THE AMITY COLONY

A Thesis 195

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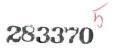
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INTRODUCTION

An unusual experiment occurred in 1898 on the windswept plains of southeastern Colorado. This was the planting of a colony which was intended to lead the way in solving the social ills of congested urban society. The idea was to take man out of his city environment where he had failed to reach his full potential, and give him another chance. Man was to be religiously and economically guided in his second chance by the Salvation Army. The colony was named Amity, which means good will.

One cannot start with Amity, but must instead turn to the Salvation Army in order to appreciate fully the background of the attempt at Amity. Little can be said about the Salvation Army without touching on the Booths. Accordingly, the first chapter of this thesis deals with William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, and his reasons and methods in developing this organization in England.

Chapter two sets the American scene (1870-1900) into which the Army marched, and describes how this movement spread in the United States, developed institutions and leaders, and established a firm foundation for its social programs.

With the Salvation Army fairly well established in many countries, William Booth brought forth his Colonization Scheme as a solution to the social ills of the period. This is presented in chapter three. It is based upon Booth's interpretation of the way to social betterment and salvation as outlined in his book <u>In</u> <u>Darkest England and the Way Out</u>. Brief consideration is then given to the follow-through of Booth's Scheme outside the United States.

The Farm Colony aspect of Booth's "Darkest England Scheme" was put to a test in three American states, California, Ohio, and Colorado. Chapter four contains a discussion of Fort Romie in California and Fort Herrick in Ohio.

To seek out worthy persons, largely from congested cities, and to help them establish homes on the land, and to rear their families under wholesome conditions was the program contemplated by the Salvation Army in America. Amity was the colony planted in the Arkansas Valley, where, because of a vast expanse of land and irrigation rights, prospects seemed best for fullfillment of the scheme. Chapter five contains the start, development, growth, and eventual decline of Amity.

The conclusion attempts to evaluate Booth's Scheme, and to provide an assessment of the American aspect of the program, that is, the Farm Colonies.

The purpose of the writer has been to preserve a little known aspect of American history, and perhaps to reactivate interest in the experiment that was tried by our forefathers as an attempt to solve the plight of the destitute in urban areas.

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM BOOTH AND THE SALVATION ARMY

The Salvation Army owes its conception and origin to the efforts of one man, William Booth. There was nothing spectacular about his early life that foretold the effect he would have on mankind. He was born in Nottingham, England, on April 12, 1829, of laboring class parents. While quite young he was apprenticed to a pawn broker because his father thought it was his best chance of making money.¹ Apparently young William attended the Methodist Church, and he occasionally spoke at the meetings as a lay preacher. He impressed a wealthy member of the church who offered to pay Booth's expenses while training for the ministry.²

William Booth was ordained in the Methodist Church after finishing school in 1858, and he stayed with that sect for three years. By 1858 he had married Catherine Mumford, who bore him eight children and was by his side continually as a pillar of strength and a source of inspiration.³

lyman Abbott, <u>Silhouettes of My Contemporaries</u> (Garden City, New York, 1921), 158.

²Ibid., 160.

3Maud B. Booth, Beneath Two Flags (New York, 1889), 254.

Booth became discouraged with the restrictions of the Church, and he resigned in 1861 to become a traveling evangelist in England. It was during his travels that Booth became horrified by the conditions of the poorer classes in the large cities. This young man thought he could see the human race regressing. He believed that spiritual poverty was the real cause of the wretchedness among the people. According to Booth, Christianity was a war against the devil, and salvation of the individuals of society was Booth's answer to the problem. The people were not actually being helped, either spiritually or physically, by the many charities of England. These charities were inadequate to their task in a nation where, during the nineteenth century, the population was moving rapidly from rural areas to the cities. Many of the people who migrated to the cities had dreams of a better life. They were unskilled and thus unable to find employment. Without much money and with uncertain or meager jobs, if any, the newcomers to the cities gathered in the poorer, overcrowded areas. Unemployment and overcrowded conditions increased their despair.4

Because of the conditions Booth observed, and because he felt. a religious calling, he decided to try to help those people. An open air meeting at Mile End Waste, an old Quaker burying site in the east

4Abbott, Silhouettes of My Contemporaries, 159-163.

end of London, in July of 1865, was the beginning of a life time devoted to aiding the poor and the fallen members of society.⁵ Booth sought to accomplish the rescue of human life unassociated with any particular church.⁶ His aims were to attract the people with the message of salvation, to save them, and then to employ them in mission work.⁷

While William Booth was still in school, he heard an American evangelist, the Reverend James Caughey, at a revival. Caughey used a straight-forward, conversational style of preaching. This style apparently made a strong impression on Booth, and he resorted to this method of simple, open-air preaching to push home his message to the masses. Booth, an excellent speaker, was well received as "vast multitudes were swayed by his eloquence "⁸

Booth had no plan for starting a new church, but he realized that the established churches were not doing their best for the salvation of the people. He would reach those people, give them hope, and send them to the various churches in London. The churches, however, were not too receptive of dirty workmen and did little to encourage the poor to attend services. Moreover, the lower class did not feel at

⁵Frederick Booth-Tucker, <u>The Salvation Army in the United</u> <u>States</u> (New York, 1904), 5.
⁶Abbott, <u>Silhouettes of My Contemporaries</u>, 167.
⁷Maud B. Booth, <u>Beneath Two Flags</u>, 24.
⁸Booth-Tucker, <u>The Salvation Army in the United States</u>, 6.

home in the churches primarily because of their poor appearance.9

Realizing that the churches, by not accepting and making these people feel at home, only pushed them further from the mainstream of society and helped perpetuate their feelings of hopelessness, Booth decided upon a new approach. It was to seek out and attract the lower class of people with outdoor processions with banners and music, a distinct blue uniform, and religious talks in the streets, public halls, and theatres. The hopeless found hope through the emotional and spiritual fellowship generated by Booth's message, and thereby many of the destitute not only accepted Booth as a leader, but found refuge in his counsel.¹⁰

As his followers increased in number he established a mission for the converts in London. From open-air work he moved to tents, an old stable, or any place where he could hold meetings and gather in the poor members of society. The movement became strong enough financially, and the Christian Mission, as it was called, leased "The Eastern Star," a notorious beer house. This building was used as a bookstore, meeting hall, and classroom by the Christian Mission.¹¹

This movement was merely a mission in its early years. Booth was then known as the Superintendent, who was the leader in the waging of the war against the evils of the world and the fight for salvation.

⁹<u>The Salvation Army</u> (New York, 1960), 3.
¹⁰<u>Ibid</u>.

¹¹ Maud B. Booth, Beneath Two Flags, 24.

Early conferences that were held soon became "War Congresses," and gradually the military terminology came into Mission language, songs, writings, and meetings.¹² Even in the organization's publication military terms were used. The title adopted for its weekly paper first published in 1868, was "War Cry." This publication contained no fiction, advertisements, or politics. It contained only news of the Christian Mission and means of salvation, yet the circulation grew rapidly.¹³

In 1878, William Booth became a "general" of the organization. All Christian Mission centers assumed a military character, and the organization came to be known as the Salvation Army. The members of the Army had blue uniforms, a distinctive flag, and musical instruments, not organs which had little appeal to the people the Army sought to reach, but drums, tambourines, and brass instruments. Upon those instruments unhymnlike music was played. Members of the Salvation Army would set words of salvation to catchy tunes of the day.¹⁾

Those methods and devices were not used only to be different but to attract the physically, emotionally, and spiritually needy. The appeal of the military costumes was explained in this manner: "Perhaps it satisfies the military instinct that almost every race possesses,"¹⁵ and everybody loves a parade.

¹²<u>Ibid., 25.</u>
¹³<u>Ibid., 25-26.</u>
¹⁴<u>The Salvation Army, 3.</u>
¹⁵Maud B. Booth, <u>Beneath Two Flags</u>, 128-129.

The teaching of the Salvation Army was that men are their brother's keepers, and the strong must assist the weak into the paths of self-reliance. The way to better society is by bettering the individual.¹⁶ The Salvation Army became more than a new church, a different religion; it became an army with direct orders from the General to attack all the social ills of the day. It not only attempted to destroy evils, but to build up society.

General Booth had ambitious schemes for the accomplishment of his mission. His plan was to provide food, clothing, and shelter to all in need, without their loss of self-respect. All would feel useful providing they had work to do.¹⁷ Shelters were opened for people to have a place to take a bath, wash their clothes, get a good night's sleep, and have some companionship. This service was not free, but it was cheap enough for most, and if the people did not have the money, they could work for it.¹⁸

Work brigades were the means of providing jobs for the slum people of England. Those people collected unwanted articles and refinished them in shops operated by the Salvation Army. Then the products were sold in stores run by the organization. This method provided a way of picking up unwanted articles, rehabilitating workers

17William Booth, In Darkest England and the Way Out (London, 1890), 38.(cited hereafter as In Darkest England).

18 Ibid., 94.

^{16&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>., 46.

in the shops, and providing good inexpensive merchandise for the slum dwellers.

Homes for fallen women were started to try to save young girls from further degradation. The settlements were called Rescue Homes. The prison brigade was used by workers of the Army to reach criminals needing help. Members of the organization would visit prisons, talk with the inmates, and on release, the ex-criminals would be met by Salvation Army workers and given help to begin anew.¹⁹ Day nurseries and food depots were other activities instigated by the Army to reach the poor, down-trodded, neglected city dwellers. Soon social service became the distinguishing feature of the Salvation Army. Many of these ideas were later adopted in modern welfare programs.²⁰

The Army slowly increased in membership, in territory, and activities. In 1873 the Christian Mission served primarily in East London. By 1883 the Salvation Army had 1, 067 officers in thirteen different countries.²¹

The Salvation Army met opposition as does any organization that advocates departure from the old and established ways. This opposition came from all segments of the population, including churchmen who denounced the organization as unchristian, promoters of vice (often prominent business men), and the poor whom the Army was trying

¹⁹<u>Ibid.</u>, 94-123.
²⁰<u>The Salvation Army</u>, 3.
²¹Maud B. Booth, <u>Beneath Two Flags</u>, 25.

to aid. Both vocal abuse and physical violence were inflicted upon Salvation Army members, and frequently by the officers of the law.²²

Gradually the efforts of the Army and the results it achieved decreased the abuse inflicted on the organization's membership. When the police realized that saloon habitues and drunken brawls decreased in number once the Army arrived in that section of London, they appreciated the lasses.

The Army recognized an affinity of liquor with poverty and vice; thus total abstinence was made a condition of membership in the Army. The use of tobacco was likewise prohibited for all officers, and was strongly discouraged for others because it was considered detrimental to the mind and body.²³

Catherine Booth's work proved the value of women in the organization and from the beginning men and women served as equals in the Army. Joseph Hargreaves, a Salvation Army officer, stated in an interview that Catherine and her children became ardent supporters of the General's ideas, and through their efforts and those of loyal members of the organization, the Salvation Army spread its influence among the poor.²⁴

22 Ibid.

²³Herbert A. Wisbey, <u>Soldiers Without Swords</u> (New York, 1955), 20. ²⁴Colorado Writers Association, <u>Prowers and Clear Creek Counties</u>: <u>Interviews</u> (State Historical Society, Colorado, 1933-34), 241.(hereafter cited as <u>Prowers and Clear Creek Counties</u>: <u>Interviews</u>).

The method of reaching the masses had been solved by the Army. It was not by argument, discussion, legislation, or new doctrines, but by going out and administering help to the poor. Once started in London, the Army spread throughout the British Isles and to other parts of the world.²⁵

25_{Maud} B. Booth, <u>Beneath</u> <u>Two</u> <u>Flags</u>, 17.

CHAPTER II

THE SALVATION ARMY EXPANDS TO THE UNITED STATES

As in Great Britain, the United States experienced a population movement from country side to hamlet, from hamlet to town, from town to city. Rural America was giving way to a new America after the Civil War. In this new America the cities were the center of the new economic order. Capital, the business and financial institutions, the spreading railroad yards, the mills, and the wage-earning population were concentrated in the cities.¹

The lure of the cities attracted the rural population of the United States. At the same time the dazzle of the city drew immigrants who were formerly attracted to the wilderness. The United States experienced an extraordinary growth of large cities in the late nineteenth century due to industrialization. The city became the center of progress, and the once lofty farmer was reduced to a "hay seed."

The city may have been considered paradise to the isolated, lonely farm boy, or the newly arriving immigrant, but if it was the center of the good life, it was considered the center of evil as well. The enlarged factory system separated employer and employee and greatly

¹Arthur M. Schlesinger, <u>The Rise of the City:</u> <u>1878-1898</u>, Vol. X of <u>A History of American Life</u> (New York, 1933), 74. increased the workers' subjugation.² "Industry rewarded owners and brain workers at the expense of manual workers who often lacked sufficient income for the necessities of life."³

The urban and industrial growth in America was rapid, too rapid for America to catch her breath and to prepare for the drastic changes occurring. Complex problems resulted. Crime, vice, and graft became deeply rooted in the slums, the saloons, the factories, and the city halls of most large cities.

Americans had had little training in the management of densely packed urban centers. Yet every year a larger proportion of the people lived in cities, rendering all human relations more complex, creating new social maladjustments and requiring governmental services and safeguards unknown to the earlier and simpler days of the republic.⁴

American protestantism, which was the product of a rural, middle-class society, failed to adopt to the conditions brought about by the rapid growth of cities due to industrialization and immigration. Working men, women, and children were noticeably absent from the Protestant churches on Sunday. Their absence was due to various factors--the "new" immigrants were often Catholics or Jews, the day was used for rest by the tired factory workers or for pleasure and recreation and excursions. Others, not at leisure, had to run the trains and to provide the means of recreation. The

 ²Aaron I. Abell, <u>The Urban Impact on American Protestantism</u>: <u>1865-1900</u> (Hamden, Mass., 1943), 3. (hereafter cited as <u>The Urban Impact</u>).
 ³Ibid., 4.
 ⁴Schlesinger, <u>The Rise of the City</u>, 389.

Sabbath was not set aside for church attendance. Blue Laws were passed in many states, but they were not strictly $enforced.^5$

Another reason for the lack of church members among the poorer city dwellers was that many of the churches catered to the employers and big business. They were anti-labor in their sermons and in their actions. They believed that "human sufferings were the penalties of idleness, disease or other similar causes, in a great measure the fault of the sufferers."⁶ As Abell so aptly put it, wage earners rejected "churchianity," not Christianity.⁷

It was into this setting that Amos Shirley and his family immigrated in 1878, from Coventry, England, to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. They were plain working people who were deeply religious. Eliza, his daughter, had been a member of the Salvation Army but had resigned when her family moved to America. Having had some experience working with the needy, Eliza and her parents started religious meetings in Philadelphia to try to aid the down-trodden. They met with little success.⁸ They wrote letters to General William Booth asking him to send soldiers to work with the poor, for conditions were as bad in America as they were in England.⁹

> ⁵<u>Ibid.</u>, 333. ⁶Abell, <u>The Urban Impact</u>, 5. ⁷<u>Ibid</u>., 56. ⁸Wisbey, <u>Soldiers Without Swords</u>, 11-14. ⁹Maud B. Booth, <u>Beneath Two Flags</u>, 205.

General Booth hesitated to expand the Army for so much effort was still needed throughout the British Isles. There seemed to be some question as to how, or if, the Army could expand beyond England without destroying the plan of organization. Booth finally consented to the Shirleys' request, and in 1880 eight members of the Army sailed for the United States from England.¹⁰

George Scott Railton, though only thirty years old, was the leader of the group. The seven other members were young women ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-two.^{ll} After four weeks crossing the Atlantic, they marched and sang their way into the slums of New York City.^{l2}

Although the United States offered a splendid opportunity to the "Church of the Poor," as the Salvation Army was called, the courageous little group met with opposition from the start. Their uniforms, music, speech, and unorthodox behavior brought them ridicule. Membership started to grow after they had won a few converts.

Salvation Army procedures in the United States followed those of the Christian Mission in London. Open-air meetings were held until they were broken up for violation of the law against such assemblies in New York City. Halls or any place that could hold people were then rented for meetings. The early meetings were held in some of the least respectable quarters of the city, but the people the Army wanted

10Wisbey, Soldiers Without Swords, 22.
11_Ibid., 1-2.
12War Cry, December 12, 1892, 2.

to reach were located there, and no place was too dark or too evil to enter and battle the forces of the devil.

It was one thing to attract the crowds into the meeting places, another to hold and interest those crowds. The meetings were short, substituting short pointed talks and simple testimonies for long sermons, and singing to the music of popular well-known tunes.¹³ The unique way of conducting meetings provided companionship, entertainment, escape and salvation.

Some of the most successful workers for the Army were those from the lowest social rank of humanity. The use of such uneducated people to save others was very successful. When those men gave a testimonial, they were believed by fellow sufferers. The feeling of hope was generated. "If he can do it so can I," could have been a phrase running through the minds of listeners.

The Salvation Army soon expanded to New Jersey, but as in New York, open-air meetings were against the law, so the main headquarters was located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, because there were no laws in that city against open-air meetings. In all states entered by the Army, members suffered abuse and were jailed for creating disturbances, causing crowds which created disorder, beating drums, and marching in the streets, noisiness, and blocking the streets.¹/₄

> 13_{Maud} B. Booth, <u>Beneath Two</u> Flags, 39. 14<u>Tbid</u>., 206.

As in England, so it was in the United States. Gradually the people accepted the Salvation Army as its work and results became known. The same social institutions begun in England were started in America--shelter homes, hospitals for unwed mothers, prison work, day nurseries, summer camps, food depots and work shelters.¹⁵

The early leadership of the organization in the United States ran into difficulty when one of the leaders was relieved of command due to irregularities discovered when the books were audited. Thomas Moore, the relieved leader, then tried to take over the American division of the Salvation Army by criticizing the foreign domination of the organization. The attempt did not succeed, and the members remained loyal to the regular organization.¹⁶ General William Booth visited the United States in 1886. His visit did much to remove the prejudices fostered by Moore in the American press against the organization.¹⁷

The tone of newspaper stories about the Army changed to a positive view soon after a series of drawing-room meetings held by Maud Booth, the wife of Ballington Booth, the new American leader. Those meetings were held in homes of socially prominent people. The methods of work and the objectives of the organization were

> 15<u>Ibid</u>., 208. 16_{Wisbey}, <u>Soldiers Without Swords</u>, 45, 53. 17_{Maud} B. Booth, <u>Beneath Two Flags</u>, 207-208.

explained. Mrs. Booth also solicited help from them, and set up an Auxiliary League which numbered 4,000 in 1895.¹⁸ "Subscribers to the League contributed \$5.00 a year and were entitled to a year's subscription to the <u>War Cry</u>, a small badge to wear, and a ticket to all Salvation Army functions."¹⁹ In this way Maud Booth obtained sympathy for the cause from many prominent people, and was able to raise funds to carry out the many Army programs.

The Salvation Army won recognition from the churches in the country because the Army had succeeded in doing what some churches had just been talking about. The Army eventually gained the legal right to hold outdoor services, and very few people were thrown in jail once popular approval had been won.

The many programs of the uniformed workers were not isolated ways of treating isolated problems. The main objective of the Army was salvation of man. Hungry men do not think of their souls, but of their stomachs. The causes of poverty, therefore, were to be searched out and cured. Only then would man be free to search for and obtain salvation. The Salvationists believed that it would do more harm than good merely to give assistance to those in need. It would only help in a temporary way, and did not get to the root of the problem.²⁰

¹⁸Wisbey, <u>Soldiers Without Swords</u>, 93.
¹⁹Abell, <u>The Urban Impact</u>, 124.
²⁰William Booth, <u>In Darkest England</u>, 38, 43, 78.

General Booth had many ideas on how to cure the world's social ills. The food depots, shelter homes, work shelters, rescue homes for women, hospitals for unwed mothers, day nurseries, orphanages, and prison work started in many countries was but the first step in his grand plan. His plan of colonization was the last step in the process of redemption.

CHAPTER III

THE COLONIZATION SCHEME

In 1890 General William Booth wrote a book entitled In Darkest England and the Way Out. It described his Scheme for a possible solution to the social problems of the time. Booth began his work by describing the horrible conditions of the poor and the destitute in England. He estimated that three million, or one tenth of the people, in Great Britain were enslaved by destitution and despair. An analogy was made of nineteenth century England and darkest Africa as described by Stanley. Stanley's group became lost in the jungle, and was surrounded by growth to the extent that the very sky seemed dark, and no matter how much vegetation was hacked down, more seemed ahead. Many in Stanley's group were frightened and lost hope, but the party pressed on. Finally they could see light, and as the intensity of the growth decreased, so hope was renewed. 1 The poor of England were without hope as they could not see how conditions of life would improve for them. Booth proposed to give them that hope, to provide the light so those people would not give up.²

Booth devised a plan to rescue the fallen masses from their overwhelming despair by going to them with a complete program of

> ¹William Booth, <u>In Darkest England</u>, 5-11. ²<u>Ibid</u>., 20.

reform that provided a glimpse of hope as a start. There were three parts to his plan:

The City Colony

The Farm Colony

The Over-seas Colony

The ground work for the City Colony had been laid by the rescue homes, the food centers, the shelter depots, the work brigades, the prison work and other social work. Those institutions provided the bare essentials of food, clothing, shelter and, of course, work in order not to deprive a person of pride. All of those establishments were to be enlarged to handle the large number of destitute people. The "harbors of refuge," as Booth called those institutions, were to be the first step in rescuing the people.³

Once rescued by the City Colony and put to work, the Salvation Army would observe the people to insure their development and determine whether they had a sincere desire to work and improve. Some of those people would be rehabilitated and rejoin their families or rejoin the main stream of society directly from the city establishments. Others would be sent to the Farm Colony, the second part of the plan.

The Farm Colony would be like a vocational center or, as the leader called it, "a working man's agricultural university." Here the people would further develop skills and character.⁴

3 Ibid., 91.

4Toid., 92-94.

The Farm Colony was to be located just outside of London. The location was important for two reasons. First, the site had to be close enough to the city for that city to serve as a market for products of the farm. Second, it had to be far enough away from the evil temptations of the city so that the people could continue to reform and improve their character. The products of the farm would help the city programs by providing food and other items, thus decreasing the costs and developing both projects.⁵

From the Farm Colony rehabilitated persons could go several ways. They would be helped to obtain land and start their own farms if they so desired. They could stay on and help the Salvation Army or rejoin the main stream of the economy by returning to the city and working. The path the Army hoped many would take would be to Over-seas Colonies.⁶

Land was to be obtained in Africa, Australia, Canada or the United States. Millions of acres of useful land were available. A task force would be sent to prepare the land, to construct dwellings, to plant the first crops, and to make things ready for the first group of colonists from the Farm Colony. Only those whom the Salvation Army observed to be sincere in their willingness to reform and work would be allowed to emigrate to the Over-seas Colonies. The colonists sent to the Over-seas Colonies would be expected to pay their own way, but payments could be made on a time basis. Gradually

5<u>Ibid</u>., 128-134. 6<u>Ibid</u>., 134.

as the colonies grew and developed, more land would be obtained, and additional prepared people would emigrate from the Farm Colonies.⁷ All three communities were to be self-helping and eventually selfsustaining. They were to be a kind of co-operative society, governed and disciplined on the principles of the Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army would supervise the entire three-fold program. The Colonization Scheme was elaborate in design, but Booth wanted to save men. To save a man required more than putting food in his stomach, providing clean clothes for his back, and giving him regular work. Those things were on the outside. What really mattered was to change the inner nature of the individual. That would be the only lasting result of any value. Since the problem was large, the solution had to be on a commensurate scale.⁸

Booth believed that only the Salvation Army was capable of such a monumental project. The records of the Army with 10,000 officers and many other members under a single leader, showed that they had the organization to proceed. The twenty-five years in which the Army had administered aid and assistance to the destitute of England, and to the poor in many other parts of the world, provided the experience and the knowledge necessary to carry out the program. This history, according to the General, also proved that the Army could and did succeed with the destitute when many churches, charities, and government agencies had failed.⁹

> 7<u>Tbid</u>., 133-178. 8<u>Tbid</u>., 45. 9<u>Tbid</u>., 230-244.

The General considered certain elements as essential to the success of his plan or any plan that would attempt to solve the problems.

- 1. The plan had to change the man and his character if that was the cause of his failure.
- 2. It had to change the surroundings of the individual if that was the cause of his failure.
- 3. It had to be on a large scale if the problem was wide-spread.
- 4. It had to be permanent.
- 5. It had to be immediately practicable.
- 6. Directly or indirectly it was not to hurt those to be helped.
- 7. It was not to hurt or interfere with others of society.¹⁰

Booth's Scheme was a far reaching idea in 1890, and perhaps his thinking was far ahead of his time. Today the social and urban problems are being faced, and many of the suggested solutions parallel Booth's. The result Booth hoped to reach was salvation of man. Today the term salvation is not given as the end result of any social program. Instead, "man should be allowed to develop to his fullest potential," is the statement often heard. Perhaps, salvation and the full development of man could be interpreted to mean the same.

Booth admitted that his plan was not fool-proof. It was however, a beginning, and as the program materialized, knowledge would be accumulated and changes would be made in the manner of carrying out various aspects of the plan.

¹⁰ Ibid., 85-87.

The needs of the destitute and poor of the slums were now, according to the General. He was against the theory, preached by many churches, that the reward for the poor was on the other side of the grave. What in the meantime? He also disliked the Socialists, who were waiting for a great upheaval before the redistribution of wealth would relieve human suffering. What about the sick and the hungry in the meantime?¹¹

The success of the plan would depend largely on management. "Management signifies government and government implies authority."¹² According to Booth, utopian orders did not recognize authority, and many of their experimental communities failed because they started with the system of equality and government by vote of the majority. As a result of their lack of direction, their purpose was stymied.¹³ Directed by a single man, the Army had discipline and an obedient following of workers, plus faith in God to qualify for the stupendous undertaking. But the organization did not have the money for the program. Booth requested five million dollars through contributions, to begin his plan. Gradually the various parts of the program would raise money.¹⁴ He hoped that governments would help financially when the plans seemed successful.¹⁵

> 11_Ibid., 79-81. 12_Ibid., 230. 13_Ibid., 230-232. 15_William Booth, In Darkest England, 229.
> 12_Ibid., 230.

In Darkest England and the Way Out was no sooner released than it was bombarded with criticism of all kinds. Thomas Huxley was one of the most outspoken objectors to the plan. He accused Booth of raising a world army and accumulating money with which eventually to take over the world and make himself ruler. Huxley wrote essays and newspaper articles and sent letters to the editor urging people not to contribute to the plan. The whole plan, according to Huxley, was a plot to enrich the schemer Booth and his family. Huxley insisted that there was no program to be put into practice.¹⁶

Money began to come in, but not the amount Booth needed. Criticism like Huxley's discouraged many from contributing. The General went ahead with his program despite the lack of capital and lack of widespread support. He did not enlarge the scope of the city institutions. Instead, he concentrated on the second step of the program, the Farm Colony.

In 1890 Booth secured 800 acres of land outside London for \$60,000.¹⁷ The Hadleigh estate, thirty-seven miles from London by road and forty-one by water, laid the foundation for the first farm colony.¹⁸ Only those who showed a willingness to work and asbtained from liquor were admitted to the colony. By July of 1901,

17War Cry, June 20, 1891, 7. ¹⁸Ibid., June 17, 1893, 2.

¹⁶ Thomas H. Huxley, Evolution and Ethics (New York, 1898), 109, 223, 268.

600 people representing all trades were in residence.¹⁹ Located on the premises were barracks, dormitories, a laundry, a hospital for twenty persons, a brick making factory, a bakery, a store, and various farm industries.²⁰

The Land and Industrial Colony at Hadleigh worked out as Booth envisioned that type of colony would, but it was the only one to be established, and it did not lead to the next step. Land was not obtained over-seas. People did not migrate from Hadleigh to prepared colonies. Other colonies, mostly of the farm variety, were operated by the Salvation Army in India, South Africa, and Australia, but they were not formed to receive the surplus population of England. The Over-seas Colonies as envisioned by Booth never did materialize.

The English Colonization program and the American counterpart went their separate ways. The two were not directly connected, except that the Army supervised both. The English program was to také care of the population of British cities, and the American program the population of American cities.

In England and in the United States, the original plan was to be large in scope, but both programs started out small because of lack of funds. The original theory encompassed the idea of gathering one hundred per cent of the money spent for charity

19<u>Tbid</u>., July 27, 1901, 4.

²⁰Ibid., June 10, 1893, 2.

and relief, and devoting that sum to planting colonies which would take care of the surplus city population. If all the charitable funds and donations were channeled toward one program, very profitable results could be obtained. Even President Theodore Roosevelt asked, "Why not make use of all this charitable energy, now often misdirected, for national ends?"²¹

Frederick Booth-Tucker²² became Commander of the Army in the United States in 1896. This son-in-law of William Booth made the colonies his pet project. He wrote several articles and gave many talks about the colonies. The Commander traveled throughout the country explaining the plan and soliciting help of any kind. As he explained it, "Place the waste labor on the waste land by means of waste capital, and thereby convert this trinity of modern waste into a trinity of production."²³ The newspapers explained his idea more concisely as moving "The Landless Man to the Manless Land."

The benefits that would result from this program, according to Frederick Booth-Tucker, would be:

1. Increased food production.

2. Food for the families involved in settlement.

3. Increased land value.

²¹H. Rider Haggard, Regeneration (London, 1910), 215.

²²The sons-in-law of William Booth accepted the Booth name hyphenated before their family names.

²³Abell, <u>The Urban Impact</u>, 129.

4. Opportunity and security for investments.

5. Decreased tax consumers.

6. Increased tax producers.

7. Increased industrial production due to demands for goods.

8. Decreased taxes.²⁴

The American Commander believed that land settlements could not be conducted upon charitable lines. The objective was to teach people to support themselves and to become useful and productive citizens, not to live upon charity.

The Colonization Scheme, as explained by Frederick Booth-Tucker in the United States, did not meet with the strong opposition that was experienced in England. Many prominent people in the United States seemed in sympathy with the proposition. Former President Grover Cleveland, President William McKinley, Senator Henry Lodge, Governor Theodore Roosevelt, and Mark Hanna offered encouragement as did many other wealthy individuals, but they did not supply the necessary capital to start such a program.²⁵

Booth-Tucker decided to start placing "the landless man on the manless land" hoping that as the program successfully progressed, wealthy individuals and perhaps the government would provide financial support as well as moral encouragement.

24<u>Denver Republican</u>, August 11, 1901, 20.
25Booth-Tucker, The Salvation Army, 32.

CHAPTER IV

THE START OF THE AMERICAN FARM COLONIES

During the summer and fall of 1897, Salvation Army officials traversed the western lands from Chicago to California selling their idea of colonization and looking over the land to find possible colony sites. In 1898, the Army, under the Commander's¹ enthusiastic leadership established a colony in California, another in Colorado, and a third in Chio. Here was the opportunity to test William Booth's plan as the answer to the social ills of society.

ROMIE

As a result of Booth-Tucker's address on colonization before the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce in 1897, a committee of fifteen citizens was appointed by the Chamber of Commerce to co-operate with the Army on the enterprise. The committee proceded to sell the idea to people in and around San Francisco. Naturally the committee had a selfish motive as they were concerned with the destitute of their city, but still, acceptance of the colonization idea in California was due mainly to the efforts of the committee.²

²Abell, <u>The Urban Impact</u>, 131.

¹The American leader, Frederick Booth-Tucker, administered jointly with his wife Emma. He was called the Commander, and she had the title Consul.

Early in 1898 the Army purchased 520 acres of land in the Salinas Valley, about 150 miles from San Francisco.³ The site was four miles from the railroad station on the Southern Pacific Line.⁴ The purchase price was \$26,000 to be paid in long term payments with interest added. The arid land had been used for dry farming by Charles Romie, a wealthy landowner living in the area. The name Romie was retained for the colony by the Army.⁵

The Army selected eighteen families totaling seventy-five people from the indigent of San Francisco to begin the colony. Three straight years of drought, from 1898 to 1901, resulted in the total failure of the Romie Colony. All but one family returned to San Francisco. The Salvation Army suffered losses amounting to \$27,000.⁶

However, the Army did not give up at that point. Colonel Thomas Holland was sent from Amity, Colorado, to California to arrange for a better water supply for the site. The land was prepared for irrigation, and in 1901 more settlers were selected for the colony. The second selection involved people who were more conditioned to the land--farm laborers or farmers from the area.⁷ Apparently the Army was willing to have experienced persons start the second attempt, and then to move poor city dwellers onto the site later. This effort met

> ³H. Rider Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u> (London, 1905), 38. ⁴Wisbey, <u>Soldiers Without Swords</u>, 130. ⁵Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 39. ⁶<u>Ibid</u>. ⁷<u>Ibid</u>., 40.

with success. The land was sold under contract at \$100 an acre in twenty acre lots, plus the cost of any improvements that might exist upon the lot. The payments were spread over a period of twenty years at five per cent annual interest.

Chattels, such as horses, livestock and farm implements, were sold to the colonists on a five year repayment plan. Annual installments with six per cent added interest upon all unpaid balances were expected from the colonists. The Army kept title to the lands and chattels until all payments were completed. Any settler who neglected to fulfill his obligations could be ejected after notice, and his land and belongings seized to satisfy his debt.⁸

H. Rider Haggard, the well-known author of <u>She</u> and <u>King Solomon's</u> <u>Mines</u>, was commissioned by the British government to inspect and evaluate the three American land colonies of the Salvation Army. If the experiments of the Army were successful, then perhaps the British government might try some similar system to move people from overpopulated cities of the British Isles to various parts of the British Empire.⁹ When he visited Fort Romie in 1905, he found twenty families located there. None had left since the second settling. In his report, Haggard stated that he spoke personally to every settler at Fort Romie except four who were away from the colony. ". . . not from one of them did I hear a single grumble."¹⁰ Apparently the people were happy with their lot.

> ⁸I<u>bid.</u> 10<u>Ibid</u>., 41.

⁹Ibid., vi.

A large co-operative store had been established in May of 1904, and when Haggard was there it was paying a dividend of between five and ten per cent to its members.¹¹ According to the balance sheets given to Haggard, the settlement showed a surplus of \$6,000 on the second settlement. In an interview with Haggard, Colonel Holland remarked, "The colony is certainly run as a business proposition by the Army, and not as a charity."¹² Colonel Holland estimated that it took \$2,000 annually to run the colony and perhaps another \$500 for incidental expenses. In 1898 the land was purchased for \$26,000, and in 1905 had a value of \$95,200.¹³

The development of the site greatly increased land prices in the area. Others, seeing the productivity of the settlement, purchased adjoining property, and soon the area was fully settled. The Army realized the surrounding growth too late and could not purchase any more adjoining land in order to expand the colony. Gradually the families at Fort Romie paid back all that they had borrowed from the Army and became independent land owners. At that point the colony ceased to exist. The Salvation Army sold the last of its holdings and closed its books on Romie with a net profit of \$12,000.¹⁴

> 11<u>Ibid</u>., 42. 13<u>Ibid</u>., 54.

12<u>Tbid.</u>, 48.

¹⁴Dorothy Roberts, "Fort Amity, the Salvation Army Colony in Colorado," <u>Colorado Magazine</u>, XVII (September 1940), 174.

The purpose of the colony was to remove poor people from the overcrowded, oppressive conditions in the cities, and to place them upon the land in order to give them another chance to develop and reach their potential. The first attempt at settling Fort Romie with the poor from the cities failed through no fault of the Salvation Army. The second attempt at settlement was with the help of experienced farm laborers. Some were from cities, but most of them were from the surrounding area. They saw a good proposition offered by the Army, and they took advantage of the opportunity, but they were not poor. They were not the most deprived class that needed the assistance of an organization like the Salvation Army.¹⁵

Fort Romie failed to settle the poor on the land. It failed to test the theory of William Booth and Frederick Booth-Tucker that indigent city people could be placed on farms and be successful and happy. Because of the Army's effort, many persons improved their financial positions, and the land of the Salinas Valley became productive, offering employment to many people.

HERRICK

Fort Herrick, which was located twenty miles from the city of Cleveland, Ohio, in Mentor township, was obtained by the Army in July of 1898. It consisted of 288 acres of which forty were forested. Myron T. Herrick, later governor of Ohio, and James

15Wisbey, Soldiers Without Swords, 130-131.

Parmelee, a Cleveland businessman, were instrumental in securing the land. The Salvation Army still had to pay \$30,000 for the purchase.¹⁶

In the beginning it seemed that hopes were high for an establishment similar to Fort Romie and Fort Amity. Eight or nine families were settled on the land, but more land was required per family than was available. The colony could not spread out as the surrounding, fertile land was too expensive for the Salvation Army to purchase.¹⁷ Therefore, the settlement idea was abandoned, and the families already there were provided for by the Army.¹⁸

Fort Herrick was turned into an industrial colony very similar to Hadleigh outside London. This was an agricultural training center for pace setters. Pace setters were trained agriculturalists who were to be placed among the city people in the colonies. They would show by example and teach the former city dwellers how to farm. Agricultural experiments were conducted to gain experience which could be of use to other settlements. The Army experimented with things that did not require much space, much capital, or extensive care. Bees, chickens and hares were tended, and the knowledge gained led to similar projects in Amity.¹⁹

> 16War Cry, September 17, 1898, 9. 17Haggard, The Poor and the Land, 115. 18Wisbey, Soldiers Without Swords, 133. 19War Cry, April 12, 1901, 5.

This was a reversion back to William Booth's idea of having a link between city institutions and land settlements.

In addition to the agricultural training program, a home for inebriates was started at Fort Herrick. Haggard visited the colony in 1905 when both were in operation. He was extremely impressed with the success of the redemption of alcoholics.²⁰ The home proved not to be as successful as Haggard thought, and it proved to be very expensive for the Army to sustain the home, so Fort Herrick eventually became a Fresh Air Camp run by the Army to take groups of children from the hot, dirty cities to camps in the country where they could enjoy recreational activities and develop their bodies and minds.²¹ The idea of a camp for city children in the clean, fresh air of the country is very similar to the many church and Young Men's Christian Association camps today.

Fort Herrick, like Fort Romie, failed to test the colonization theory. It did not relocate the poorer class from American cities. Once the Army realized that the site could not be expanded, the colony attempt was dropped. The site was used as an extension of the city programs run by the Army.

> ²⁰Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 116. 21Wisbey, <u>Soldiers Without Swords</u>, 133.

CHAPTER V

AMITY

The Amity Colony, established by the Salvation Army in Prowers County in 1898, was one of the most perfectly planned and executed of the many agricultural colonies planted in Colorado between the years 1854-1900.¹

Eastern Colorado is part of the Great Plains region of the United States which stretches from the ninety-eighth meridian to the 105th meridian or from the Missouri River west to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.² The area was noted for its scarcity of timber and water. An early exployer, Stephen Long, labeled the area "The Great American Desert." He considered it . . . wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence."³

The cattle kingdom invaded the Great Plains in the 1860's due to the abundance of land and grass which was the physical basis of the cattle kingdom. Their empire lasted a short time as new inventions and discoveries made possible the establishment of the farmer in the area.

Roberts, Colorado Magazine, XVII, 168.

²Walter Prescott Webb, <u>The Great Plains</u> (New York, 1931), 157. ³James H. Baker (ed.), <u>History of Colorado</u> (Denver, 1927), Vol. I, 297. Farming in eastern Colorado was exceedingly difficult and extremely risky due to insufficient annual rainfall. This changed in eastern Colorado, particularly southeastern Colorado, with the advent of irrigation. By 1890 many claimed the Arkansas Valley irrigation system was the best in the state, the best in the West, the best in the United States, and one claim went so far as to say that it was the best system in operation on the continent.⁴

Two companies were responsible for the change: The Great Plains Water Company, and The Amity Land Company.⁵ The Great Plains Water Company acquired the water rights in the area, and developed an immense canal system. There were five reservoirs and three canals, plus the many gates and ditches needed in the area to carry the water. The Amity Land Company, a sister institution of the Great Plains Water Company, acquired the land. In this way land sold by the Company was sold with land and water rights together.⁶

Each purchaser of land was provided with a free abstract of title by the Amity Land Company, so he would know before the purchase was final the exact extent of his land and his water rights. Close Brothers and Company of Chicago had the exclusive right to sell the lands of the Amity Land Company. They had local agents in most of

⁴Holly (Colorado) Chieftain, September 23, 1898, 1.

⁵As far as research could ascertain, the Amity Land Company had no connection with the Salvation Army, or the Amity Colony.

⁶Holly Chieftain, September 16, 1898, 1.

the eastern towns and were instrumental in locating a great number of easterners on farms in the Arkansas Valley.7

During the summer and fall of 1897, Colonel Thomas Holland, Booth-Tucker, and a committee traveled the western states looking for possible settlement sites. They had three essentials in mind: good land, sure water, and a reliable market offering fair profits to the producer. Colonel Holland and the committee selected a site in the Arkansas Valley of Colorado along the Santa Fe Railroad. The Santa Fe Railroad Company helped in the selection of the location as they were anxious to establish settlers along their route to enhance future shipping.⁸ The railroad company provided a private car and James A. Davis, General Industrial Commissioner of the Santa Fe Railroad, and John E. Frost, Land Commissioner of the same line, were with the Salvation Army committee when the inspection trip from Chicago to the West Coast was made.⁹

At Rocky Ford, Colorado, the Commander found many families making a comfortable living by raising melons on small farms. This suited his plans for having the colonists live comfortably with a small financial outlay.¹⁰ Despite the railroad's recommendation

7_{Ibid}.

⁸<u>Rocky Mountain News</u> (Denver), January 1, 1899, 3. 9<u>War Cry</u>, July 31, 1897, 4.

10 Rocky Mountain News, January 1, 1899, 3.

that the Salvation Army buy that particular tract, the Army had the land inspected by agricultural experts, and it was tested and approved before the purchase was made.¹¹

The Commander sent Holland to Colorado to purchase the necessary land. He purchased 640 acres from the Amity Land Company at a cost of \$20.00 an acre. This was on a long term contract with no down payment.¹² The contract also included the agreement that water would be furnished to meet all the needs of the colonists at fifty cents per acre per year.¹³

The land was located six miles west of Holly on what is now United States highway 50. It eventually included parts of sections 1, 11, 12, 13, and 14 of Township 23 South, Range 43 West.¹⁴ The Santa Fe Trail passed the site and an old stage coach station and trading post were there when colonization began.

Colonel Holland arrived in Holly the sixteenth of April in 1898 to arrange all the details of selecting and plotting the land. The land was divided into sixty-four lots of ten acres each.¹⁵

> 12 Haggard, The Poor and the Land, 73-74. 12 Edd., 67.

Design Mountain News, January 1, 1899, 3.

12Fromore County (Lamar, Colorado), Office of Clerk and Recorder, 1 11 1550 covering the years 1901-1938. Obtained from the Guaranty 1550 covering the Army apparently purchased the land on contract and the contracts were not recorded. The deeds were recorded once the contracts were paid off. This explains the discrepancies in dates. The same is true of the sale of the land by the Army.(hereafter cited as Land Abstracts).

15 Receiver Mountain News, January 1, 1899, 3.

One of the main criticisms against the colonization plan was that city people could not move to the desolate country and be happy. They would be lonesome, bored and desert the colony. By planning small farms to afford people an opportunity to meet and socialize, the Army hoped to avoid such circumstances. Untrained city dwellers would be better able to care for small farms as opposed to large tracts, and the challenge would not seem to be beyond them.

The advance guard of the colony arrived in Holly April 18, 1898.¹⁶ Fourteen families consisting of sixty people selected mainly from Chicago were in the group.¹⁷ As only two people had train fare, the Army paid for their fares and for the transporting of their belongings.¹⁸ The Salvation Army took care in their selection. Blanks were issued to applicants seeking to become settlers, and all questions had to be answered. Over 5,000 applications were received.¹⁹ References were requested and each applicant was visited in his home. Mass meetings were held for applicants, and final selection favored individuals who had agricultural backgrounds, or a trade. With the exception of about five heads of families, the prospective colonists

¹⁶Lamar (Colorado) <u>Register</u>, April 23, 1898, 1.

¹⁷Various sources give from 12 to 200 families and from 30 to 200 individuals. The author used the report in <u>War</u> <u>Cry</u>, June 17, 1899, 7.

18Haggard, The Poor and the Land, 77.

19_{War Cry}, January 21, 1899, 5.

had either been on farms or worked on farms in the past, but at the time they were selected, they were city dwellers and had been for some time. The dominant factor in the selection of colonists by the Army was their willingness to work and improve their lot.²⁰ Evidently the Army was successful in satisfying their needs for most of the common trades were eventually represented in the colony.

The new arrivals set up headquarters in Holly to wait for the lumber, implements, and household goods that had been shipped, but were late in arriving. Once the railroad cars containing their goods arrived, the colonists were busy getting their property out to the land. It rained the entire week, but this did not deter the party. Two old buildings on the land were used for the women and children, while the men lived in tents supplied by the Salvation Army. One tent was set up for rations, which consisted mainly of eggs and pancakes.²¹

The beginning was not easy. The pioneer group suffered under many hardships. The people in the area saw the manner in which the former city people started out in the rain, and their adjustment to hard work and discomfort without complaints. This silent suffering, more than anything else, gained the colonists the respect of their neighbors from the beginning.

20<u>Denver Republican</u>, August 11, 1901, 20.
²¹<u>War</u> Cry, June 28, 1900, 8.

Colonel Holland purchased some horses and hired a few local farmers to break the tough sod of the wild desolate prairie. This cultivation should have been accomplished before the arrival of the settlers. It would take three years to "pulverize and sweeten the land."²² The responsibility of building the houses was placed upon the shoulders of four carpenters and a stone mason in the group. They were assisted by some of the youth, while the other men, women, and children planted the crops.²³

It was nearly May and very late in the year for planting. It was their intention the first year to raise cantaloupe for market as well as vegetables for their own use. The colonists planted eighty acres of cantaloupes in addition to their vegetables. That year farming was in common due to the late start and the immediate need of a food supply.²⁴ The tough sod of the prairie needed extensive treatment in preparation for planting, and the leaders of the colony felt it would be better for a large number to prepare a small area for planting than for inexperienced former city dwellers to prepare individually their own lots.

In addition to all the problems encountered in the first year of any settlement, two additional problems fell upon the Amity

²²Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 78.

²³<u>Rocky Mountain News</u>, January 1, 1899, 3.

²⁴Albert Shaw, "A Successful Farm Colony in the Irrigation Country," <u>American Monthly Review of Reviews</u>, Vol. XXVI (November 1902), 561-562.

settlers in 1898. Part of the cantaloupe crop was harvested and the St. Louis firm that was consigned to handle the crop for the Salvation Army failed and was forced out of business. The crop had been shipped East, but the Army received no payments. Frost set in early, before the harvest of the late crop, and thus the entire crop was a complete loss. The vegetables were harvested, a cellar was constructed in the colony for storage, and the colonists had enough to last through the winter.²⁵

Amity was communal in the beginning because of the late start in the year 1898, but this pattern did not continue. The farmers were urged to become independent, self-sufficient land owners. They did help their neighbors in house and barn raising, and when emergencies arose, but land, machinery, and crops were not owned jointly.

The Salvation Army paid the expenses from the inception, but expected to be repaid later by the colonists. Each family was given ten acres of land and the following:

one horse, a small plow, one shovel plow, a pair of gas pipe harrows, two cultivators, one of five and the other of fourteen teeth, a seed drill, a set of harness and such spades, hoes and shovels as were deemed necessary in order to properly cultivate the land.²⁰

The Army tried to avoid direct charity to the settlers, but they grubstaked them until their land started to produce. The entire

²⁵<u>Denver</u> <u>Times</u>, March 12, 1899, 3.

²⁶Rocky Mountain News, January 1, 1899, 3.

outlay was a loan which was put on the bill of each colonist. The grubstake amounted to two dollars per family per week which was deemed the amount necessary for a family of four in 1898.²⁷

During the first winter, the colonists built houses, put up fences, constructed ditches, and did other chores. The Army reserved each alternate lot, which it planned to sell or rent to the colonists who owned the adjoining property. The Army encouraged the colonists to rent an additional ten acres at two dollars an acre because then the land would be cultivated and could be sold more easily later. The buildings had to be constructed from stone quarried close by the colony. The stone cost \$2.50 per cord of 100 square feet loaded on the wagon. The colonists could decide on the style of construction, but the plans had to be approved by the manager of the colony.²⁸

Many of the colonists who had a trade were able to help themselves by engaging in work in the area. Many found employment with the Ditch Company that was building a reservoir forty miles north of the colony. A shoemaker, much to his financial betterment, patched shoes for the people of Holly and made leggings for the cowboys in the area.²⁹

²⁸Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 112. ²⁹<u>Denver Times</u>, March 12, 1899, 3.

²⁷ "Making Successful Farmers of City Failures," <u>World's</u> <u>Work</u>, Vol. VI (September 1903), 3929.

The street corner collections of the Salvation Army could never hope to finance such an undertaking. The Army was forced to float a \$60,000 loan to cover the initial expenses of the venture. Later they sold additional bonds amounting to \$90,000. The Army paid five per cent interest on the bonds, while the Army charged the settlers six per cent interest to be repaid over a period of twelve to fifteen years.³⁰

After the first year when everything was so dependent upon the cantaloupe crop which failed, the leaders of the colony stressed diversity in order to avoid repetition of this disaster. The people raised cantaloupe, onions, alfalfa, sugar beets, wheat, kaffir corn, sorghum, celery, cucumbers, in addition to their own vegetable gardens. Their livestock included dairy cattle, sheep, hares, hogs, poultry, and beef cattle. Several farmers had bees for honey, and trees were given to the colonists by the Army leaders. Future plans for the colony called for a canning factory for locally raised fruits and vegetables. In a nursery at Amity, the Salvation Army planted 30,000 trees to supply the colonists with all the trees that they would need for shade, fruit production, and the prevention of erosion.³¹

Most of the Army cash loans to the settlers were stopped after the first year since the people were able to maintain them-

> ³⁰Prowers and Clear Creek Counties: Interviews, 242. ³¹<u>War</u> Cry, May 11, 1901, 12.

selves by working for themselves, for the Army, or for others who were willing to pay them. 3^2

The Army agreed that leadership was one of the main ingredients of success in any venture. Commander Frederick Booth-Tucker selected Thomas Holland as the National Colonization Secretary. Holland started and managed Fort Amity, and stayed there using it as his headquarters until August, 1899. The duties of the National Colonization Secretary were extremely demanding, so Brigadier Gerald Streeton became manager of Amity. Streeton was replaced by Henry Stillwell within a year,³³ and then Colonel Holland returned again as manager.³⁴ Holland was in charge of Amity during four different periods. No reasons were given for the changes, but the fact that Holland returned so often tended to suggest managerial problems. He also went to Fort Romie and Fort Herrick when they encountered difficulties.

The Salvation Army continued to administer to the colonists. By order of the Army, no saloons were opened in Amity. Membership in the Army was not a requirement for settling in the colony. To be sure, the Salvation Army was the largest religious group in the community, but members of other denominations were represented. Some of the colonists would drive into Holly on Sundays for church services, and the people of Holly would reciprocate.³⁵

> ³²Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 76. ³³Holly Chieftain, May 4, 1900, 8.

³⁴Ibid., April 11, 1902, 8. ³⁵Ibid., April 22, 1898, 7.

The reports in the press were full of glowing terms about the venture. "It is certainly one of the noblest works ever undertaken by mankind," commented the <u>Holly Chieftain</u>, "for the amelioration of the deserving poor of our country."³⁶ The <u>Rocky Mountain</u> <u>News</u> reported that it was "a thriving settlement of only a few months! life, but which plainly shows the grand success of . . . Booth-Tucker's original plan to better unfortunate mankind."³⁷ "It is a land of work, this Salvation Army colony in the Arkansas Valley," said the <u>Denver</u> <u>Republican</u>, "but it is a Garden of Eden compared to the despair of the unemployed man in a crowded city."³⁸ The <u>Denver Times</u> also published an optomistic report stating that "it is here the best opportunities exist for extending the work and the prospect for a great step in solving the problem of the care of poor in cities seems brightest."³⁹

The settlement began with 640 acres, and as the population grew from sixty to 450 men, women, and children by 1903,⁴⁰ additional land purchases were made until the Salvation Army had 1,830 acres in the Arkansas Valley with options on adjoining land.⁴¹ The above

36 Ibid.

³⁷<u>Rocky Mountain News</u>, January 1, 1899, 3.
³⁸<u>Denver Republican</u>, August 11, 1901, 20.
³⁹<u>Denver Times</u>, March 12, 1899, 3.
⁴⁰<u>World's Work</u>, Vol. VI, 3929.
⁴¹Prowers County, Land Abstracts.

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statement shows the early growth of the colony and the Army's plans for expansion. Amity was to become a huge colony of independent land owners, drawn primarily from the cities, with the Salvation Army providing the administrative assistance needed to transfer people from patterns of city living to those of rural living.

Haggard, in his visit of 1905, asked the leader of the colony how many people had left the colony. The answer was sixteen to eighteen families. They had left for various reasons, but the ones who left did not leave because they could not get a living out of the land. Many Canadians left when their government opened western lands, some left for health reasons, while others left because they did not like the location. Their holdings were soon occupied by other eager settlers.⁴²

As busy as the colony was in 1898, the education of the children was not neglected. There was schooling for the children in the fall of 1898. Ensign Eric Erickson had gone to Lamar, the county seat, to arrange for the organization of a school district at Amity. There were fifty-seven children of school age in December of 1898, making it one of the largest districts in the county.⁴³ The upper floor of the Colony Office was used as a temporary school, with A. G. Glase as the instructor, until the first stone school was completed and

> 42_{Haggard}, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 38. 43<u>Holly Chieftain</u>, December 2, 1898, 8.

opened in 1899.⁴⁴ The new school, built during the winter by the colony carpenters, was dedicated with much ceremony on Washington's birthday.⁴⁵

The school house was located in the center of the colony and became the focal point of all community activities. Amity was a typical rural community, so religious as well as social and political activities took place in the school house.⁴⁶ The school building soon became too small to serve the needs of the community. The colonists discussed means to meet the problem. The addition of a second story to the building was proposed, but a new and larger school was built in 1905, at a cost of \$2,500.⁴⁷ A special tax amounting to fifteen mills was passed by the school board for school purposes.⁴⁸

The Salvation Army had always taken an interest in prevention of the evil life, so they naturally had a strong interest in the wholesome upbringing of children, to prevent a life of evil. Booth-Tucker and his wife, Emma, provided the guidance and leadership to establish an orphanage at Amity. To remove the children from the cities to fresh air, sunshine, and good moral surroundings seemed to be their solution for the younger generation. The Cherry Tree

⁴⁵<u>Denver Times</u>, March 12, 1899, 3.
⁴⁶Mrs. A. J. Benwell, letter to the author dated May 6, 1968.
⁴⁷Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 114.
⁴⁸Holly Chieftain, May 12, 1899, 1.

¹¹¹Mrs. A. J. Benwell (former colonist), letter to the author dated May 6, 1968.

Home was built at a cost of \$20,000 and could house 100 children.49

A splendid ceremony accompanied the laying of the corner stone of the Cherry Tree Home. Many important members of the Army were in attendance for the occasion. The inscription on the stone read, "This stone was laid by Consul Booth-Tucker, to the glory of God on behalf of America's children, April 7, 1901."⁵⁰

The Home was a beautiful, large, well-equipped building situated on section eleven, which had been purchased with the home in mind. The house, a stone structure which measured 100 feet long by forty-five feet wide in the wings and fifty feet in the center, was built by the colonists. It had a full length basement and attic. The home included thirty-three rooms, with the dining area, kitchen, and offices on the first floor.⁵¹ A separate building housed the laundry facilities. A huge windmill drew water from a 7,500 gallon tank, supplying water to the home for steam heating, sanitary plumbing, and hot and cold running water. The building had porcelain bath tubs and gas, which made it quite modern.⁵²

Between forty and fifty children were brought from another Salvation Army home at Sutherland, New Jersey, to Amity when the home was opened in 1901. The Santa Fe Railroad provided free transpor-

⁴⁹Lamar Register, September 4, 1901, 3.
⁵⁰War Cry, May 11, 1901, 12.
⁵¹Prowers and Clear Creek Counties: Interviews, 243.
⁵²War Cry, October 19, 1901, 6.

tation. Coming with the children from the East, Captain Alice Benjamin was in charge at the opening of the home. A staff of about fifteen was necessary to care for the needs of the children. Among the personnel were two doctors, cooks, laundry workers, teachers, and the managers of the home. The grounds of the home were cultivated to try to make the home self-supporting. Most of the work was done by the children to acquire practical farm experience as well as to earn their keep. The grounds were well kept and very attractive.⁵³

Captain Alice Benjamin soon felt that a man was needed on the grounds due to the large number of boys at the home. Most of the children were delinquents, or had had confrontations with the police in the city before coming under the care of the Salvation Army. Captain Alice Benjamin sought and received permission to travel through the country to raise funds for the orphanage.⁵⁴ The home was furnished with items given by the citizens of Prowers County, Colorado.⁵⁵

Upon Captain Benjamin's departure, Staff-Captain Joseph H. Hargreaves and his wife were placed in charge of the home. Hargreaves brought his complete stock of thoroughbred chickens and Belgian hares to the home. The home also had a few dairy cows in addition to raising crops.⁵⁶

> ⁵³Holly Chieftain, May 27, 1904, 8. ⁵⁴Ibid., June 28, 1901, 8. ⁵⁵Ibid., 1. ⁵⁶Ibid., August 11, 1901, 5.

The idea behind the home was not to find families to adopt the children, although some were adopted, but to give the children adequate training until such a time as they were able to become self-supporting. Staff-Captain and Mrs. Hargreaves tried to achieve a home environment as opposed to an institutional atmosphere.⁵⁷ For the first time in 1904 the state of Colorado issued licenses to charitable institutions for tax relief. Amity's benevolent home was one of the first to qualify.⁵⁸

A school was conducted in the parlor of Cherry Tree Home with Alice Long as the teacher. When the orphanage was at its fullest development it cared for sixty children. It was not all work for the children at the home for there were many activities for amusement. Horses were available, as well as swimming holes, fishing in the ditches, and the activities that forty or fifty playmates were able to conceive.

The Cherry Tree Home proved successful in caring for the children; however, the continual upkeep was too much of a financial drain on the resources of the Army. The idea of moving children from the beautiful landscaped New Jersey countryside to the treeless prairie was not very practical. The city reared children did not seem to like the desolation of eastern Colorado. An estate

> ⁵⁷Prowers and Clear Creek Counties: Interviews, 244. ⁵⁸Holly Chieftain, May 27, 1904, 1.

at Lytton Springs, California, was donated to the Army, and in 1904 the children were moved from Cherry Tree Home in Amity to California. The state of California paid one half of the expenses of orphans, so it was a double inducement that caused the Army to make the move,⁵⁹ and the huge, well-equipped building at Amity stood empty for a period of time after the children left.

Commander Booth-Tucker mentioned in an interview in 1901, as he was starting the orphanage, that his next object of attention would be a sanitarium for the poor, especially for those with pulmonary trouble.

I hope to be able to say to every sick poor man, "come, live with us, and for \$3.00 or \$4.00 a week obtain medicine, good food, and bracing air," and then when he gets better, if he wants to have a cottage and a ten-acre lot, he can have it.⁶⁰

Booth-Tucker was to see his next project materialize, but only after a great tragedy befell him and the Salvation Army. His wife, Emma, was on a tour of the country and had just left Amity bound for Chicago in October of 1903. Traveling with her was Ensign Damnes, her secretary, and Colonel Thomas Holland. The train in which they were riding passed the depot at Dean Lake, Missouri, and then ran into an open switch. The back cars of the train were torn off and smashed into a steel water tower on a siding.⁶¹ The car that bore the blunt of the crash contained

⁵⁹Prowers and Clear Creek Counties: Interviews, 244.
⁶⁰War Cry, August 11, 1901, 9.
⁶¹Ibid., November 4, 1903, 9.

Colonel Holland and Consul Emma Booth-Tucker. She was carried into the waiting room of the depot where she died two hours later without regaining consciousness.⁶² Colonel Holland was hospitalized and recovered, but he was never quite the same strong, energetic man. In one swift moment, two of the hardest working, dedicated leaders of the Salvation Army were eliminated, and the spirit of the Commander was dimmed.

The Santa Fe Railroad Company gave a memorial sum to the Army, and the Emma Booth-Tucker Sanitarium was established and housed in the old Cherry Tree Home at Amity.⁶³ Dr. W. S. Greenard was the physician in charge, and patients came to him from all parts of the country. Very few patients were able to pay their expenses, resulting in a prohibitive expense for the operation of the sanitarium. It was closed in 1906.⁶⁴ It was reopened as a hospital not under the management of the Salvation Army, but with Mrs. M. E. Kubbard as the matron in charge.⁶⁵ While this was the best equipped hospital in eastern Colorado, equipment was not enough and the isolated location deterred ill people from taking advantage of the facilities. Mrs. Hubbard was forced to close the hospital at the end of August, 1907.⁶⁶

62 mid.

63 Mrs. A. J. Benwell, letter to the author dated May 6, 1968. 64 <u>Ibid</u>.

65Holly Chieftain, August 10, 1906, 7.

⁶⁶<u>Ibid</u>., September 6, 1907, 8.

Directors of the Modern Woodmen, a lumbermen's organization, journeyed to Amity in September to look over the grounds. They were looking for a site to locate a national home for disabled members of their organization.⁶⁷ When nothing materialized from the visit, the building stood empty again--this time permanently.

While the younger generation was receiving an education and being cared for, the Salvation Army also saw to the education of the older generation. Experienced farmers or "pace setters" were placed among the colonists to guide and instruct them in agricultural pursuits. The "pace setters" came from all parts of the country. The Army arranged for the latest materials, such as a bulletin, "Irrigation in the Rocky Mountain States," furnishing elementary information on the subject of irrigation and printed by the federal government, to be made available.

At a meeting called during the first autumn, a plan for furtherance of intellectual progress during the winter months was advanced by Colonel Holland. An Amity Institute was suggested. Its objectives would be to promote social intercourse, to obtain scientific help on farming, to study the habits of birds, animals, and insects, to form a museum for the preservation of the local insects, reptiles, and animals, to form a library for the use of the members, to arrange for experiments in general farm work, and to take other steps likely to help the colonists in farm or home life.

^{67&}lt;u>Ibid</u>., September 13, 1907, 1.

This knowledge gathered by pioneer groups would make it easier for future colonists. It would also make life more pleasant and profitable for the present settlers. Various committees were set up, and most of the proposed program was initiated.⁶⁸

In 1893 the State Agricultural College at Fort Collins, Colorado, issued a "Farmers Institute Bulletin" containing a definition of the term Farmers' Institute, suggestions for programs, and a list of college speakers and their topics available for lecture. There were about six persons involved, and each one had a series of four lectures. Since those men also constituted the experiment station council of the Agricultural College, they were well trained to conduct useful institutes.⁶⁹

The State Agricultural College was invited by the Army to hold spring "Farmers' Institutes" at Amity for many years to educate the settlers and to make better farmers out of them.⁷⁰ The leaders of Amity invited the farmers from the area to the institutes. They made a social event out of it as well as a learning situation. The women and the children would do their visiting and playing and later prepare the food for the meals. The men would visit and learn of

⁶⁹Alvin T. Steinel, <u>History of Agriculture in Colorado</u> (Fort Collins, Colorado, 1926), 614.

⁷⁰Holly Chieftain, January and February, 1902-1908. (From 1902 to 1908 the institutes were held at Amity, usually in February).

⁶⁸<u>War</u> Cry, November 19, 1898, 4.

the latest advances in all fields of agriculture. Entertainment would sometimes be provided by singing or by the playing of instruments.

The Salvation Army benefited not only the colony but the entire community of southeastern Colorado as well by arranging the gatherings. Through these institutes the agricultural knowledge of the colonists and the farmers in the area was improved. When problems arose concerning insects, diseases, crops, or livestock, the college could be called upon for help.

The farmers in Amity did call upon the college for help several times. Once in 1902 when Blackleg was attacking the cattle, and in 1903 when some type of insect or disease was attacking the alfalfa crop, the college staff came to their aid.⁷¹ Another time many of the cattle were dying from unknown causes, and an individual from Fort Collins investigated the situation. He found that the cattle had consumed a poison. Once the cause was discovered, the grounds were searched until the source of the poison was uncovered and removed.⁷²

The colony was ideally located as far as markets were concerned, for it was about 250 miles from Denver, and about 400 miles from Kansas City by rail. The mining towns of Colorado also provided markets for the products from Amity.

> ⁷¹<u>Ibid</u>., May 2, 1902, 8, June 22, 1903, 8. ⁷²<u>Ibid</u>., July 14, 1905, 1.

The town site of Amity was established near the railroad tracks in the southern section of the Salvation Army holdings. After nearly everyone in and around Amity had signed a petition asking the Santa Fe Railroad Company to establish a depot and an agent at the settlement, the company auditor installed A. G. Glase as railroad agent for the town. He received thirty dollars a month, but soon had a raise of twenty dollars.⁷³ An old railroad car became the depot and station house.

After a depot was established in the town of Amity, the farmers could ship directly. Direct shipping was especially helpful in transporting the delicate melon crops to the East Coast. By having a sugar beet dump at Amity and the railroad depot, the farmers were saved many miles of travel. All they had to do was drive their wagons to the depot and dump their beets, whereas before they had to drive six miles to Holly and six miles home.⁷⁴

When the town was founded the business establishments were owned and run by colonists who supplied their own capital. Many retained their farms, either continuing to work them or to rent them out. As the town developed and grew, outsiders moved to Amity to engage in businesses. A report in the <u>Holly Chieftain</u> stated that sixteen separate business places were doing well in Amity while

> ⁷³<u>Tbid</u>., October 3, 1902, 7. ⁷⁴<u>Tbid</u>., May 30, 1902, 3.

a year before there had been none.⁷⁵ Colonel Holland made arrangements to move several big buildings from Tribune and Coolidge, Kansas to the town site to keep pace with the present growth, and in preparation for future growth.⁷⁶

The citizens had pride in their town. The streets were graded, and hundreds of trees were planted for beauty and shade. The Salvation Army planted most of the trees, but the colonists also helped in the task. Several street lamps were installed to guide people out after dark. There was a post office opened during the first year of settlement. Later a rural route was established. The post office at Amity could offer International Money Orders which, because of their unusual presence in a small community, was something that the colonists could brag about.⁷⁷

The Salvation Army worked hard to develop a creamery in Amity for several reasons: (1) there was a demand for a creamery in the area; (2) this followed their theme of further diversity; and (3) the Army wanted to build up the industry and the self-sufficiency of the colony. Stone from the quarry was used to build the creamery near the railroad tracks. Milch cows were imported by the Army in 1899, and they were given to the settlers--five to a family--to be

⁷⁵<u>Toid</u>., September 26, 1902, 1.
⁷⁶<u>Ibid</u>., October 3, 1902, 1.
⁷⁷<u>Ibid</u>., January 31, 1902, 8.

looked after.⁷⁸ A Holstein bull was also purchased by the Army, from Peabody, Kansas, for use in the colony.⁷⁹

That same year the colonists were delivering over 1,000 pounds of milk daily to the skimming station. The Amity Creamery Company was organized, and soon as enough cream and milk was being delivered to justify it, the Continental Creamery Company of Topeka, Kansas, put a shipping station at Amity.⁸⁰

The creamery was not exclusively for the colonists. Other people in the area were welcomed to partake of the enterprise. In 1900 the state issued a license to the colony so that they could engage in the manufacture of cheese for commerical use.⁸¹

The crop and livestock production in Amity was abundant after the first year. This, however, did not mean that other problems did not arise. The production aspect of the colony was progressing smoothly, but the marketing aspect of the enterprise produced problems. For instance, the Santa Fe Refrigeration Company increased shipping rates by fifty per cent one year, but failed to inform the farmers of the Arkansas Valley until nearly shipping time. The individual farmers had little choice in the matter of shipping.⁸²

⁷⁸Ibid., June 23, 1899, 7. ⁷⁹<u>Ibid</u>., June 30, 1905, 8. ⁸⁰Ibid., February 12, 1904, 1. ⁸¹Ibid., July 22, 1900, 1. ⁸²Tbid., August 10, 1900, 1.

The old adage, "in numbers there is strength," was brought home to the colonists, so while they owned their individual acreage, they organized co-operatively for greater marketing power. The Amity Cantaloupe Growers Association came into existence, followed by the Amity Dairy and Produce Association and the Sugar Beet Growers Association. By joining together the individual farmers were better able to bargain and to deal with the railroad company as well as the consignment companies.⁸³

With the success of the sugar beet as a crop, sugar beet factories sprang up in many Colorado cities. At Amity sugar beets and cantaloupes became primary crops. At the beginning of sugar beet production, entire families could be seen working in the fields. By the turn of the century, first Navajos harvested the beets, then Mexicans arrived as transitory beet workers, and later Japanese from California worked to harvest the crop.⁸¹ With sugar beet production which took so much care and attention, the Amity settlers seemed to be moving away from Booth-Tucker's idea of having small acreage and crops that did not need extensive care. Booth-Tucker was afraid that extensive care farming would be too difficult and would be too much drudgery for untrained former city dwellers.

Louis H. Kephart arrived in Amity in 1905 from New Mexico. He was one of the few people who had any capital upon arrival. In

⁸³<u>Ibid</u>., November 15, 1900, 8; January 12, 1901, 8.

⁸⁴<u>Tbid</u>., November 29, 1901, 8; June 3, 1904, 8; August 3, 1906, 8.

order to raise sheep, he purchased forty acres at seventy dollars an acre.⁸⁵ His agricultural knowledge, in particular his knowledge of sheep and lambs, gradually made him an instructor for other colonists. Once Kephart demonstrated the profits to be made in sheep raising, the farmers became interested. Soon other colonists had lambs shipped from New Mexico, to be fattened, and later they were shipped to Kansas City where the farmers could get good prices.⁸⁶

To encourage industry in all lines of endeavor, and particularly in agriculture, the colony celebrated Gala Days in the fall of the year. This celebration was very similar to fair time in most small towns. Prizes were awarded in many catagories-best sugar beet crop, best garden, best lot of hogs, best cottage and grounds, best team of horses. The judging was conducted during the day, and in the evening the crowd gathered at the school house for the awarding of prizes. This recognition of achievement usually followed a musical program.⁸⁷

In addition to their work, the colony leaders attempted through activities to defray the feeling of desolation among the people. Besides school functions, holiday festivities, and Gala Days, Old Settlers' Day was celebrated on the anniversary date of the colony.⁸⁸

⁸⁵Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 100.
⁸⁶<u>Holly Chieftain</u>, June 7, 1907, 3, December 6, 1907, 1.
⁸⁷<u>Ibid</u>., September 20, 1901, 6.
⁸⁸<u>Ibid</u>., April 28, 1899, 1.

A free library was established on the second floor of the postoffice.⁸⁹ Rabbit hunts, fishing, horseback riding, swimming, and ice skating also provided entertainment.

In any program associated with the Salvation Army, there were always a number of musicians on hand. Early in its history a "Battle of Song" was held to raise money for Sunday School supplies. It was a program comprised almost entirely of music, both vocal and instrumental. The admission fee was five cents for adults and one cent for children. The younger members of the Army played and sang song after song for about four hours without stopping.⁹⁰

Among other activities at Amity were a sewing circle which met weekly at the Cherry Tree Home to sew for the children of the orphanage, a Library Society, and a baseball team which challenged teams from near-by towns.⁹¹

Political activities also provided a means of joining in social intercourse. Mrs. Ida Hazlett of Denver, the state organizer of the Socialist Party, delivered an address in September of 1903. The occasion was the cornerstone ceremonies for the First Socialist Hall in Prowers County, which was conceived and brought to fulfillment by local members of the Socialist Party. Apparently it was well

⁸⁹<u>Ibid</u>., September 21, 1906, 8.
⁹⁰<u>Ibid</u>., March 24, 1899, 1.
⁹¹Ibid., March 1, 1901, 8, May 8, 1903, 7.

received for there was no adverse coverage in the local press. Local and state meetings were held in the Socialist Hall at Amity.⁹²

Members of the Salvation Army Corps at Amity traveled to the mining districts of Cripple Creek, Central City, and Leadville for religious recruiting. The young men and women of the Corps brought entertainment as well as religion to the mining towns. They had open-air meetings, followed by marching, singing, and playing of their usual instruments.⁹³ The religious activity of the colony was but one of the many ways whereby the settlers were provided opportunities for fellowship. The settlers at Amity not only provided entertainment for themselves, but they also provided entertainment for the entire area.

When the colony started, all fence posts, lumber and other materials were shipped to Holly, picked up there, and taken to Amity by wagon. The area was void of building materials except for a stone quarry on the land. By 1902 Amity had two lumber companies and two coal companies.⁹⁴ The town of Amity had hotels, restaurants, meat markets, a hardware store, a confectionery shop, a blacksmith shop, a few general stores, a wagon shop, a drug store, a shoe shop, a mortuary, grocery stores, and two barber shops. An unusual incident occurred one Saturday when Arthur Inman's barber

⁹²<u>Ibid</u>., September 25, 1903, 1; September 21, 1906, 7.
⁹³Mrs. A. J. Benwell, letter to the author dated March 2, 1968.
⁹⁴Holly Chieftain, May 23, 1902, 8.

shop burned down. He purchased a chair from someone and proceeded to serve his customers in the street.⁹⁵ Business as usual must have been his motto.

Amity had a few professional people in residence. Dr. William Greenard, Dr. Robert Sherman, and Dr. William W. Spiers were general practioners. Sherman Wileman, an optician, served the community, while Dr. Thomas Grant, a dentist from Garden City, Kansas, made periodic visits to the area.⁹⁶

In the early days of settlement, the <u>Holly Chieftain</u> had a section written by Jay Bee devoted to news of Amity. To keep people informed, a newspaper began publication in Amity. A small press was purchased, and A. G. Glase, a former teacher, started the weekly <u>Amity Sentinel</u> in 1902. When Glase was appointed railroad agent, that job took most of his time, so he sold out to 0. A. Brakeman. The paper's name was changed to the <u>Amity Optimist</u>. The paper did not come out regularly, and in 1905 John W. Dautrich of Rocky Ford, Colorado became editor,⁹⁷ but he went to Holly on June 6, 1905, and was never seen or heard of again. No one could explain his disappearance.⁹⁸

⁹⁵<u>Ibid</u>., May 16, 1902, 1.
⁹⁶<u>Ibid</u>., March 18, 1904, 7-8.
⁹⁷<u>Ibid</u>., March 24, 1905, 7.
⁹⁸<u>Ibid</u>., June 13, 1905, 1.

Still another newspaper appeared in Amity. Stewart Lewis became owner and editor of the <u>Amity Coserver</u>. After it changed hands once more, the <u>Holly Chieftain</u> purchased the <u>Amity Observer</u>, and it was printed in Holly.⁹⁹

This settlement in the Arkansas Valley seemed to be fulfilling all the dreams held by the Salvation Army concerning farm colonies. Destitute city dwellers were placed upon the land and they appeared healthy and happy as they improved their economic and social situation, and developed good relations with their fellow man and, hopefully, with God. The colony had prosperous farmers, good community relations, a developing town with various trades and professional services, a newspaper, schools, and a post office. Amity had the appearance of a typical growing Western town. A broom factory run by Frank McAbee, a soda pop factory operated by D. Coker, and the opening of a bank contributed to the feeling that more growth lay ahead.

Telephone service came to Amity in Dr. Sherman's residence in February of 1902. The main reason for Amity being on the line was its location. Amity was in a direct line between Holly and Lamar. The line was strung through the center of town. The Western Union telegraph wires were cut into the depot, and telegraph service was available to the community.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹<u>Ibid</u>., August 2, 1907, 1.

100<u>Tbid</u>., February 28, 1902, 7.

In 1905 land in the town site was selling for \$600 to \$3,000 an acre. The receipts of the stores were \$200,000, and the railroad received \$50,000 in freight collections.¹⁰¹

Two happenings that added color and excitement to rural Amity occurred in 1908. The Arkansas River went on a rampage during severe rains. The ensuing flood caused heavy damage to property, most roads were washed out, and many people were rendered homeless. There were no deaths in Amity resulting from the high water, but the water reached depths of five feet in the main streets.¹⁰² Several heroic rescues took place in Amity. One rescue involved John Bogue and his family. Several men in town constructed a raft from cross-ties and rowed two miles out to the blacksmith's home, picked up Mrs. Bogue and their three children, and rowed the party to high ground.¹⁰³

The other event of 1908 that created excitement in Amity was a bank robbery. The bank was entered about 2:00 p.m. on July 9, by Kid Wilson and Henry Starr (nephew of Belle Starr, noted female outlaw). They ordered A. J. Davy, the manager, to open and empty the safe. Davy apparently was a little nervous with a gun pointed at him, and working on an old safe, as it took two attempts to open it. Once opened, the bandits took all the money.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 67.
¹⁰²<u>Holly Chieftain</u>, October 23, 1908, 1.
¹⁰³<u>Ibid</u>., November 23, 1908, 1.
¹⁰⁴<u>Prowers and Clear Creek Counties</u>: <u>Interviews</u>, 5-6.

Wilson and Starr took Davy and all other eye witnesses south across the railroad tracks into a pasture where the outlaws' horses were tied. Mounting their horses, Wilson and Starr rode off without harming anyone. Davy ran for the depot and instructed the agent to warn Lamar and Holly. Then he climbed a nearby pole to observe the direction of flight by Wilson and Starr, but the men had escaped by that time.¹⁰⁵ Starr was caught the following year in Arizona, and was returned to Lamar to stand trial. Convicted, he was sent to the penitentiary at Canon City, Colorado, for from four to seven years.¹⁰⁶

H. Rider Haggard was extremely impressed with the Salvation Army, its work, the colonization plan, and the colonies. While at Amity, records concerning the colonies were made available to him for use in his report. The financial position of Amity in 1905 showed a net loss of \$23,111.50, for the Army had started the colony without any cash capital, and they had contracted loans at high rates of interest. During the period from 1898 to 1905 the Army paid interest in the amount of \$25,162. The Army at that time had over \$200,000 invested in the colonial experiment.¹⁰⁷ Each colonist, however, showed a profit or average equity of from \$500 to \$3,000 during the same period.¹⁰⁸

> 105<u>Ibid.</u>, 6. 106<u>Ibid</u>. 107_{Haggard}, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 82. 108<u>Ibid.</u>, 102-106.

The Army sold the land to the colonists at too low a price and without making sufficient allowance for further expenses which the Army would be called upon to incur in connection with such land. Interest only was expected to be paid by the colonists for the first two years.¹⁰⁹

The Salvation Army considered the loss of \$23,111.50 to be slight for the experiment spread over seven years, in which occurred unforeseen conditions such as alkali formations, and certain seasons of great difficulty, including heavy hail storms, a total crop failure in one season, and a flood in another.¹¹⁰

In his report Haggard commented on the "spirit of mutual friendliness" among the colonists and of the "complete contentment with their lot."¹¹¹ Upon his return to England, his report was submitted to the British government and published in book form.

Amity, while not consisting wholly of city dwellers, as people from all parts of the United States took up residency there, had a large percentage of settlers from large cities. The Salvation Army had few problems as far as the character of the colonists was concerned.

There were, however, a few cases of bad character reported at Amity. B. L. Yourdan ran off with a considerable amount of

¹⁰⁹<u>Tbid</u>., 107. ¹¹⁰<u>Tbid</u>., 82. ¹¹¹<u>Tbid</u>., 71.

property that did not belong to him, but the Army was able to recover the lost goods.¹¹² It was rumored in 1904 that E. M. Cram ran off with mortgaged property and even took the doors off his cottage.¹¹³ An article that appeared in the <u>Holly Chieftain</u>, mentioned that there were some people at the colony who were taking advantage of the Army by relying wholly upon the Salvation Army for support, and not making any attempt to help themselves.¹¹⁴

Most of the colonists were busy from the start and built their neat little stone cottages and worked their land and became prosperous. The first colonist to pay his entire debt to the Army did so in 1902, only four years after the start of settlement. In 1898 he came to Amity with his family and a team of horses. Besides paying off his debt through laboring on his own land and working with his horses, he had accumulated twenty acres of land, a stone cottage, and some livestock.¹¹⁵ Others soon followed, and because of the success resulting from the colonists' hard work and faith, the name Amity, which means good will, given the colony by Frederick Booth-Tucker, seemed to be substantiating the claims made by the Salvation Army.

There was one pitfall preventing the complete fulfillment of Amity's potential. That was the location. In an interview given

> 112_{Holly Chieftain}, June 13, 1902, 8. 113<u>Tbid</u>., December 23, 1904, 8. 114<u>Tbid</u>., June 9, 1899, 1. 115<u>Denver Republican</u>, October 25, 1903, 6.

in 1899, Colonel Holland stated that alkaline soil present in the Arkansas Valley was perhaps the reason for the excellently flavored celery crop of the region. He thought the soil had properties that produced outstanding plants.¹¹⁶ At that time neither Holland nor anyone else realized that the "properties" of the alkaline soil would bring the downfall of Amity.

Irrigation was used on the low land of Amity that had a high underground water level. This condition was not realized at the time of purchase because the agricultural technology was not sufficiently advanced to detect it. Water standing in a nearby field was mentioned when the work of settlement began but apparently no one thought of it as a defect. With continual irrigation from 1898 to 1903, the problem became more acute. There was no way for the water to drain off the land. The water could not run off the low, flat land at the surface, and it could not sink into the ground and later run off underneath because of the high underground water level. As the colonists irrigated each year, more alkali would come to the surface and settle. Something had to be done to correct the drainage problem. The Salvation Army called in a civil engineer, Antone Jacobs, early in 1904 to survey Amity for drainage ditches. Over the winter months, tile was used to improve the drainage of the land.117

> 116<u>Denver Times</u>, March 12, 1899, 3. 117<u>Holly Chieftain</u>, December 2, 1904, 7.

Some improvement was made in preventing a worsening of the condition, but it did not alleviate the problem. During his visit Haggard noted that "alkalis or natural salts had manifested themselves in many places."¹¹⁸ After the crop of 1905 was planted and irrigation begun once more, the state engineer was called in to investigate the matter. He advised the colonists to deepen the drainage ditch and to put in more tile.¹¹⁹ It was thought that a deeper drainage method and tiling would work, but it would be expensive. Antone Jacobs, the civil engineer hired by the Army, made plans to deepen the existing ditch and put in 30,000 feet of tile. The cost was expected to be between sixteen and twenty dollars per acre. An article appearing in the Holly paper claimed this method was a cheap way of changing practically waste land into one hundred dollars an acre land. It went on to say that all alkali would disappear from the surface if properly drained.¹²⁰

Starting early in 1906, the expensive tiling process began. It involved digging ditches, laying tile in the ditches, and then filling in the ditches. The idea was that the tiles would hold the water, and stop it from adding to the already high water level. The tiles were not all laid at the same depth, but were slanted in one direction so the trapped water would run off. At first only

¹¹⁸Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, 69.
¹¹⁹<u>Holly Chieftain</u>, July 7, 1905, 7.
¹²⁰Tbid., January 1, 1906, 1.

portions of the colony were treated, but the Army decided to tile all the land in the colony. Train car loads of tile began arriving along with a ditching machine that was put to work immediately and continued work throughout the year.¹²¹

Early the next year prospects were high for a good crop, as most of the tiling was completed and the land seemed thoroughly drained. Praise was given to the leader of the colony for the great task undertaken and accomplished. "This is another display of how far the Army is willing to go to insure the success and continuance of Amity," said the <u>Holly Chieftain.¹²²</u>

After another season of planting and irrigating the land, the problem of seepage returned, and the drainage work went on. Land that had produced twenty tons of sugar beets to an acre, and two and a half tons of hay, became useless. Orchards died.¹²³ The town, which reached its fullest growth about 1906, started to decline. As late as 1908, J. A. Childs had opened a glove factory in town. He ordered ten power machines and placed advertisements in local newspapers offering jobs for forty or fifty girls. Shortly after the cotton glove factory opened, Childs realized that Amity would not recover from the alkali problem, so he moved to Pueblo, Colorado.¹²⁴

¹²¹<u>Tbid.</u>, May 18, 1906, 1. ¹²²<u>Tbid.</u>, March 1, 1907, 7.
 ¹²³<u>Prowers and Clear Creek Counties</u>: <u>Interviews</u>, 245.
 ¹²⁴<u>Holly Chieftain</u>, May 1, 1908, 7, June 19, 1908, 7.

Gradually more and more people and businesses left the city, and the farmers also moved elsewhere.

The first mention of the Army's extremely serious position appeared February 5, 1909, in the <u>Holly Chieftain</u>, with mention of a "Gigantic Land Deal" concerning land near the town of Amity. Joseph S. McMurtry and John G. Christopher, two well known Holly businessmen, purchased the Amity townsite plus a number of buildings and businesses. The sale included options of 2,000 adjacent acres, and the price agreed upon was \$250,000¹²⁵ The two new owners had plans to industrialize the town and to develop the adjoining farm land. Their plans, like those of the Salvation Army, did not materialize. The prairie did not seem to welcome intruders who attempted to tame it.

After calling in experts and spending huge sums of money to try to save the colony, the Army realized they were just throwing good money after bad. They could not afford the expenses, and when the offer from McMurtry and Christopher appeared, it seemed a way to salvage something. The Army loss on the colony, despite the sale price, was \$70,000.¹²⁶

The organization did not leave the remaining colonists to shift for themselves. The Army felt it was their responsibility to look after them. Those who did not want to stay at Amity went elsewhere, and the Army arranged their departure, relocation, and

125_{Tbid}., April 2, 1909, 1.

126 Roberts, Colorado Magazine, Vol. XVII, 174.

looked after them until they had employment.¹²⁷ Over a dozen families stayed in the vicinity and remained respected citizens of the Arkansas Valley.¹²⁸

The collapse of Amity was a bitter defeat for the Army and its idealistic plans of colonization in America. Amity was looked upon so favorably by so many, and though not the first Army colony, it had the potential of becoming the first successful fulfillment of Booth-Tucker's American Colonization Plan. The success of this colony was to point the way for other colonies to follow. After the failure of Amity, no other colonies were started by the Salvation Army. By 1910 the Salvation Army had vacated the premises and, thus a unique piece of Colorado history was concluded.

128_{Lamar Register} (souvenir edition), May 24, 1956, 19.

¹²⁷ Toid., 173.

CONCLUSION

William Booth believed that he was not a theorist, but a practical man. He felt an urgency concerning the conditions he observed; simply to criticize was not enough. A plan had to be devised which would solve the problem. Booth had a constructive program to offer. He hoped to awaken others to the seriousness of the conditions of the destitute and rectify those conditions. To Booth the answer to the plight of the crowded conditions in over-populated cities, was distribution of people. After all, there was plenty of empty, fertile, inexpensive land in the world. It seemed an easy answer to redistribute the people.

His plan outlined <u>In Darkest England and the Way Out</u> seemed practical to him. He had started the mission and its many social institutions in cities to help alleviate the problems caused by rapid industrialization. Why not the colonization program? It would start immediately, answering the urgency of the situation, and continue to grow affording the people needing help immediate attention. Both the program and the amount of help given would grow as the program progressed. Perhaps the method seemed a little unorthodox, but Booth felt that any method would be acceptable if it resulted in success.

Booth's entire Colonization Scheme was never put into practice. The city institutions already in existence became the City Colony aspect of his program. This phase proved to be very successful, but it had its limitations as Booth noted. This urban social work of the organization eventually became "the Army's notable contribution to America as well as to England."¹ Many aspects of the city social work, started and enlarged by the Salvation Army, are used today to build up society constructively.

A Farm Colony was launched in England, but it did not lead to Over-seas Colonies. Many people from Great Britain did emigrate to Australia, and the Salvation Army assisted thousands of individuals emigrating to Canada. The assistance was not in connection with Booth's Colonization Scheme, and the people were not settled in preplanned colonies with future enlargement in view. The aid given by the Army was the usual help the organization afforded to all in need.

Booth believed the city was evil, and the way to "save" man was to remove him from the city. His idea of removing people from cities in order for them to reach their potential was never tried and proven to be successful on any large scale. The manner and scope in which he tried to solve the problem should be commended. The problem was how to have freedom from fear and want for all while affording opportunities for growth and development for all the people. The Salvation Army's work in the many city institutions proved that man can be "saved" in his social environment. Man does not have to be transplanted in order to reach full development.

¹Abell, <u>The Urban Impact</u>, 125-126.

In the United States the impact of the Scheme followed different emphases. The three-prong approach did not materialize in this country. The main attraction in America was the Farm Colony. The emphasis was on turning city dwellers, who were considered parasites, into producers. Although the Salvation Army did not mean it as another western safety valve against periods of depression, perhaps the business and political community viewed the plan in that light, as they so readily accepted it.

To the poor colonization offered an escape, and many wanted to take advantage of it, as was evidenced by the thousands of applications received by the Salvation Army. The ray of hope that William Booth spoke of so often was here for those who needed it. The working class in the late nineteenth century had many things that it wanted to escape--over-crowded living conditions, depression and unemployment, hunger, labor problems, the government's policy of laissez faire, and the neglect by the churches.

The more prominent members of American society favored the idea from a more sophisticated level. To them "this idea would enrich the laborer, better the condition of the manufacturer, and advance the whole nation commercially, morally and intellectually."² They spoke in favor of it, but they did not contribute to the program to any great extent. It was as if they expected the Army to start the program and, if it became successful, then they would contribute.

²War <u>Cry</u>, October 29, 1904, 11.

The Salvation Army started the colonies with loans. If the colonization idea had been entered on a large scale, no evidence seems to be available to show that it would have been completely successful. Greater size and more money could not have altered conditions as it turned out. Perhaps with greater financial backing, different avenues would have been traveled. But that is only conjecture.

"Men, like . . . crops, must take roots in the land,"³ was the belief of the Salvation Army. The people once removed from the land did not have the wherewithall to return to the land. According to Booth-Tucker, help should be available to accomplish the task. The Commander was willing for the Salvation Army to tackle the job initially, but he felt that the government should take it over.

There had been similar programs in history; for instance, the Homestead Act was passed to allow more people to easily secure land in order to develop the West. The opening of the Oklahoma Territory was a similar idea. Canada had opened vast stretches of her western lands free to encourage settling. The government of New Zealand under "The Advances to Settlers Act" invited settlers to work the land and to increase the population. From 1896 to 1904 the records showed no losses and a surplus of \$340,000 for the program in New Zealand.⁴

There seemed to be no reason why the United States government could not do the same thing. A bill to do so was introduced in the

⁴Toid.

3 Ibid., 10.

Senate by Senator George Hoar in October of 1903, but it was killed in committee.⁵

With limited funds, the three American colonies were begun. They proved successful in some respects, but they did not fulfill William Booth's grand designs. After the turn of the century, when criticism was directed at Colonel Thomas Holland, the Colonization Secretary, concerning the smallness of the colonies and the lack of rapid growth, he replied that they were not meant for the settlement of large numbers. According to him the three colonies were investigation by actual experiment to see if the poor man from the city could be transplanted to the land and be successful and happy. Continuing his defense, Colonel Holland said that there were meant to be a few colonists in the beginning to form a solid foundation so that the colonies would become a permanent feature later. The Salvation Army did not want a boom with thousands of people invading an area all at once.⁶

The plan of colonization was to place unemployed paupers from the city slums upon the land, and with capital and management as well as spiritual guidance supplied, to rehabilitate them inwardly as well as outwardly. Fort Romie did not carry out that idea. People from the city did not settle the land. Rather, farm laborers were given a chance to become independent landowners. This

5 Ibid. 6<u>Toid</u>., 10-11.

was not the class that the Salvation Army was trying to help, nor was it the class with which the Army had worked closely. Perhaps the Army was willing to use farm laborers from the area to get started again, and as the settlement developed to move members of the poorer class from the city to the land. After the first failure at Romie, the Army did not want a repeat. The time, money, and effort spent on Fort Romie could have been utilized more wisely to help more individuals who needed assistance.

Fort Herrick in Chio actually helped so few to relocate and failed to prove the feasibility of transporting city people to the land that it is to be deemed a failure. Though it was a failure in that it did not fulfill the promise implied in the colonization plan, people were helped. The home for the inebriates certainly afforded aid to those in need. Later when the site became a Fresh Air Camp run by the Army, many children enjoyed a temporary escape from the hot, dirty, crowded tenements of nearby cities.

All three sites were poor selections. It is easy to know that with hindsight, but at the time Romie and Amity were investigated by agricultural experts and declared excellent. Alkali at Amity, and lack of water at Romie, were not apparent to the examiners.

It was a mistake not to have the land ready before placing inexperienced persons on it. In theory the land was to have been prepared for the settlers; however, in practice no presettlement work was done. As a result the settlers spent the first few years

preparing the land for growing crops. Since they had to wait before their land became fully productive, the returns or profits from the land were small at first. As a result of this problem, the indebtedness of the settlers and of the Salvation Army increased, and less money was available at the inception of the settlements when it was greatly needed. If the land had been prepared and had been fruitful in the beginning, the Army could have avoided contracting large loans with high interest which they were forced to endure.

Some explanation should be given for the lack of prior preparation by the Salvation Army, and that was that General William Booth was on a tour of the United States in early 1898. Commander and Consul Booth-Tucker were busy accompanying the General on the tour. They could scarcely be blamed as they could hardly do otherwise, but it must be considered poor planning.

War held the attention of the United States in 1898, so other issues were pushed to the background. Considering the war era, the Salvation Army did surprisingly well in securing as much help as they did from the Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco, from Herrick, Hanna, and Parmelee in Ohio, and from the railroad officials in Colorado.

After the colonies had been in operation a while, the shortcomings of Fort Romie and Fort Herrick were realized, and Amity seemed to offer the best promise of success. Land and water were in abundance at the site. Despite the many early difficulties--breaking of the sod, constructing shelters, training city folks for farming, freezing

weather, marketing problems, and lack of building materials--Amity was very successful.

The settlers at Amity were from congested cities, and they had little agricultural background. Pace setters were placed among the settlers, helping them by example and by counsel. The colony grew year by year. It was not intended as a pauper institution and individualism was strongly encouraged. As soon as the indebtness was paid off, title to the land was given to the farmer. That mothed was much better than allowing the people to rent the land, for it gave the people something to work for; they were working for themselves, not for the Salvation Army.

Amity gave hope to many, and the opportunity for a new start in life. The colony enabled some individuals to secure a home, livestock and a sizable bank account within a few years, whereas, the average city worker would have been considered fortunate if he had saved 3400 in the same period of time.

With the spread of alkali at Amity, the growth of the colony ceased, and people started moving elsewhere. Some sold their holdings and left with considerable profit. Others merely left and their land reverted back to the Salvation Army. When the Army decided to sell the land, the people remaining were asked about their future plans. All of the people who wanted to locate elsewhere and needed help in doing so were aided by the Army. Many of the settlers of Amity moved to nearby towns such as Lamar and Holly, Colorado, while other farmers kept their holdings and stayed in Amity even after the Army sold out. The Salvation Army lost money on the experiment. The land was purchased by the Army by means of loans and sold very inexpensively to the settlers. Within a short period of time the settlers could show an equity, whereas the Army was still very much in debt. If they had charged more for the land, equipment, and stock, the cost would have been divided more evenly, and the Army would not have lost as much in the program.

The Army believed that leadership was one of the main ingredients of success in any venture. Commander Frederick Booth-Tucker was a very able leader of the organization in the United States. Through his efforts the colonies were established. His partner in life and his partner in the work of the Army, Emma Booth-Tucker, was equally dedicated. The selection of Thomas Holland as National Colonization Secretary was an excellent choice. The Salvation Army had the leadership with initiative and determination and dedication to plant the colonies. Once planted the colonies had to be tended and the responsibility fell upon the shoulders of the three mentioned above. That was an enormous task, perhaps too enormous for the three leaders.

The colonization program was suddenly robbed of its three main leaders. Emma Booth-Tucker was killed and Colonel Holland severely injured in a train wreck in 1903. Though Holland improved, he was never the same. The loss of his wife had its effects upon the Commander. Booth-Tucker was relieved of command of the Salvation Army in the United States, and he returned to England in late 1904.⁷

⁷Holly Chieftain, August 19, 1904, 7.

The new leaders did not take as much interest in the colonies, and with the instigators of the program and its guiding, driving force missing, the program was weakened. The loss of leadership definitely hurt the colonies, but the evidence shows no difference in the final outcome regardless of the leaders.

The experiment at Amity cost more than those at Fort Romie and Fort Herrick. More money was spent at Amity than in the other colonies to overcome the deficiency in location and eventually to make the colony a success. With the lack of agricultural and scientific knowledge of proper drainage, the thousands of dollars spent by the Army failed to reclaim the land. It was not until well after the Army had vacated the area that proper drainage was put in by the county with each resident being assessed in proportion to his holdings. Though signs of the alkali are still evident, the area is agriculturally productive, but extensive care and modern agricultural techniques have to be used in farming.

In doing research on the theme, nineteenth century conditions which the Salvation Army was attempting to better seemed very reminiscent of the struggle of the destitute and the urban problem confronting the United States today. The Salvation Army did not believe its work in California, Ohio, and Colorado to take man out of his contaminated city environment by means of the Farm Colonies, and to guide him religiously and economically, to be a piece-meal operation. The leaders of the Salvation Army believed that such

privation was a colossal problem, and it had to be attacked immediately with all forces--private, public, charitable, and governmental--in order for man to reach his full potential and to find salvation. The idea was that all forces must unite for success to result. The United States still has not fully accepted this view.

Perhaps the following quotation hits upon the question at issue then and now:

No attempts to dispose of social wreckage in special ways will avail so long as a defective social organization is allowed to continue producing wreckage. The business of reformers is not to discover special methods of dealing with our social and industrial failures, but so to remedy the normal and ordinary conditions of things as to cease producing a class that has to be watched and selected and . . . colonised. [sic]⁰

The quotation does not, however, supply the answer, how.

⁸Haggard, <u>The Poor and the Land</u>, ix.

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