

Antislavery in America:
The Press, the Pulpit, and the Rise of Antislavery Societies

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Abstract

We analyze how communications networks and social institutions influenced the antislavery movement. Communications networks fueled by broadcast media transmitted news about the movement to the public and so helped mobilize a broad base of support. Among social institutions, churches were especially supportive because their emphasis on morality and community was conducive to antislavery activism. Our analysis focuses on antislavery societies, the formal organizations that underpinned this movement, and makes three contributions to our understanding of social-movement organizations in general and antislavery societies in particular. First, we show that the impact of broadcast media was strong as far back as the early nineteenth century. Second, we demonstrate that theology, specifically an orientation toward this world or heaven, determined whether religious resources were available to antislavery organizations. This-worldly religions supported abolition organizing, while other-worldly religions undermined it. Third, we resolve an important causal ambiguity: was the development of the media a cause, consequence, or merely a companion to growth of antislavery organizations?

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, reform associations proliferated. These associations espoused causes as varied as the abolition of slavery, temperance, reform of prostitutes and seamen, political and economic rights for women and native Americans, protection for widows and orphans, care of the disabled, strict observance of the Sabbath, phonetic spelling, and vegetarianism. Struck by this burgeoning of collective behavior, Tocqueville famously stated “Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of dispositions are forever forming associations.... If they want to proclaim a truth or propagate some feeling by the encouragement of example, they form an association” (Tocqueville, 1835-40 [2000]:513).

Reform associations made possible a new mode of contention: the modern social movement. Whereas social protests in the early eighteenth century tended to be short-lived outbursts mounted by loosely connected groups that were regionally rooted and emphasized local demands, a century later social protests were sustained, formally organized, transcended neighborhoods, and aimed at distant targets – often, but not always, the state (Hobsbawm, 1959; Rudé, 1981; Tilly, 1986, 1995; Tarrow, 1998). The birth of the modern social movement was defined by a shift in the repertoires of contention – the set of actions activists use to assert their claims – from parochial, bifurcated, and particular to cosmopolitan, modular, and autonomous (Tilly, 1995). These new repertoires of contention were supported by social-movement organizations like antislavery societies, temperance unions, women’s rights associations, and workingmen’s leagues, which forged extensive, often nationwide, networks of reformers and developed flexible routines that facilitated sustained mobilization and protest (Tarrow, 1998).

We build on sociological theory and historical accounts to explain the rise of antislavery societies in the United States. Understanding how these organizations came to be founded reveals the forces driving the one of earliest and most influential modern social movements. Between 1790 and 1840, the period covered by our analysis, the antislavery movement became modern: it spread across the young nation, from Maine to Virginia

and from Massachusetts to Ohio; it developed a repertoire of contentious acts, notably petitions, protests, and publications, that could be used by reformers in many different locations; it persisted for decades; and it put increasingly intense pressure on the state. The antislavery movement is of particular interest because it catalyzed other important nineteenth-century social movements, such as women's rights and temperance (Tyler, 1944; Rendall, 1985). The antislavery movement also transformed politics: after 1830, the use of print media, grass-roots organizing, and graphic images – all tactics antislavery advocates helped pioneer – came to define American politics (Newman, 2002).

Antislavery societies, like other social-movement organizations, require resources, both tangible (funding, infrastructure, and people) and intangible (expertise, publicity, organizing templates, and practices) (McCarthy and Zald, 1973, 1977; Gamson, 1990). To acquire necessary resources, social-movement organizations can use two powerful mobilizing structures: communications networks and established social institutions. Communication networks allow movements to propagate messages that are framed to resonate with and draw in potential supporters; they can also be used to construct perceptions of that political opportunities for mobilization are ripe. Broadcast media can be especially powerful in this regard. By framing movement ideals as being compatible with the master logics of society, broadcast media can mobilize a broad base of support (Kahan, 1999; Roscigno and Danaher, 2001; Koopmans and Olzak, 2004). Affiliations with extant social institutions, especially those focused on morality and community, such as churches, can also provide important resources to fledgling social movements. To the extent that churchgoers espouse values congruent with those of social movements, they are a receptive audience and are easily brought into movements (Freeman, 1973; Wood, 1999). Activists can also call on churches for funding and infrastructural support in the form of templates for organizing and practices that reinforce the bonds of group membership (Morris, 1984; Smith, 1996). Because of their evident value to social-

movement organizations, our analysis of antislavery societies focuses on broadcast media and churches.

Our analysis extends previous studies of social-movement organizing, including antislavery societies, in three ways. First, we demonstrate that broadcast media had substantial power in the early nineteenth century, just as they did in the twentieth century (e.g., Gitlin, 1980; Myers, 2000; Roscigno and Danaher, 2001; Andrews and Biggs, 2006), even though media were in a developmental stage in the early nineteenth century. Our study complements the many historical narratives and ethnographic accounts of how communications media influence social-movement formation (e.g., Gitlin, 1980; Abzug, 1994; Newman, 2002; Nord, 2004). Histories and ethnographies offer a close-up view of micro processes in a few select cases, often the most successful, while we assess the entire landscape of antislavery organizing, including both those times and places that saw a great deal of antislavery organizing and those that saw little or none.

Second, we extend previous work on the impact of religious institutions, which has generally emphasized the *strength* of religious belief (e.g., Morris, 1984; Smith, 1996). We recognize that it is important to understand not just how strongly activists are connected to religious institutions, but also *which religious ideals* activists draw on (Wood, 1999). As McAdam (2003:290) concluded: “Prior organization and all the resources in the world matter little if their use is not governed by shared meanings and identities legitimating contention.” To bring shared meanings and identities into the picture, we refocus attention on theology. Churches vary in the degree to which their theologies are congruent with the idea that improving society is a moral act (Wood, 1999). Weber’s (1922 [1993]:166-183) distinction between this-worldly (*inner-weltliche*) and other-worldly (*weltabhehnende*) religions guides our analysis. We find that this-worldly churches, whose theologies were focused not just on redeeming souls, but also on redeeming society, catalyzed the antislavery movement by making it possible for their adherents to visualize the abolition of slavery as a step toward the creation of a purer Christian community. In

contrast, other-worldly churches, whose theologies disdained participation in the secular world and demanded a focus on individual salvation, suppressed antislavery organizing by delegitimizing such “meddling” in the secular world.

Third, we resolve persistent ambiguities in causal reasoning. Although social-movement organizations are supported by both broadcast media and religious institutions, most previous studies cannot disentangle the impact of these causal factors. Broadcast media support the growth of social-movement organizations (Gitlin, 1980). But at the same time, these media benefit from the efforts of social-movement organizations, which launch their own newspapers, magazines, and website, and provide other (non-affiliated) media outlets with material that may attract a wide audience (Gitlin, 1980). Moreover, religious organizations provide a foundation for the development of broadcast media (Haveman and King, 2006). It is not clear, in the end, whether broadcast media are a cause, a consequence, or merely a companion of social-movement organizations. We resolve this causal ambiguity with statistical analysis; specifically, by using the instrumental-variable technique (Angrist and Krueger, 1991; Bound, Jaeger, and Baker, 1995; Greene, 2003:378-401). In this way, we augment a tradition in historical sociology that seeks to model causal processes (e.g., Isaac and Griffin, 1989; Abbott and Hrycak, 1990; Bearman, Farris, and Moody, 1999). We find that much of the impact of churches, both this-worldly and other-worldly, are masked when reciprocal causation is not partialled out. We also find that the effect of the media persists after partialling out its endogenous component.

To ground our analysis of antislavery organizing, we begin by briefly relating the history of the antislavery movement, paying special attention to antislavery societies.

The Rise of Antislavery Societies in America

The first antislavery society in America, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (originally named the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in

Bondage), was founded in 1775 by a group of prominent Quakers. This society, along with the New York Manumission Society, founded in 1785, and the American Convention of Abolition Societies, founded in 1794, constituted the center of the early American antislavery movement. These societies advocated gradual abolition of slavery; their tactics emphasized voluntary manumissions, legal aid for blacks, and petitions to state governments; and their members were prominent white politicians, lawyers, philanthropists, and businessmen, including such notables as Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton. This style of local elite organizing and local legal activism dominated the early years of the antislavery movement (Newman, 2002). In some respects, these early antislavery societies supported a pre-modern social movement, one that depended on the peculiarities of local resources and whose targets were often local slave-owners. But in many other respects, these early antislavery societies formed the basis of an almost-modern social movement: they were formal organizations that repeatedly used modular tactics – petitions and law suits – over extended periods of time and aimed these tactics at state and federal governments (Newman, 2002).

The antislavery movement became fully modern when the American Antislavery Society (AASS) was founded in 1832. Established as a regional association in Massachusetts, the next year the AASS sought nationwide membership, including blacks as well as whites, and adopted a federated structure comprising nested local, state, and national chapters. This federated model, which first became popular among civic organizations and temperance societies in the 1820s (Mazzone, 2004), enabled a franchise-like expansion; it reduced mobilization and coordination costs by providing a template for organizing and a way to link local groups to a nationwide effort (Schlesinger, 1944; Skocpol, 1997; Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson, 2000).

With organizational changes came changes in ideology and tactics. In contrast to earlier elite-based antislavery societies that sought manumission and gradual abolition, the AASS initiated a popular grass-roots campaign to promote immediate abolition (Newman,

2002). Rather than having prominent citizens sign petitions or bring lawsuits, the AASS sought to build widespread support among the citizenry to end slavery through a moral transformation that would turn the entire populace into abolitionists. To that end, the AASS relied on emotive appeals, traveling agents, the propagation of literature, and the formation of local societies. The importance of the pulpit and the press to the AASS can be seen in its constitution (American Antislavery Society, 1838:6-9), which declared:

We shall organize Antislavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in our land.
We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and rebuke.
We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively antislavery tracts and periodicals.
We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.
We shall aim at the purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

This statement reflects the AASS's goal of transforming society through the moral suasion, which would convert a large mass of Americans to the antislavery cause. In short, the AASS propelled antislavery activism from an elite movement to a grass-roots one (Newman, 2002).

The number of antislavery societies remained quite small from the 1790s to the 1820s because early antislavery societies had a narrow membership base. There were never more than 20 antislavery societies in the years before 1820, and fewer than 65 before 1830.¹ The number of antislavery societies grew explosively in the 1830s: from 47 in 1825 to 429 in 1835 and over 1,600 in 1839, at which point the organized antislavery movement peaked. In 1840, the antislavery movement began to fragment over what role women should play and whether abolitionists should engage in political action. This fragmentation happened, in part, because antislavery societies embraced a broad, and

¹ These statistics, and others given throughout the text, are based on original data collected from primary and secondary sources, which are described below.

therefore heterogeneous, constituency. After 1840, the antislavery movement never regained its earlier organizational unity.

Antislavery sentiment was as slow to expand geographically as it was to grow in numbers. In 1790, antislavery societies were concentrated in the northeastern and middle Atlantic states. By 1820, organized opposition to slavery had spread to the frontier states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. 1827 marks the height of the organized antislavery movement in the South. That year, almost half of existing antislavery societies (31 out of 64) were in southern states. The expansion of cotton culture, the political crisis over the legality of slavery in Missouri, and the increasing popularity of calls for immediate, rather than gradual, abolition made the South increasingly hostile to antislavery organizing (Stewart, 1976 [1997]; Abzug, 1994). By the mid 1830s, the movement had crystallized along what would become Union-Confederacy lines.

The antislavery movement's success in organizing was uneven. Antislavery societies were most numerous in New York, Ohio, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania; on average, each year between 1790 and 1840, these states hosted 37, 29, 28, and 17 antislavery societies, respectively. (States, of course, varied widely in population; Rhode Island, Michigan, and Massachusetts had the most antislavery societies per capita.) No antislavery society was ever organized in such large southern states as South Carolina and Georgia. Dependence on slave labor and the catalyzing power of the AASS's federated structure (Skocpol, 1997; Skocpol *et al.*, 2000) partly explain the geographic and temporal pattern of antislavery organizing. But the support of broadcast media and religious institutions also mattered. As we explain below, the strength of broadcast media and churches varied cross-sectionally and longitudinally, and this variation maps neatly onto observed variation in antislavery society foundings.

The Press, the Pulpit, and the Rise of Social-Movement Organizations

{not clear what the POINT of this introductory material is. It doesn't flow naturally into the general theory-development sections that follow... Need to recast/add abstract theoretical material about the resources needed to support SMOs in general, and then segue to antislavery societies in particular??} Immediately after the birth of the Republic, there were few resources and little infrastructure to support, sustain, and coordinate social-movement organizations. But over the next six decades, many supportive institutions began to flourish: the press exploded and religious revivals contributed to the largest expansion of organized religion to date. Without the resources and infrastructure provided by these social institutions, organizing for reform would have proved formidable, if not impossible.

The importance of media for antebellum social movements is well-documented (Stewart, 1976 [1997]; Abzug, 1994; Newman, 2002; Nord, 2004). But the reciprocal interdependence between media and social-movement organizations, combined with the fact that churches supported both media and social-movement organizations, makes it impossible to determine, using qualitative historical methods, to what extent broadcast media had any *direct* and *non-endogenous* influence on antebellum social movements. In other words, we still don't know whether media themselves exerted any influence that can be discerned after taking into account the influence of churches and social-movement organizations themselves on media.

Similarly, historians and sociologists have chronicled the tremendous influence of religion on the antislavery movement (Abzug, 1994; Mintz, 1995; Young, 2006). But in the antebellum era, many different faiths were engaged in a theological battle that spilled over into the antislavery movement {explain - what, precisely happened?}. How this theological competition played out in the antislavery movement continues to be debated {refs - can't just assert this - need to cite people who take different sides on this issue - better, should explain the issue and point out what different sides say, citing the

appropriate authors for each side}. This debate has important implications for understanding the intersection of life politics and institutional resources in social movements (Young, 2006) **{what does this sentence mean???**.

The Press

Communications media help theorize movements – they make sense of the principles on which movements are built, and so can make movement goals appear both appropriate and acceptable (Strang and Meyer, 1993). Most basically, the media provide a channel through which the general public can learn of the existence, efforts, and contentions of activists (Lipsky, 1968). Beyond this, social movements need the media to transmit images that allow the state and the public to codify what activists do as legitimate protests, rather than criminal disturbances (Turner, 1969). Movement supporters accomplish these ends by framing their goals and tactics as being compatible with prevailing cultural elements (Snow *et al.*, 1986; Snow and Benford, 1992). If and when media pick up these frames and transmit them, the potential for mass recruitment materializes. Finally, communications media allow people to interact despite spatial and temporal distance, and so engender social interactions that transcend space and time (Thompson, 1995) – the essential pattern for modern social movements.

Among the many forms of communication media, broadcast media have more communicative power than point-to-point media because broadcast media reach many people, while point-to-point media reach few (Lipsky, 1968; Myers, 2000). By weaving invisible threads of connection among their audience members (Starr, 2004), broadcast media can sustain invisible communities whose members share ideas, values, and principles (Park, 1940). Thus, broadcast media are “a site on which various social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the definition and construction of social reality” (Gurevich and Levy, 1985:19). They are “a significant social force in the forming and delimiting of public assumptions, attitudes, and moods – of ideology, in short” (Gitlin,

1980:9). Interpretive work done by movement organizers, media, and audiences may result in a series of transformations and reinterpretations of the signals and ideological messages sent by activists and organizers (Gamson *et al.*, 1992; Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). Nonetheless, as broadcast media diffuse facts, ideologies, and repertoires of action to a far-flung public, they can create a widely-shared perception that the political opportunity for activism is ripe (Kahan, 1999). Coverage by broadcast media can precipitate waves of organizing and protest, involving such varied phenomena as race riots (Myers, 2000), strikes (Roscigno and Danaher, 2001), right-wing protests (Koopmans and Olzak, 2004), and civil-rights sit-ins (Andrews and Biggs, 2006).

Specialized broadcast media – those that focus on social reform – are particularly beneficial to social movements because they are likely to be sympathetic toward other reform efforts, and because they create and sustain a sense of collective identity among reformers. These outlets are powerful, not just because of their targeted focus (Corzine, 1981), but also because they are more likely than mass media (and other specialized media not affiliated with social movements) to frame movement ideals and actions in a way that is consistent with the views of movement adherents (Fine and Kleinman, 1981). Specialized social-reform media work from inside movements, while mass media (and unaffiliated specialized media) work from outside, “translating” movements to the general public. There is always a good chance that meaning will be lost in translation, but such loss is less likely through media that are allied with reform movements.

We know that broadcast media are important for contemporary social movements (*e.g.*, Gitlin, 1980; Andrews and Biggs, 2006; Koopmans and Olzak, 2004; Myers, 2000). But were they also important for the earliest modern social movements, those that arose in the late 1700s and early 1800s? If so, we can claim great temporal continuity in causal processes shaping modern social-movement organizations. Our analysis will demonstrate that broadcast media influenced the formation of social movements even when media themselves were in an early, developmental stage. There is scattered evidence that some

early broadcast media influenced early social movements. For example, the eminent abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison published a journal, *The Liberator*, that drew thousands to the antislavery cause (Stewart, 1976 [1997]; Abzug, 1994). And religious publishing societies like the American Tract Society _____ (Nord, 2004). Antebellum anti-slavery organizers themselves recognized the power of the media; for example, Garrison declared that there were a “multitude of journals...scattered over the land, thicker than raindrops, and as nourishing to the soil of freedom” (quoted in Fanuzzi, 2003:xi). But historical accounts necessarily focus on a few powerful examples and do not tell us whether early broadcast media *in general* helped or hindered early social movements.

Although broadcast media were in their infancy in the antebellum era, they were expanding rapidly. Between 1790 and 1840, the period covered by our analysis, the population of the United States increased by a factor of three, from 3.9 million to 17.1 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001), while the number of newspapers increased by a factor of 15, from 92 to 1,404 (Pred, 1973) and the number of magazines increased by a factor of 40, from 12 to 489 (Haveman, 2004). Of course, there was considerable regional and temporal variety in the strength of antebellum broadcast media. Consider the fledgling magazine industry. In 1790, when our analysis begins, 12 magazines were published: four in New York City, three each in Boston and Philadelphia, and one each in New Jersey and Connecticut. In 1840, when our analysis ends, the original centers of magazine publishing – New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania – were strengthened and joined by a new hub in Ohio. Notwithstanding this geographic concentration, magazines spread across the nation, appearing up and down the eastern seaboard, and throughout frontier states like Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, and Tennessee.

Even in those times and places they were few in numbers, antebellum broadcast media had considerable power to shape social life, which stemmed from the fact that

Comment [g1]: The revisions to these two paragraphs are for reviewer # 1

antebellum America was a society of strangers, where people lacked the traditional bonds of family and place (Tocqueville, 1835-40 [2000]). A paucity of social ties makes it difficult for the proponents of any ideology or cause to cohere into stable groups and retain members, much less attract new ones (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980). In the absence of social ties, a different mechanism of cohesion is needed to foster organized efforts to promote social causes. Broadcast media constituted this much-needed alternative cohesive force for antebellum social movements. There is another reason why antebellum broadcast media might have had substantial power over social movements: they were quite easy to launch.² As one historian noted, "... the first half of the nineteenth century was indeed the golden age of regional printing. Almost anyone could set up a printing shop, and publishing was ephemeral, genuinely popular, and virtually uncontrolled" (Hatch, 1989:144).

Antebellum newspapers and magazines engaged their far-flung readers in repeated interactions, which reinforced social-movement messages and helped create a sense of collective identity. Newspapers and magazines – not just periodicals published by antislavery societies, but also the many non-affiliated, general-interest periodicals – carried announcements about meetings; offered updates on legal initiatives; printed fiery letters to the editor; and published emotion-laden essays, poetry, and fiction describing the horrors of slavery. Antislavery agents and activists energetically courted the press, particularly non-affiliated local newspapers. Agents worked to cultivate ties with editors and publishers, and to craft messages that would appeal to local audiences. According to Newman (2002:162), this done was because activists believed periodicals could "spread the word farther and faster" than lecturers, although itinerant lecturers were critical to the organizing processes.

² We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

Although broadcast media can give social-movement organizations a much-needed boost, these organizations can also support media. By engaging readers, antebellum reform associations helped stimulate demand for periodicals. More directly, antebellum reform associations seized on periodicals as tools to mobilize the populace. During this era, it was relatively easy for activists to create their own periodicals; prominent examples include the AASS's *Antislavery Record* and the American Temperance Society's *Journal of Humanity*. In sum, paraphrasing Tocqueville (1835-40 [2000]:494), the press made reform associations and reform associations made the press. Any analysis that fails to account for this reciprocal influence will generate misleading results. However, previous studies of the organized antislavery movement have either ignored the issue of reciprocal causation or have handled it for just a few cases.

The Pulpit

As a central expression of culture, religion provides people with sacred symbols that synthesize their ethos – “the tone, character, and quality of... life, its moral and aesthetic mood” – and their world views – “the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are” (Geertz, 1973:126-127). Because religion frames peoples' beliefs about what society should be, it shapes people's cognitive dispositions to mobilizing efforts (Wood, 1999), as well as other forms of civic and political engagement (e.g., Wilson and Janoski, 1995; Wuthnow, 1999; Beyerlein and Hipp, 2006). Religion also brings people together to demonstrate their shared commitment to values, symbols, and rituals; such interactions strengthen members' social bonds. Because of their central concern for morality and community, religious institutions often support social movements (e.g., Morris, 1984; Smith, 1996; Wood, 1999; McAdam, 2003).

Religious institutions possess many resources that can be tapped by social reformers. First and foremost, religious institutions have a mass of believers who can be turned into activists. The power of religious institutions for social movements stems from

the essential nature of religion: believers are more likely than other people to view society in terms of morality and community. It is easy for activists to appeal to the religious identities of congregants (Wood, 1999) because they are imbued with an intense moral energy that can be channelled toward reforming society's ills (Smith, 1957; Mintz, 1976 [1997]). In other words, because religious culture is, by its very nature, congruent with the ideals of some social movements, activists may find it easy to link movement ideals to religious beliefs. If congruence is achieved between movement ideals and religious beliefs, churches have networks in place to bring adherents into movement organizations. Thus, because of their simultaneous moral focus and organizational strength, churches are extremely effective mobilizing structures.

Second, religious institutions develop organizing templates and structures that can be adopted by activists, which reduce the costs of organizing reform associations and help them acquire constitutive legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this way, religious institutions offer concrete analogies for social movements – cultural tools that can be used in many different contexts to legitimate movements and ease their expansion (Swidler, 1986; Douglas, 1986:45-53). Church governance structures constitute models that activists can adopt, which reduce the costs of organizing by simplifying organizational-design decisions, providing proven leaders, and making social-movement organizations seem familiar. The clearest example of this is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization literally built on the institutional infrastructure of black churches, which transformed the civil-rights movement (Morris, 1984).

All churches possess resources that can potentially be deployed by social-movement organizers. But not all churches support social-movement organizing. The extent to which church resources will be deployed for reform depends on churches' theological orientations, notably whether they are this-worldly or other-worldly religions (Weber, 1922 [1993]:166-183). This-worldly theologies embrace participation in the institutions of

the secular world, usually in opposition to them. The faithful are urged to improve the world, to transform it in line with the tenets of their faith, especially by showing benevolence toward the less fortunate. This-worldly theologies are consistent with the ideals of most social movements, in particular with the belief that improving society is a moral act. Because members of this-worldly churches think like activists, they are predisposed to join social movements (Wood, 1999; McAdam, 2003). In stark contrast, other-worldly theologies require followers to disdain from participation in the secular world and to attend instead to their own salvation. Connection to the world is regarded as acceptance of the world, which is perilous because it alienates congregants from God. Because other-worldly theologies contend that congregants should focus saving their own souls, rather than reforming society, these faiths push congregants to abstain from, even oppose, social-reform movements – unless those movements push for personal (rather than societal) reform, as the temperance movement did in the 1830s and the virginity-pledge movement does today.

Note that we are not arguing that theology *makes* church members join or oppose social movements. Instead, we are proposing merely that theology, which is a coherent set of ideas and meanings, creates the *potential* for action; that is, to serve or oppose reform. Ideas, including theologies, can – but aren't always – harnessed to guide people's actions. In other words, theology is just one element in social reformers' cultural toolkits (Swidler, 1986). We contend that whether or not reformers use theological tools to further their efforts depends on the content of theology.

In the antebellum era, religious institutions became powerful forces in American society. Participation in organized religion nearly doubled between 1790 and 1840 (Finke and Stark, 1992:15-16). It is not surprising, then, that antebellum churches were critical sites for mobilizing antislavery sentiment. Indeed, historians have often noted that anti-slavery advocates, like many later social reformers, were motivated by religious beliefs (Stewart, 1976 [1997]; Bolt and Drescher, 1980; Abzug, 1994; Mintz, 1995; Newman,

2002). Antebellum religious leaders pioneered two tactics that were later adopted by many social-movement organizations (Abzug, 1994; Mintz, 1995): the agency system and the publishing society. Agents were itinerant preachers who spread the gospel from city to town to farmstead and mobilized the populace in support of religious ideals (Myers, 1999; Newman, 2002). After its adoption by the AASS, the agency system helped shift the center of the antislavery movement from an urban core to the rural periphery (Newman, 2002). Religious publishers like the American Tract Society, which printed and distributed Bibles and tracts in the hope that reading these would bring people to salvation, also offered organizing templates for antislavery societies (Nord, 2004). For example, the AASS followed management techniques pioneered by the American Tract Society, specifically its formal structure and strategy (Nord, 2004:110-11).

American churches in the antebellum era embraced widely varying theologies. After the Revolution, the gradual disestablishment of state-supported religion levelled the playing field in the competition for souls. Immigration in the 1830s – notably of Irish Catholics and German Lutherans, Anabaptists, and Catholics – also contributed to religious diversity. Even more important were religious revivals that swept across America from 1733 to 1776 and again from 1790 to 1845. Revivalists clashed with established religious authorities and founded dozens of new faiths, often in opposition to established faiths: evangelical variants of Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches; spin-offs from the Methodist and Baptist churches; assorted Christian, Disciple of Christ, and Christian Connection congregations; small sects like the Adventists, Church of God, and Plymouth Brethren; and utopian communities like New Harmony and the Shakers. Our central concern is with the distinction between this-worldly and other-worldly churches. In the antebellum era, this-worldly churches included Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Dutch Reformed, Episcopal, Mormon, Presbyterian, Quaker, Swedenborgian, Unitarian, and Universalist, while other-worldly churches

included Adventist, Baptist, Dunker, German Reformed, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist, Moravian, Shaker, and Society of the Publick Universal Friend.³

As it is today, religion in the antebellum era was divided along regional lines. This-worldly churches – primarily the three mainline faiths – dominated American religion in 1790, constituting almost 60 percent of congregations. Their market share halved over our study period – not because they shrank in terms of absolute numbers, but because their growth was outpaced by the explosion in the numbers of other-worldly churches. Other-worldly churches rose from 37 percent of congregations in 1790 to 66 percent in 1840. New England was always a bastion of the this-worldly Congregational Church, although that faith’s market share dwindled from 62 percent of congregations in 1790 to 29 percent in 1840; the Congregationalists’ stranglehold over New England was gradually usurped by the other-worldly Baptist and Methodist Churches (22 percent and 18 percent of congregations in 1840, respectively). The Middle States always had substantial levels of religious heterogeneity. In the South, the this-worldly Episcopal Church shrank from 20 percent of congregations in 1790 to only 6 percent in 1840, while the other-worldly Baptist and Methodist Churches grew from 30 percent and 9 percent, respectively, to 35 percent and 41 percent. The frontier states evolved from an other-worldly Baptist stronghold in 1790 (over three-quarters of congregations) to a mix in 1840 of other-worldly Methodists and Baptists (38 percent and 32 percent, respectively), and this-worldly Presbyterians (15 percent).

This-worldly churches. These faiths were concerned with relieving tensions between the divine and the earthly world. As Parsons (1922:lxii) explained, every adherent to this-worldly theologies “seeks mastery over the worldly component of his individual

³ Classifying any faith as this-worldly or other-worldly requires sensitivity to time and place. Therefore, as explained in the research-design section below, we relied on sociological theory (Weber, 1922 [1993]) and histories of American religion (Ahlstrom, 1972; Hatch, 1989; Mintz, 1995) to classify denominations. Although the Methodist and Baptist churches were generally other-worldly during the antebellum era, many congregations within these denominations became this-more worldly as they expanded and matured.

personality, and seeks in principle to extend this mastery to *all* aspects of the human condition. His goal is to attain mastery over the human condition as a whole.” In other words, this-worldly churchgoers regarded the world as amenable to Christian discipline. Their theologies were undergirded by a principle of disinterested benevolence – that the faithful have a moral responsibility to reform society as a whole – which pushed their adherents to engage in social-reform efforts (Butler, 1990; Carwardine, 1993). The leaders of this-worldly churches sought to rid the country of sin because they believed that the American community had a collective covenant with God to act as “a city on a hill,” a pure community that would withstand scrutiny by all observers and serve as a model for the rest of the world. Only in this way would God’s will be enacted. Their determination to reform society was strengthened by their belief that they were but instruments in God’s plan for reordering human society.

The largest this-worldly churches, Congregational and Presbyterian, merit special attention. Congregationalists and Presbyterians “saw no lines of division between an individual’s responsibilities to himself, his church, and the wider world, and recognized the importance of political engagement” (Carwardine, 1993:123). Because they believed the faithful have a moral responsibility to reform society, adherents to these denominations deployed church resources to promote wide-spread social change (McLoughlin, 1978; Butler, 1990; Carwardine, 1993; Hirrel, 1998), notably by establishing benevolent societies, such as the American Sunday-School Union and the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, that aimed to correct peoples’ failings by propagating religious values and so purifying the nation of its collective evils. Many of these church-sponsored benevolent societies shaded into reform associations because their underlying principles could be applied to reform efforts like abolition and temperance; after all, if true virtue consists of promoting the greatest good for all human beings, then drunkenness and slaveholding must be seen as violating principles of morality (Hirrel, 1998).

These benevolent societies reflected the “genteel orthodoxy” of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians (Young, 2006:6). Many members of the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches social and economic elites who had access to vast resources, which allowed these churches to direct massive publication campaigns, raise enormous sums of money, and develop a nationwide network of auxiliaries. Between 1811 and 1830, Congregationalists and Presbyterians raised over \$2.81 million for their benevolent societies (Young, 2006:73). To appreciate the magnitude of this fundraising campaign, consider that by 1830 the federal government had spent only \$3.59 million on internal improvements since the Revolution (Sellers, 1991). The combination of a particular this-worldly ideology of disinterested benevolence and the organizational resources of this-worldly churches created a powder keg of reform activism.

The principle of disinterested benevolence that undergirded this-worldly religions was often directed toward the abolition of slavery. Influential Congregational theologian Samuel Hopkins popularized this principle; he was also an early abolitionist agitator. By 1837, fully one-third of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts were members of antislavery societies (Dorchester, 1888:460). As an editorial in the *Congregational Quarterly* put it, “it should be remembered that leading Garrisonians... imbibed their antislavery sentiments... from Congregational sources” (quoted in Dorchester, 1888:461). Indeed, the key to the antislavery movement may have been Garrison’s drawing a connection between antislavery sentiment and the this-worldly idea of a national sin (Abzug, 1994:135). (Even though he was a Baptist, Garrison endorsed clerical influence on the secular world (Abzug, 1994:137)). In 1817 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church unanimously approved a declaration condemning slavery as “a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of nature” and “utterly inconsistent with the law of God” (quoted in Abzug, 1994:132). In sum, it is not surprising that Congregational and Presbyterian benevolent societies supported abolition and temperance societies in many states (Young, 2002, 2006).

Other-worldly churches. These faiths pushed adherents to focus on perfecting their souls and developing personal relationships with God. According to other-worldly theologies, sin and confession were rooted in the individual: personal conversion and confession were the paths to God and morality. Other-worldly churches held that Christians should withdraw as far as possible from the world, meaning all civil and social concerns (Ahlstrom 1972:231). The essentially individualistic nature of other-worldly theologies was at odds with Puritan campaigns against public sin. Other-worldly churches held that moral transformation would come about through personal conversion and confession rather than large-scale organizing. Leaders of other-worldly churches viewed the benevolent organizations supported by this-worldly churches as elitist and condescending (Miller, 1965; Butler, 1990; Carwardine, 1993). The rejection by other-worldly churches of organized reform movements was in keeping with their populist nature. Members of other-worldly churches tended to be poor yeomen, rather than the wealthy businessmen who were the backbone of this-worldly churches. Other-worldly church members did not want effete doctors of divinity demystifying their religion or imposing moral verdicts. Moreover, as upstart sects, other-worldly churches lacked the material and social resources of this-worldly churches, so they had little to offer reform movements even if they had been inclined toward social reform. For all these reasons, the adherents to other-worldly faiths were unlikely to participate in organized social-reform movements – if anything, they were likely to oppose reform efforts as threatening to pollute their souls.

The biggest other-worldly churches were the Baptists and Methodists. Their official stance toward slavery was neutral. They held that slavery was primarily a political and economic problem, not a moral one, so they concluded that slavery was not within the purview of the church (Loveland, 1966; Butler, 1990). For example, although the Methodist General Conference of 1836 recognized the immorality of slavery, it also forcefully denounced “modern abolitionism,” meaning the actions of the AASS and its

affiliates (Ahlstrom, 1972:661). The church's unity depended on its being neutral toward slavery (Ahlstrom 1972:662).

Not all Baptists and Methodists supported slavery; in fact, before the mid 1820s, many spoke against it, even in the slave-dependent southern states (Butler, 1990; Abzug, 1994). But this antipathy did not translate into support for abolition societies; instead, antislavery sentiment was manifested in slave owners' personal pledges to manumit their slaves, often when they died (Butler, 1990; Abzug, 1994; Newman, 2002). And after our observation period ends in 1840, Methodist and Baptist Church officials found that the slave question could not be suppressed. These other-worldly churches cleaved into two parts – the Methodist Church in 1844 and the Baptist Church in 1845. One part was northern and antislavery; the other part was southern and proslavery.

Our characterization of the stances of this-worldly and other-worldly churchgoers toward social-movement organizations, including antislavery societies, applies to a particular slice of history – the years prior to 1840. In some regions of the country, religious competition later produced a degree of ideological convergence between this-worldly and other-worldly churches, which fundamentally reshaped their relationships with reform associations, including antislavery societies. Indeed, an amalgamation of the intensive confessional protests of the Baptists and Methodists with the extensive organized benevolence campaigns of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists generated a new form of contention around 1840 (Young, 2006). But our analysis ends just as this process was unfolding.

Summary

As Figure 1 shows, a complex interplay of factors contributed to the rise of the antislavery movement. Antislavery-society foundings were promoted by broadcast media (newspapers and magazines) and this-worldly churchgoers, while other-worldly churchgoers either undermined antislavery organizing or had no impact on it. Thus,

religious culture moderates the effect of religious resources, which were differentially distributed among churches. Further complicating the situation was the fact that churches were also “pioneers of print” (Nord, 2004) and contributed significantly to the development of the media. In addition, the relationship between the media and antislavery organizing is endogenous: antislavery societies were both supported by the media *and* supportive of the media. Antislavery societies supported the media directly by publishing periodicals of their own and indirectly by creating engaging material to fill the pages of unaffiliated periodicals. The next section explains how we assess the empirical validity of the relationships depicted in this figure.

[Figure 1 about here]

Research Design

To test the predictions developed above, we analyze the number of antislavery societies founded in each state in each calendar year. The time frame for our analysis spans the rise of the antislavery movement; it ends just as the movement began to splinter, in 1840. Our choice of time frame is driven by historical considerations and by limitations on data availability and reliability: almost no antislavery societies were founded before 1790 and data on some explanatory factors are impossible to obtain before that date, while accurate data on antislavery societies becomes increasingly difficult to find after 1840 because the movement fractured into competing camps.

We use the state as our unit of analysis because it allows us to control for state-specific factors that may influence antislavery society foundings, such as the size of the slave population and the extent of slave-intensive cotton culture. Our analysis includes all 26 states that achieved statehood before 1840: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia,

and Vermont. The original 13 colonies were included in our data set from 1790 to 1840. Newer states were included from the year they achieved statehood to 1840. Our analysis includes virtually all foundings of antislavery societies, except eight associations operating before 1790.

Data Sources and Measures

Dependent variable: Foundings of antislavery societies. We defined an antislavery society to be any organization that worked to limit the spread of slavery to new states and territories, or any organization that advocated or worked for manumission, emancipation, or abolition. We excluded colonization societies from our analysis because they had a different ideological disposition, objective, and constituency than antislavery societies: colonization societies sought to “repatriate” slaves to Africa, so as to reduce the number of blacks in America. We examined 19 monographs, six dissertations, three bibliographic guides, and a host of primary documents, including annual reports, almanacs, petitions, newspapers, and magazines. (A complete list of data sources is available from the first author.) We began with the *Annual Reports* of the AASS between 1834 and 1839, which published a detailed list of all auxiliary societies, including their founding dates. Two secondary sources proved especially helpful in locating antislavery societies that were not AASS affiliates; they contained comprehensive lists of organizations founded between 1790 and 1820 (Adams, 1908) and between 1741 and 1830 (Mazzone, 2004). Despite being written almost a century apart, these lists were highly consistent, which increased our confidence in our primary and secondary sources. Several primary sources proved particularly useful, including the minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery (American Convention, 1809-1821), *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, *Herald of Freedom*, *Niles’ Weekly Register*, *The Manumissions Intelligencer*, *Emancipator*, and *The American Antislavery Almanac*. Finally, we pored over the Samuel J. May Antislavery Collection at Cornell (see

<http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/m/mayantislavery/index.html>), which is one of the world's richest antislavery collections, containing over 300,000 pages of original documents.

In total, we found data on 1,534 antislavery societies. Although our list of antislavery societies is incomplete, the data we have are consistent with counts made by contemporary observers. In 1827, prominent antislavery advocate Benjamin Lundy estimated there were 84 antislavery societies, excluding colonization societies (Finnie, 1969). Our search uncovered 64 societies operating in 1827; hence, our dataset contains almost 80 percent of known abolition societies in 1827. Our data-gathering efforts also yield counts of antislavery societies that either exceed or approximate estimates made by historians. For instance, our dataset approximates the estimates of Locke (1901:99), who drew on memorials to Congress, Minutes of the American Convention, and accounts in newspapers. Our count of antislavery societies also generally exceeds that of Sims (1960:7), who estimated that there were 198 societies by 1835, 526 in 1836, 1,006 in 1837, and approximately 2,000 in 1840. In contrast, we counted 429 societies in 1835, 837 in 1836, 1,310 in 1837, and 1,454 in 1840.

For each antislavery society, we recorded its name, location, and founding and dissolution dates. If an antislavery society's founding or dissolution date was not available, we used the date of first or last mention in a data source. We could not ascertain the dissolution date for four percent of antislavery societies (65 out of 1,534); for these organizations, we estimated the dissolution date, assuming that the society in question had a lifespan equal to the average lifespan of societies founded in the same year. We then counted the number of antislavery societies founded and operating in each state each year.

Explanatory variable: Broadcast media. To assess the power of broadcast media, we considered both magazines and newspapers. Antebellum magazines are more attractive than newspapers for several reasons. Because their contents and physical media were more permanent than newspapers, magazines were not discarded as quickly and so had a more

lasting influence. And because magazines tended to be distributed across larger regions than newspapers, they reached more far-flung audiences. Magazines also devoted more space to editorial comments and letters than did newspapers, and their contents ranged over more subjects than newspapers, which focused primarily on current events (Mott, 1930). A sizeable minority of magazines – 104 out of 2,292 – were dedicated to social reform. And, as explained above, many other magazines published long essays, stories, and poems exhorting social-reform causes.

ABI Inform's American Periodical Series Online, which contains digital images of over 1,000 magazines, is our main source of primary data on magazines (for documentation, see Hoornstra and Heath [1979]). To augment these data, we searched the American Antiquarian Society's catalogue and viewed microfilm archives in the Cornell, Columbia, and New York Public Libraries. Guided by two standard histories (Mott, 1930; Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991), we also searched for secondary sources. We used 17 book-length histories of American magazines; 24 check-lists and catalogs; 35 book-length descriptions of specific types of magazines; and 10 articles focusing on particular types of magazines. (A complete list of data sources is available from the second author.) From these sources, we constructed the life histories of 2,292 magazines published between 1790 and 1840, inclusive. We also flagged 104 magazines devoted to social reform; doing so allowed us to observe whether specialized social-reform magazines had stronger relationships with antislavery societies than did other kinds of magazines. We then counted the number of magazines and social-reform magazines published in each state, each year.⁴

Explanatory variable: Religion. To assess relationships between religious institutions and the organized antislavery movement, it would be ideal to compile state-level time-series data on members of all religious groups in America from 1790 to 1840.

⁴ We would have liked to pinpoint how far the influence of magazines extended in space. Alas, data on magazine circulation are scattered, and data on circulation by location are almost nonexistent.

Unfortunately, such data are unavailable. It is possible, though, to gather data on *the number of congregations* affiliated with different religious groups. State-level data on most religious groups were available in the 1850 census. Two secondary sources provide information for earlier years: Gaustad's (1962:167) atlas provides very complete data for 1750, while Finke and Stark (1992:277-288) records the number and type of congregations in 1776. An exhaustive search uncovered other data on each denomination in official yearbooks and annual reports. Our study was aided by the fact that "smaller congregations tended to congregate, rather than scatter" (Gaustad, 1962:163). Thus, the smaller groups for which we have data at the beginning of our study period did not tend to disperse geographically. This fact proved helpful in estimating their trajectories of growth or decline. The Appendix sketches the history of over 20 this-worldly and other-worldly denominations founded before 1840 and describes how we pieced together counts of congregations. To create annual records, we filled gaps between observed data points by linear interpolation, and we filled gaps between the first observed data points and the start of our analysis period by extrapolating backward to known origin points for each faith. Since the number of churches increased for all denominations during our study period (Ahlstrom, 1972), interpolation yielded reasonable estimates.

We aggregated these data into two categories: this-worldly and other-worldly religions, basing our assessment on readings of Weber (Weber, 1922 [1993]), Ahlstrom (1972), Hatch (1989), and Mintz (1995). As explained earlier, this-worldly religions include Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Dutch Reformed, Episcopal, Mormon, Presbyterian, Quaker, Swedenborgian, Unitarian, and Universalist. Other-worldly religions include Adventist, Baptist, Dunker, German Reformed, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist, Moravian, Shaker, and Society of the Publick Universal Friend. Although we gathered data on Jewish and Catholic congregations, we did not include those in our analysis, as both faiths had a very small presence before 1840, and their theologies do not fit neatly into that categorization scheme.

Control variables. Our analyses control for several factors that might influence both the antislavery movement and the magazine industry, specifically the free and slave populations, urbanization, economic development in each state, and the formation of the American Antislavery Society (AASS).⁵ The slave population is a fine-grained measure of political opportunity: the inhabitants of states that are highly dependent on slave labor should be more reluctant to support the antislavery movement. Data on the number of slaves per state came from Cramer (1997). We obtained decennial data on state-level population from the census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001) and interpolated linearly to create annual data points. The census (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1998) provided decennial data on the number of urban residents, defined as people living in municipalities with a population over 4,000. In 1840, the census designation of an urban area changed to 4,200. We obtained data on areas with populations between 4,000 and 4,200 from Moffat (1992). We interpolated linearly to create an annual data series for each state, and then calculated the percentage of the state's population that was urban.

The only state-level indicator of economic growth available for the antebellum era is the value of foreign exports, which we obtained from Evans (1884 [1976]). This allows us to control for “the market revolution” – the rapid expansion of commercial production that occurred between 1815 and 1842 (Sellers, 1991). Data were occasionally missing, so we interpolated linearly between observed data points. Data were not available on foreign exports for several landlocked states (Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee). For these states, we set foreign exports to zero. We adjusted export data for inflation, using a commodity price index developed by McCusker (2001), and calculated exports in constant (1840) dollars.

⁵ We would like to control for literacy rates, but reliable data are not available before 1840 (Soltow and Stevens 1981). We know that literacy rates varied across regions and increased over time. Because we control for population and economic conditions, which are strongly associated with literacy rates (Soltow and Stevens 1981), longitudinal variation in literacy rates within each state is largely captured in our analyses.

To control for the catalyzing power of the AASS, we created a binary indicator variable equalling zero from 1790 to 1831 (before the AASS was founded) and one from 1832 onward. Note that this indicator varies only over time; it is constant across states.

Finally, we controlled for demographic processes among antislavery societies. Following previous research on organizations in general (Hannan and Freeman, 1989) and social-movement organizations in particular (Minkoff, 1997), we expect that the number of extant antislavery societies will affect founding rates. Competition, which deters founding, and legitimacy, which promotes founding, should both increase with number of antislavery societies operating, but competition should increase faster than legitimacy. The joint impact of competition and legitimacy should yield an inverted-U-shaped relationship between number of antislavery societies operating and subsequent founding rates. But such a relationship will not be seen if the number of antislavery societies operating does not approach the focal state's carrying capacity. Instead, a positive effect, due solely to the legitimating effects of the number of organizations, will be seen. We included both a linear and a squared term for the number of antislavery societies operating to allow for possible competitive effects.

Methods for Multivariate Analysis

Modelling antislavery society foundings: Event-count methods. We seek to understand how many antislavery societies are founded in any given state in any given year. Founding can be understood as an arrival process, where each new antislavery society is an addition to the focal state during the focal year. We model this process using event-count methods (Cameron and Trivedi, 1986), in which the dependent variable is a count of antislavery societies founded in a state in a year, and each observation on each state is assumed to be drawn from a Poisson distribution whose fundamental parameter is λ_{st} :

$$Pr[Y_{st} = y_{st}] = \frac{\exp[-\lambda_{st}] \lambda_{st}^{y_{st}}}{y_{st}!}, \quad y_{st} = 0, 1, 2, \dots,$$

where y_{st} is the number of antislavery societies founded in state s during calendar year t . We expressed λ_{st} as a multiplicative (log-linear) function of observable explanatory variables ($X_{s,t-l}$), all of which are measured for each state, each year:

$$\lambda_{st} = \exp[\beta' X_{s,t-l}].$$

The Poisson model assumes that the dependent variable has equal mean and variance. When this assumption is violated (*i.e.*, when the variance exceeds the mean and the dependent variable is over-dispersed), the model generates spuriously small standard errors for explanatory variables and thus artificially inflates their significance levels (Cameron and Trivedi, 1990). Our data show substantial over-dispersion. Therefore, we estimated negative-binomial models using the `xtnbreg` procedure in Stata (2005), which corrects over-dispersion by rescaling standard errors and recalculating goodness-of-fit statistics. We have more than one observation on each state, and these observations are unlikely to be independent. To account for this non-independence, we estimated models with standard errors clustered on states. To mitigate problems arising from unobserved heterogeneity not captured by our explanatory or control variables, we estimated random effects.

Clarifying causality: The instrumental-variable technique. To establish that the press was a cause and not a correlate or consequence of the organized antislavery movement, we use the instrumental-variable (IV) technique, which separates the endogenous and exogenous components of the press (Angrist and Krueger, 1991; Bound *et al.*, 1995; Greene, 2003:378-401). We begin by estimating a first-stage regression to predict the endogenous variable:

$$W_{st} = \alpha + \beta' X_{st} + \gamma Z_{st} + \varepsilon,$$

where W_{st} is the endogenous variable (here, magazines) in state s at time t , X_{st} is a vector comprising measures of this-worldly and other-worldly churches and all control variables in state s at time t , and Z_{st} is the value of the instrument for state s at time t . This first-

stage regression purges the endogenous components, producing an exogenous variable – the predicted value of the endogenous variable (\hat{W}). We used this new exogenous variable in a second-stage analysis to predict the outcome of interest:

$$Y_{st} = \alpha + \beta'X_{s,t-1} + \delta\hat{W}_{s,t-1} + \varepsilon,$$

where Y_{st} is the number of antislavery societies founded in state s at time t and all other variables are defined above.

To be valid and so yield more-consistent and less-biased estimates than least-squares estimation, an instrument must meet three criteria: (1) it must be partially correlated with the endogenous variable, to avoid problems arising from weak instrumentation (Bound *et al.*, 1995); (2) it must act only through the endogenous variable, not directly; and (3) it must be exogenous and uncorrelated with the error term (Greene, 2003). The number of post offices in each state meets these criteria. Consider each criterion in turn. The post office was the main distribution channel for antebellum magazines and newspapers (Mott, 1930; John, 1995); it also distributed tracts published by churches and antislavery societies (Nord, 2004). In this way, the post office supported broadcast media, including magazines, so that it meets the first criterion. Indeed, a test for the strength of the instrument was statistically significant ($p < .001$). The number of post offices also meets the second criterion. The postal network benefitted antislavery societies, but this impact was indirect, operating through antislavery society publications. For instance, in the mid 1830s, the AASS undertook what it dubbed “the great postal campaign,” which sought to win converts to the abolitionist cause by inundating people with publications. In July 1835 alone, 175,000 tracts, pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines were sent through the mail (Stewart, 1976 [1997]). By 1837, the AASS had distributed over a million antislavery publications (Wyatt-Brown, 1969:143). Moreover, because magazines constituted a relatively small portion of the mails (John, 1995), we can be confident that the growth of

the magazine industry did not drive postal expansion; instead, causation ran solely from post offices to magazines.

The third criterion can only be assessed theoretically, since a statistical test for exogeneity does not exist. This criterion could be violated in our analysis by population growth, urbanization, and commercialization. All three factors are associated with the growth of both post offices and antislavery societies. But by including all three variables in our first-stage regression, we avoid violating this criterion. This criterion would also be violated if antislavery societies influenced the allocation of post offices. Placement of post offices was determined by petitions from communities to Congress. If abolitionists were more adept at petitioning, due to their experience with petitions, the number of antislavery societies could partly determine post-office allocation, which would violate the exclusion assumption. But the historical record suggests otherwise. Prior to 1840, antislavery advocates constituted a small percentage of the population. Even at its peak in 1839, membership never reached one percent of the population (American Antislavery Society, 1839; Skocpol, 1999). Antislavery advocates' political strength did not exceed their numbers – at least not before 1840. Indeed, the government was often quite hostile to the antislavery movement and enacted a series of “gag rules” in the 1830s that prohibited antislavery petitions; there was also a push (ultimately unsuccessful) to prohibit the distribution of antislavery materials through the mails. Because it is doubtful that antislavery societies influenced the location of post offices, we conclude that the post-office variable meets the third criterion for instrument validity.

We obtained counts of post offices in each state from *Annual Reports of the Post Master General to the House of Representatives*. Reports were not available for all years; we used reports for the years 1790, 1791, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1807, 1814, 1815, 1817, 1825 to 1829, and 1831 to 1835. We interpolated linearly between observed data points to generate one data point for each state each year. The number of post offices in each state

increased continually, so this interpolation quite accurately approximated the missing data points.

One remaining problem: Event-count models are incompatible with the IV technique.

Recall that our dependent variable is a count, so event-count methods are most appropriate (Cameron and Trivedi, 1986). But event-count models are multiplicative, so they violate a core assumption of IV estimation, namely that unobservables be additively separable from the parametric model (Mullahy, 1997). The trick, then, is to turn a multiplicative model into an additive one. One way to do this is to log the count variable (after adding one to make it possible to generate a real value for zero counts) and estimate the logged variable using an additive model (Mullahy, 1997; Santos Silva and Tenreyro, 2006). Accordingly, we estimated a two-stage feasible generalized-least-squares (GLS) models of the logged number of antislavery societies founded (and a first-stage model of the number of magazines published) using the `xtivreg` procedure in Stata (2005).

Including lagged values of the dependent variable and its close derivatives complicates the estimation using the IV technique (Angrist and Krueger, 2001). One of our control variables, the number of antislavery societies, is a close derivative of the dependent variable. The simplest solution to this problem is to drop this variable and to proceed with the IV technique described above. That is what we do here, but only after ascertaining that dropping this variable does not change the coefficients on the variables of theoretical interest.

Summary. As a baseline, we estimated negative-binomial models of the number of antislavery societies founded in each state each year. We then estimated GLS models where the dependent variable was the logged number of abolition societies founded. We compare the results of this linear model to the nonlinear negative-binomial model. Finally, we estimated GLS-IV models, again using as the dependent variable the logged number of abolition societies founded. We finish by comparing the results of the GLS-IV models to the GLS models.

Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics. Bivariate correlations, which are not shown here to reduce the length of the paper, generally support our hypotheses. Some correlations are quite high, notably between churches and magazines (average $r = .59$), and between the two kinds of churches ($r = .56$). In addition, the free population in the state is highly correlated with the explanatory and control variables (average $r = .73$). This is not surprising, since most of the factors of interest – population, the money economy, religious institutions, and the press – increased monotonically.

[Table 1 about here]

Event-count models. Table 2 presents our baseline analysis of antislavery society foundings. As predicted, model 1 shows a positive effect of the number of this-worldly churches and a negative effect of the number of other-worldly churches. But only the coefficient on other-worldly churches reached statistical significance. Across all models, the effect of other-worldly churches is strong: on average, if the number of other-worldly churches increased from the mean to one standard deviation above the mean, the founding rate of antislavery societies declined by 66 percent.

Model 2 adds the number of magazines published in the focal state. The effect of magazines is positive and statistically significant. Both coefficients on churches remain roughly the same in size and significance level, which indicates that they had a direct influence on antislavery society foundings – their effect was not mediated by magazines. Model 3 shows that social-reform magazines have a similar positive effect. On average, magazines of any kind increased the founding rate of antislavery societies by 22 percent, while social-reform magazines increased the founding rate by 8 percent. There were few social-reform magazines – 104 out of 2,292, or an average of one in every four state-year observations – but each one had a huge impact on antislavery societies. A one-standard-deviation increase in the number of social-reform magazines increased the founding rate five-fold. Moreover, model 4 suggests that the effect of magazines in general is due

primarily to social-reform magazines: when both magazine counts are included in the model, only the number of social-reform magazines has a statistically significant effect. In other words, social-reform magazines mediated the effect of other kinds of magazines.

[Table 2 about here]

Let us briefly discuss the effects of the control variables. States with larger free populations experienced consistently more antislavery society foundings. The associations with other population variables – the number of slaves and the percentage of urban-dwellers – were inconsistent. The negative effect of exports is likely attributable to the fact that the slave-intensive cotton industry accounted for over half of all exports between 1830 and 1840 (Evans, 1884 [1976]). Antislavery society foundings rose after the AASS, with its federated structure linking local and national efforts, was founded. Finally, we see density dependence in antislavery society foundings: the coefficient on the linear term for extant antislavery societies is positive and statistically significant, while the coefficient on the squared term is negative and significant. Based on the average of estimates in models 1 and 2, this inverted-U-shaped relationship peaked when the number of antislavery societies operating in a state reached 150, which was far higher than the mean (8.1) but well within the observed range for this variable (maximum = 379). We conclude, therefore, that antislavery societies' relationships were, in large part, mutualistic; there is no evidence of competition except for a very small number of observations – those on New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts from 1836 onward.

In preparation for our instrumental-variable analysis, we re-estimated the models shown in table 2 without the counts of antislavery societies, in order to avoid complications that develop when using the IV technique to estimate models containing derivatives of the dependent variable (Angrist and Krueger, 2001). The coefficients on the remaining variables did not change materially. (We do not show these results to conserve space; they are available from the first author on request.)

Comment [12]: I don't know how to do this can you check the number

Applying the IV technique. Table 3 shows more elaborate investigations of the complex causal relationships between the development of the magazine industry, the expansion of organized religion, and the founding of antislavery societies. This table is divided into two parts. Models 1 and 2 analyze the effect of all kinds of magazines; models 3 and 4 analyze the effect of magazines devoted to social-reform causes. Models 1 and 3 use simple GLS; models 2 and 4 make use of our IV, the number of post offices, to deal with the endogeneity of magazines. For all models, the dependent variable is the logged number of antislavery societies founded; this transformation turns the count into a continuous variable. (Recall that we added one to all values before taking the log. Thus, when no antislavery society was founded in the focal state in the focal year, we could still calculate a value for the log transformation.)

[Table 3 about here]

Comparing the results in tables 2 and 3 shows consistency across estimation methods: the parameter estimates on the four variables of central interest are always in the expected direction and, with the exception of this-worldly churches, at least marginally significant. This increases our confidence in the GLS-IV models. Now consider differences between the GLS and GLS-IV models, to understand how correcting endogeneity affects the results. Hausman (1978) specification tests reveal significant differences between the coefficients in the GLS and GLS-IV models (model 1 *vs.* model 2, $\chi^2 = 244.5$, $df = 8$, $p < .001$; model 3 *vs.* 4, $\chi^2 = 151.7$, $df = 8$, $p < .001$), which indicates that the GLS estimators were inconsistent. The effects of the press are about the same magnitude in the GLS-IV models as in the GLS models, but the effects of the pulpit are consistently larger in the GLS-IV models than in the GLS models – 10 times as large for this-worldly churches, 2.5 times as large for other-worldly churches. In the GLS-IV models, the effects of this-worldly churches are also at least marginally statistically significant. Taken together, the Hausman specification tests and the increased magnitudes of the effects of

churches demonstrate that much of the effects of churches are obscured when the endogeneity of the press is not taken into account.

Now compare the magnitudes of the effects of our variables of central interest after partialling out with the endogenous component of magazines. This-worldly churches had the expected positive effects in both GLS-IV models, increasing founding rates by 46 percent on average. Increasing the number of this-worldly churches one standard-deviation above the mean more than doubled the number of antislavery societies founded. In contrast, other-worldly churches had the expected negative effects in both GLS-IV models, decreasing founding rates by close to 50 percent. Increasing the number of other-worldly churches by one standard deviation above the mean decreased the number of antislavery societies founded by _____. **{Marissa – fill in the blank, please.}** In the GLS-IV models, the effects of magazines, whether we consider all magazines or only specialized reform magazines, remained positive and statistically significant. On average, magazines of all types increased the antislavery-society founding rate by 22 percent. If the number of magazines rose to one standard deviation above the mean, the antislavery-society founding rate rose by 150 percent. On average, the number of social-reform magazines increased the antislavery-society founding rate by 8 percent. If the number of social-reform magazines rose to one standard deviation above the mean, the founding rate increased by a factor of five.

Robustness checks. We assessed the robustness of these results in four ways. (To save space, we do not show the results of these robustness checks. They are available from the first author on request.) First, we dropped from our analysis the four landlocked states for which we could find no data on foreign exports: Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee. The results are identical to the ones reported here, with one exception: in the GLS-IV model corresponding to model 4 of table 3, the coefficient on social-reform magazines was non-significant.

Second, to examine the sensitivity of our results to the rapid growth of the movement after the AASS became a national organization in 1833, we re-did the analysis using data for 1834 to 1840. This reduced the number of observations to 176. The GLS-IV models, which are extremely fragile and require a great deal of statistical power, could not be estimated in a meaningful manner. Therefore, we re-estimated only the event-count models. In this truncated slice of history, the effects of magazines (both all magazines and social-reform magazines only) were positive and statistically significant, and the effect other-worldly churches was negative and statistically significant. Both effects were in line with our predictions. But the effect of this-worldly churches was unexpectedly *negative* and statistically significant for the model that counted all types of magazines, and non-significant in the model that counted social-reform magazines only. These results make sense when you recognize that the issue of slavery became increasingly divisive as the nineteenth century wore on, leading many denominations – including the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists – to split into northern (antislavery) and southern (proslavery) organizations. **{Marissa – I don’t think we’ve explained this weird finding very well. Let’s talk about it.}**

Third, we conducted more detailed analyses of the impact of particular religious institutions. We could obtain only rough estimates of the number of congregations for many denominations. (See the Appendix for details.) To improve the quality of our data, we re-estimated all models substituting counts of congregations in the largest this-worldly and other-worldly denominations for which we could gather good data: this-worldly Congregationalist churches, and other-worldly Baptist and Methodist churches. The results of this alternative analysis are very similar to the results shown here: Congregational churches had positive and generally statistically significant effects, while Baptist and Methodist churches had negative effects. In the GLS models, the effects of Baptist churches were statistically significant but the effects of Methodist churches were

non-significant. In the GLS-IV models, however, the effects of both Baptist and Methodist churches were negative and statistically significant. These results reinforce our confidence in the results shown in table 3.

Fourth, we re-analyzed the data separately by region: north *versus* south, using the Mason/Dixon line as the boundary. We estimated two models for each region: one containing counts of all magazines, the other containing counts of social-reform magazines only. The parameter estimates on most variables of interest remained in the expected direction. Unsurprisingly though, the effects of many variables were rendered non-significant because the number of observations on each region was low (432 in the south, 557 in the north) and because foundings of antislavery societies in the south were rare events (only 56; zero in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, Mississippi, and South Carolina). The effects of other-worldly churches were negative but non-significant. The effects of this-worldly churches were positive **{and significant or non-significant?}** for three out of four models estimated; they were negative **{and significant or non-significant?}** for the north when the model contained a count of all kinds of magazines. This result suggests that the reciprocal association between magazines and this-worldly churches, which is especially strong in the north ($r = .87$), may have operated primarily through the discursive potential of the media, which this-worldly churches were crucial in developing. The effects on all magazines and social-reform magazines were positive, but they were statistically significant for the northern sample only. Comparing the results for the northern and southern states, we generally find support for our models. However, the role of the media appears especially strong in the north. Again, this is in keeping with the historical record: in the South, there was considerable state-supported effort to suppress abolitionist literature, including attempts to outlaw the distribution of abolitionist literature in the mails and the burning of antislavery publications at post offices.

{Marissa: Could we run models disaggregating magazines into 3 categories: SR magazines, REL magazines (25% of all magazines, after all), & other magazines?}

We could run models containing just SR & REL mag counts, and then models containing SR & REL & other mag counts. Doing this might help us make sense of the connection between religion and the AS movement – rel mags were likely to reflect theological orientations toward slavery.}

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, we examined the factors that contributed to the rise of the organized antislavery movement between 1790 and 1840. This era saw an efflorescence of reform organizations and the birth of the modern social movement. A growing body of scholarship has examined the factors that spurred the burgeoning of associationalism, including organized social-reform efforts, in antebellum America. We contribute to this work by using a powerful case to statistically assess explanations derived from theory and qualitative historical studies. Consistent with arguments advanced by scholars of social movements and civic associations (Tilly, 1986; Tarrow, 1998; Skocpol, 1997; Skocpol *et al.*, 2000) we found that both religion and print media influenced the development of antislavery societies. And consistent with Weberian analyses of the impact of religious tradition on civic and political engagement (*e.g.*, Wilson and Janoski, 1995; Hirrel, 1998; Wuthnow, 1999; Wood, 1999; Beyerlein and Hipp, 2006), we found that churches with different theological orientations had different relationships to antislavery societies: this-worldly churches supported them while other-worldly churches undermined them.

This study has made three contributions to the study of organizations and social movements. First, we extended previous work on the impact of religious institutions on social-movement organizations, which has generally emphasized strength of religious culture (*e.g.*, Morris, 1984; Smith, 1996). We demonstrate that it is important to understand not just *how deeply* activists are immersed in religious culture, but also *which religious cultures* activists draw on (Wood, 1999; McAdam, 2003; Young, 2006). Our analysis explicitly recognized the divide between this-worldly and other-worldly churches

(Weber, 1922 [1993]:166-183), and showed that churches whose theologies were focused not just on redeeming souls, but also on redeeming society (this-worldly churches), inflamed the antislavery movement by making it possible for their adherents to visualize the abolition of slavery as a step toward the creation of a purer Christian community, while churches whose theologies disdained the secular world (other-worldly churches) inhibited the movement by making their adherents shun “meddling” in secular matters.

Second, we demonstrated the power of broadcast media, even in an era when those media were not yet mature. Temporal and spatial variation in the development of magazines is strongly associated with temporal and spatial variation in the founding of antislavery societies. Our analysis complements ethnographic studies of media effects on contemporary social movements (Gitlin, 1980) and historical accounts of media and antislavery organizing (e.g., Newman, 2002; Nord, 2004) by offering a view of the entire national landscape, rather than a close-up view of micro processes in a few select cases. It may be that early mass media had such strong effects on antislavery organizing *precisely because* they were in a developmental stage. At this point in history, large institutions had not yet come to control the periodical press, so it was easy for radical activists like William Lloyd Garrison to launch magazines to agitate for the abolition of slavery. The dispersed communities of activists involved in early-nineteenth-century magazines are akin to the dispersed communities of activists involved in the newest broadcast medium, the internet.

The importance of targeted communications and independent media can be seen by comparing the importance of all types of magazines and specialized social-reform magazines. Social-reform magazines were fewer in number than all other types of magazines, but each social-reform magazine had a bigger impact than did each magazine in general. The aggregate effect magazines was far greater than the aggregate effect of social-reform magazines. But the addition of a single social-reform magazine had a bigger effect on antislavery organizing than did the addition of a single magazine of any type.

Moreover, the effect of magazines of all kinds seems to have operated through (been mediated by) social-reform magazines. This suggests that the power to control social-movement frames is critical. Providing information about social movements through media outlets and generating debate is not enough. In other words, it is not enough to have a public sphere; that public sphere must be filled with a discourse of reform if it is to generate a social movement.

Third, we resolve persistent ambiguities in causal reasoning. Although historians have long recognized the importance of the state, religious institutions, and the media for the development of an antislavery movement, historical analyses have struggled with the complex interplay between these factors. Our analysis disentangled reciprocal causation to determine whether broadcast media are a cause, a consequence, or merely a companion of the formation of social-movement organizations. Before partialling out reciprocal causation, it was apparent that both this-worldly churches and broadcast media supported antislavery organizing, while other-worldly churches undermined it. But after partialling out reciprocal causation, we saw that the effects of churches became stronger, while the effect of the press remained about the same. Although our analysis focused on a single case of an early social movement, the theoretical basis for our predictions is germane to many kinds of contemporary social movements, as the press and the pulpit influence all kinds of organizations that seek to fundamentally restructure social life. Our study cleanly traces the ways these institutions can support or suppress social-movement organizations, and thus how they can encourage or discourage civic engagement.

Broadcast media and religious organizations were critical to the formation of an early social movement that fundamentally transformed American social and political life. The press and the pulpit continue to be important today: we have evidence of their impact on social movements as disparate as civil rights in the U.S. and Poland, and anti-apartheid in South Africa (Morris, 1984; Smith, 1996; Andrews and Biggs, 2006). The unvarying influence of the press and the pulpit on social-movement formation is

remarkable given the enormous social, political, and economic upheavals that have shaken American society. Through civil war, the advent of electricity and telecommunications, two world wars, and the shift away from an agrarian economy, the press and the pulpit remain the bedrock upon which social movements are built. Thus, our case sheds light on the institutional conditions that foster social-movement activity. Today, as we look at nations that are making the difficult transition to democracy, we propose that freedom of religion and freedom of the press are keys to the creation of a vibrant civil society.

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Figure 1. Our Model of Antislavery Society Foundings

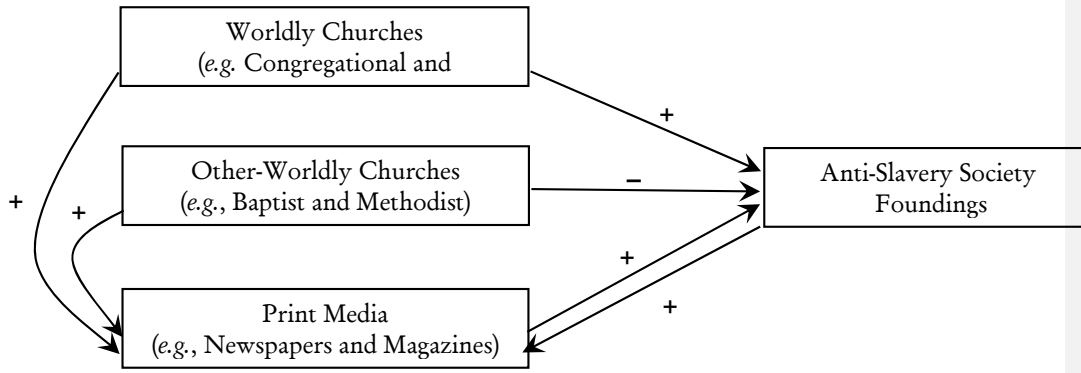


Table 1.

Descriptive Statistics for Analysis of Founding Rates of Antislavery Societies, 1790-1840

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
# Antislavery societies founded	1.51	9.20	0	157
# Magazines	7.34	16.0	0	111
# Social-reform magazines	0.26	1.11	0	12
# Post offices	210.3	273.4	1	1,863
# This-worldly churches	196.5	200.9	0	1,305
# Other-worldly churches	303.1	313.3	0	1,743
Free population/100,000	4.31	4.36	0.42	29.0
# Slaves/1,000	71.1	103.0	0	469.8
Percent urban population	7.47	10.3	0	60.0
Exports (\$1,000,000, 1840)	2.14	3.85	0	33.0
# Antislavery societies	8.08	36.9	0	379

Note: These statistics are based on 989 annual observations of 26 states between 1790 and 1840, inclusive.

Table 2.
Negative-Binomial Regression Analysis of Antislavery Society Foundings, 1790-1840

Model #	1	2	3	4
Constant	-3.80*** (.219)	-1.29*** (.298)	-3.86*** (.221)	-3.79*** (.230)
Free population/1,000	.237** (.055)	.137 (.107)	.239*** (.058)	.134*** (.041)
# Slaves/1,000	.461** (.154)	.069 (.177)	.398** (.154)	.026 (.145)
Percent urban population	.038** (.012)	-.003 (.020)	.016 (.014)	.001 (.011)
Exports (\$1,000,000 1840)	-.146*** (.043)	-.084*** (.010)	-.136*** (.004)	-.156*** (.003)
AASS dummy (= 1 1832+)	1.21*** (.214)	1.73*** (.239)	.768*** (.224)	1.68*** (.194)
# Antislavery societies	.028*** (.005)	.021*** (.004)	.020*** (.004)	.019*** (.004)
# Antislavery societies ² /1,000	-.009*** (.017)	-.007*** (.002)	-.007*** (.001)	-.007*** (.001)
# This-worldly churches/1,000	.614 (1.12)	1.06 (2.21)	.521 (1.16)	1.40 (1.09)
# Other-worldly churches/1,000	-2.71*** (.567)	-2.31** (.731)	-2.18*** (.628)	-2.00*** (.481)
# Magazines		.028** (.010)		.014 (.009)
# Social-reform magazines			.314*** (.046)	.200*** (.052)
χ^2	209.2	476.71	322.1	586.1

Note: These random-effects models were estimated on 989 annual observations of 1,534 foundings of antislavery societies in 26 states between 1790 and 1840, inclusive. The dependent variable is the number of antislavery societies founded. Standard errors, which are shown in parentheses below parameter estimates, are clustered within states. † indicates $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$,

and *** $p < .001$, two-tailed t tests. All explanatory variables were lagged by one year to ensure temporal priority.

Table 3.
Further Analysis of Antislavery Society Foundings, 1790-1840:

Eliminating Endogeneity

Model #	1	2	3	4
Estimation method	GLS	GLS - IV	GLS	GLS - IV
Version of magazines used	Magazines	Magazines predicted using IV	Reform magazines	Reform mags predicted using IV
Constant	.037 (.026)	-.006 (.147)	.002 (.023)	-.003 (.225)
Free population/1,000	.015 (.011)	-.017 (.024)	.010 (.011)	.003 (.029)
# Slaves/1,000	.002 (.019)	.022 (.075)	-.012 (.017)	.004 (.084)
Percent urban population	.002 (.002)	-.007 (.008)	.004** (.002)	-.004 (.009)
Exports (\$1,000,000 1840)	-.026*** (.005)	-.034*** (.009)	-.023*** (.004)	-.043*** (.011)
AASS dummy (= 1 1832+)	.340*** (.039)	.760*** (.064)	.290*** (.037)	.714*** (.064)
# Magazines	.021*** (.003)	.021** (.007)	.249*** (.026)	.309* (.121)
# This-worldly churches/1,000	.207 (.216)	2.09** (.765)	.723*** (.189)	1.79 [†] (1.08)
# Other-worldly churches/1,000	-.300** (.106)	-.978*** (.225)	-.173 [†] (.101)	-.801*** (.224)
χ^2	404.6	607.1	429.7	613.0

Note: These models were estimated on 989 annual observations of 1,534 foundings of antislavery societies in 26 states between 1790 and 1840, inclusive. The dependent variable is the natural logarithm of the number of antislavery societies founded (plus one). All models include random effects and correct for heteroskedasticity. Standard

errors, which are shown in parentheses below parameter estimates, are clustered within states. † indicates $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$, two-tailed t tests. All explanatory variables were lagged by one year to ensure temporal priority.

Appendix: Sources of Data on This-Worldly and Other-Worldly Denominations

We describe this-worldly and other-worldly religious denominations, and explain how we gathered data to augment the information provided by Gaustad (1962), Finke and Stark (1992), and the census.

This-Worldly Churches

Congregationalists. Excellent data were available from Quint and Cushing (1873:103-173). While this publication appeared before 1873, earlier editions do not list the date of establishment for each congregation; instead, they list only extant congregations. We used founding dates given in the 1873 text to calculate the number of churches in each state at ten-year intervals. While this method undoubtedly suffers from survivor bias, because churches that disbanded before 1873 were missing from the records, the Congregational Church experienced continuous growth after the Revolution. Thus, undercounting due to lost data on dissolved churches should be minimal. To assess the extent of undercounting, we gathered data from other sources when they were available. Dorchester (1888:278) records the number of Congregational churches in 1800 in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York. Sweet (1936a:22-26) contains data on the number of Congregational churches in Tennessee and Kentucky between 1750 and 1850, as well as the number in Indiana in 1834 and Illinois in 1830 and 1836. The statistics reported in these supplemental sources were consistent with the data we constructed using Quint and Cushing, which reinforces our belief that undercounting due to survivor bias is minimal.

Christians/Disciples of Christ/Christian Connection. This network of religious reformers sprang up after 1792 and coalesced into a distinct denomination in the early 1830s. Despite our best efforts, which included corresponding with this denomination's official historian, we were unable to find data on any Christian churches outside of the census. Because they were concentrated in New England, Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, their impact on antebellum religion is limited to a few parts of the country.

Dutch Reformed. This Church took root in America in the early seventeenth century. It was heavily concentrated in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania throughout our study period: as late as 1850, nine-tenths of Dutch Reformed congregations were located in New York and New Jersey (Gaustad, 1962:97). The Church did not begin to spread westward until the 1840s. Thus, data from Gaustad, Finke and Stark, and the census offer excellent coverage of this faith's evolution.

Episcopalians. This was the official state-sanctioned faith in six of the thirteen original colonies, and it had substantial footholds in most of the others. Data sources are plentiful. The number of Episcopal congregations in 1820 and 1830 are recorded in the *Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835*, edited by Perry (1874). Data for most states (Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, Virginia, New Jersey, and Ohio)

came from reports presented at the convention of 1820 (vol. I:528-546). We also used data from reports presented at the conventions of 1817 (vol. I:462-478) for North Carolina and 1822 (vol. II:21-51) for Georgia. Data for most states (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi) came from the convention of 1829 (vol. II:247-276). We also used data from the convention of 1832 (vol. II:382-408) for Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. Finally, data on all states were reported at the convention of 1835 (vol. II:576-606).

Mormons/Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. This sect was born in 1830 in New York. Its adherents moved west to Ohio and Missouri in 1831, Kentucky in 1834, Illinois in 1838, and finally Utah in 1847. We used information from Ahlstrom (1972), Hatch (1989), and official church web sites to determine the exact dates of the founding and dissolution of Mormon congregations as this sect moved westward.

Presbyterians. By the 1740s, the Presbyterians had built churches in ten of the thirteen original colonies. Most data on Presbyterian congregations came from *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* for general assemblies held in 1809 and 1819. These data are presented by jurisdictional area (synod and presbytery), rather than by state. We used maps of presbyteries presented in Gaustad (1962:88) and Sweet (1936b:50), as well as more general maps and histories of presbyteries, to transform the number of churches per jurisdictional area into the number of churches per state. Note that jurisdictional areas are sometimes split between states. For such cases, we divided the number of congregations so as to approximate the land in each state covered by the focal presbytery. To supplement these official church records, Sweet (1936b:48-51) provides data on the number of congregations in Indiana in 1806 and 1837, Michigan in 1816, and Illinois in 1837. Dorchester (1888:282, 385-388) is the source of data for Virginia and North Carolina in 1800, Alabama in 1830, Florida in 1824, Indiana in 1830, Illinois in 1816, Missouri in 1816 and 1830, and Michigan in 1816 and 1830.

Quakers. This denomination first came to Rhode Island in 1637. After William Penn secured his grant for Pennsylvania in 1682, most Quakers moved there. Around 1740, there were also sizeable Quaker communities in New Jersey, Rhode Island, and the Carolinas. Unfortunately, we could find no data on the number of Quaker congregations after 1776, probably because this denomination's authority structure was highly decentralized.

Swedenborgians/New Jerusalem Church/New Church. This spiritualist faith came to America in 1798, taking root first in Maryland and later in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, and other neighbouring states. We could find no data on this denomination outside the census, perhaps because it never numbered more than 10,000 adherents (Ahlstrom, 1972).

Unitarians. This faith, which began as a liberal wing of the Congregational Church in 1787, became a separate denomination in 1825. Until the 1830s, Unitarianism was almost totally confined to a single state, Massachusetts (Dorchester, 1888). Allen (quoted

in Gaustad, 1962:126) declared that, “A radius of thirty-five miles from Boston as a center would sweep almost the whole field of its history and influence.” During the 1830s, Unitarianism started to spread to New York, Washington DC, Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, and Louisiana (Gaustad, 1962:126). We found data on Unitarian congregations for 1835 and 1840 in New England in Dorchester (1888:635).

Universalists. This denomination appeared in America in 1779. During its early years, it was highly concentrated in New England and Pennsylvania, especially Boston. Data for 1835 and 1840 presented in Dorchester (1888:628), which were taken from Universalist yearbooks, bear out this fact.

Other-Worldly Churches

Adventists and Millennialists. All of these sects, which began to congregate around 1839, shared a belief that the Second Coming of Christ (the Advent) would occur soon and the world would then end. Alas, we found no data on Adventists outside of the census.

Baptists. Although there were Baptist congregations in America from 1637 onward, almost all of this denomination’s growth came from evangelism during and after the Great Awakenings. The *American Baptist Yearbook* (1874:79) contained most of the data used in our study. It reported the number of Baptist congregations in 1812, 1832, and 1840 for all states in the Union. We found complete data for 1790 in Apslund (1792:5-42). We found two additional sources for the early nineteenth century: Sweet (1931:24, 26, 27, 34) contained data on the number of Baptist congregations in Kentucky in 1800 and 1820, in Missouri in 1800 and 1840, and in Tennessee in 1802. Armstrong and Armstrong (1979:111) provided the number of Baptist churches in Virginia in 1800. Since Baptists were heavily concentrated in the South, these sources greatly improved the quality of our data on this denomination.

Dunkers/Tunkers/Church of the Brethren. This German Anabaptist sect first gained a foothold in Pennsylvania in 1719; by 1722, Dunker congregations had been founded in New Jersey and Maryland. Throughout our study period, Dunkers remained concentrated in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland, although they made small inroads into Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky (Mallott, 1954; Drury, 1924). Dunkers were always few in numbers. We found data for 1770 in Mallott (1954), which relies on numbers originally reported in John Lewis Gillin’s *The Dunkers*. We found no other data, perhaps because as Mallott (1954) notes, this sect did not begin keeping records until 1880.

German Reformed. This Church, which sits theologically between the Calvinist and the Lutheran traditions, arrived in America in the early eighteenth century. Between 1740 and 1860, it was concentrated in Pennsylvania and the surrounding states. To augment data from Gaustad, Finke and Stark, and the census, we found data on German Reformed congregations in the Eastern Synod (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina) for 1820 in Klein (1943).

Lutherans. This denomination was carried to America by immigrants from four different countries to several locations: from Sweden to Delaware and New Jersey in 1638, from Holland to New York in 1649, from Germany to New York in 1708 and Pennsylvania in 1712, and from England to several states in the early eighteenth century. Lutherans remained concentrated in a handful of states. *The American Quarterly Review* (1832:224) reported in 1832 that, “this church is confined almost exclusively to the German population of the country. The congregations, though found in more than half the States, are principally in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Maryland, and North Carolina.” Thus, data from Gaustad, Finke and Stark, and the census capture most of the growth of this denomination.

Mennonites, Amish, and Swiss Brethren. Almost all members of these three closely related Anabaptist faiths – all German speakers – lived in Pennsylvania from the late seventeenth century to the first decade of the nineteenth century. These denominations spread to Virginia, Ohio, and Indiana over the eighteenth century (Gaustad, 1962:135). We were unable to find any data on Amish congregations, probably because the Amish, who were far more socially conservative than Mennonites or Swiss Brethren, refused to create any general church organization. (This conservative tendency and consequent lack of formal organization may also explain why the Amish published no magazines before the Civil War.) We were also unable to find any data on the number and location of Mennonite and Swiss Brethren congregations outside of the census. (Note that the census put Swiss Brethren and Mennonites in a single category.)

Methodists. This faith began in America in the early 1760s as a revival movement within the Episcopal Church; it became an independent denomination in 1784. The only consistent data we could obtain counted Methodist members, not churches. This is largely a reflection of the Methodist style of organizing, which emphasized the use of circuit riders who traveled from place to place, rather the establishment of permanent churches. Membership data for 1790, 1800, and 1810 came from the *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, Annually Held in America from 1773 to 1813, Inclusive*. Membership data for 1832 are reported in *The American Quarterly Register* (1832:224) and estimated membership data for 1773 (from the first American Methodist Conference) are reported in Gaustad (1962:75). We have data on both number of members and number of churches for four states (Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, and South Carolina) in 1810. We use these data to translate from number of members to number of churches: on average, there were 343 members per church.

Moravians/Unitas Fratrum. This evangelical branch of Hussites migrated from Germany to Georgia in 1735, then moved to Pennsylvania soon after. The Moravians expanded up and down the Atlantic Coast over the course of the eighteenth century, but always remained a small denomination. We found only scattered data on Moravian churches between 1776 and 1850, in *The Quarterly Register and Journal of the American Educational Society* (1829:182).

Shakers/Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming. This sect was established in 1774 in New Hampshire. It remained small and concentrated in New England. Alas, we found no data on the number of Shaker communities outside the census.

Society of the Publick Universal Friend. This sect, which closely resembled the Shakers, started in 1776 in Rhode Island, where its members founded a single utopian community. The community moved to New York in 1794 and died out in 1863, when the last member died. At its peak, it had only 200 members. Data on the single congregation came from Ahlstrom (1972).