course of study for the common
schools. 7

As early as 1843 while teaching in Oberlin he felt the need of
a suitable textbook in political economy. There was not a single
book which taught just what he wanted to teach; especially were they de-
ficient in their treatment of the "great question of currency." 8 Again
in 1850 he declared that there was room for a book which would suitably
introduce the subject of political economy and especially give a philosoph-
ical discussion of the currency. 9

Throughout the forties and fifties Walker was closely occupied with
politics and reforms and had little time for working out a systematic
course in political economy. In 1860, however, he began a course of
yearly lectures at Amherst College on public economy which continued un-
til 1869. 10 His thoughts were naturally turned into economic and

4 Ibid. See page 215-216.
5 Ibid., 44-45.
6 See chap. XVIII.
7 Walker, "Political Economy as a Subject for the Common Schools."
Lectures to the American Institute of Instruction, 1850, 44-49. See
pages 215-216.
8 MS. Autobiography, I, 159.
9 Walker, "Political Economy as a Subject for the Common Schools."
Lectures to the American Institute of Instruction, 1850, 44.
10 See pages 216-218.
academic channels and as his course evolved from year to year he improved and enlarged upon it until he had the beginnings of a systematic study which could, without too much difficulty, be put into the form of a textbook. About the same time the Civil War quite effectively closed in on the reform movements and left the reformers relatively unemployed. Except for a brief time in Congress Walker had more time during the war years to work on his science than he had had previously. In addition the war had called the attention of the country to several important problems, notably that of currency. Against such a background Walker's Science of Wealth A Manual of Political Economy Embracing the Laws of Trade, Currency, and Finance was projected in 1866.\textsuperscript{11}

In 1865 he had made great headway with his book. His son, Francis A. Walker, to be far better known to later generations of students in the field of economics than this father, was home from the war and helped greatly in the preparation of the book.\textsuperscript{12} Amasa Walker was no different from most writers; he disliked the mechanical side of book-writing, was "impatient," as he said, "of copying and correcting" what he could "readily throw off in a crude form." His son relieved him of much of this burden and the work moved along rapidly and was published in October, 1866.\textsuperscript{13} The next important general work to be published on the subject of political economy was by Francis A. Walker in 1883, his Political Economy.

Between 1820 when Daniel Raymond's Thoughts on Political Economy

\textsuperscript{11}Published by Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1866. It went through seven editions between 1866 and 1874. --\textit{MS. Autobiography}, II, 37, four of the seven editions were published in the first two years.
\textsuperscript{12}It is doubtful, however, whether he was in his own time much better known than his father was in his time.
\textsuperscript{13}\textit{MS. Autobiography}, I, 165.
was published and 1865, the date of *The Science of Wealth*, there was no real want of books on political economy in America. If Walker felt such a need it was a need for a certain kind of book, rather than a book. Raymond's work was the first American book to deal exclusively with the science of wealth. Arthur L. Perry, Francis Wayland, John Bascom and Francis Bowen, all contemporary economists, had published works before Walker's *Science of Wealth* appeared. The emphasis in each case was somewhat different but all of them aimed to write a simple, practical manual, or text, for class room work as did Walker, following his desire to make better known the principles of the "Sacred science."

Orestes A. Brownson, critical editor of *The Boston Quarterly Review*, once declared that if all "the modern political economists had been strangled in their birth, it would have been a blessed thing for the human race." The political economists, he said, taught men how to increase their desires and develop new wants in order to increase consumption which will in turn increase demand while demand stimulates and increases production. But does the laborer gain by the study of such a science, he asked. Developing in man wants which he cannot satisfy (he failed to admit that the logic of the economists' argument would permit the increased wants to be satisfied) was wrong and made man suffer, he said. Happiness, not wants, should be emphasized, he believed. And happiness "does not consist in the number of wants satisfied, but in having no wants unsatisfied." He was not convinced of the desirability of

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teaching political economy in the common schools, a program which Walker supported, because he held that to make man happy he should be taught not to increase his wants, "But to diminish his desires." Both Francis Wayland and Amasa Walker, however, published student editions of their books for use in the common schools and academies.

When Walker's first, unabridged edition came out in 1866 the text most in use in colleges was Wayland's Elements of Political Economy. Although the books of Bowen, Perry, Walker and some others gained in favor in some places Wayland's book continued to be the most popular text in the country until the publication in 1883 of Francis A. Walker's Political Economy. Perry's book which came out about the same time as did Walker's was also a popular book. His work was very simple and read, in the words of a contemporary review, "as a course of lectures, adapted to popular audiences." Walker's book was more elaborate and contained a mass of detail. The Nation criticized The Science of Wealth's style as too clumsy with "an exuberance of rhetoric" out of place in such a work. What he lacked in clearness of style was in part atoned for by a set of very useful and clear diagrams and statistical tables, a feature of the book which was quite universally praised. The Nation for all its criticism

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See pages 215-216, 292.


17 Henry F. Brownson, Literary, Scientific and Political Views of C. A. Brownson, 206-207.


19Joseph Dorfman, Thorstein Vablen and His America, 72.

20Worcester Palladium, Mar. 20, 1867.

21The Nation, Nov. 11, 1875.

22The Methodist, Nov. 12, 1866. William Cullen Bryant wrote, "The diagrams are ingeniously devised and help the reader to a more immediate comprehension of the statements they illustrate." --To Amasa Walker, Nov. 12, 1866 (Autograph Letter Book). F. A. Walker considered the illustrations a unique feature of the book. --"Memoir of ... Amasa Walker, LL. D." New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XLII, 140 (Apr., 1888).
of his style regarded Walker's book as better worth reading than any American work on political economy written up to that time. At the time of his death the same magazine declared that the *Science of Wealth* was "better known and had been more widely read than any native work in the same field." A large part of its appeal was due to its practical nature. For that reason it was widely recommended to business men, bankers and statesmen whose problems the author had clarified many reviewers felt. One reviewer recommended it to theological students because of the "moral bearings of its subject" which Walker had certainly gone to pains to point out.

The *Science of Wealth* was very favorably reviewed in the *Journal des Économistes Revue* by the French political economist, Wolowski, who also called the attention of the *Société d' Économie Politique* to the contribution Walker had made especially to the history of finance in the United States. When the Scottish economist, Henry D. MacLeod, whose name is associated with the Poor-Law reform in Scotland and who contributed greatly to the theory of credit, wanted recommendations from American economists of weight to help secure the Professorship of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh he chose Amasa Walker and Arthur Perry.

The works of three American political economists, Henry C. Carey, Arthur L. Perry and Amasa Walker, were included in the Italian *Biblioteca dell' Economista Raccolta* edited by Professor Gerolamo Boccardo in 1874.

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22 *The Nation*, Nov. 22, 1866.
23 Ibid., Nov. 11, 1875.
24 *The Methodist*, Nov. 12, 1866.
25 The article was entitled "Les Metaux Precieux et la Circulation Fiduciare." Vol. XII, 6-7 (Oct., 1868).
26 Henry D. MacLeod to Amasa Walker, Apr. 24, 1871.
This Italian collection included what the editor considered to be the important and significant modern Italian and foreign works on political economy. The entire Science of Wealth was translated by Professor Cognetti de Martis and was published together with a very lengthy introduction which discussed Amasa Walker, his work, his ideas, and the influence of the book.

When he first received the work in translation, including the introduction, Walker was curious to see what had been said about him and how the book had been translated. He asked his daughter to send him her Italian grammar and dictionary and wished she were there to help him for "if I recollect aright you were quite proficient in Italian" and without tools he did not make much headway. He believed, he wrote to her, however, that "so far as I can judge" the introduction was "quite complimentary." Later he wrote to her that he got a German to translate it but "unfortunately he did not understand either English or Italian," and did a poor job. It served his purpose, however, and corroborated his first impression that the introduction was complimentary to the author, "as much so as I could desire," he wrote.

After Walker quit lecturing at Amherst his text book was used by Professor Julius Seelye, later President, who lectured on political economy as well as mental and moral philosophy. While a senior at Amherst in 1872 John Bates Clark, of later economic fame, was introduced

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27Gerolamo Boccardo, direttore, Biblioteca dell' Economista Raccolta delle Piu Preziose Opere Moderne Italiane e Straniere Economia Politica (Terza Serie), Ditta Fomba e c., Torino, 1874.
28Mar. 27, 1875 and Feb. 14, 1875.
to the subject by way of Walker's *Science of Wealth* and Professor Seelye's lectures. Both the book and the professor left him with what he called a feeling of incompleteness, which need not be a faulty attribute of a course, particularly if the feeling leads the student, as it did in the case of Clark, into new researches and further work. 29

In Amasa's day it was undeniably true that political economy was thought by many to be a kind of universal panacea. Part of Walker's enthusiasm for the subject can be traced to the curative powers which he felt it possessed. One devotee of the science of wealth, reviewing Walker's book, commended the study of political economy to theologians calling it "the greatest of modern science; the one that has already cast the most suspicious rays upon the social prospects of the world." 30 The later "scientifically trained" economists could belittle as they pleased this popular enthusiasm as at least one of them did. 31 But without the pioneers there would have been but little demand for the later "finished products." Richard T. Ely's amused tolerance for Walker's statement that both students and teacher though unfamiliar with the study could profitably pursue political economy with a good text book demonstrates the gap between the pioneer reformer-political economist and the self-conscious seminar-method economist.

Actually when it came to his own qualifications and claim to a public hearing Walker was quite modest. He admitted in the preface to the *Science of Wealth* to "a practical knowledge of business and banking

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30 *The Methodist*, Nov. 12, 1866.
affairs generally, and a most earnest and persistent search for the
truth in all matters appertaining to my favorite science." 32

Bascom, Bowen, Wayland, Perry and Walker, men whose books were
widely used in schools and generally read had all contributed to the
making of a generation of students interested in economic problems,
and helped establish upon a firm foundation the social sciences in the
school curriculum. Walker was by far the least academic of the group.
Although he had lectured to some extent in colleges he was not college
trained. His business and political preoccupations gave a somewhat
different slant to his work. It was his interest in practical affairs
which caused him to treat the subject of money and finance so exhaustively,
an arrangement almost universally commented upon by contemporary re-
viewers. The comments ran all the way from the complaint and criticism
of his old friend and fellow-abolitionist, Elizur Wright, who believed
that currency occupied "more than its due share of space, and still"
did not "reach the right conclusion" 33 to the unqualified approval of
his currency views in the Manchester Guardian. This latter paper, des-
pite its free trade predilection mentioned only the monetary portion of
Walker's book and expressed the hope that such a significant work would
be instrumental in turning the United States Congress "back where it
should [be] on that subject," that is, in the direction of contraction
and so-called "hard money." 34 L. Wołowski, the French economist, fixed
upon this subject in the Science of Wealth to discuss at length in his

32 1866 edition.
33 Commonwealth (Boston), Dec. 8, 1866.
34 Manchester Guardian (England), June 26, 1867. For discussion of
Walker's ideas on money expressed in this book and elsewhere see pages
340 et seq.
review in the *Journal des Économistes*. He declared that the book was a notable contribution to the financial history of the United States; he believed also, that Walker's conclusions in regard to money and credit were valid.  

Why it was that Walker with such a practical background, believing, as he said, that political economy was purely and "emphatically a business science" stuck so closely to most subjects to the classical economists is explainable in several ways. The American economic writers whose books preceded the *Science of Wealth* belonged to the classical school. Undoubtedly this was a permeating influence, although Walker was far from being the classicist that John Bascom was, for example. Bascom drew practically everything from the English writers accepting even the Malthusian theory of population. He was touched not at all by the agricultural and industrial conditions of his own country. Walker, who had been first a merchant and later a practical statesman, could not so well ignore his surroundings as his contemporaries who had known only the academic environment. His book, and other writings, reflect, therefore, an economics "more in harmony with industrial demands," as a modern economist has diagnosed him.  

A second factor in determining Walker's economic allegiance was the political state of the country. Economically he was quite responsive to political stimuli due no doubt to years of experience in the party battles in Massachusetts and the nation. Slavery

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35 Wołowski, loc. cit., 40-44.
had been the absorbing interest politically, then came the immediate problem of the war and growing out of the war some very serious and pressing problems, currency being the one which occupied him most completely. This situation in which the slavery, war and currency issues played so large a part crowded back in his mind and the national mind questions which might at another time have engaged his attention and led to wider deviations from the classical school. John Stuart Mill's book published just when it was, renewed interest in the principles held by the classical school and influenced Walker greatly. He called Mill "the ablest of living writers." 38

From the time he first became acquainted with the Wealth of Nations in the winter of 1840-1841 while recuperating in Florida, until his last economic thought Adam Smith figured more largely in Walker's economic thinking than any other man. He referred to him more than to any other source. He knew the works of Mill, Ricardo, Malthus, Bastiat and others but none of that list ever rivaled Adam Smith in Walker's economic thinking. He recommended Frederic Bastiat's Harmonies of Political Economy in 1863 to his friend Professor Arthur L. Perry who considered this introduction a turning point in his theory of political economy. 39 Perry referred to Bastiat's influence over him almost in terms of a religious convert saying that after reading him he had "a sense of having found something" and "of having something of my own to say." 40 Bastiat's teachings that "God has designed the progressive amelioration of mankind" and

40 Ibid., 181.
that "all legitimate interests are in harmony" helped induce such an attitude no doubt. After his "enlightenment" Perry abandoned the word "wealth" and emphasized "value," saying that political economy is a science about "that class of facts or phenomena of which value is the characteristic."\textsuperscript{42}

Walker did not, however, forsake his definition that political economy is the science of wealth and he emphasized his belief in the title of his book, as did John Bascom who in his 1864 edition headed the first chapter: "Political Economy is the Science of Wealth."\textsuperscript{43} Walker too referred to Bastiat in very complimentary terms, almost as much so as to Mill,\textsuperscript{44} though he continued Adam Smith's emphasis on wealth as the distinguishing characteristic of political economy.

When it came to a belief in the "progressive amelioration of mankind" Walker was as much in accord with Bastiat as was Perry. As one comment on the \textbf{Science of Wealth} had it: "Throughout, the book is optimistic, and the author's views were permeated with an enthusiasm and healthy moral tone which commanded respect."\textsuperscript{45} His belief that political economy was a remedy for so many of the evils of the world naturally led him to a moralistic attitude. The science supported the freedom of labor, and so condemned slavery; it taught the necessity of cooperation between labor and capital, and so condemned the concentration of too much \textit{power} in the hands of capitalists; it taught that republican nations should not resort to such methods but allow the Kaisers to

\textsuperscript{42}Turner, \textit{op. cit.}, 182.
\textsuperscript{43}John Bascom, \textit{Political Economy}, 19.
\textsuperscript{44}Walker, \textit{Science of Wealth}, viii.
\textsuperscript{45}Palgrave's \textit{Dictionary of Political Economy}, III, 649.
\textsuperscript{46}See pages 291-292.
monopolize that method of finance which "builds up one industry by pulling down another"; it taught the mutual interdependence of nations, and so condemned armaments which destroyed confidence, it advocated peace for only then can trade and commerce of nations reach its fullest development.

Compare this view with that expressed by Bastiat in the Paris Peace Congress. Religion, he said at that meeting, teaches men to live in peace because it is their duty to do so; but political economy teaches men to live in peace because it is to their interest to do so. In his own copy of the Science of Wealth, in which he had made numerous corrections and additions apparently for some future edition, he thus enlarged upon the subject of international peace and the possibility of a Congress of Nations: "The subject of mutual disarmament is now again (1869) revived, and has become a matter of consideration by the different cabinets of Europe. High anticipations are indulged that the proposed reform will be acceded to by all the governments of Europe, and if such should be the result the entire war system, now so oppressive in the industry of Europe, will pass away, and be known only in history." He had already discussed in the book how world peace and a Congress of Nations fit into the perfect scheme of things which the political economist envisaged.

When Walker's son, Francis A. Walker, wrote his Political Economy in 1883 he declared that the economist "has nothing to do with the question whether existing institutions or laws or customs are right or wrong.

47Commonwealth, (Boston), Dec. 8, 1866.
48See pages 291-292.
49See page 252.
50Referring probably to Napoleon III's proposal for an international disarmament convention. See pages 285-286.
51This note was inserted in his own copy of the Science of Wealth.
...The writer on ethics ... may indeed make excursions into economics, in order to judge the moral quality of an act or a system ...; but the economist on his part has no occasion to cross the boundary line."\(^{53}\)

How different is this later view of Francis Walker's from that of his father may be seen by a statement in the preface to the *Science of Wealth* in which the author declared that the "laws of wealth" accorded perfectly with "those moral and social laws which appertain to the higher nature and aspirations of man." Yet in writing of his father's place in the economic hierarchy Francis A. Walker gave the "moral enthusiasm, confidence in the right and hope for the future which pervaded the book" as one of his distinct claims to fame.\(^{55}\)

With this decided moral and social interest in the subject he naturally devoted considerable space to the topic of distribution. In fact he stated that it was one of his purposes to discover the laws (an eighteenth century terminology) by which an equitable distribution of wealth was secured. Wealth was, he defined it, the sum total of production, which was divided, had to be, between wages, rent, profit, interest and taxation.\(^{56}\) He included taxation as a separate category of wealth because government demanded a portion of the national wealth in the form of taxation. Walker believed that such a demand was justifiable.\(^{57}\) He could be very critical of government's share in the distribution of wealth, as in England where he believed the masses of


\(^{56}\) His book followed this topical classification.

Englishmen were ground down by a policy of "monopoly and heavy taxation."\textsuperscript{58}

Walker was always very vehement in his denunciation of indirect taxation which he believed inflicted an unfair burden on the poor "to the advantage of the rich."\textsuperscript{59} He had no quarrel with government as such, merely with its abuse of the taxing power. He advocated, therefore, in his later life an income tax which he thought was the cheapest and most just tax. When the income tax was abolished after the Civil War he blamed it on the "great capitalists" who then succeeded in throwing the burden upon consumption. This meant that the laboring classes, the largest consumers, paid the greatest portion of it. This situation he deplored. Nevertheless, he was not skeptical of government. On the contrary, he believed in "constitutional emancipation" of the slaves, it will be recalled, he supported in later life a plan for complete government ownership of the railroads and about the same time proposed a state insurance scheme.\textsuperscript{60}

On the subject of wages Walker worked on the assumption that "natural laws" provided a just distribution of the fruits of production unless "legal enactments and social customs" interfered. The share of labor in production was paid in wages. He recognized, of course, that sometimes unjust laws, especially taxation systems, and other laws and customs favorable to the capitalist class served to hold down labor, and permitted capital to tyrannize over labor in an "unnatural" manner.

\textsuperscript{58}See page 237
\textsuperscript{59}Reports of the Peace Congresses, 1852, 51.
\textsuperscript{60}Amasa Walker, "Economy in Taxation," The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review, LVIII, 334 (May, 1868).
\textsuperscript{61}Boston Journal of Commerce, Aug. 2, 1873.
\textsuperscript{62}Boston Post, Nov. 27, 1872.
Such tyranny was not just because wealth was a joint production of labor and capital. This reasoning made him feel that if the true teachings of political economy could be taught and known of all, such "unnatural" situations would not only be less probable but eventually impossible. His faith in the "natural laws" ability to effect moral and social improvement in man was such that he believed that capital could not permanently trample on the rights of labor. It was possible, he knew, for "foul play" and "legal fraud" to come between capital and its reward, as well as between labor and its reward. Though neither situation was to be desired, he recognized that capital was not so likely to be cheated as was labor. Whenever anything dislocated the industrial mechanism he readily admitted that labor was the first to suffer. He stated the difference between labor and capital by saying that labor's needs and wants are "instant, immediate, vital. Capital has the privilege of Leviathan. It can dive down to the depths and give up breathing for a while. If labor goes under, it dies."

Labor had no surplus, no reserve on which it could draw. In a country of free men exercising their right of franchise under a republican form of government Walker believed that the workers should be able to protect themselves against unjust laws, especially unjust taxation, which would tend to dislocated the "natural laws" and injure labor's rights.

Labor needed to guard its interests well for another reason, which Walker explained in this way: labor, he said

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differed from other commodities because all others had what he termed an actual and a speculative demand. When prices rose due to speculation, he reasoned, labor lost because no one speculated in wages.

This led him to a consideration of real and nominal wages. He was hampered in his study because he lacked any accurate set of industrial, wage or price, figures for the country through any considerable period of time. From the figures which were available he concluded that although wages rose and fell, they did not do so in proportion to the rise and fall of commodity prices. He concluded that real wages, that is, wages measured in terms of commodities, had increased between 1810 and 1860. But when it came to a comparison between labor's share and capital's share, though both had been increased, labor's relative share in 1860 was less than in 1810.

In 1866 when the Science of Wealth was published the wage fund theory dominated the thinking of both English and American economists. In the same year that Walker's book came out Francis D. Longe published a pamphlet, "A Refutation of the Wage-Fund Theory of Modern Political Economy," but it carried no weight. Three years later W. T. Thornton attack the same doctrine less able but with more publicity because he forced John Stuart Mill to recant. Walker did not, however, explain wages by the prevalent wage fund theory when he wrote his book. His son, Francis A. Walker, who did more to discredit this wage theory in the United States than any other economist, once wrote that one of his


Francis A. Walker, "Wage Fund Theory" in Lalor's Cyclopedia.

father's claims to economic fame was the "absence [in his writings] of even a suggestion of the Wage Fund doctrine, then absolutely undisputed by American economists, but now utterly exploded [largely by Francis A. Walker]."

Of course Amasa Walker fell short of explaining wages in terms of the subsequent marginal productivity theory. He had, nevertheless, moved away from the old idea that wages were dependent on past production, that is, on the supply of money at the disposal of the employer, who with these previous earnings paid wages to labor. In his *Science of Wealth* Walker announced that wages were dependent on the conditions of cost, supply, and demand, but of current, not past, production. He retained somewhat the terminology of the older theory, as seen for instance in the statement that wages were high in proportion "to the disposition that exists amongst those possessing wealth to pay it out for labor." But in the same paragraph he explained that this "disposition" depended on the "profitableness with which capital could be employed in production. The further explanation that capital without labor is productive of nothing therefore shows that the "disposition" to pay out wages is necessarily dependent on the "profitableness with which labor, as well as capital, can be employed." Thus what appeared to be a lapse, a return to the old Wage Fund theory, was a matter of terminology and phrase merely, not of substance. He had poured new wine into old wine bottles and it evolved from his discussion that wages were dependent on the

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70 Ibid., 256.
the productivity of labor.

If Amasa Walker, the reformer, has been lost sight of in the discussion so far of wages, he emerged clearly in that role when he considered some of the social causes of differences in wages. One of the wage differences which political economists had neglected was the wage difference due to sex. His explanation of the discrepancy was to be found in the small number of occupations open to women and the large available supply of women workers. Another item in the difference was the dispensable character of the labor usually performed by the mass of women in the ranks of labor.

Philanthropists, unlike political economists, had taken cognizance of this problem. But no amount of human sympathy from benevolent organizations, he pointed out, could override the "inexorable and immutable" law of supply and demand. Wage differences between men and women were problems for economists as well as philanthropists. The only means of increasing the wages of women, he believed, was to increase employment, that is, to open more positions to women, and that meant flying in the face of convention and tradition as well as economic practice. He warned those who were satisfied with the restricted limits of women's sphere that they would have to be equally well satisfied with her economic compensation. Only a thorough-going emancipation for women along all lines could obliterate wage differences due to sex, he taught in his book. The rapid industrialization of the United States, he foresaw, would eventually make possible such emancipation and because of his advanced views on women's rights he viewed industrialization as fortunate for that reason. 71

71 Ibid., 263-265.
Interest was another of the divisions of wealth. Walker believed that interest had its justification in the right of private property, which he was far from denying. Property, he wrote, is no crime, "a monopoly that must be destroyed. Any speculation concerning doing away with interest entirely, he believed, was idle and unfair. Interest, he viewed, as the reward of past labor, and "past labor," he reminded his readers, "has all the sacredness of present labor, and as justly claims its rewards." He invested labor, it is interesting to note, not property, with sanctity. 72

In line with the prevailing theories of his time Walker analyzed the share of profits into compensation for risk, wages of management, and interest. Business man-economist that he was he appreciated and described clearly the function and the reward of the business man or entrepreneur. His income he taught was composed of two parts, profits and interest. These two items of a business man's income, he maintained, were distinctly separate. Profit was the compensation for risk, and the wages of management, while interest was the reward of capital, "past labor," as distinct from the reward of the business man or entrepreneur himself. Profit and interest, separate though they were, both naturally accrued to him, hence constituted his income. 73

It is not surprising that a practical man of Walker's turn of mind would repudiate as did most of his contemporaries, from Carey on, the

72Ibid., 319-324. Locke and many others held to the labor justification of property. Karl Marx believed that labor was the source of all wealth, but there is no evidence that Amasa Walker knew any of his writings.
73Walker, Science of Wealth, 311-324. One modern writer considers the clear distinction between profits and interest to be one of Amasa Walker's most important economic contributions. -- H. M. Fletcher, op. cit.,5.
malthusian theory of population. The natural resources of the United States still needed a larger population in order to increase national prosperity when Walker wrote his book. Any writer attune to his time and environment was likely to repudiate, as Walker and almost all the other Americans did, the factor of diminishing returns in agriculture. There was yet much new land to be harnessed, old lands to be more efficiently and profitably utilized, scientific improvements to be made along the line of selected seed, fertilization, division of labor, intensification of cultivation, as well as transportation facilities to be developed in order to provide better marketing facilities. The American economic writers, though they were to look toward England, the economic font, had almost all been influenced enough by their environment to reject the Malthusian doctrine. Walker recoiled at the "glut, famine, and death" theories of Malthus, believed, in fact, that all "British philosophy of population was perverted and diseased from its root." He explained this depressing British theory of population by the prevalence of social wrongs and unjust political institutions in that country. Why should British philosophers generalize on the results of what he considered local misrule insisting that they had a universal theory of human population, he asked.  

Walker denied the principles of Malthus, or what he believed to be his principles, at every point. His point of view was very characteristic of the pre-Civil War thinking of Americans. American economists could not, and did not, ignore the promises of the frontier. They were familiar with a country where labor had always been the lacking factor in production. These two factors in American life made it difficult for Walker to comprehend the reasoning of Malthus. But a further misunder-

74 Ibid., 430-439.
standing was due to the completely different attitudes of the two men. Walker failed to grasp that Malthus was writing in terms of existing circumstances, about a given time, a given place, and about a given stage of human development. All the time he refuted, or thought he was refuting Malthus, he was writing in terms of the possible future, at some future time, and under different, and as he assumed in reform-fashion, superior conditions. Walker, the idealist, tried to meet Malthus, the static, and failed.

His reasoning on the theory of population was significant both because of its distinctively American character and because of its influence on his philosophy of rent. He denied that subsistence was stationary or retrogressive because he believed that with intelligent cultivation fertility could be increased; chemical aids, he thought, would be discovered to aid in soil conservation and that mechanical inventions would free more and more men for an agricultural life and make possible a further intensification of agriculture. Strange that he should neglect to see that mechanical inventions might free agricultural as well as industrial workers! His statement concerning more agricultural workers may have been in part a wish, for he always maintained that agriculture was man's normal employment, the work in which he enjoyed longest life and greatest health. Other occupations were unwholesome depending on the extent to which they departed from the agricultural ideal. 75 Walker also denied that population necessarily increased by pointing out some of the natural reducers which were constantly at work. 76

75 Ibid., 261.
76 Ibid., 430-432. For the best discussion of Walker’s theories of population, especially his differences with Malthus see Turner, op. cit., 170-173.
Walker thought that Malthus' explanation of labor's sufferings as due to an ungenerous nature and over-population was not labor's real trouble. "Density of population," he declared "had nothing to do with" this suffering. He explained it as being due to a faulty distribution. The English laborers suffered for the commonest commodities not because England was too poor to give them, Walker reasoned, but because "class legislation; oppressive institutions, the relics of feudalism; onerous taxation, incurred by the senseless war system; and unjust monopolies" have degraded the people until they have no influence in the government and so are unable to redress their wrongs. Were it not for the "legalized system of robbery and wrong" as Walker termed it, each person in Great Britain could be as well educated, fed, and clothed as were the inhabitants of the United States; and better, because England was a richer country than the United States.  

Ricardo held that labor's sufferings in England were due to the increasing proportion of the total wealth which rent absorbed. This is another way of saying that his concept of rent was based upon an assumption of diminishing returns. Walker, and the other Americans convinced of the fact of increasing returns did not accept this principle. Some writers have considered, however, that Walker's theory of rent followed that of Ricardo. By a study of his main work it develops that quite the opposite is true. Walker carefully referred to rent as a payment from one man to another, "for the use of land and its appendages," while Ricardo used the term to include the surplus which accrued to the landowner who possessed better than marginal land. Consideration of rent in the Ricardian sense was precluded by Walker and the other Americans because of their assumption of increasing returns. 

Walker taught that natural powers, including fertility of land, work for nothing and so "confer no value" and do not add to the

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wealth of the world. Instead of speaking of the three agents of production, land, labor and capital, he spoke of but two, capital and labor. Unlike Ricardo he considered land as "used wealth", and therefore capital — another reason for omitting the third agent of production. Since he considered land capital the question arose as to what one called the sum of money paid for the use of land. Ordinarily it is rent, but if land is capital why is it not interest, that which is paid for the use of capital? But Walker distinguished between two kinds of capital, circulating and fixed. Land belonged to the latter category and rent was payment for fixed capital, while interest was payment for the use of circulating capital. He emphasized the capital-concept of rent while Ricardo emphasized the pure land-rent concept.

If faulty distribution was the source of most of labor's ills, as he believed it to be, then a remedy was possible. He looked with great favor upon the cooperative movement in England. He believed that the condition of the laboring classes there was so bad that some such relief was a necessity. He further believed that the Rochdale plan and other similar ventures had pointed the way for American as well as English workingmen. Walker always believed that his own cooperative undertaking in connection with Marlboro' Chapel served to advance the cooperative movement. If the working classes in America were true to their own interests, he believed, they would form cooperative associa-

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80Ibid., 55-60.
81Ibid., 294-297.
82Turner, op. cit., 173-177. This is the best available discussion of Walker's rent theories. The author considers his theories as opposed to Ricardo's, as does also H. M. Fletcher, op. cit., 4.
83See page 313.
84Walker, Science of Wealth, 274. Many clippings on English Cooperatives are to be found in his scrap books, also several in his personal copy of The Science of Wealth. This copy is in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker, Washington, D. C.
85See pages 109-112.
tions. The working class in this country, while they did not constitute so deprived a class as in England, nevertheless, could benefit by cooperatives. The inflated currency in the United States, Walker declared, raised the price on staple commodities which all people had to buy whatever the cost. The wages of workers, he pointed out, rose due to inflation too, but not in equal ratio. He said that figures during the war years showed that the general rise of wages due to inflation was just about one-half as much as the rise in commodity prices. 86

Walker felt justified in believing that cooperatives would work in the United States because they had proved by experience to be practical in England. He was convinced that such associations did not in any way jeopardize private property, that they would not disturb the peace, and that they would not interfere or violate the laws of the country nor the natural laws of trade. 87

Walker was not so certain of the altogether beneficial and harmless character of trades' unions. That they could and would help provide a more equitable distribution of wealth he was far from convinced. He did not question the right of the different trades to combine and try to fix wages and hours, but he doubted whether the unions in their actual working, up to that time (that is, when he wrote the Science of Wealth, 1866) were providing a good policy. He was thinking of the trade unions' weapon, the strike, when he declared that such an organization was not an imperium in imperio. The men who combined in the

87 Walker, Science of Wealth, 279.
unions he contended were citizens as were all others, that they had no more and no less right to concession than other citizens. Strikes, he believed, disturbed the public peace and when that occurred unions had exceeded their bounds. If such methods as those were necessary then the indication was clear that governmental institutions had failed to give equal protection. But this he refused to believe. He warned the striking unions that if they persisted in such methods governmental institutions would fail. Violent methods sometimes used by strikers, he believed, were detrimental not only to governmental institutions but all social institutions as well as to the best interests of the laboring classes. He failed seemingly to see that elastic and inelastic demands had any relation to a union's strike for higher wages. Likewise, one looks in vain for any notion of the possible beneficial results of collective bargaining. So far as Walker was concerned there were three things needful to labor: freedom, protection and justice.  

He believed our democratic government gave the laborer freedom, the right to work for whom he would; the ballot insured him protection and justice for all his interests. In all this he was consistent in adhering to democratic principles of government on the political side, and to the laissez-faire principles on the economic side. As he expressed it when a democratic government acknowledged the rights of all men the laborer had the "same rights as his fellow-citizens, neither, more nor less."  

In the years before the Civil War Amasa Walker had been more in

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38 This entire discussion on labor unions thus far refers to the ideas expressed in The Science of Wealth.
39 Ibid., 271-273.
40 Ibid., 269.
tune with the workers' organizations. In 1847 he attended a meeting of the Labor Reform League in Boston and was one of the principal speakers as was also William E. Channing. This League had grown out of an earlier organization known as the Working Men's Association. Massachusetts, despite its numerous working class population, was slow in forming workers' unions. What organizations they had had in the thirties ended with the panic of 1837. The 1847 Convention of the Labor Reform League endorsed Protective Unions, as they chose to call their organizations; the ten hour day which had been attempted in the thirties but failed; free land; free trade and "the circulation of high toned, philosophical and moral publications, and the support of faithful, devoted and competent lecturers to diffuse light among the working people." Walker and Channing could certainly be said to have answered that description.

As the convention's report read, some of the speakers at the 1847 convention did not agree with all of the League's program, but their "large hearts and universal benevolence, render their presence welcome at all meetings for the benefit of humanity." As was to be expected Walker spoke very favorably for the free soil movement and free trade, two of his particular reforms. He also commended the League's stand for "Protective Unions," and urged the working men to continue to agitate, until they shall gain the position they are entitled to, as members of "the great brotherhood."91

Just twenty years later he was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Labor Reform League in Worcester. That meeting went on record

91 John R. Commons, et al., eds., A Documentary History of American Society, VIII, 81-83; 126-127.
as favoring the movement for the reduction of hours, and opposing 
"class legislation" which enslaved labor to capital. The meeting 
further resolved that strikes were to be avoided if possible and re-
minded its members that capital as well as labor had rights which 
were bound to be respected, but that capital on its side should al-
ways hold the fruits of production "in trust for the benefit of hu-
manity." Women, the report declared, should either organize into 
societies or secure the ballot and thereby try to improve the condi-
tion of working girls, a condition which was termed "a standing re-
proach to civilization." The meeting also, of course, favored labor 
unions and the formation of cooperative societies.

Walker's subject was the Labor Reform Movement. He compared this 
movement with the antislavery movement, but believed it was an even 
more important and far-reaching movement; because it included the en-
tire civilized world, while the antislavery movement was a local con-
cern. He declared in his speech that he favored labor unions so long 
as they were trying to gain justice, and were not asking favors! He 
admitted that labor had always been wronged. The greatest wrong against 
labor he considered was the government's inflationary paper money. 
This medium, he pointed out, had forced commodity prices higher, and 
higher, but the wages of labor had not risen in proportion. He urged 
the League to petition Congress for a contraction of the currency and 
thus improve their own lot through justice. He urged them further to 
agitate for an improved and just system of taxation, particularly to 
demand that in the future government bonds be liable to taxation. At 
this point according to the newspaper account of the speech, the audience
applauded.

He reminded the workingmen that they could have anything they wanted -- if they would but vote for it. "You have the ballot;" he told them, use it. "Send to Congress the right men and your cause will succeed. You can carry anything that is right." Violent strikes, he believed, were injurious to the cause of labor and always brought bad results. Amasa Walker was followed by E. H. Heywood, the radical reformer and pamphleteer. At this time he was devoting himself to labor reform mostly. He told the meeting that it was useless "to beat a loud drum under the window of the capitalist unless we can tell him intelligently what is wanted when he comes down to listen." Industry, he declared, was "half slave and half free" -- capital was free, labor was shackled. His remedy, too, was the ballot box -- to "play off the parties one against the other; hold the balance of power wisely and firmly." He agreed with Walker that "Hard Money" was necessary to the attainment of justice among the laboring classes.

Counting on the ballot as the solution of all labor problems, Walker always assumed that the workers would know what was for their own best interests and would agree in demanding the same things. In line with his discussion on the labor movement in his Science of Wealth was an article in the Congregationalist in 1867 saying that labor being a majority at the polls could secure any object which it might demand so long as it was practical and plausable. He explained that labor, through

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92 Worcester Gazette, Sept. 24, 1867.
93 He was interested in Women's Rights, Antislavery, Peace (remained a pacifist during the Civil War), Hard Money, Free Trade, Marriage Reform, Social Ethics etc. etc.
94 Worcester Gazette, Sept. 24, 1867.
wages, received rewards in proportion to its production (a definite repudiation of the wage fund theory) unless it was defrauded of its natural and just share. This, he admitted, happened, and was particularly true of the time in which he wrote, because the inflated currency robbed every laboring man, as he believed, of one-fourth of his earnings. Such was the discrepancy between commodity prices and wages of labor.

In 1870 Walker wrote to Charles Sumner that he believed the workingmen's unions could be one of the most powerful forces leading toward peace. He made the statement in this letter that he believed the workingmen's associations were one of the greatest movements of their age whether considered from the social, economic or political angle. He urged Sumner who was preparing a lecture on the subject of Peace to make "A Special Appeal to Working Men Throughout the World."96

On May 28, 1866 the legislature of Massachusetts provided that a committee of three members be appointed by the Governor to investigate the hours of labor in the state. The committee was to have power to send for persons and records, and to thoroughly investigate the subject of the hours of labor, particularly in relation to the social, educational and sanitary conditions of the working classes.97 Amasa Walker was made chairman of the committee. Questionnaires were sent out to 450 employers in various parts of the state. The same number went out to employees, of which but forty were returned. The questionnaire to

95The Congregationalist, Mar., 8, 1867.
96Oct. 3, 1870 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
97Massachusetts Report on the Hours of Labor, 1867, 4.
workers asked primarily concerning wages and hours, also how they would consider a compulsory ten or eight hour day. The circulars sent to employers were better answered; they asked among other things the number of workers employed in the concern, how many of the total number were women, how many between fourteen and eighteen, how many between ten and fourteen and how many under ten years of age. The questionnaire asked, further, whether the company employed children under fifteen and if so, how many had received the required schooling under Massachusetts law. Concerning hours and production the employers were asked the number of hours which was the customary day, how a ten hour day would affect production, whether it would be possible to run their industries with two eight hour shifts and whether they considered a ten hour day necessary to the social and sanitary interests of their workers especially minors. The committee asked for a table showing the wage scale over a period of years, whether wages had risen since 1860, and if so, how much, and what had this tendency been in the last twenty years?

The answers to the questionnaire showed the employers perfectly willing to answer some questions but inclined to sidestep certain others. They gave their total number of employees, and the total number of women employed, but their answers in regard to the age of children they employed were very vague. Many employers honestly did not know an employee's age, and sometimes did not care to know it. Sometimes, too, parents misrepresented their children's ages to get employment for them. Since there was in 1867 a state law prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age in manufacturing establishments no

99 Ibid., 4-5.
employers listed any such. The committee declared they were of the opinion that this law had been sometimes violated, but not universally so. The members of the committee from their meagre information concerning the employment of minors concluded that in the heavy industries workers under eighteen were rare, but in the woolen and cotton mills they were much more numerous. Their figures showed that in the textile industries about nineteen per cent of the total number of employees were under eighteen. The committee, however, believed that the actual figures, were they known would be nearer twenty-five per cent.

Upon investigation it was discovered that eleven hours was the average working day in factories and mills in Massachusetts. It developed further that in the heavier industries where few or no women and young boys were employed ten hours was a regular day. In the textile mills, on the other hand, where women and boys under eighteen were estimated by the committee to comprise 75 per cent of the whole number employed, eleven hours or more seemed to be the rule. Almost all of the employers answered the query in regard to the effect of a ten hour day on production by saying that it would reduce it "in the same ratio, or one-eleventh." A few admitted that the loss would not be one-eleventh because shorter hours would reduce illness among employees which retarded production where workers had to lay off for weeks or months at a time. Some of those questioned declared that they believed that the social and sanitary interests of workers, especially minors might require a ten hour day. Amos Lawrence at Lowell and some others declared themselves willing to experiment and abide by the re-

100Ibid., 5-7.
101Ibid., 8-12.
sults. Others did not want such a system unless it was universal in New England. Before the report was published some of the largest Massachusetts mills adopted voluntarily the ten hour day; sixty hours per week.\footnote{102}

The manufacturers reported approximately a 68 per cent increase in 1867 wages over 1860 wages. But the committee concluded not over 50 per cent could be considered the average advance in the state for all occupations. In regard to the question about an eight hour day most of the companies reported that two eight hour shifts would not be at all practicable.\footnote{103}

The report submitted by the committee was not unanimous. The majority report was written by Walker and concurred in by William Hyde. It recommended among other things a one hour noon. The commissioners discovered that forty-five minutes was customary in many mills employing mostly women and children. Frequently the operatives had to go from half to three-quarters of a mile for their noon meal.\footnote{104} The evidence of Walker's authorship is seen in his discussion of the cause of labor's suffering by raising prices out of proportion to the wages labor received. The committee went on record as opposing the national government's currency policy and favoring "a return to a sound standard of value." The committee further recommended that the 1866 Massachusetts law prohibiting children under ten years from factory work be better enforced. To this end it proposed that the offending employer should be fined fifty dollars for each offense, "one-half of which shall go

\footnotesize\addcontentsline{toc}{section}{Notes}
\footnote{102}{bid., 14.}
\footnote{103}{bid., 14-15.}
\footnote{104}{bid., 18.}
to the complainant." This provision, it was hoped, would make employers very wary of violations and cause them to investigate their employees fully before hiring them. In order to see that these laws, which they proposed, were carried out the commission recommended that an Inspector of Labor be appointed by the Governor. He would inspect factory conditions, and hear complaints, in other words, as the report read, be the "official friend" of the laboring classes. The report recommended the creation of a bureau of statistics for the collection of all facts and figures relating to the state's trade and industry -- a recommendation in which the hand of Amasa Walker is clearly discernable.

Concerning the hours of labor the majority report declared that the members were convinced that ten hours a day, six days a week, impaired the health of women and children, that it was to the interest of the state to prevent this "uneconomical waste of life." The report, nevertheless, refused to recommend a ten hour day for the adult laborers who choose their own employment. It did, however, recommend that a ten hour law, a sixty hour week, be enacted for children under eighteen years of age. The report further expressed the hope that with this beginning soon all factories would operate on a ten hour day for all employees. The report declared that this had happened in England and would quite probably follow in Massachusetts.

The point on which the majority report differed from E. H. Roger's minority report was the matter of the state's enactment of an eight hour

105 I ibid., 6, 17.
106 I ibid., 7.
107 I ibid., 21. As late as 1870 Walker was trying to collect statistics on the shoe industry in England. -- Charles Gilpin to Amasa Walker, Feb. 18, 1870.
108 I ibid., 11. Walker showed himself familiar with Alfred's History of the Factory Movement in this report. -- I ibid.
day for mechanics, and a ten hour day for other industrial workers. Walker, in the majority report, opposed the passage of such a law. He contended that such a reduction in the hours of work would decrease the nation's production of wealth. He believed that it would not be seriously contended that a laborer could produce as much in eight hours as in ten. Furthermore, the majority report extolled the virtues of those peoples and countries whose climate and manner of life required constant labor and struggle and expressed the opinion that peoples whose livelihood came too easily were demoralized and low in the scale of civilization. "Work, then, is a blessing; idleness, or exemption from labor, a curse." It was possible, the report admitted, for men to strive too hard and thereby to injure their health. The state should aim toward that point which gives the highest production of wealth yet remains consistent with the preservation of the laborer's natural powers.\footnote{Ibid., 20-23.}

The report's author took this occasion to sermonize on the proper use of leisure time. If the laborer relieved of two hours or more of toil per day used that time for intellectual and moral improvement Walker could sanction the move, but if those two hours merely gave him two hours more time to be "wasted in idle and vicious amusements" he had better be kept at his factory as long as possible. Neither the state nor society, he contended, had provided sufficient libraries, reading rooms, social and recreational centers to care for the working classes should their leisure be increased. Their only choice was between their confining rooms and the beer saloons, "the one place where
they are always welcome." This lack on the part of the state, he declared, did not excuse it from keeping workers shut up in factories for inordinately long hours. 110

It was the matter of the workers' wages, however, which he believed to be the most important consideration involved in the eight hour day proposal. Speaking as a political economist he denied that a worker would produce as much in eight as in ten hours. On an eight hour plan labor's wages would of necessity have to be reduced. The workers would object to this, and yet they could not in justice expect to be paid for ten hours' work while working but eight. Walker admitted that a worker's efficiency in the last two hours of work would be less than in the previous eight hours, but he would, nevertheless, produce more in ten than in eight hours. To speak of the same wages for eight hours' work as for ten Walker declared was not practical. The capitalists would not consent, and if they did, he said their profits would be less, their reinvestment less, and eventually less employment would be offered for labor. No one would thus gain by a reduced working day. He believed that this situation, as he said, confirmed the "principle, that the interests of the employer and the employee are inseparably united; that one cannot be injured and the other not suffer; that both have a common interest in the profitableness of all kinds of business. They are copartners, not antagonists."111 No Marxian doctrine this!

In his minority report E. H. Rogers recommended that the ten hour day be enacted as the legal standard in the absence of contracts for all factory and farm work. He further recommended that an eight hour

110 Ibid., 27.
111 Ibid., 24-28.
day be made by law the legal standard in the absence of contracts for mechanical labor. Rogers denied that labor's wages were in any just proportion to its production. He expressed the opinion that human labor was not a commodity which could be bought and sold in the market without regard to humanitarian considerations. He attacked the prevalent idea, an idea which Henry Ward Beecher among others had promulgated, that a workingman in order to "get a step ahead" had to work extra hours. Beecher declared that so long as regular hours brought the worker merely enough to support himself that the only solution he could find was to work some added hours. He believed, he said, to reduce workingmen's hours lower than their systems would bear would be a curse to them. More work makes better men was his motto. Such pious sentiments Rogers declared did not justify intemperance in labor. 112

Roger's report was in most ways a socially enlightened document. He reviewed labor's struggle to reduce hours and secure adequate protection and declared that the policies of millionaires had been criticized so severely in other than radical circles that there was no occasion for alarm in his report or in the demands of labor, which he represented. Society, he said, taking a good thrust at Walker, distrusts itself, especially its millionaires "however tenaciously it may defend the laws of supply and demand, as sufficient to control this question" of hours and wages. 113

The majority found further support of their position in their belief that government could not justifiably interfere with a man's right

112 Edward H. Rogers, A Lecture. Eight Hours a Day's Work, 9.
113 Ibid., 133-140, 142.
to earn a living. Since, the report read, no one is compelled to work by law, there could not more logically be a law to forbid work. For "government has not rightful control over the labor of free men." These two "rugged individualists" waxed quite eloquent on this subject even going so far as to say "that the laborer can never be oppressed by being left at perfect liberty to work as he pleases, -- that he is never injured by competition, unless the laws or customs of the country deprive him of his just rights." The report denied that capital was more likely to tyrannize over labor, than was labor likely to dominate capital. The only difference was an artificial and temporary one, that capital was more quickly mobilized to exert pressure, especially on legislation. But this situation could be met and counteracted by labor, the report suggested, if it would concentrate its energies, now diverse, in voluntary labor associations to secure their own interest.

But the whole report was written with the fundamental assumption that a laborer need not always remain in the category of the laborer, but could hope to ascend into the rank of the capitalist. This underlying philosophy came out when the report declared that "capital had more independence than labor. It should always, therefore, be an object ... of the laborer to secure a certain degree of independence himself by practicing such frugality as to lay by so much of his earnings as will prevent the necessity of working at once, whether he can get reasonable terms or not." The Boston Journal commenting on the report disagreed with Rogers' minority report, though it called it an able report. The paper commented favorably on the decision of Walker bid., 33.
and Hyde to recommend no legal working day for adult workers, and it as highly approved the recommendation to prohibit by law more than ten hours' work for children under eighteen in factories.

After his appointment to the commission on the hours of labor commission Amasa Walker wrote to his old friend, Elihu Burritt, who was in 1867 consular agent in Birmingham, England, for information about English factory conditions. Walker and the others of the commission believed a knowledge of English conditions was desirable, if not necessary, since that country was the greatest rival of the United States so far as manufactured goods were concerned. Burritt reported that the ten hour day in all occupations was practically universal and that all workers were paid extra for over-time work. He wrote that some of the English labor leaders advocated a nine hour day, that they had done so in a Labor Congress in Geneva, Switzerland, but had been outvoted. Burritt commented with favor on the custom in English factories of stopping one-half hour for afternoon tea. Making this deduction, the time actually worked was but nine and one-half hours a day. He commended, likewise, the English law requiring factory inspection and urged that Massachusetts adopt some such measure which would "keep a sharp look-out for factory children." He warned the people of Massachusetts against bragging of their freedom and enlightenment if they at the same time were developing an increasing class of dependent workers whose "mental, moral and physical well-being" was sinking rather than rising.

"The hungry avidity for large dividends, the concentration of capital, and the intangibility and invisibility of stockholders, all operate" to oppress workers. He urged the commission to counteract that tendency. 115

115 Ibid., 10.
When in 1868 the United States government enacted an eight hour day for all persons employed in the civil service of the country Walker opposed the measure. Labor looked upon this law, quite justly, as a great achievement, and Walker considered it of great consequence, because it marked the first time a government had tried to determine by law the number of hours that constitute a legal working day. Before any such law was passed Walker thought that the government should have faced some of the needs of labor. While he felt that the cart was being put before the horse in this instance he hoped that the pressing labor problems would be brought home to the government as a result of the law. He still considered the lack of suitable and elevating places for working people to spend their leisure as a major labor problem.

Walker rightly felt that the 1868 law was a manifesto to the industry of the country declaring that the public interest required that men in ordinary occupations should work no more than eight hours a day. Labor, too, considered it a manifesto, but a desirable one, while Walker believed that numerous evil consequences were bound to result from the legislation. To continue to pay men for ten hours' work while they worked but eight was going to be an expensive proposition for the government to Walker's way of reasoning. Furthermore, he believed, it would put this country at a disadvantage in public works, or preparation for war to be in competition with countries where the ten hour day obtained. This law would also operate to depreciate

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117 Ibid., 532-533.  
118 Ibid., 527.
home industry and stimulate foreign importations, in his opinion.

Products made under an eight-hour system were bound to cost more than those made under a ten hour system so competition from foreign manufacturers was certain to reduce domestic profits, if not obliterate them. 119

Another evil effect he thought the law would create would be an unhealthy labor situation in that all laborers would attempt to secure government employment, for there, wages would be higher because there were less hours of labor. He believed that agriculture would be the chief loser in this respect because an eight hour day could never apply to agriculture, in the pursuit of which a majority of the American people were in 1868 engaged. As agricultural labor grew scarce and expensive the cost of farm products would rise out of proportion to manufactured goods, and create an undesirable situation. Furthermore, if government set the example of an eight hour day, and led the way, he foresaw that industry and business would eventually follow, thus leaving only agriculture with a longer day. This would then induce farm laborers to leave the farm, and he hated to see agriculture forced into that position. He believed that the temptations for leaving the farm were "already too great." 120 Because government employment offered the same pay for less work Walker feared that the law would have a harmful effect on government office-seeking. Civil service positions would be at a premium and workers, to get such a place,

119 Ibid., 528.
120 Ibid., 528. See page 312. In 1814 on a trip to the west he lamented the fact that entire communities, almost whole states, were being settled by foreigners, many of them Catholics, without any American leaven. He lamented particularly the lack of New England settlers in most of the western states. "Our manufactures absorb almost all the surplus population, and we herd our young people together in workshops and factories, when we ought to send them off to settle these beautiful and fertile (over)
would exert themselves to the utmost. Currying political favor, open bribes and other undesirable practices would, as a result, degrade the government service. 121

Amasa Walker looked upon free trade as more than an economic principle, it was a reform. As Carroll Perry has said of his father, Arthur L. Perry, Professor at Williams College, and contemporary and friend of Walker:"...his frontal attack upon the citadel of Protectionism" made him "essentially ... an Advocate; not a Scientist in the strict sense of that term." 122 In the campaign speeches for the Democratic presidential candidate, Martin Van Buren, which Walker made in 1840 he declared he was supporting the Democrats because of their opposition to a National Bank and a high Protective Tariff. 123 His campaign speeches in that year were probably his first utterances in favor of the principle of free trade. Doubtless his first interest in free trade was the result of his reform activities, especially the peace cause with which he always associated free trade, rather than his study of political economy. By 1842, however, having studied the science of wealth the previous year his opinions in favor of free trade had been unquestionably strengthened. In that year the Shoe and Leather Manufacturers, Dealers and Operatives held their first convention in Boston. The meeting was held in the

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120 -cont.-prairies. --The West must rule our nation very soon." And then he added in an eloquent patriotic burst worthy of a Know-nothing, which he was not (see page 131), "No one doubts that; and now shall we be ruled by a heterogeneous, uneducated, uncivilized mass of foreign emigrants poured in upon us from all ports of Europe, or by the intelligent descendants of the pilgrims?" --The Christian Citizen, Aug. 24, 1844.

122 Carroll Perry, A Professor of Life, 10-11.
123 See page 97 et seq.
Marlboro' Chapel, March 2, 1842. Amasa Walker, even then retired from the active shoe business, was the president of the convention. Tyler Batcheller of North Brookfield was one of the vice presidents. The meeting was called primarily to consider the advisability of a protective tariff for the shoe industry. This group made preparations for drawing up a memorial to Congress asking, "if not demanding," protection for the shoe industry which the memorial set forth was the largest single industry in Massachusetts. In 1837 40,000 persons were employed in the industry, that number being one-third of all the population engaged in manufacturing in 1837.

The resolutions passed by the convention declared that free trade was the ideal condition, that protection should never be looked upon as more that a temporary benefit. The convention put most of the blame for world restriction of trade upon Great Britain, but declared that the Massachusetts Shoe Industry as a matter of self-preservation had been forced to ask for protection. Their resolutions also declared in favor of developing American manufacturing and the members resolved to wear only products of American industry until foreign nations received American products on the same terms of reciprocity of trade which the United States offered them. The convention resolved further to do without all possible foreign articles, "especially those which come from Great Britain." When the memorial to Congress was prepared it contained a rather strong statement in favor of the abstract principle of free trade. The document pointed out to Congress that the shoe industry was almost com-

125 Proceedings, Shoe and Leather Trade, 1842, 14-15.
pletely a manual labor industry, no machinery, or power, being required. That meant, therefore, that the competition in the case of the shoe industry was solely competition between American labor and cheap, "underpaid European labor." They asked in the memorial that the tariff on shoes be scheduled to act primarily as a tax on luxuries, that the tariff be placed on expensive boots and shoes worn only by the wealthy. The petition then went on to read: "Your memorialists would explicitly state that they are not the advocates of a high protective tariff. That they do not maintain the doctrine that the whole people should be taxed for the benefit of any particular class. Your memorialists are friends of the Union, and would not ask of Congress anything which might give just occasion for sectional jealouesies ... to any portion of their fellow citizens.

"They ... would do nothing which might peril the peace and happiness of the Republic.

"Your memorialists look forward with pleasure to the time when the great commercial warfare of restrictive systems, which has been waged for centuries, shall cease forever, and when universal freedom of commerce shall bless all mankind." In self-defense it had become necessary, the memorial read, to protect certain industries which would otherwise be destroyed by old world competition. The petition expressed the wish, however, that Congress would work consistently toward the enlightened goal of free trade and meet "every advance made by other governments toward this desirable result." 126

Some of the members of the convention could not quite approve so much praise of the principle of free trade. Delegate Mudge of Lynn protested loudly that such sentiments did not represent the industry's real

126 Ibid., 24-25.
position in regard to the issue of protection. Freeman Walker, too, of North Brookfield, differing from his brother, Amasa, hoped all that part of the memorial dealing with free trade would be stricken out. For the benefit of those who protested it was explained that the sentences about free trade meant little or nothing, that it was perfectly safe to talk of free trade because there was no danger that other nations would come to it! Besides, it was pointed out, by such friendly expressions the shoe trade might ingratiate itself to the southern Congressmen and so help in securing their object. When Freeman Walker got this explanation he was more insistent than before that the free trade sentiments be omitted because he did not approve of such double-dealing. 

Amasa Walker then spoke in defense of the memorial saying he was sorry to hear the "abstract truth of the doctrine of Free Trade attacked. He explained that "economical science" taught that the principle was sound. "... I will ... say here", he said, "that I regard the whole system of restrictions as unqualifiedly bad; malum in se.

"But, bad as it is, it is yet a system which has been entailed upon the world by the false and selfish legislation of England and other nations of Europe. We are therefore called upon to defend ourselves against such an abomination, but not to approve it."

In the last part of his speech he showed how he believed the protective and the war systems were linked together. He compared commercial restriction to war, both unqualified evils, but both had to be removed by an educated "public sentiment." The tariff system, he said, "is a commercial warfare waged by nations against each other." He warned the shoe and leather dealers against ever falling into the error of

128 Proceedings, Shoe and Leather Trade, 1842, 43.
admiring protection or even viewing it with complacency. "... Let us never look to a system of restrictions as the permanent and settled policy of this country." He admitted that many men looked upon free trade as a "fanciful theory," a "visionary scheme" -- but he was bold enough to "believe it the glorious vision of truth." Protection, on the other hand, severed "the golden chain of commerce that should bind all mankind together; ... generates fraud, corruption; ... creates an unnatural growth of branches of industry not best adapted to the conditions of the country; ... defeats the very end it has in view." 129

A few weeks after the Shoe and Leather Convention had met the *Evening Mercantile Journal* of Boston published an article entitled "Comfort for the Shoe and Boot Makers." "By a recent arrival," the article read, "at the port from Havre, we understand there was an importation of six thousand pairs of Boots! What glorious encouragement to the mechanics of Norfolk, Middlesex and Essex counties -- especially to those who, in the late Convention, were so partial to the abstract doctrine of free trade!" 130

Almost thirty years later Walker again spoke before a group of representatives of the shoe and leather trade, the New England Shoe and Leather Association. He praised the independence of the trade, saying it had not come into existence by "an act of Congress," it had never been fostered by Congressional legislation, and had only once asked aid from Congress. He referred to the 1842 memorial to Congress. He explained that request by saying that the shoe and leather trade had caught the protective tariff fever which was then rampant in New England. He told

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how after making a thorough free trade speech he had been appointed by the convention as chairman of the committee to present the memorial to Congress. He humorously recalled that when they got to Washington and were so very modest in their demands, the Congressmen told them they did not talk as the others who came with demands. When the new tariff was written the rate was 25 per cent higher than the memorial requested. Walker, in telling the story, said he asked the committee chairman how it happened and he said they wanted to make a consistent tariff, consistent especially with the New England woolen and cotton goods which demanded a really high tariff. He ended this speech as he had ended that earlier one with a statement of his belief in free trade. The shoe business, he said, had grown without help and could continue to prosper without help. "I venture to say that, if there is anything under Heaven we can make at all, we can make it in competition with Europe and the rest of mankind." And the Proceedings recorded "Applause."

Walker's interest in free trade was renewed while attending the World Peace Congress in Paris in 1849. There he came in contact with Richard Cobden and John Bright, whose devotion to both free trade and peace so greatly inspired Walker. Once the Corn Laws had been abolished they turned to the broader cause of peace, a cause whose practical interests they believed could best be served by the promotion of free trade. Walker corresponded with Bright concerning the progress of political undertakings in their countries. Bright was ever hopeful that something would be done to promote free trade in the United States. In 1866 he wrote to Walker, "I shall watch with much interest what is done on the

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13 Proceedings at the Opening of the Rooms of the New England Shoe and Leather Association, 1870, 10-11.
the Free Trade question when once you are fairly reconstructed -- &...
when 'my policy' of your unhappy President is disposed of." By 1872
he was not so hopeful but yet anxious for the United States to "revise
or moderate its tariff." "...Unfortunately the 'States,'" he complained,
gave much countenance to the commercial blunders of other & less im-
portant & intelligent nations.

A peace conference every week will not do the hundredth part as
much for peace as a liberal tariff -- or as Free Trade between nations.
Our experience in Free Trade has shown astonishing results -- & which,
I suspect, would be equalled in other countries if the experiment could
be tried."133 This statement seems to have fairly represented the feel-
ing of the great Anti-Corn Leaguer toward Free Trade. He was a practi-
cal man not much given to theorizing and yet enough so to participate
in World Peace Congresses. When Amasa Walker sent him a copy of his
Science of Wealth in 1866 he thanked him and admitted he was not "a great
reader of works of its kind & I never trouble myself about the views of
Adam Smith, or Mill or Bastiat for whom & whose labor, however, I enter-
tain a profound respect."134

In 1866 Amasa Walker was occupied with the writing and publish-
ing of his book, but he had time for free trade too. The American Free
Trade League asked him to become a member of its General Council, a
position which involved no special duties. "The 'General Council,'" the
invitation read, "is designed as a means for the League to associate with
itself gentlemen well known throughout the Union, whose sanction and

133 Ibid., Dec. 3, 1872.
134 Ibid., Nov. 23, 1866 (Autograph Letter Book). He said he thought
"Bastiat was almost a 'revelation' to France."-- Ibid. See pages 301-302.
influence will add weight to the effort to overthrow the wasteful, narrow, commercial system at present prevailing in this Country." On this Council he was in influential company for at the same time he received his invitation similar invitations were sent to Lyman Trumbull, United States Senator from Illinois of whom Mrs. Walker spoke so highly; Walker's good friend and fellow-economist, Arthur L. Perry of Williams College; George Bancroft, the famous historian, and friend of Walker; Professor Francis Lieber, the German-American political economist of Columbia College; John Bascom, another Williams College professor; James Russell Lowell and many more. Shortly after this communication Walker consulted with Charles H. Carroll, the economist, about the possibility of forming a Free Trade Association in Boston. And of course he dealt with the subject at considerable length in the Science of Wealth.

A number of the reviewers of the book commented on this part of Walker's work with favor. Abel Stevens in the Methodist was pleased with his pronounced free trade principles. Without doubt the one thing most commented upon in the reviews of The Science of Wealth was Walker's espousal of free trade. It was mentioned more often than his currency ideas. The popular knowledge on the subject of free trade was doubtless greater than on most economic subjects and the reviewers may have commented upon it with a feeling of more security than they could have done on some of the other principles.

135See page 136.
136Amasa Walker to Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, Feb. __, 1875.
137American Free Trade League to Amasa Walker, Mar. 9, 1866 (Included in Deposit Book).
138The Methodist (New York), Nov. 12, 1866.
139See Jacksonville Journal (Fla.), May 2, 1867. The Philadelphia Age, May 1, 1872. This review is of Walker's 1872 Students' Edition.
In the years following the publication of his book he wrote a number of articles dealing with free trade. He was active enough in its interest to win the ill will of a tariff newspaper which referred to him as "a loafer by the name of Walker, with an LL. D. to his name." In one article entitled "An Infant of Fifty Years Unweaned" he showed that the tariff was getting higher and higher, and yet during all its history the claim had been made that it was but a temporary measure.

In the post war years Walker wrote many articles in the Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review and also in Lippincott's Magazine. In 1868 he had an article in the Merchants' Magazine on "Economy in Taxation". In this article he showed that the collection of revenue through custom houses was very wasteful and expensive. For every dollar of revenue gained Walker had statistics to show that $1.86 was paid by the people. For each dollar in the treasury by excise tax, on the other hand, the people paid $1.21 -- or a difference of 65 cents. This served to demonstrate, he believed, the superiority of an excise tax over a customs duty.

About the same time he had an article in Lippincott's Magazine on the same subject. He again blasted the deep-rooted American idea that an internal revenue was an undesirable tax due to the great expense involved in collecting it. He took figures from the report of the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue which showed the cost of collection to be less than three per cent. The actual cost of custom house collection, while only an estimate, was certainly seven per cent, and some

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140Clipping from some Youngstown, Ohio paper in Miscellaneous Scrap Book, 20.
141Clipping, paper unknown, "1867" has been written in the margin in the Articles on Political Economy, I, 1-4.
estimates placed it as high as ten per cent.\textsuperscript{143}

Walker was convinced that the interest of free trade was bound up with that of currency reform. Almost as soon as he was convinced of the principle of free trade he saw that its eventual accomplishment was tied to "a specie currency." As the years went by he became more and more convinced of the need, in fact, necessity, of reforming the currency system of the United States. In his last years he declared on occasion that unless free trade were accompanied by a currency reform it could not solve the problems its friends believed it capable of solving. As early as 1842 in the Convention of the Shoe and Leather Trade in Boston he made an eloquent statement of the abstract truth of free trade and declared that both currency reform and tariff were essential for the country's industrial improvement.

He told this convention that what the country, its manufacturing interests especially, needed was what he called a "sound currency" by which he meant that for every dollar in circulation there should be actually a specie dollar in the vaults of the issuing bank. He used "sound currency" interchangeably with "specie currency" at this time.\textsuperscript{144} He said to the convention that he believed it was our system of paper money which caused over-importations from abroad and offered so much competition for American industry and eventually drained the country of specie. At the time he spoke thus he said a bank when called upon for specie, usually for remittances to Europe, had to withdraw from circulation three dollars for every specie dollar it sent out. "Paper money," he spoke the reformer-economist in 1842, "Sir, in my estimation, is to the


\textsuperscript{144} Proceedings, Shoe and Leather Trade, 1842, 55-56.
business world what alcohol is to the human system. It is perfectly analogous. It stimulates, excites, and maddens the community. It makes men feel rich when they are poor; feel strong, when they are weak. It is a subtle poison which insinuates itself into the body politic, producing disease and death."¹⁴⁵ In the margin of the Proceedings of this convention he later wrote that he believed this speech on free trade and specie currency was his "first public protest against paper money not based upon the actual specie."¹⁴⁶

Walker took occasion in a magazine article in 1868 to explain the relation of an elastic currency to a protective tariff. He showed that tariffs were neutralized by an elastic currency. If Congress imposed a twenty-five per cent duty on foreign goods, but at the same time expanded the currency to such an extent as to enhance prices in proportion the manufacturer is no better off, in fact, he is in the same situation as though no duty had been levied and the currency left in, what Walker called, a "sound state." All Congress' attempts to "protect" manufacturing industries, he said, went for naught so long as an elastic currency was used in the country. The net result under such a system was that "the people have been severely taxed, but the manufacturing interests

¹⁴⁵Tbid., 57. This poem signed by Lloyd F. Smith[?] was pasted in the back of the volume of Walker's Speeches, Essays &c:
Blest paper credit! last and best supply!
That leads corruption lighter wings to fly,
Gold, imp'd by th'ce, can compass hardest things,
Can pocket states, can fetch or carry kings;
A single leaf shall waft an army o'er,
Or ship off Senates to a distant shore;
A leaf like Sybiles scatter to and fro
Our fates and fortunes as the wind shall blow;
Pregnant with thousands flits the scrap unseen,
And silent, Sells a King, or buys a Queen."

¹⁴⁶This copy of the Proceedings is in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker, Washington, D. C.
have not been equally benefitted." No country living and producing under a false standard of value could, to his way of thinking, compete with a country with a true standard. Articles produced at natural prices had the advantage in competition over those produced at exaggerated prices due to an elastic currency. He attributed the decline of industrial prosperity since the war to the operation of a false currency and a protective tariff. He blamed the decline in United States trade with Canada on the false currency of the United States and said he believed the best remedy would be a reciprocal trade treaty between the two countries. Such, he said, would be beneficial to both sides, especially so to the United States which was losing American capital and labor because it went into Canada to manufacture products, being unable to sell there otherwise.

But of all classes the farmers suffered most from the country's bad currency. This situation arose in consequence of the exportable nature of most of the farmers' leading crops. The paper money of the United States banks operated more heavily against the farmer, many of whose products were sold in the world market at "natural prices," than it did against the producers of articles consumed mainly by the domestic market. In their case, though paper money was far from advantageous, the articles were at least produced and sold under the same currency system. He held that the value of the farmers' entire crop was determined by the necessary commodities at inflated American prices. The result was that the price of wheat and of flour, and all farm products, was the same in

148 Springfield Republican, May 25, 1874.
1873 as before the war. But there was not an article, scarcely, which
the farmer bought, he explained, which had not increased in price from
25 to 75 per cent over the pre-Civil War level. Walker was far, there-
fore, from ignoring the farmers' plight and the causes of the Granger
Movement. He believed, however, the farmers were on the wrong track so
far as a solution of their monetary problems was concerned. The west,
that is, the agricultural section of the country, had consistently
opposed any contraction of the currency. This was wrong, he said. If
the farmers are debtors they must pay interest and interest, he declared,
was always highest in periods of inflation. Furthermore a farmer had
but one way of paying his debts and that was by using what he saved from
his profits. Under an inflated currency he showed, farmers were unable
to make profits on their export goods, hence no debts could be paid off. 149

In 1873 he was asked to prepare a letter on "Our Currency in Rela-
tion to the Interests of the Industrial Classes" to be read before the
Annual Convention of the Illinois State Farmers' Association. He told
his audience that the farm situation was one so large that it could be
dealt with adequately only by the national Congress. It had gone beyond
the stage where state laws and regulations could deal with it. He pleased
those with Granger sentiments, who no doubt, in such a convention, com-
prised a majority, by telling them that the regulation of corporations
was their first great need. This, Congress could remedy, their second
great need, on this, he admitted, there would be no unanimity of opinion,
was to contract the currency and get back to gold. He then showed them

149 The World (New York), Dec. 19, 1873. He expressed similar ideas
after a visit to Cincinnati in the Cincinnati Commercial, Feb. 20, 1873.
In an article entitled "Our National Currency" in The International Re-
view, I, 213-243 (Mar., 1874) he deplored this situation especially in
view of the fact that he believed that the United States chief business
would always be agriculture!
how inflation operated against them, both in the price of their products and in the interest rates they, as debtors, had to pay. He had earlier expressed the belief that if farmers could be made to see that contrast was to their best interest it would be pushed through Congress immediately and easily for the farmers held the balance of power in Congress.

In his Science of Wealth Walker devoted a very large portion to the question of the currency. This was the subject which had first attracted his attention to political economy. In his time there was considerable discussion over the elasticity of bank money and the desirability of elasticity if bank money did possess that characteristic. There was one group of thinkers who believed bank money was elastic and that elasticity was desirable, that local issues met local needs better than a metallic circulation. Walker, and others of his school of thinking, believed also that bank money was elastic but that the property of elasticity was very undesirable, in fact, injurious to the interests of trade. His school admitted that bank money could be increased by local issues whenever the demand increased, that it was a practical measure, but the difficulty with it was that such local issues were not correspondingly reduced when the demand fell off. Furthermore they held that sometimes there was a tendency to issue more than the increased demand called for and this incited speculation. Wolowski in France, Lord Overstone and Sir R. Peel in England and Condy Raguet and Walker in the United States all held similar views concerning the elasticity of

150 Chicago Daily Tribune, Dec. 19, 1873.
151 Chicago Times, Sept. 21, 1871.
bank money. This group of writers was referred to as the Currency School. A third school believed with Walker, and the rest, that elasticity of circulation was a great evil; and yet they differed from them in that they believed an expanded currency was not practical. 153

In 1857 Walker began a series of articles in Hunt's Merchants Magazine on various subjects of political economy. 154 He set forth his ideas on currency in those articles at considerable length. In the articles he took what was considered a radical stand, so much so that he wrote later that he believed Hunt's was the only journal which would have published such revolutionary views at that time. 155 He had predicted in 1857 at a meeting of the merchants of Boston called to discuss the bank situation that the banks would within two weeks have to suspend specie payment. He declared that he believed the banks should suspend at once rather than be forced into it and ruin the business men. Within twelve days the banks did suspend and his prediction caused, thereafter, considerable publicity for his banking opinions. 156

That same year he was in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. There, he tried to get a law passed which would require banks to keep sufficient specie in their vaults to redeem their currency issues. He had spoken for a similar provision in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1853 -- one which would establish a system of value money, as he called it. 157 He did not have much success in the attempt in the legislature for the law which was passed called for but fifteen per cent

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154 See the bibliography.
156 Ibid. History of Suffolk County, II, 682-683.
as the proportion to be held. This amount Walker considered was inadequate. 158

After the financial crisis of 1857 the movement for specie currency that is, coin and coin certificates, of which Walker was a part, increased in importance. At the same time the output of gold in California made specie relatively easy to obtain. Amasa Walker was the best known exponent of this principle in America at this time. His views which had been set forth first in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine were published after the crisis as a single treatise entitled The Nature and Uses of Money and Mixed Currency. 159 Charles Carroll also defended the same principle. 160

These two economists continued after the Civil War to stand together in their criticism of the government's contraction. 161 In his articles Walker pointed out that it was all very foolish for the government to minutely regulate the quantity of bullion in its coin because at the same time it left the creation of paper money "to the sport and caprice of petty corporations." And he frequently drew an analogy between the bankers and the counterfeiters. This was the state of affairs which he said existed in the United States currency system: it was a mixed currency. 162 The term his son, Francis A. Walker, explained meant "a currency compounded of value and credit, in uncertain proportions." 163 He believed that a bank note currency, or credit was subject to "artificial" variations as well as the "natural" variations in value characteristic of coin. It can be laid down as a "fixed law," he said, that

159Published in this form in 1857.
160Harry E. Miller, Banking Theories in the United States Before 1860, 140.
161Charles H. Carroll to Amasa Walker, Mar. 24, 1866, June 11, 1866.
163Francis A. Walker, Money, 486-487.
bankruptcies in a given community are in exact proportion "to the expansibility and contractibility of its currency." The uncertain composition of a mixed currency caused it to fluctuate in both quality, and quantity, and so did not provide a correct standard of value. Many of the United States' ill Walker blamed on its mixed currency: it increased interest rates and so was unfavorable to people who needed capital, it failed to increase the real wages of labor, it tended to expel specie from the country, it counteracted the influence of a protective duty, it was not self-regulatory as a value, as specie currency was, and it deranged all forms of industry in the country by causing periodic panics and violent revulsions. In short, he declared, the measure of prosperity which the American people had to that time (1857) enjoyed had come in spite of their mixed currency rather than in consequence of it.

After the war, when Walker's main concern was with the contraction of the currency, he, nevertheless, continued to urge the eventual adoption of a pure coin, or value currency. He pointed out while defending the principle of contraction at that time that a return to specie payments would not deliver the country from the evils of panics and crises such as the country had experienced in 1837 and again in 1857 because those derangements were due not to inflation merely, but to the mixed currency. When the panic of 1873 overtook the country, a panic which he called "the most stupendous event in the financial history of the world," he blamed it on "a double currency, consisting of bank notes redeemable only in the irredeemable promises of the government." With


such a mixed currency and with banks suspending due to the government's refusal to resume specie payments the panic was inevitable.  

He and others had predicted it with assurance for five years. The crash, he looked upon, as a relief, for the "sooner the cautery is applied, the sooner will the patient recover."  

As early as 1840 in the presidential campaign Walker had concerned himself with the subject of banks. At that time his particular antipathy was the national bank. He declared in a speech in 1840 that President Jackson's greatest act was the destruction of the national bank. This bank, he said, was not content with its place under the government, but attempted to dominate the entire country. Being in Philadelphia some time after the national bank had closed down he could not refrain from exulting, "how hath the mighty fallen": "We... passed by that 'dead lion,' ... sometimes called a monster, the United States Bank. It is shut. Its halls are silent, the swallows twitter around its windows, and it seems to stand only as the mausoleum of the 35 millions of capital it squandered, and the hundreds of thousands of bankrupt fortunes it caused during its life and at its death."

During the Civil War he looked upon the banks as serious menaces to the country's financial structure. He believed that there was too much currency in circulation, that every dollar which the banks issued and put in circulation was injurious to the government because it made the preservation of the standard of value that much more difficult. He

167Ibid.
168Amasa Walker to Charles Summer, July 13, 1863 (Summer Letters, Harvard University).
170Lyra Record Extra, n. d. 1840 This is a clipping in MS. Autobiography, II.
171The Christian Citizen, June 29, 1844.
declared in 1865 that it was the duty of Congress to stop the circulation of the banks. He believed that this could effectively be accomplished by the imposition of a tax upon the notes issued by the banks. This tax would eventually cause the withdrawal of all bank circulation, and leave the government currency, as it should be, the sole circulating medium. Having direct control of the whole volume of currency it would be possible for the government to enlarge or diminish from time to time depending upon the demands of trade. At this time the currency issued by most banks consisted usually of four parts credit and one part specie, one dollar in five was held in coin for resumption in specie. Most states permitted banks to issue notes with little or no reference to the amount of specie which was behind them. The proportion of specie to circulation and deposits in 1860 was 19.1 per cent throughout the United States. The national banks’ issues should be taxed in the same way as those of state banks, he declared. Eventually (1865) Congress did impose a ten per cent tax on the currency issues of all state banks. Walker had made the specific proposal of a three per cent tax on bank circulation in 1865.

Already in 1865 Walker, following minutely every move of Congress with respect to the currency, began speaking in favor of contraction. Only Congress could fully remedy the situation, he believed, and considered that the sooner it was done the better. He was pleased with the report of Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, in 1867. He hoped Congress would sustain him in his proposal to withdraw greenbacks.

174 Ibid., 9.
Walker thought that the National Bank notes should be withdrawn, but as he said, they agreed "in regard to the pernicious character of ... fictitious currency."\(^177\) He denounced several of the proposals made in 1867 for solving the country's financial difficulties declaring them all to be schemes "to avoid that one simple, disagreeable, unavoidable measure, the contraction of the currency which Mr. McCulloch shows in his last report to be indispensable."\(^178\)

His attitude in the matter was that the government had interfered, of necessity, as it was said, and produced a chaotic situation in the currency system; now only the government "can bring the country back to a prosperous condition."\(^179\) He believed that if only McCulloch had been given a free rein by Congress to contract the currency as he recommended at the rate of eight million per month, contraction in full might have been accomplished. That being a fact it would, he said, be possible for the national treasury to issue gold certificates of deposit which would go into circulation and become "a perfectly reliable, convenient, and abundant currency certified by the Government, equivalent to gold, ... and the whole mixed currency system ... be dispensed with."\(^180\)

Walker's interest in the currency question was so great that it occupied him to the exclusion of almost all other interests in his last years. He felt that he had to do something. He urged Secretary McCulloch to stay by his position: "patriotism ought to impel you to remain at the

\(^{177}\) Amasa Walker to Hugh McCulloch, Feb. 4, 1867; Dec. 2, 1867 (McCulloch Papers).

\(^{178}\) Worcester Evening Gazette, Dec. 16, 1867.

\(^{179}\) Amasa Walker, "Governmental Interference with the Standard of Value," The Bankers' Magazine, I, 3rd series, 733 (Apr., 1867).

post of duty. He corresponded with Sumner and explained to him why he believed it was Congress' place to act -- that it was, in fact, a necessity, that in no other way would contraction take place for the banks would never do so but by government decree. He wrote incessantly on the subject and talked little else even to his family. His wife complained to her daughter that she heard nothing else even though she did everything in her power to distract his mind occasionally from the subject. "I hardly like to ask him for any currency," she admitted, "lest it should be broaching the forbidden subject. I pity him for he feels so little interest in general literature and cares so little for gossip that time hangs heavily on his hands...."

But he kept right on writing and hoping that Congress would eventually take some measure to contract the currency. The last article which he wrote for Lippincott's Magazine was a plea for contraction. He said that it was a matter entirely within the province of Congress. But even a reformer can grow weary and he wrote in disgust in 1869 that contraction was not even mentioned any longer in Congress, that the government seemed content "to settle down into a state of chronic bankruptcy, its dishonored promises selling for some seventy-five cents on the dollar."

It was Walker's contention that the people of the country were really calling for contraction but that Congress was

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181 Amasa Walker to Hugh McCulloch, Jan. 22, 1868 (McCulloch Papers).
182 Hugh McCulloch to Amasa Walker, June 27, 1868.
183 Dec. 25, 1868; July 13, 1868 (Sumner Letters, Harvard University).
184 Letter, Jan. 3, 1869.
185 Henry Villard to Amasa Walker, Jan. 8, 1870.
determined on a policy of expansion. 187 He finally admitted in a letter to Charles Sumner that the "country seems content to settle down with chronic insolvency, a la Russia, Austria &c, and we are bound to go on indefinitely under a false standard of value." 188 And then came the reissuance of greenbacks. Walker could have had but one answer for his friend David A. Wells' questions: "What do you think of the new issue of greenbacks? Was there ever such foolishness at the head of the fiscal concerns of a great nation?" 189

In 1873 when the panic of that year broke over the country he expressed the belief that what Congress should do was to contract the currency; but he was fearful that further inflation would be the result. He declared that the west had suffered more than other sections from the inflated currency and yet did not see even yet that its salvation was in the direction of contraction. 190 He thought that the only plan of value was to resume specie payments gradually as Sumner had proposed in a bill which he presented in the Senate in 1871 -- a bill which Amasa Walker seems certainly to have worked out for Sumner. 191 This bill proposed to issue substitute compound interest notes for the greenbacks, the notes to be finally convertible into government bonds. Walker considered this method superior to plans calling for the direct funding of several millions of greenbacks monthly. The bill was again presented in 1874, but Sumner

188 Oct. 3, 1870 (Summer Letters, Harvard University).
189 David A. Wells to Amasa Walker, Nov. 4, 1872.
190 Chicago Times, Oct. 20, 1873.
191 Charles S. Summer to Amasa Walker (post card), Dec. 10, 1873.
was sick and the measure was not pushed, and fell by the wayside. When Walker did what he could and was disappointed at the failure, the 1875 Currency Act, passed, he believed it woefully inadequate though its aim was to "provide for the resumption of specie payments." He thought the workability of the plan had been overlooked in the Congress' rush to get it passed. The provision in it for the coinage of silver coins he said bore no relation to the gold premium, and the practical outcome would be the disappearance of silver coin from circulation. He blamed the act largely on the administration's political bargaining with the silver interests, and he warned the country that the act would occasion a loss to the national treasury equal to the cost of coinage of the silver. This provision of the bill was, he said, "a practical nullity" -- for there was no silver in it for the people" -- a fact the Populists and Free Silverites learned much later.

193James A. Garfield wrote to Walker after it had failed that the fight was not yet over, that he would try to work in the direction of specie payments. -- Dec. 15, 1874. Professor H. A. Newton of Yale, believed that the Summer-Walker plan slowed down contraction too much. -- Letter to Amasa Walker, Nov. 21, 1873.
Chapter XXIII

STILL WORK TO BE DONE

A merchant's work, a statesman's work, even an economist's "work is from sun to sun"; but a reformer's "work is never done." Active as Walker had been in the agitation for currency reform up to the time of his death, that was but one of his many interests in his later life. Fortunately he remained physically alert and active in his old age, straight and slender, quick in his movements and strikingly energetic. At the age of seventy-six he could ride horseback "six or seven miles without much fatigue." Seeing his currency ideas gaining wide acceptance and great respectability, Amasa Walker might have been content as he entered his seventies to enjoy his leisure and leave the knotty problems of the world to younger men. But such was not the logical end of a reformer, and it was not the course which Walker pursued. He had other reforms to undertake, new causes, which had been unknown in the pre-war heyday of the humanitarian reforms. With the whole realm of taxation crying for reform, insurance companies, corporations and railroads in need of regulation and control, there was yet much to be done.

In spite of his consideration of all these weighty problems he found time and energy to continue the active participation in his community life which had characterized his younger years. He took great interest in the church, and contributed many articles to the Congregationalist. He always took great interest in the work of the church; though he was

2 Mrs. Amasa Walker to Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, Apr. 8, 1875.
3 See pages 193-194.
far from being a narrow sectarian, he took great pride in his Congregationalism, which, he said, bore the same relation to the Church as republicanism did to the State. On one occasion he compared, with the help of the census figures, the wealth of the Catholic Church with that of the Congregational Church. He showed that the Catholic Church was very wealthy considering that almost all of its people were of the poorest classes. He concluded that their policies must have been financially burdensome to gain so great wealth from such poor members. The Congregational Church, on the other hand, was not the richest, nor the poorest, its members giving freely, without coercion, but nevertheless generously. He held that church government — as he held that general government — best "which secures the greatest freedom, the most perfect mental and moral development, and the deepest sense of personal responsibility."

While, as he said, he had little use for sectarianism, he did have great respect for denominationalism which clearly showed up those variations in policy.4 The last article he ever wrote was an article published in the North Brookfield Journal, a project whose undertaking he had encouraged,5 on the town's first missionary enterprise. He described a church service of about the year 1810. The Rev. Thomas Snell, the minister, wanted to help a new mission which had been established and struck upon this novel way to solicit funds: He preached a sermon that morning, to the surprise of his hearers, on the evils of excessive drinking and urged his flock to be as moderate as possible in the use of ardent spirits. He then described the new mission which had been founded and called upon his parishioners to know how much each one could save by abstaining from drink

4The Congregationalist, Aug. 28, 1873; Feb. 25, 1875.
5North Brookfield Journal, Nov. 4, 1875.
to give to the mission fund. Everyone made a pledge which was duly recorded, only one seemed out of tune, and he, the dour school master, when asked how much he could save, replied he would "give" fifty cents, but thought it "an novel way of taking up a contribution."\(^6\)

Amasa Walker once wrote concerning the virtues of his parents that they gave much thought and "attention to Church affairs and benevolent movements", giving liberally and "largely in proportion" to their income to all religious and charitable objects.\(^7\) The tradition was not permitted to die. Mrs. Walker, whose great attachments, as she said, in her latter years in North Brookfield, were Robert, her son, and the church, shared her husband's great interest in church charities.\(^8\) She wrote to her daughter how some money and clothing which she had given them to distribute from the Church's Christmas tree had "caused two widows hearts to sing for joy."\(^9\) Mrs. Walker's good sense and kind heart can be seen in her admonition to her family, as when she hoped her daughter, just moved into a new house in Boston, would "be happy and contented" in her new location --"if you knew what poverty was," she reminded her, "you would appreciate your comforts."\(^10\) She wrote, on another occasion, a long letter to her grandson, Robert Batcheller, about a poor family where the husband had gone away and left them without help. Christmas night, she told him, they found the children "barefoot -- their Christmas dinner had been potatoes and nothing else. Yesterday your grandpa sent them lots of provisions & I suppose when people learn how poor they are they will all help to supply their wants. I tell you these things dear Robert so that you

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\(^6\)Tbid.  
\(^7\)Mrs. Autobiography, II, 9.  
\(^8\)Mrs. Amasa Walker to Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, Jan. 31, 1875.  
\(^9\)Tbid., Dec. 23, 1873.  
\(^10\)Tbid., no date.
may be thankful that your lot in life is so pleasant if you are ever disposed to be impatient think of the poor barefoot Children eating their Christmas dinner of potatoes." And to her daughter at another time she wrote about a woman of her acquaintance, a very wealthy woman, who had died in fear and dread of leaving this world. "...For mercy sake dont let wealth make a fool of you," she warned her.

After the Civil War the Walkers spent only a part of the year in North Brookfield, usually going to Washington, D. C. and other places for a part of the year. Even so they were a real part of the home community, however. In 1874 and 1875 Amasa Walker encouraged the townsmen to renew their interest in local history and he himself contributed some articles on the early families, the old cemetery, some of his youthful experiences etc. A few months before he died the Hibernian Society of North Brookfield stopped on its way to a 4th of July picnic and serenaded him with a large band. Such an honor elicited a speech from the town's venerable orator and he complimented them with a highly laudatory speech, worthy of the Irish themselves, and relaged them with some statistics about the Irish population and property in and around North Brookfield. From his report emerged the fact that a larger proportion of the Irish paid property tax and owned homes than other citizens. He praised the tendency of the nationality to buy farms, for the ownership of property, he told them, made for better citizenship.

Their grandchildren were often with them in North Brookfield,

11 Dec. 28, [?]  
12 Feb. 12, 1874.  
14 Spencer Sun, July 10, 1875.

thing else to increase the population and commercial importance of St. Louis. 21

Walker was full of praise for California, especially the stand the state had taken on the money question. He referred, always in admiration, to the state's constitution which prohibited the introduction of paper money. He spoke before the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and declared this provision was the wisest act in regard to currency which had been taken in the whole country. He told his hearers that they would soon be able to see the great advantage of their hard money policy for he believed that trouble was coming soon for the rest of the country.

"...If those gentlemen," he told them, "who are dissatisfied with the present state of things will wait until the general explosion, which is sure to take place, and which from present appearances can not long be delayed, they will be quite satisfied that California has done well in preserving the gold standard. Wait until the inevitable collapse takes place, and then if the wisdom of your course is not fully vindicated, I am mistaken."22

The San Francisco Chronicle praised Walker's defense of California's policy.23 The New York Evening Post referred to Walker's speech before the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce as "wholesome" and one to do an honest man's heart good "in these times of loose finances." The same article remarked that it was very fitting that "Amasa Walker a hard-money man should go to California, a hard-money State." In Massachusetts, the article continued, though Walker and his ideas were highly respected, "the paper-money interests have always been too strong to allow a gen-

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22 Overland Monthly, X, 558, 562 (June, 1873).
23 San Francisco Chronicle, no date [1873] Clipping in Miscellaneus Scrap Book, 125-126.
ercus response to his long-matured and always outspoken opinions.

But in California, the land of gold, he must have felt at home. The sight and touch of that honest coin, which has long been banished from common use in the East, must have been welcome to the veteran economist, whose life has been one long protest against an inconvertible, depreciated and excessive paper money. 24

Walker wrote constantly on economic subjects, but more on currency than anything else. He wrote a series of articles for Lippincott's in 1870 and 1871 -- for International Review as late as 1874 and 1875, and he was constantly sending contributions to the daily newspapers. His wife complained that he wrote so constantly that he made himself ill. "I have taken the matter into my own hands now," she wrote to her daughter, -- and so he wields the saw instead of the pen. 25

He had many ideas for articles which he was never able to complete. He wrote in his Autobiography: "What I should Like to Do But Probably Never Shall."

"Write one article or small work on the Political Economy of the Bible. It would be a fine subject and an ample one.

"A Work upon Taxation.

"A work upon the Labor Movement, showing what labor can have, and what it ought not to ask for and will never get.

"An article upon Corporations for Economic purposes." 26

These topics were a good indication of his interests in the last period of his life. He transferred some of the zeal which he had earlier

24 no date [1873] Clipping in Miscellaneous Scrap Book, 126.
26 MS. Autobiography, II, 45.
felt for abolition, health reform, temperance, secret ballot and many other causes, to new problems which seemed to him in has later life more pressing. He was not alone in his new interests -- some of the other veteran reformers were also to be found in new movements after the war. Wendell Phillips took up the cause of paper money and so opposed his former colleague. 27 The Association for the Promotion of Social Science, founded in 1865, dealt with a subject which occupied much of Walker's later years; in this he was associated with many of his old reform friends -- Wendell Phillips, Maria Chapman, Samuel G. Howe, Josiah Quincy, William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. May, Jr., George C. Beekwith, David A. Wells and others. The society aimed at many things: to promote laws for "the Advancement of Education, the Prevention and Repression of Crime, the Reformation of Criminals, and the progress of Public Morality, the adoption of Sanitary Regulations, and the diffusion of sound principles on questions of Economy, Trade, and Financce." An organization so broad could easily accommodate all these reformers, many of whom before the war would have found themselves decidedly cramped had they been lumped together in one organization: 28

Of these new reforms, the income tax cause especially engaged Walker. In the midst of the war he wrote that then was the time to increase taxation; business could stand it, and so could the government's popularity; but the end of the war would be a good time to reduce taxes, and a very bad time to increase them, despite the arguments of some. 29

27 New York Herald, Aug. 28, 1875.
28 Constitution of the American Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences. Adopted in Boston, October 1, 1865.
considered the income tax levied during the Civil War a very good tax and a just one, but "the best abused tax on record." He blamed the abuse on the powerful capitalists who assailed it in the press and hired lobbyists to defeat it. He said that the class character of the opposition could be seen clearly from the fact that but 250,000 persons out of 40,000,000 had to pay an income tax and he felt sure the exempt citizens did not really oppose it. He considered it a good tax because it brought in much money with little expense for collection. In 1860, for example, it produced 60,000,000 dollars. Compared to custom-house taxation the income tax was extremely economical to administer. The tax had been in use in England for thirty years and was every year becoming more effective, he said. He concluded in the *Science of Wealth* that the only just tax principle was the income tax. He refuted the argument, frequently used by business, that it would diminish business by causing the business man to fear a tax on profits. This tax was the only one in the country, he said, which did not fall unevenly and unjustly upon the laboring classes. Most of the taxes were on consumption goods which the laboring classes had to buy thereby paying more than their share. If the amount produced by the income tax were shifted to consumption goods which the laboring classes had to have, it would be greatly to their disadvantage. But, he lamented in an article which he wrote after the law's repeal, the laboring classes made no move to stop it, even though the tax load which capital had borne was thus thrown upon consumption. And so, as far as Amasa Walker was concerned, the income tax was a cause not yet won.

30*Springfield Republican*, July 8, 1870.
32*Springfield Republican*, July 8, 1870.
33Amasa Walker, "Co-Operative Associations, How Made the Most Effective." No pub., no date, a clipping in *Articles on Political Economy*, II.
Another of Walker’s unfinished reforms was the cause of State Insurance. His attention was called to this subject in the early seventies by the fires in the two major cities of Chicago and Boston. These calamities revealed the weakness of the insurance companies. The state laws did not adequately protect the insured because the laws under which insurance companies could organize were too lax. He called upon the Massachusetts legislature in 1872 to consider a revised system. His own proposal was to allow the state to insure property which the owners wanted insured. He believed State Insurance would be advantageous because 1) the state could do the business for half the cost of private companies, due to centralization and large scale organization; 2) the state could make a good profit and thus raise a revenue, even at half of the private rates; and 3) business now going to British offices would stay in this country.

He knew that objections would be raised to this plan by those who claimed to disapprove of the government going into business. Insurance, he pointed out, however, was not productive of anything -- it was protective simply, and protection was the business of the state -- its greatest duty, its highest function. He cited the experience of the German city of Hamburg. This city had practiced government insurance for many years to the satisfaction of the municipal authorities and the citizens. It had given ample protection and at the same time had derived a satisfactory revenue for the city.34 Walker’s plan did not call for exclusive state insurance, that is the state was not necessarily to monopolize the insurance field if private companies could meet the more severe restrictions which should, he said, be imposed by

34Boston Post, Nov. 27, 1872.
the legislature. Nevertheless, an editorial in the same paper as his 
article calling for state insurance criticized Walker's scheme saying 
it presupposed a "paternalistic government, and would be in the business 
of making money instead of letting the citizens make it!"35

As an alternate plan Walker suggested that in lieu of state insur-
ance, plans be made for local or town insurance. There would be nothing 
to hinder state, city and private insurance plans from operating at the 
same time, but he urged the legislature to take some measure to regulate 
private companies so that the policyholders would have reasonable assur-
ance that the company was responsible.36 One paper was sorry to see 
such an eminent man as Walker falling into the "same error with half-
crazy communists and Internationalists."37 This was not the first time 
he had been classed with the "lunatic fringe."

The subject of the inhumanity of corporations had occupied Walker's 
attention for a long time. In 1867 when he was on the Massachusetts Com-
mmission of the Hours of Labor he was brought to face the problem. 
Even though he did not recommend or advocate a ten hour legal working 
day, he recognized that the laborers in this country needed protection 
from their employers more than in other countries because, here, cor-
porations were so generally employers. Under such a system there was 
no personal relationship between employer and employee and more diffi-
cult conditions were likely to be imposed on workers.38 He considered 
corporations and their resulting labor policies social problems as well 
as economic problems.39 In the Constitutional Convention of 1853 in

35Ibid.
37Unidentified newspaper clipping from Miscellaneous Scrap Book, 31.
38Amasa Walker, "Legal Interference with the Hours of Labor." Lippin-
39Proceedings at the Opening of the Rooms of the New England Shoe and 
Leather Association, 1870, 9-10.
Massachusetts he spoke in favor of a general law for corporations.

That would mean doing away with the special laws which he believed were undemocratic, but he wanted it distinctly understood that by his support of this measure for a general corporation law he was not approving the corporation system. In fact, he believed corporations were likely to be dangerous, that they had many bad qualities. Corporations changed man's relation to wealth, released him from personal responsibility by delegating it to hired agents. The system also released capital from its moral responsibility to labor. Corporations gave capital great advantage over labor in that labor was not incorporated and the relationship of equality, which should exist, was destroyed. In one of his objections to corporations he anticipated Henry George and his unearned increment theory. Corporations, said Walker, tended to concentrate manufacturing business in large cities; a corporation intending to locate in a particular city would buy up the land there and monopolize it. One single corporation in Massachusetts, he charged, purchased 1,400 acres of land in a city where it was to locate, which if sold at but ten cents a foot at that time would have brought over six million dollars -- a sum which to Amasa's way of thinking rightfully belonged to the workmen and original landholders. This, he contended, would not have happened under private enterprise where manufacturing concerns were permitted to grow up naturally. 40

It was his opinion that corporations could not carry on, that eventually they would be broken down when the people saw that the legislation which had been fostering these corporations was harmful to the country generally. 41

41Ibid., 61-62.
"Individuals die; the corporation never dies. Individuals are, by the force of public sentiment, held morally responsible for their acts; corporations have no moral responsibility. They have no souls." Among the most "soulless" of the corporations were the railroads. In 1873 he wrote a series of articles on Railroad Reform in the Boston Journal of Commerce. In these articles he showed that the railroad problem was not local but national, that it would have to be dealt with on a national, not a state scale; that regulation must come from Congress not from the individual states. If Congress refused to use its power then there was no hope of a real solution, he declared. This was the time of the Granger Laws in some of the western states, but he felt that Congress had power over the railroad corporations due to the commerce clause of the constitution. The national Congress, he surprised many of his readers by writing, has not alone power to regulate railroads but to "PURCHASE THE WHOLE OF THEM!"

He did not, however, ever propose that the government should operate the roads directly, but believed that they should lease them to private companies or individuals. He declared that the despotism of the railroads was comparable to that of the pre-war slave oligarchy; the country had been redeemed from the one, and would soon be claimed from the second. In fact, in the seventies Walker considered the railroad problem and the currency as the problems of most pressing importance, especially to farmers. There was nothing dishonest or illegal in government ownership of the railroads, he thought, because the railroads

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42Amasa Walker, The Test of Experience (Tracts on the Ballot), 14.
43Boston Journal of Commerce, July 12, 1873.
were under a peculiar obligation to the government; it had granted them land and money subsidies upon the ground that the public would be benefitted. If and when they failed in that obligation -- as they definitely had -- they had forfeited their corporate rights and the Supreme Court would not dare decide otherwise, even though the country had just seen the court packed in the interest of certain railroad interests. 44

Walker felt great sympathy for that part of the Granger Movement which called for government regulation of the railroads. The editor of The Scythe, a Grange paper, asked him to discuss his impression of the Farmers' Movement. The aim of The Scythe was "to mow down monopoly and extortion," 45 and Walker's ideas suited the paper very well. Walker said that his opposition to the railroads was based, not on what they are (almost all of his own property was in railroad stock), but upon the policies they had pursued which were injurious to the general public. He told the farmers that they were right in opposing the railroads -- that they had been oppressed by high rates. Farmers, he pointed out, were more dependent on the railroads than most portions of the population because their products had to be conveyed long distances and they were usually bulky. He told the Grangers that they had plenty of just grounds for complaint, hence their organization had the first essential of a successful movement. He said, however, that they lacked a definite course of action, and suggested that they should unite in demanding some one definite platform. This, he advised them, was necessary for real success in coping with the railroad problem. So far the Granges had concentrated

44Tbid., Aug. 2, 1873.
45The Industrial Age, however, said The Scythe "cut the gingers of all who touched it." --Quoted in Solon J. Buck, The Granger Movement, 327.
on state issues and programs; that, he said, was not sufficient. They
would have to fight the railroads as a national unit because the rail-
road system was a unit. He reminded them of the plan calling for govern-
ment ownership which he had advocated earlier and asked the Granges to
consider its merits.

In the same paper the editor praised the vision of Walker and
challenged other political economists to propose a better plan for the
Patrons of Husbandry. One of Walker’s first interests had been the
extension of the railroads, "the great cause of internal improvement"; it
was fitting that one of his last should have been government owner-
ship and regulation of the railroads.

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After a winter in the capital and a short spring trip to South
Carolina the Walkers returned as was customary with them to North Brook-
field for the summer. In July Mrs. Walker became suddenly very ill and
died. Thereafter Amasa’s interest in life and in all his many causes
noticeably abated. He wrote a few more minor articles which were pub-
lished in his remaining months of life, but he seemed to have lost his
interest in living. And on October 29, 1875, less than four months
after his wife’s death he died at his home in North Brookfield, the re-
sult of a slight paralysis he had suffered a few months earlier. Notices
of his death were to be found in papers all the way from his home town

46 The Scythe, Oct. 18, 1873.
47 Robert Walker to Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, July 4, 1875 (telegram).
Amasa Walker to Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, July 25, 1875.
48 North Brookfield Journal, July 12, 1875. Ibid., Nov. 3, 1875.
This did not appear in print until after he had died.
and the Italian *La Perseveranza*. 49

His death was the signal for many eulogies and evaluations of his work. One of the best was written in the *Springfield Republican* to which he had contributed numerous articles for over forty years. "Like Richard Cobden", said the *Republican*, "he was the business man turned scholar. The factory and the counting room were his university -- from whence he made the conquest of the highest range of political culture." In writing of his many and varied reform interests the article declared that "his influence on every question was in the direction of freedom and popular advancement."

The funeral service was simplicity itself -- conducted in the Union Congregational Church which he had helped to establish as a protest against the proslavery spirit in the church at large. After the customary service conducted by the clergyman some of his friends and fellow-reformers paid brief tributes to his worth. The Rev. Elnathan Davis of Auburn, Massachusetts, who had been with him at the Paris Peace Congress and associated with him in many movements, spoke in his honor, as did Professor J. E. Seyle, a fellow teacher at Amherst College, and finally Elihu Burritt on this, "the saddest day of my life," paid a solemn tribute to his "dearest friend on this side of the Atlantic." 50

49*North Brookfield Journal*, Nov. 4, 1875; *Worcester Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1875; *Weekly Bulletin*, Nov. 4, 1875; *La Perseveranza* (Milano), Nov. 30, 1875.

50*Springfield Republican*, Nov. 2, 1875.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Manuscripts

Autobiography of Amasa Walker
This work consists of two volumes which are now in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker, Washington, D. C., a grandson of Amasa Walker. It is divided into chapters and is about the only source of information for the early part of his life. When the work was written is not stated, but it seems clear from the text that it was begun about 1858. The second volume, which deals with his later life, seems to have been written around 1870 with additions made from time to time until the year of his death, 1875.

Letter Collection
Something over a hundred letters are in this collection which is also in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker. The letters may be divided into three groups:
2. Letters from Amasa Walker to his daughter, Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, Boston, and to his grandchildren.
3. Letters from Mrs. Amasa Walker to her daughter, Mrs. Alfred H. Batcheller, and to her grandchildren.

Autograph Letter Book
The letters in this collection fill two volumes in the possession of Mr. Francis Walker, Jr., Washington, D. C. The books contain letters to Amasa Walker and to his son, Francis A. Walker. Since these were collected by several members of the family for two generations many of them do not refer to Amasa Walker. Among those addressed to him are missives from John Bright, Charles Sumner, Albert Gallatin, John G. Whittier, William C. Bryant, Julia Ward Howe and others. The fact that they were kept for the sake of the autographs insures us a supply of well-known names. The letters are not necessarily significant in themselves though some of them are of real interest. A few were written by Amasa Walker.

Additional Letters to and from Amasa Walker have been found in the following library collections:
3. Oberlin College Manuscripts, Treasurer's Office (File Q and J), and the Goykes Papers, Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio.

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Walker, Amasa,
This is listed here because it was the personal copy of Amasa Walker and contained all his marginal notes, corrections and suggestions for revision. It is in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker of Washington, D.C.

Westervelt, William Andrew,
Pol. Sc. by Prof. Walker & Chemistry by Prof. Bascomb Notes for 1842 & 1843, MS.
This manuscript is in the Oberlin College Library. These lecture notes, taken by an early Oberlin student are illuminating because they show what Amasa Walker was stressing in political economy in 1842. These notes are from the first college course he ever gave.

II. Newspaper Clipping Collections
Seven scrapbook volumes of newspaper clippings had been saved and brought together by Walker before his death. These seven volumes are in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker. The majority of the clippings are his own newspaper articles, or articles about his book, The Science of Wealth, or reports of speeches he has made in various places. The file after 1860 is quite complete. The main subject of the clippings is political economy, especially the currency. For earlier newspaper articles the newspaper files have been consulted directly.
Six of the volumes have been labelled by Amasa Walker as follows:
1. Articles on Political Economy, I.
2. Articles on Political Economy, II.
3. Miscellaneous Articles.
5. Miscellaneous Scrap Book.
The seventh volume has no title but as the clippings have been pinned in an old Deposit Book it has been referred to as Deposit Book. References to the other books have been by title as given.
The first two volumes are practically all articles on political economy, as the titles suggest. Miscellaneous Articles is just that, though a large proportion of the clippings are about currency. The volume, Notices of the Science of Wealth is self-explanatory.
The Miscellaneous Scrap Book includes articles on a variety of subjects, temperance, peace, and the English reformers. Several of the articles in this volume have been written by Amasa Walker's son, Francis A. Walker, also an economist, and President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The volume on the Sealed Ballot &c. includes articles about ballot reform in the United States and England. There are several articles on the Australian ballot system in the volume. There are also several reports of the speech made by Walker on the Ballot System in Massachusetts to the English Ballot Reform Society. The Deposit Book is really a miscellaneous
collection. In general the articles belong to the years between 1865 and 1867.

There have been no page references to the Deposit Book because the pages are not numbered. All the other volumes have page references. Most of the clippings in these scrapbooks have been quite carefully dated and the name of the paper written in the margin where it is not in the print. In all cases where the name of the publication and the date are clear, that citation has been used. In a few instances where this information is lacking or not clear, and the newspaper not accessible, a reference to the scrapbook volume has been given.

Volume II of the Autobiography of Amasa Walker, MS. also contains newspaper clippings. Still other clippings from newspapers are to be found in a bound volume of the printed pamphlets of Amasa Walker. This volume is in the possession of Dr. Francis Walker. The pamphlets in this volume have been listed separately in the bibliography according to subject.

To list in the bibliography all these separate newspaper articles, or even the newspapers from which the articles were taken would be impossible. Wherever use has been made of this material a full foot note to that effect has been inserted.

III. Biographical Accounts

General Catalogue of Amherst College, Including the Officers of Government and Instruction. The Alumni, and All Who Have Received Honorary Degrees, 1821-1855. Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., 1885.

Hoar, George F., and Wright, Carroll D.,

This is an extract of an oration by Senator Hoar at Music Hall in Boston, October 4, 1897. He brings in several bits of interesting family history.

Hurd, D. Hamilton, compiler,

Donnan, Elizabeth,

Loring, James Spear,
A Hundred Boston Orators Appointed by the Municipal Authorities and Other Public Bodies, from 1770 to 1852; comprising Historical Gleanings, Illustrating the Principles and Progress of Our Republican Institutions. John P. Jewett and Company, Boston, 1852.
This biographical account is significant because it was written when Amasa Walker was in his prime. This biography mentions his connection with several enterprises which in later records have been omitted. It is significant, too, that Amasa Walker was one of the Boston orators between 1770 and 1852 to be included in this volume.

Miller, Harry E.,

Munroe, James Phinney,

This biography of Francis Amasa Walker, son of Amasa Walker, gives an extended account of his family background. It stresses especially the reform interests of Amasa Walker.

Palmer, Julius A.,
Hanover Church, Boston. Reprinted from the Congregationalist Quarterly, April, 1872.

This book is primarily a history of Hanover Church, but it includes biographical sketches of a number of its more prominent members. Amasa Walker's biography is one of those which is included.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd series, XIX, 1905. Published by the Society, Boston, 1905.

This is the story of the jubilee service held for the Rev. Dr. Thomas Snell, for many years Congregational minister in North Brookfield, Massachusetts, and Amasa Walker's tutor in his youth. Mr. Walker played an important part in the celebration services.

Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County Massachusetts, 3 volumes. Boston History Company, Boston, 1894.


Spencer, Joseph Jansen,

This article about Amasa Walker's son, Francis A. Walker, contains almost as much about the father as the subject of the sketch. Mr. Spencer, the author, was allied by marriage to the Walker family. He knew the family history and traditions thoroughly. Several incidents of importance are to be found nowhere else except in this article.

Temple, J. H.,
History of North Brookfield, Massachusetts. Preceded by an Account of Old Qingueg, Indian and English Occupation, 1647-1676; Brookfield Records, 1636-1888. Published by the town of North Brookfield, 1887.

This town history contains a good biography of Amasa Walker and
also one of his brother, Freeman Walker, with whom he was closely associated, and about whom there is very little information to be found.

Walker, Francis A.,
This is a concise, factual account of the life of Amasa Walker by his son.

IV. Business and Trade

Commons, John R.,

Hazard, Blanch,

Hill, Hamilton Andrews,
This Memoir contains a good description of the meeting held to promote the Boston and Albany Railroad. Amasa Walker and Abbott Lawrence were both interested in this project.

Holland, Josiah Gilbert,
The history of the Western Railroad Company, in which Amasa Walker was an officer, is given down to 1855.

Hunt, Thomas P.,

[Hunt, Thomas P.;]
Robert Baur and Son, Wilkes Barre, Penna., 1901.

[Reed, Silas],
On the Subject of a Line of Railroads, from Boston to the Mississippi. Morning Post Office, Boston, 1839.
These letters by Silas Reed were brought out by the officers of
the Western Railroad Company, of which Amasa Walker was one, as propaganda in favor of western railroad development. The letters were to be used specifically to help the Company in its application for aid from the Massachusetts Legislature.


This issue contains an article about Amasa Walker as one of the early shoe merchants.

Vose, Edward Neville,
Contains a description of early Nineteenth Century business conditions.

Walker, Amasa,

These Proceedings contain a lengthy speech by Amasa Walker in which he describes the shoe business when he was in it. He gives a number of personal experiences in connection with this period of his life. He also gives an explanation as to why he, a free trader, headed a committee of shoe men which went to Washington and asked for a protective tariff in 1842.

Walker, Amasa,

V. The Peace Movement

A. Proceedings, Reports, etc., of Peace Societies

American Peace Society,

London Peace Society,

Copies of the Proceedings of this Convention are rare. It was located in Ginn Library, Tufts College.
Massachusetts Peace Society,
Fourth Annual Report, no pub., n. p. [1820?]

Massachusetts Peace Society, Committee of Inquiry,

Walker, Amasa,
"A Congress of Nations". Reports of the Peace Congresses at
Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, London, and Edinburgh, in the Years
The separate reports of each of the peace congresses mentioned
in the title have been published here as one volume. The re-
port bearing most directly on this work is the Report of the
Proceedings of the Second General Peace Congress, Held in Paris,
on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of August, 1849. This document prints
in full the speech of Amasa Walker, one of the vice presidents
of the meeting. He was a delegate from the American Peace Society.

B. Memoirs and Biographies of Peace Men (Primary Accounts).

Burritt, Elihu,
"Introductory Notes" in Hemmenway, John, The Apostle of Peace.
Memoir of William Ladd, pp. 3-17. American Peace Society, Boston,
1872.

Curti, Morle,
The Learned Blacksmith. The Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt.
Wilson-Erickson, New York, 1897.
This recent work is listed here with the primary sources be-
cause it is almost altogether a collection of Burritt's letters
and selections from his Journal. In Burritt's writings are nu-
merous references to his work with Amasa Walker in the peace
movement.

Dorling, William,
1879.
Henry Vincent was an ardent peace disciple in England. He
played a significant part in several of the International Peace
Congresses.

Hemmenway, John,
Society, Boston, 1872.
This volume is a tribute to William Ladd. In it is a letter
to the author by Amasa Walker telling of his work with Ladd.

Northend, Charles, ed.,
Elihu Burritt: A Memorial Volume Containing a Sketch of His Life
Life and Labors, with Selections from His Writings and Lectures,
and Extracts from His Private Journals in Europe and America.
D. Appleton and Company, New York, [1879].
Richard, Henry,

**Memoir of Joseph Sturge.** S. W. Partridge, London, 1864.

Contemporary accounts of several of the peace congresses are given here and a description of the workings of the peace organizations in England and the United States. The author of the book, Henry Richard, as well as the subject of the memoir was active in the English peace movement. Both were friends of and corresponded with Amasa Walker.

Sturge, Joseph,

**A Visit to the United States in 1841.** Dexter S. King, Boston, 1842.

Joseph Sturge describes a meeting of the American Peace Society held in Boston in 1841. Amasa Walker was chairman of the meeting. At this time plans were begun for the calling of an International Peace Convention in London "as soon as possible". It was held in 1843 and was the First International Peace Congress.

C. Speeches, Essays etc.

Burritt, Elihu,

"A Congress of Nations. Addresses at the International Peace Congresses at Brussels (1848), Paris (1849), and Frankfort (1850)."

Old South Leaflets, VI, No. 146. Published by Direction of the Old South Work, Boston, n. d.

Burritt, Elihu,

Ten-Minute Talks on All Sorts of Topics. Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1874.

He describes the Paris Peace Congress, 1849.

Channing, William E.,

**A Discourse Delivered in Boston, November 12, 1837 by William E. Channing being a Tribute to the Memory of the Reverend Noah Worces- ter, D. D.** John Green, London, 1839.

Ladd, William,

Address Delivered at the Tenth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, December 25, 1826. Christian Register, Boston, 1826.

He bases his hopes for peace on a "civilized Christian Society".

Ladd, William,


This edition is a reprint from the original 1840 edition. It was reprinted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. It is in this Essay that Ladd drew up his plan for an International Congress and for an International Court. He believed such a plan would become possible only after public opinion had been educated to it.
[Ladd, William],


Ritchie, Andrew,

Address Delivered to the Massachusetts Peace Society at Their Third Anniversary December 25, 1818. Wells and Lilly, Boston, 1819.

[Seeley, Sir John Robert]


This is a recent edition of an old work. Walker makes reference to it in one of his letters. C. Phelps, in the Introduction to her The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, shows that Seeley's philosophy, as expressed in this book, was part and parcel of the ideology of the Nineteenth Century reform movements.

Walker, Amasa,


Walker declares there can never be peace so long as standing armies are held in readiness for war.

[Walker, Amasa],

[Speech]. No publisher, n. p. n. d.

The title page is missing, but in the margin has been written:

"Mr. Walker's [Speech ?] Before the American Peace Society, May, 1862."

In the course of the speech Mr. Walker declares that the Civil War is proving so disastrous it will certainly teach men to war no more. He believes this war will be the means of ending all wars. He discusses his own efforts for peace before Fort Sumter and the place of the American Peace Society in times of Civil War. It is significant in view of the controversy over the Civil War which divided the Peace Society into two factions.

Walker, Amasa,


This pamphlet belonged to Amasa Walker's own collection and at the top of the speech he had written "The Darkest Period of the War."

Walker, Francis A.,


He charged that the clergy as a profession had deserted the peace cause.

[Worcester, Noah],

According to William E. Channing it was this plea for the organization of peace societies which was instrumental in founding the Peace Society of Massachusetts.

D. Peace Newspapers and Periodicals

The Advocate of Peace (Boston), June, 1837, September, 1837, December, 1837, and March, 1838, May-June, 1865.

This was the organ of the American Peace Society. During these years Amasa Walker was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society. It was published quarterly. The 1865 issue contains an article by Walker on "Richard Cobden: His Services in the Cause of Peace."

American Advocate of Peace (Hartford, Conn.), June, 1834, September, 1834, December, 1834, March, 1835, June, 1835, September, 1835, December, 1835, and March, 1836.

This was the organ of the Connecticut Peace Society. During 1835 Amasa Walker appears as one of the Board of Directors from Massachusetts.

Burritt's Christian Citizen, 1848-1849, Christian Citizen, 1844-1847, and Citizen of the World, January-December, 1855. All these papers were edited by Elihu Burritt. The first two were different titles, but practically the same paper, published at Worcester and Boston. The Citizen of the World was published primarily in the interest of Ocean Penny Postage, the other two were primarily peace publications.

E. Secondary Accounts of the Peace Movement and Peace Men

Allen, Devere,

This book includes more than the period before and immediately after the Civil War in the United States, with which Amasa Walker was primarily concerned.

Crosby, Ernest,

Curti, Merle Eugene,

On the whole this is the most readable account to be found of the early peace movement.

Curti, Merle E.,

This is a very good discussion from official records and newspaper accounts of the New England Non-Resistance Society. The author has used Henry Clarke Wright's MS. Autobiography as well as Samuel E. Coues, Peace Album, MS.
Curti, Merle,

Frederic, Catherine A.,
The bibliography is good. There are numerous references to Amasa Walker's work in the American Peace Society.

Galpin, W. Freeman,
This is a thorough account of the early peace movement in this country. The bibliography is most complete, and useful.

Henderson, Gavin B.,
This article tells about the early peace congresses. It shows how the character of the congresses changed from 1843 to the 1850's. The first congress in 1843 was almost exclusively religious in motivation, by the fifties the congresses were considering more practical questions and were able to enlist such "practical men" as Cobden and Bright in England.


Marion, Louise,

Phelps, Christina,
The author of this monograph has given a fine interpretation of the meaning and character of the international peace reform movement. She has related it to other nineteenth century humanitarian reforms as well.

Trevelyan, George Macaulay,

Whitney, Edson L.,

VI. Postage Reform

Bates, Barnabas,
"Post-Office Reform -- Cheap Postage." The Merchants' Magazine

The Citizen of the World (Philadelphia) Jan. - Dec., 1855. This paper was edited by Elihu Burritt. The cause of cheap postage shared honors with the peace cause, though in Burritt's mind, as well as in Walker's, cheap postage was seen as a step leading toward international peace.


Leavitt, Joshua, An Essay on the Best Way of Developing Improved Political and Commercial Relations Between Great Britain and the United States of America. Macmillan and Company, London, 1869. This essay won the prize offered by the Cobden Club in 1868. It is Leavitt's claim that cheaper ocean transportation, including cheaper postage, would improve relations between Great Britain and the United States. This essay serves, then, to link the two movements, cheap postage and peace, together.


VII. Antislavery Reform

A. Contemporary Books, Pamphlets, Essays etc.

Abel, Annie Heloise, and Klingberg, Frank J., eds., A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858, Furnished
by the Correspondence of Lewis Tappan and Others with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Published by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., Lancaster, Penna., 1927.

Barnes, Gilbert H., and Dumond, Dwight L., eds.,

Formation of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. no publisher, n. p. [1839].
This record shows among other things that William Lloyd Garrison was not consistent in his attitude on "political action" because he had voted for Amasa Walker in 1834.

Friends of Freedom,
These volumes were published yearly from 1839 to 1855. Amasa Walker was a contributor.

Martineau, Harriet,
This book tells of the letter which Father John Kepp and William Dawes took to England asking for aid for Oberlin Institute. It was signed by many American abolitionists, among them, Amasa Walker.

Martineau, Harriet,
"Views of Slavery, and Emancipation," from Society in America. Piercy and Reed, New York, 1837.

Phillips, Wendell,

In the appendix of the Proceedings is a letter from Amasa Walker in which he gives his views on union and disunion. He explains why he is not taking part in the Disunion Convention.

Quincy, Edmund,
An Examination of the Charges of Mr. John Scofield and Mr. Lewis Tappan Against the American Anti-Slavery Society. Evans and Abbott, Bristol [Eng.], 1852.

Tappan, Lewis,

The True History of the Late Division in the Anti-Slavery Societies,

Walker, Hon. Amasa,

He showed that the Civil War was due to economic roots, that it was a struggle between slave and free labor.

B. Secondary Books and Articles

Adams, Alice Dana,

Barnes, Gilbert Hobbs,

Mr. Barnes, through the use of the Theodore Weld Papers, has given a new, and probably more nearly accurate, interpretation of the antislavery movement than we have before had. He minimizes the New England contributions to the reform movements and emphasizes the work done by the revival-inspired west. His story centers around transplanted New Englanders, however.

Birney, William,

Boucher, Chauncey S.,
"In Re That Aggressive Slavocracy." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VIII, 13-79 (June-Sept., 1921).

Hart, Albert Bushnell,

Johnson, Oliver,

Julian, George W.,
"The Genesis of Modern Abolitionism". International Review, XII, 533-555 (June, 1882).

Macy, Jesse,
The Anti-Slavery Crusade, A Chronicle of the Gathering Storm.

Martin, Asa Earl,
The author stresses the fact that the early antislavery work was done in the west, not in New England, by the Friends, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, and not by the Congregationalists.

Siebert, Wilbur H.,

Swift, Bayard,
William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1894.

C. Newspapers and Periodicals

The Abolitionist; or Record of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society (Boston) Jah. - Dec., 1833.

This paper was first published monthly, later it was a weekly. Both were published for the American Anti-Slavery Society.


Friend of Man (Utica, N. Y.) 1836-1841.

This was a monthly published by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Liberator (Boston) Sept. 15, 1832- Dec. 6, 1834; 1836; 1839- 1843; 1845-1860.

Massachusetts Abolitionist (Boston) Scattered issues, 1839; 1840.
This paper was edited by Elizur Wright, Jr. and A. A. Phelps.
It was the organ of the Massachusetts Abolition Society.

The National Era (Washington) 1847-1860.
VIII. Temperance Reform

The Boston Spy (Boston) Jan. 1, 1840-June 24, 1840.

The early issues are interested in continuing the Massachusetts Temperance Law of 1838.

Grindrod, Ralph Barnes,


Temperance Recorder (Albany, N. Y.) Mar. 6, 1832-Feb. 4, 1834.
This paper was the organ of the New York State Temperance Society.

When Will the Day Come? Massachusetts Temperance Society, Boston, [1857].

This pamphlet contains a list of Temperance Society officers from 1813 to 1857. It also gives a list of the speakers who gave the annual addresses from 1814 to 1840.

IX. Health Reform


X. Lyceum Movement and Education

Fairchild, James H.,
Oberlin: The Colony and the College, 1833-1863. E. J. Goodrich, Oberlin, Ohio.

There is a brief section in this book telling of Walker's connection with Oberlin.

Finney, Charles G.,

Charles S. Finney, the great revivalist, taught Theology in Oberlin at the time Walker was on the faculty of the school. Later, Finney became President of Oberlin.

Fletcher, Robert S.,
Oberlin, 1833-1866, MS.

This history of early Oberlin is about ready for the press. It contains an account of Amasa Walker's work at Oberlin.

[Holbrook, Jeziah],
"The American Lyceum, or Society for the Improvement of Schools and Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Old South Leaflets, VI, No. 139. Directors of the Old South Work, Boston, undated.
Oberlin College, Daily Journal of...
No. 708 (Sept. 22, 1841 - Dec. 31, 1843).
No. 10 (Jan. 2, 1844 - Dec. 31, 1844).
No. 13 (Apr. 1, 1847 - May 10, 1848).

Oberlin College Ledgers,
March 1, 1839 - Dec. 31, 1843 (No. 4).
Jan. 1, 1844 - Dec. 31, 1846 (No. 5).
Jan. 1, 1847 - Dec., 1850 (No. 6).

Tyler, William S.,
A History of Amherst College During the Administrations of
Its First Five Presidents. From 1821 to 1891. Frederick H.
Hitchcock, New York, 1895.

Walker, Amasa,
An Address Delivered Before the Young Men of Boston Associated
for Moral and Intellectual Improvement, on the Fifty-seventh
Anniversary of American Independence. Allen and Ticknor, Boston,
1833.
Walker discussed the aims of the lyceum movement. The
address is significant because it showed his wide interest in
humanitarian reforms as early as 1833.

Walker, Amasa,
An Address Delivered at Sturbridge, Oct. 3, 1855, Before the
Worcester South Agricultural Society. Earle & Drew, Worcester,
1856.
The author proposed Farmers' Organizations of Home Educa-
tion.

Walker, Amasa,
"Political Economy, As a Study for Common Schools." The Lectures
Delivered Before the American Institute of Instruction, at North-
ampton, Mass., Aug. 1850; Including the Journal of Proceedings,
A General Index to the Volumes Thus Far Published, and a List
of Members, Past, and Present. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, Boston,
1851.

XI. Political Parties Etc.

Adams, Charles Francis, ed.,
Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary
From 1795-1848, 12 volumes. J. B. Lippincott and Company,
Philadelphia, 1876.
Adams was at one time nominated by the Antimasonic Party
for Governor of Massachusetts. Amasa Walker was on the Com-
mittee of Notification.

Antimasonic Party,
An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Antimasonic State Con-
vention of Massachusetts, Held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Dec.
30 and 31, 1829, and Jan. 1, 1830. John Marsh, Boston, Jan.1,
1830.
Amasa Walker was a delegate to this convention and was elected to attend the 1830 National Convention.

Antimasonic Party,


Amasa Walker as chairman of the committee of correspondence with the Masonic Fraternities made an extended report in regard to the letters of inquiry which had been sent out. No replies had been received, he reported.

Antimasonic Party,


Antimasonic Party,

Proceedings of the Antimasonic Republican Convention, of Massachusetts Held at Worcester Sept. 5th & 6th, 1832. For the nomination of candidates for election of President and Vice President of the United States, and for Governor and Lt. Governor of Massachusetts. Perkins & Marvin, Boston, 1832.

Amasa Walker was a delegate at this convention. He spoke condemning the policy of the press in excluding antimasonic material.

Antimasonic Party,

Proceedings of the Antimasonic Republican Convention, of Massachusetts, Held at Boston, Sept. 11, 12 & 13, 1833, for the nomination of candidates for Governor and Lt. Governor of the Commonwealth, and "for the Purpose of 'Consulting upon the Common Good, by Seeking Redress of Wrongs and Grievances Suffered' from Secret Societies." Jonathan Howe, Boston, 1833.

Antimasonic Party,

Proceedings of the Antimasonic Republican Convention, for Massachusetts, Held at Boston, Sept. 10 and 11, 1834, for the nomination of candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, and to Advance the Cause of Equal Rights, by the Suppression of Secret Societies. Leonard W. Kimball, Boston, 1834.

Amasa Walker opposed a resolution in this convention which would have denied citizenship to all who refused to take an oath to renounce all foreign allegiances and allegiance to secret societies.

Antimasonic Party,

The Proceedings of the United States Anti-Masonic Convention Held at Baltimore, September, 1831. Journal and Reports, Nomination of Candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, Letters of Acceptance, Resolutions, and the Address to the People. Boston Type and Stereotype Foundry, Boston, 1832.
McCarthy, Charles,

Ward, Henry Dana,

These volumes were written by a "renouncing Mason".

B. Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1853.

Boutwell, George S.,

The Constitutional Propositions Adopted by the Convention of Delegates, Assembled at Boston, on the First Wednesday of May, A. D. 1853. And Submitted to the People for Their Ratification, with an Address to the People of Massachusetts. White & Potter, Boston, 1853.

This contains the final draft, the one presented to the voters.

Discussion on the Constitution Proposed to the People of Massachusetts by the Convention of 1853. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1854.

These discussions appeared originally in newspapers, pamphlets etc. following the presentation of the constitution to the people.

Dubuque, Hugo A.,

Hoar, George F.,
Autobiography of Seventy Years, I-II. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1903.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Begun and Held in Boston, on the Fourth Day of May, 1853. White & Potter, Boston, 1853.

Morison, Samuel Eliot,
This is a good study of the political background of the Convention, of the conflicting forces at work before, during and after the constitution was framed. The important discussions of the convention are interpreted in the light of existing political conditions.


Porter, Kirk H.,

Schouler, James,
This is a very good, concise account of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853.

C. Miscellaneous Political Subjects

Birney, William,

Brets, Julian P.,
This article excellently shows the shift from a religious to an economic emphasis in antislavery sentiment.


Darling, Arthur B.,
This book accurately describes the political situation in Massachusetts at a time when Amasa Walker was active in business and politics in the state. Walker's connection with the Antimasonic, Free Soil and Democratic Parties is mentioned. The author holds the interesting thesis that religious orthodoxy
and political democracy, or adherence to the Jacksonian party, were frequently combined. The conservative Whigs of the social élite were almost to a man Unitarians, while orthodox Congregationalists were usually found in the Democratic ranks. His evidence is quite convincing. Amasa Walker presents an interesting study in the light of this thesis.

Green, Beriah,
Sketch of the Life and Writings of James Gillespie Birney. Jackson and Chaplin, Utica, New York, 1844. Undoubtedly this biography was a piece of campaign propaganda.

Pierce, Edward L.,
Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, I-IV. Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1894.

Walker, Amasa,

Walker relates the history of the use of the ballot in Massachusetts. He tells of his own efforts to secure a sealed ballot for the state.

XII. Agricultural Improvement

Fowler, Frederick H.,

Massachusetts Board of Agriculture,

Amasa Walker wrote these Proceedings. He, as Secretary of State for Massachusetts, suggested state-imposed regulations on the local agricultural societies which were getting state aid. He believed they should render a uniform report to the state.

North Brookfield Agricultural and Horticultural Society,

Amasa Walker was president of this society and wrote the Report.

Walker, Amasa,
Walker, Amasa,

*A Synopsis of the Several Communications on the Cause and Cure of the Potato Rot; Received by the Executive of Massachusetts.* Dutton and Wentworth, Boston, 1852.

This report was made while Walker was Secretary of State.

Walker, Amasa,

*Transactions of the Agricultural Societies in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for the year 1850. Collated from the Original Returns, by ..., Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

The author suggests that Massachusetts should set up a state agricultural board with a full time secretary and possibly a soil chemist. The state's program, he said, should look forward to the eventual establishment of an Agricultural Normal School for Farmers.

Walker, Amasa,

*Transactions of the Agricultural Societies in the State of Massachusetts, for 1851.* Dutton and Wentworth, Boston, 1852.

Walker again suggests that uniform reports from the local agricultural societies be made obligatory. The penalty for failure to comply should be forfeiture of their state aid.

Walker, Amasa,

*Transactions of the Agricultural Societies in the State of Massachusetts, for 1852.* White & Potter, Boston, 1853.

These Transactions contain the 1852 Massachusetts state law setting up a State Board of Agriculture.

XIII. Labor Reform

Commons, John R. *et al.,*


Commons, John R. *et al.,* eds.


Volume III on Labor Movements is especially useful.

Massachusetts Hours of Labor Commission,

*Report of Massachusetts Commissioners on the Hours of Labor.* (House No. 44). Wright & Potter, Boston, 1867.

The majority report was submitted by Amasa Walker and William Hyde, the minority report, by Edward H. Rogers. The document illuminates Walker's labor philosophy.


Walker believes an attempt to regulate hours of labor cannot prove satisfactory.

XIV. Political Economy

A. Amasa Walker's Economic Writings


-- "Commercial and Monetary Interests of California." *The Overland Monthly Devoted to the Development of the Country*, X, 558-570 (June, 1873).

Walker claims that California by her constitutional provision prohibiting the introduction of paper money into the state has an advantage over other states.


Walker discusses several proposals for paying off the national debt after the Civil War. It is his opinion that it should be paid off as soon as possible that the country's material progress may not be inhibited.


This article proves that export articles, hence agricultural products, are more adversely affected by an unsound currency than most manufactured goods. He says that explains
why the depression among the farmers is relatively worse than among the commercial classes.


This article declares that the general belief that an elastic currency is desirable is fallacious. The relation between an elastic currency and a protective tariff is discussed.


Walker declares that Congress' currency legislation in 1870 is expansion.


This article is a plea to put the governmental currency system on a gold par.

"Governmental Interference with the Standard of Value." The Bankers' Magazine and Statistical Register, I, 3rd series, 725-738 (April, 1867).

This paper was read before the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1867. Walker declared that the government's interference with the standard of value had brought the present financial chaos, and that the only remedy for the situation was a change of governmental policy.


The statement made by Lord Overstone to the effect that mixed currency is "convenient and economical" is criticized.


The modern alchemist is one who believes "that paper may, by some marvellous solvent ... be made into gold."


This is a reprint from the Congressional Globe.


The author believes, after considering several possibilities open to the government, that McCulloch's plan for contraction provides the only permanent solution.


The article urges Congress to lay taxes during the war. If this is done there will be less to pay after the war is over, moreover, the country is able to pay higher taxes.


This is an historical account of the use of money, and the development of banking. In the history of the use of money he shows how the Wickabaug Bank, an imaginary institution, can, under existing laws, establish itself and operate with almost no real capital and yet be "within the law."


A note at the end of the speech states that these "remarks though prepared for ... the House of Representatives" were not delivered because "the previous question was unexpectedly called and debate precluded."


Walker declares the only possible chance the country has of securing a sound financial footing is to withdraw greenbacks from circulation.


These two articles were published first in The International Review, I, Mar., 1874 and II, Apr., 1875. The article is a history of the United States currency.


This article is another plea for contraction to which is added the prediction that the coming year, 1870, will witness a business depression.
Walker, Amasa,

"Veto" was the signature used by J. W. Breen in a previous article in Lippincott's. The article was entitled "Claims of the Anti-Bondholders." Walker declared that the United States, though it had the legal right (which he denied) to pay in greenbacks, the government could not afford to do so.


This was Amasa Walker's major work. It was published first in 1866. It was designed, first of all, as a college text, but also for the general, intelligent reader too. It was used for many years in a number of colleges.


In this article Walker criticized the government's proposal to exempt government bonds from taxation.


The prospects of a further issue of greenbacks is viewed with alarm.

B. Other Economic Writings

Appleton, Nathan,

Bascom, John,
Political Economy: Designed as A Text-Book for Colleges. Warren F. Draper, Boston, 1864.

The Boston Quarterly Review (Boston), 1938.

This magazine was edited by Orestes A. Brownson and contained many articles on economic subjects.

Bouché, O. Fred.,

Breen, J. W.,

The author of this article declares that the term used in the law, "lawful money", was greenbacks, not coin. This article refuted Amasa Walker's article "Claims of the Bondholders", which had been published several months earlier in Lippincott's.
Brownson, Henry F.,

**Literary, Scientific, and Political Views of Orestes A. Brownson.**
Selected from his Works by ... Benniger Brothers, Chicago, 1893.

Orestes A. Brownson was a severe critic of the political economy
of his day, and of the political economists.

**Brownson's Quarterly Review** (Boston) 1844-1855; (New York) 1856-1875.

Clark, Natham,

**Speech by Nathan Clark, Upon the Currency Policy of the Federal Government.** No publisher, Lynn, Mass., 1874.

Nathan Clark was Democratic candidate for State Treasurer in
Massachusetts in 1874. He opposed resumption of specie payment.
Apparently he has sent a copy of this speech to Amasa Walker for on
a blank page he has written Walker that he hopes he has given up
his belief in resumption of specie payment. Clark argues in this
note that it is not honest for the government to require that debts
be paid with money which is worth more than it was when it was
borrowed.

Cognetti De Martis, S.,

**Introduzione al Walker (Volume I, Raccolta Delle Pid Presti Opere Moderne Italiane E Straniere de Economia Politica, Diretta dal Prof. Gerolamo Boccardo).** Unione Tipografico-Editrice, Torino, 1876.

Professor Cognetti de Martis translated Amasa Walker's Science of Wealth. This translation together with a lengthy "Introduction" by the same man is included in a general series of Italian and
foreign authors on Economics Politics.

Curran, Dr. J. H.,

**Francis A. Walker und seine Hauptschliessen Theorien.** Gustav
Fischer, Jena, 1900.

There are references in this German work to Amasa Walker's
economic theories as well as the theories of his son, Francis A.
Walker.

Dorfman, Joseph,

**Thorstein Veblen and His America.** The Viking Press, New York, 1934.

Ely, Richard T.,

**The Past and Present of Political Economy** (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, II, No. 3). Johns
Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1884.

Fletcher, Hugh Mackay,

**History of Economic Theory in the United States, 1820-1866. An Abstract of a Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Re-
quirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, 1926.** Urbana,
Ill., 1926.

The author considers Amasa Walker to be the last economist of
importance to belong to the early school of political economy in
the United States. He chose the year 1866 as the end of the early
period because in that year Walker's *Science of Wealth* was published. He calls Walker a follower of the classical English school of political economy. The second period, with which he does not deal, begins, oddly enough, with Francis A. Walker, son of Amasa Walker.

Higgs, Henry, ed.,

Heman, Paul T.,

Koren, John, ed.,

Lalor, John F., ed.,

Miller, Harry E.,

The banking ideas of Amasa Walker, along with many more, are examined.

Passy, F.,

This article records a discussion which took place in the Paris Political Economy Association on Amasa Walker's *Science of Wealth*.

Perry, Carroll,

Seligman, Edwin R. A.,

Seligman, Edwin R. A.,

Turner, John Roscoe,
*The Ricardian Rent Theory in Early American Economics*. The New

Turner states that Walker was directly opposed to Ricardo's theory of rent. This is not the usual contention, for Amasa Walker has been regarded by many economic commentators as a Ricardian.

Walker, Francis A.,

Walker, Francis A.,

Walker, Francis A.,

Walker, Francis A.,

Walker, Francis A.,

Wolowski, L.,

Wolowski treats the ideas of Amasa Walker on currency quite thoroughly. He compares his ideas with other contemporary writers on political economy.

XV. The Spirit of Reform

Branch, E. Douglas,

An interesting treatment of the life and ideas of the pre-war period, a period which Branch characterizes as "sentimental". The humanitarian reform movements so prevalent in the first half of the nineteenth century were both the cause and the result of this outstanding characteristic of the period.

Commager, Henry Steele,

Because of the wide interests along reform lines of Theodore Parker and because of his relationship with most of the leaders in the reform movements this book is valuable. The author has succeeded in drawing a remarkable sketch of New England in the Age of the Reformers.
Gurney, Joseph John,
This English reformer is struck by the extremes to which American reformers go. The Americans’ advocacy of equal rights for women, cold water in place of tea and coffee as well as liquor, and strictly vegetable diets, for example, look to this Englishman like "too much reform".

Galpin, Freeman,
In line with the general policy of the editors of this History the author of the chapter on the reform movement has related the story of the New York reformers and their societies to the reform movement as a whole.

Parrington, Vernon Louis,

Seldes, Gilbert,
This is a popular and interesting story of some of the fads and reforms of the nineteenth century. The author confines himself to what he calls "the minor movements."

Tappan, Lewis,
Here is a good statement of the philosophy of a philanthropic merchant prince of the reform period.

Walker, Amasa,
This Memoir contains material about peace, temperance, and abolition because of the wide reform activities of Amos Dresser. Walker writes with sympathy and understanding about these reforms.

XVI. General Histories

Bancroft, George,

Beard, Charles A. and Mary R.,

Channing, Edward,
A History of the United States. 6 volumes. The Macmillan,
Company, 1925.

Fish, Carl Russell,

McMaster, John Bach,
A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War, I-VII. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1892.

Rhodes, James Ford,

Schlesinger, Arthur Meier,

Smith, Theodore Clarke,
AUTobiography

I, Laura Ann Mick, was born near Bryan, Ohio, July 11, 1910. In 1928 I was graduated from the high school at Bryan, Ohio and entered Oberlin College from which institution I received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1932. After graduation I received a fellowship for study and travel at the Villa Collina Ridente, a Centre for International Studies in Florence, Italy, and received its diploma in 1933. Returning to the United States I received in December, 1933 a Gilchrist Potter scholarship from Oberlin College to do graduate work the coming year in history and political science at The Ohio State University. In August, 1934 I received the Master of Arts degree. In that year and the year following I was appointed a University Scholar by The Ohio State University.

By June, 1935 I had all the work for the Doctor of Philosophy degree completed with the exception of the dissertation. After a summer of research in the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. I resigned the scholarship to accept a position teaching in the Connellsville, Pennsylvania high school. After one year of secondary teaching I became in 1936 assistant professor of history and political science at Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois.

On June 24, 1938 I married Franklin G. Moore of Toledo, Ohio and during the next year traveled in Norway and England and completed the remaining work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.